Expansionism at The Frick Collection: The Historic Cycle of Build, Destroy, Rebuild

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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This thesis contends that if landscape architecture is not accorded status equal to that of architecture, then it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to convey significance and secure protective preservation measures. The sensibilities and protections of historic landscape preservation designations, particularly with respect to urban landmarked sites, played a critical role in the recent debate surrounding The Frick Collection in New York City. In June 2014, The Frick Collection announced plans to expand its footprint on the Upper East Side. Controversy set in almost immediately, presenting the opportunity to discuss in this thesis the evolution of an historic institution's growth in which a cycle of build, destroy and rebuild had emerged. The thesis discusses the evolving status of landscape preservation within urban centers, citing the Frick Collection example of historic landscape in direct opposition to architectural construction. Archival and scholarly materials, media reports, landmark decisions, and advocacy statements illustrate the immediacy and applicability of historic persons, architecture, decisions and designations to the present day. Understanding this historic significance of place before initiating change provides a more informed pathway to the future. The thesis concludes that historic landscape preservation can, and should, warrant the equality of stewardship and significance as held by its architectural counterpart.

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Introduction.

On June 10, 2014, The Frick Collection, the art museum and reference library located in New York City, announced a new project to "enhance and renovate" its facilities. In conjunction with architectural firm Davis Brody Bond (DBB), the Frick launched a campaign to fulfill "founder Henry Clay Frick's long-standing vision" to expand the museum in a manner that would be "consistent in character with the original 1913-14 mansion of Carrére and Hastings, and to its subsequent 1934 expansion by John Russell Pope."[1] The architectural legacy of Henry Clay Frick's home was a significant aspect of the project narrative: DBB described the project as building "upon the Frick's history of architecturally integrated expansions and alterations while preserving the intimate visitor experience in an extraordinary mansion that has engaged art lovers for nearly eight decades."[2]

The Frick Collection is a small museum, with a devoted following: it is "one of the great legacies of the first period of major art collecting in the United States and one of the defining activities of the Gilded Age elite."[3]A large part of the appeal of the Frick is the building itself, as the "great mansion presents a striking picture of imposing grandeur and architectural distinction on Fifth Avenue."[4] The physical structure originated as the private home of industrialist Henry Clay Frick. Designed by Thomas Hastings of Carrére and Hastings, the family moved into their home at One East 70th Street and Fifth Avenue in December 1914.

Frick passed away only five years later, in 1919; his will established The Frick Collection. Upon the death of his wife Adelaide, the mansion would be converted from private home to public art museum. In 1935, after modifications to the original architecture by John Russell Pope, The Frick Collection opened to the public. The collection included Old Master paintings and European sculpture and decorative arts, much of which was purchased by Frick himself. The galleries, and the facilities themselves, represented the era of new American industrialist wealth enamored with European traditions in both architecture and art.

The mansion, one of the few Gilded Age Beaux Arts homes remaining in New York City, is three stories tall with an additional classic attic story set behind the parapet. The first story is rusticated limestone, with full-length windows under bas-relief panels. A wide dominant band-course over the first story serves as the sill for the second story windows and links wings on the north and south sides to the main house. A wide side lawn along Fifth Avenue, fenced and built above sidewalk grade, places the mansion away from the street level and lends the site a feeling of spaciousness.[5] On East 71st Street, the limestone six-story Art Reference Library was completed in 1935 by Pope. The main entrance to the Collection is on East 70th Street. To the right of the entrance are a pavilion, designed by Harry van Dyke and John Barrington Bayley, and a viewing garden by Russell Page, both added to the Frick in the late 1970s.

Art critic Roberta Smith wrote that while “time doesn’t quite stand still at the beloved Frick Collection…you could call the pace of change there glacial without fear of correction.”[6] Smith was correct that change at the Frick has been slow to arrive, yet it had not been absent: a cycle of destruction and reconstruction had historically driven the Frick. In 1999, historian Max Page wrote of the “creative destruction” of Manhattan, employing the economic term coined by Joseph Schumpeter to describe capitalism. Page contended that Manhattan had developed over time through "a vibrant and often chaotic process of destruction and rebuilding" and that Fifth Avenue was no exception.[7] Building, destroying and then rebuilding on the same site was part of the evolution of the city. The Frick illustrates this perfectly, with its own cycle of "build, destroy, rebuild."

The 1930s transformation from private home to museum seems fully integrated, yet Pope extensively altered the original Carrére and Hastings work and projects in the 1970s and 2000s further transformed the Frick. Now in 2014, the Frick was renewing the "build, destroy, rebuild" cycle. To create the needed space for the expansion, a pavilion and garden constructed in the 1970s would be demolished. The emptied site would then be used to:

- Add more than 42,000 square feet of new space with a 106-foot tower building
- Create galleries renovating existing rooms on the first floor, to "better accommodate popular special exhibitions without having to take works from the permanent collection off public view, as it often does currently"
- Provide classrooms, a 220-seat auditorium, dedicated administrative space, and updated conservation labs
- Open the historic second floor rooms – the Frick bedrooms, study and breakfast room – to visitors with galleries for the permanent collection
- Enlarge existing entry facilities, service areas, cloakroom and restrooms and build a new rooftop garden terrace for museum visitors.[8]

Both support and criticism of the plan emerged quickly. Critics noted that the proposed design designated much of the new space for administrative and ancillary visitor services rather than for galleries. Others, such as MacArthur fellow Lydia Davis, were dismayed by the idea of any alteration to the Frick: “do not change a good thing – an invaluable asset to New York City.”[9]

The focus of opposition to the expansion was centered on the plan to destroy the pavilion and garden. Completed in 1977, the Page garden and the Beaux Arts pavilion designed by van Dyke and Bayley were now contested spaces. Preservation of these works, particularly of British designer Russell Page’s garden, motivated intense, public criticism of the plan. Opponents mobilized to discuss the profound impact the expansion would have on the physical and emotional sense of place, fearing that the personalized, private character of the Frick would be overwhelmed by the expansion. Media scrutiny was intense, particularly within architectural and preservation communities. A coalition, Unite to Save the Frick, established a web-based platform to share news and supportive action for those adverse to the expansion plan. Under the coalition banner, architects, landscape architects, preservation professionals, cultural elites and concerned others, issued a petition calling upon the Frick to withdraw its “ill-conceived expansion proposal” which would “irreparably damage the unique sense of intimacy that is a hallmark of the Frick experience.”[10]

The Frick was following in the wake of similar museum super-sizing projects, such as those at the Morgan Library and Museum, the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. But what was different at the Frick was the nature of the criticism it faced. In a rare occurrence, particularly for an urban institution, the landscape was the focus of concern. Even in preservation circles, landscape is often perceived as of secondary importance – or ignored completely – with respect to the built environment. Historic preservation, which had expanded from its house museum conservation origins to include significant buildings, objects, districts and cultural heritage, was slow to encompass landscapes and historic gardens. The Frick expansion provided the unique opportunity to apply landscape preservation standards in direct confrontation to new architecture.

The debate was encapsulated by *New York Times* architecture critic Michael Kimmelman: "buildings shouldn't trump spaces around them: great public places and works of landscape architecture deserve to be treated like great buildings."[11] But was the Page garden a great public space, worthy of such treatment? And was it eligible for preservation, given its 1970s vintage? Establishing the significance of the garden, and of Page himself, was therefore important not only for meeting historic preservation criteria, but would bolster the importance of the garden with respect to the full Frick site.

The Frick Collection had received four landmark designations –New York City landmark, New York City Upper East Side Historic District, New York State and National Register Upper East Side Historic District and National Historic Landmark. The Page garden was included in all four landmark designations just as were the van Dyke-Bayley pavilion, the Art Reference Library, and the mansion house. An expansion plan that altered or destroyed any of these elements would need approval by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) before moving forward.

Protection for the garden – and the entire Frick Collection – was in place by virtue of landmark designations. But what if the LPC were to view the expansion positively and approve the Frick's plan? Historic preservation identifies, preserves and protects buildings, objects, landscapes or other artifacts of historical significance. But who decides what is significant? The National Historic Register nomination report for the Frick Collection stated that the Pope expansion and the original Carrére and Hastings design both focused on the landscape:

> Views of the garden and Fifth Avenue, as well as in the interior court (originally the rear garden), underscore the importance of the landscape and transition between the interior and exterior spaces that was not only part of the original scheme of the house but also one that was maintained in the renovation.[12]

Would this original intent to signify both building and landscape as integral to the site be sufficient to protect the garden from the new expansion plan? If not, Page and his garden could be deemed inconsequential and the “build, destroy, rebuild” cycle would once again shift into gear at the Frick. Over time, the Frick has evolved in terms of both collection and architecture: was this evolution now spinning out of control? If the Frick’s landscape architecture were not viewed as equally important to its architecture, it could be difficult to ensure protective preservation measures would be enacted.

Protection is granted to that which is valued. In preservation, identification of the qualities and characteristics that define a site determine its value and provide the rationale for protection. Understanding the significance of the existing qualities should come before initiating change. When historic preservation is viewed as a design aesthetic, consideration for the new begins with the original, with assessment of the site, the design, and the overall sense of place. At the Frick, an historical perspective of not just the Frick site, but of New York City and particularly the Upper East Side, provides the context for urban change. Henry Clay Frick left a remarkable monument to the Gilded Age with his mansion and art collection, and the responsibility now is to manage this gift into a new phase of preservation-minded functionality. To this end, the past is reviewed to give meaning to the present.

Introduction. Endnotes.

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Chapter 1. Here is New York.

To a New Yorker the city is both changeless and changing.[1]

– E. B. White, *Here is New York*

In urban spaces, the only constant is change. This is particularly so in New York City, as waves of economic prosperity and downturns have shaped the city's built environment. The development of the city – particularly Manhattan – is the history of the political will, cultural and social mores, and economic drive to be ever bigger and better. From its forested, agrarian-based Native American inhabitants to present day population of almost 8.5 million, Manhattan has changed rapidly. The history of these changes is crucial to understanding the present and for planning the future.

In looking at the development of New York's urban core, and the events and personalities who shaped the city, the post-Civil War years ushered in pivotal change. Mark Twain deemed this the "Gilded Age," using "gilded" in a derogatory sense to describe a shiny veneer with no substance.[2] Twain described, in *Gilded Age*, not a glorious golden age but a time of gilt surfaces whose shine would soon tarnish. The Gilded Age, generally acknowledged as the years 1865 – 1918, reflected the enormous changes in industry, finance, politics and culture within the United States. The label also applied to a type of person, particularly America's first millionaires, and a new "unique and discrete sector" of society. [3] Pre- Civil War, extreme differences in wealth were seen between the moderately poor and moderately well-off and it was viewed as bad taste to flaunt one's wealth. But during the Gilded Age, the massive fortunes amassed by a relative few changed these societal, cultural and political norms.

The Gilded Age was led by a small fraction of society that gained monumental wealth on a scale never seen before in America. Railroads transformed the country, linking east to west, and built the fortunes of the Vanderbilt, Gould, Harriman, Villard, Stanford and Huntington families. The land itself brought forth riches: Carnegie and Frick with coke and steel; oil for the Rockefellers; and Fair, Mackay and Ogden in mines. The financial sector emerged, with the Morgan's leading the way in banking and the Astor's in real estate. Gilded Age Society (with a capital "S") included only some 400 families, constituting America's first industrial-financial aristocracy.[4]

Society was a distinct cultural and social entity unto itself. The rich "demanded a new range of art and architecture as the backdrop to their social order that would separate them from the frumpy and still puritanical American middle class and align them with European aristocracy instead."[5] With travel to Europe now accessible for those with money, European fashion became the status symbol. The collections of furniture and art and chateaus of the financial and industrial giants of France and England were the models for the architectural style emerging in the United States. Private homes now included ballrooms and art galleries, and the architecture of "Italian palazzos and French chateau were deemed expressive of the lifestyle of, say, an American coal merchant, meat-packer, or streetcar tycoon."[6]

New York City was the Capital of the Gilded Age, the epicenter of finance, culture and society. The Commissioners Plan of 1811 established the New York City street grid which still dominates the city. The early grid focused on the populated area of lower Manhattan; Fifth Avenue was included on the plan but the street itself was not laid out until 1824. For the most part, Manhattan residents did not migrate above 14th Street until the 1850s, when the city population nearly doubled and those with the financial means moved uptown to what was then open land. New York's population growth rate was the highest within the nation and by 1910 the city had an average density of 166 people per acre. Southern Manhattan was the population center, with a density of 728 people per acre on the Lower East Side.[7]

When the New York boroughs were consolidated in 1898, building activity centered in lower Manhattan while other areas remained rural. It was not until the horse-car lines and street-level railroads were built and the influx of Irish and German immigrants that the city population began to move north. The financial upheavals and the Civil War took a toll on urban growth, bringing construction to halt. But by 1865, the city's population was growing, with increased demand for not only housing but public parks and outdoor space. Construction began on Central Park as Olmsted and Vaux's "Greensward" plan went into action. Olmsted and Vaux had included Fifth Avenue within their Park plan, and the Street Commissioners provided fifteen feet of open space on each side of Fifth Avenue, in addition to the sidewalk width, for the Park north of 59th Street.[8] The set-back allowed for grand stairways and entrances for homes along Fifth Avenue facing the Park, enticing wealthy residents.

Park construction displaced the shanty-towns and squatters on the Upper East and West neighborhoods, making the area more desirable. Streets not included on the 1811 grid were laid out, including Lexington and Madison Avenues, and between 1868 and 1873, property values above 59th Street increased by more than 200%.[9] New elevated rail lines connected the Upper East Side with lower Manhattan, increasing the allure of the neighborhood. The Third Avenue elevated rail opened in 1878 and provided public transportation from South ferry to 129th Street. In 1880, the Second Avenue EL opened; in the years 1880-81, the two rails combined to carry 28 million passengers.[10] The city population was growing, and the Upper East Side with it.

Downtown the street scene changed drastically as private homes, including many brownstone townhouses, were demolished to make way for businesses, manufacturing entities and apartment buildings. Industry continued to creep up Fifth Avenue into the Washington Square area, following a trend begun in the 1880s. Avenues were broadened, and bridges, tunnels and rail lines changed the way people moved throughout the city. Destruction became the norm, with many homes built, destroyed and rebuilt again, many just a few years after they were completed. In the years between 1900 and 1907, property values increased 250%. Value was held in the land itself, as well as in how quickly properties changed hands and buildings were erected. In 1902, there were 58 brownstones on Fifth Avenue between 34th and 42nd Streets; by 1910 there were less than half as many and all were to be torn down or transformed from residence to business use. By 1930, all the brownstones on this stretch of Fifth Avenue were gone.[11]

Novelist Henry James called Fifth Avenue the street of “restless renewals.” In *New York Revisited*, James wrote of the loss of his childhood home and the “dreadful chill of change” enveloping a city “where the past was sacrificed for a more profitable but equally transitory present.”[12] This chill of change that James related was replicated throughout the city as a whole, with Fifth Avenue most notably affected. A July 1907 article in *Architectural Record* cited the unease that this cycle of construction and destruction had created within the city, particularly stating that Fifth Avenue had been “completely transformed.”[13] Washington Square, and the demise of the brick brownstones facing the Square, was the initial source of concern. But the loss of sense of place was prevalent in other neighborhoods as well. Development was seemingly haphazard, with no grand plan, and fear was growing that grand architecture was being lost. As the private homes came down, the sense of loss expanded from that for specific buildings to the bigger changes occurring to neighborhoods. Permanence was gone, and change was the new status quo.

The cycle of "build, destroy, rebuild" did not go unnoticed by city officials. On July 25, 1916, New York City enacted the first zoning laws in the United States to control the use and development of land. Fifth Avenue, with the early creation of downtown business districts, was an integral part of the city zoning legislation. The Avenue encompassed events happening city-wide: the rise of manufacturing and creation of office space below 59th Street; the segmentation of Manhattan into residential and business zones; the separation of rich and poor residential neighborhoods; and the rapid development of lots and rising real estate values. The Fifth Avenue Association, founded in 1907, sought to protect their exclusivity by precluding merchants and industry based on Lower Fifth Avenue from moving uptown.[14] Ironically this unique sense of place was endangered as demand for Fifth Avenue lots increased and more and more people sought its idealized exclusivity.

The new zoning enabled the retailers to take control of Fifth Avenue below 59th Street. The laws provided the context to employ legal means, as well as public opinion, to maintain land use standards to protect urban life qualities, including the uniqueness of Fifth Avenue. Here was a tangled early preservationist strategy by the Association: it wanted to preserve the exclusivity while simultaneously transforming the Avenue from residential to retail use. Amidst political, social and economic changes impacting the city, conservation of the uniqueness of Fifth Avenue was important to retailers now ensconced on the street. What emerged was the "creation of the identity of Fifth Avenue as valuable, a place worth 'saving.'"[15]

Historically, 59th Street had been the division line between the old city and the new. Fifth Avenue was the most desirable address, but most of this was concentrated below 59th Street, with isolated development north although real estate speculators awaited "the inevitable uptown move of the capitalists and others of the wealthy classes."[16] In 1905, when Andrew Carnegie built his home at 90th Street and Fifth Avenue, people scoffed at a mansion amidst pastures and shanties. Notable early land owners included the Lenox family, precursors to the influx, as "there was, indeed for a time hesitancy on the part of the wealthier classes to occupy Fifth Avenue facing the park, north of 59th Street."[17] When Caroline Schermerhorn Astor took up residence in her Richard Morris Hunt-designed chateau at Fifth and 65th Street, that hesitancy abated. Now Fifth Avenue, and the proximity of Central Park, lured the wealthy old City families as well as the newly rich.

The Upper East Side developed under a variety of building styles and types. During the Civil War years, Victorian gothic row-houses dominated the streetscape. Brownstones were then introduced, many developed by speculators who would purchase large blocks of land, subdivide into twenty-foot lots and then sell the individual houses to middle class families. But most architecture closer to Fifth Avenue was attributed to the Beaux-Arts movement. The Chicago World's Fair had introduced the country to the City Beautiful movement, with a return to the romantic, classical style of architecture.

Brownstone construction was seen as passé, as neo-renaissance styles came into favor. The designers of Fifth Avenue mansions embraced the Beaux-Arts and "created architectural examples which were harmonious with each other, yet individualistic and able to symbolically represent the importance and affluence of their residents."[18]Architect Richard Morris Hunt was one of the earliest prolific architects of Fifth Avenue, with French Renaissance-styled mansions created for wealthy families.

There was no doubt that the sheer quantity of work necessary for Beaux-Arts construction required money: builders, carvers, sculptors, gilders, bronze-casters just to name a few. The style itself connoted status and wealth. Beaux-Arts was also a school of thought that had students eager to design "big and great" architecture such as academic buildings, libraries, monuments and civic buildings; in Europe this often meant opera houses, in New York it was private homes. The Vanderbilt house which Frick rented was an "opulent setting for a heroic capitalist life"[19] for both owner and renter.

Upper Fifth Avenue was now the refuge for those with money to escape the encroachment of industry and merchants further south. As the fortunes grew, so did the size of the homes which were built in waves "with the tide of advancing prosperity."[20] Private mansions emulating European styles lined the city streets, contributing to the metamorphosis of Fifth Avenue from farmland to shantytown to Millionaire's Row.[21] Here was now an "outdoor museum of architecture…a virtual exhibition hall for America's most influential architects – Carrere and Hastings; McKim, Mead and White; Ralph Adams Cram."[22] Fifth Avenue was an idealized portrayal of private achievement by the wealthy and therefore the best place to live and to shop. It was the heart of the city in terms of culture, society, and economic prosperity.

But this exclusivity ushered in its own cycle of "build, destroy, rebuild." With limited inventory and rising real estate values, construction – however elaborate – became impermanent. Huge marble and limestone mansions were demolished as one wealthy property owner sold to another. Despite enormous sums of money spent to build the grand houses, the Fifth Avenue Millionaire's Mile mansions "came down like dominoes" and "rarely had a life span exceeding forty years."[23] As fortunes came and went, so did the mansions. Coupled with building-height regulations in 1924, which precipitated a massive sell-off of private homes to apartment building developers, Upper Fifth Avenue encountered many of the same issues affecting its downtown counterpart.

Unlike the White City of the Chicago World's Fair, the Fifth Avenue mansions were constructed to endure; but like the Fair buildings, they were soon gone. In 1927, James Young wondered of Fifth Avenue, "what other street in the world ever witnessed so much destruction of property and such pyramiding of values?"[24] Built of stone and the highest quality of materials, the homes "were built to last forever, so their owners and the wreckers thought, yet they are gone and all their finery has been scattered," wrote Virginia Pope in the New York Times in August, 1930.[25] Noting the changing lifestyles as apartment living became more desirable and affordable than maintaining grand private homes, Pope wrote that only seven blocks between 60th and 110th Streets on Fifth Avenue "have not succumbed to multiple dwellings…here and there a survivor is hugged tightly in the stone embrace of its giant neighbor."[26]

The story of Fifth Avenue is that of great wealth never seen before in the United States; of private real estate development coupled with European architectural dictates; and the population growth and urban development of New York City. In 1949, E. B.

White lamented that “all over town the great mansions are in decline… rich men nowadays don’t live in houses; they live in the attics of big apartment buildings and plant trees on the setbacks, hundreds of feet above the street.”[27] Here is the sentiment that architectural structures in New York, especially private homes, have a limited life expectancy, and that the cycle and spirit of construction and destruction is a natural and necessary facet of urban living.

But for Henry Clay Frick, desirous of a New York City residence, the only address that would suit was Fifth Avenue. When construction began on his home in 1912, the Fifth Avenue mansion era was already in decline. Building a large family home went against the tide; other homes were being torn down, replaced by apartment or office buildings. It seemingly never occurred to Frick to purchase an existing home. In the event, the Fifth Avenue homes spared the wrecking ball are the anomalies, and therefore all the more interesting. The Henry Clay Frick mansion still stands, on Fifth Avenue at 70th Street, testament to a prescient 1930 prediction that it “will probably outlive all the other stately landmarks on the avenue.”[28]

In *Henry Clay Frick: The Gospel of Greed*, Samuel Schreiner noted that “an interesting aspect of the very rich of that time was that they were so much like one another.”[29] Frick was the “quintessential capitalist, a truly representative figure of America’s Gilded Age” and while his name was not as recognizable as Rockefeller or Mellon – Frick was a “behind-the-scenes man in both business and politics” – he built among the wealthy elite on Fifth Avenue.[30] Henry Clay Frick and the story of his mansion is therefore the epitome of the Gilded Age cycle of “build, destroy, rebuild” that defined not only Upper Fifth Avenue, but New York City as a whole.

Chapter 1. Here is New York. Endnotes.

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Chapter 2. Henry Clay Frick: The Man.

To understand the uniqueness of the Frick mansion is to understand the uniqueness of the man. Henry Clay Frick was born on December 19, 1849, in the farming village of West Overton, PA. His mother, Elizabeth Overholt, was the daughter of Abraham Overholt, a whisky-distiller, landowner and miller referred to as the "Squire of Westmoreland County," and his father John W. Frick was a farmer.[1] Growing up, Frick was known as Clay and was selectively described as brilliant, methodical, adamant, iron-willed, affectionate, thoughtful, reserved, handsome and well-dressed.

At age 22, Frick, along with two cousins and a friend, borrowed funds and launched the firm of Overholt, Frick and Company. He was now in the coal business, baking coal cakes (coke) and shipping his product to fuel the Pennsylvania steel industry furnaces. Additional loans enabled the construction of fifty more coke ovens and the business expanded despite the recession of 1873, as the company bought coal fields at depression prices. Frick then bought out his partners as well as his top competitors. The drive to succeed, and make money, was already embedded in his character; in fact it was said that since he was a teenager, Frick had always wanted "the best there is."[2]

By the late 1870s, prices for coke were up again. Frick now had more than 1,000 employees and daily shipped 100 train carloads of coke to Pittsburgh. By the time he turned thirty, Frick had made his first million dollars. He had saved most of it, as he spent most of his time working and lived in a rural area without much spending distractions. Here was the opportunity to travel to Europe and move to Pittsburgh – at the time a major industrial center – and in 1881 he rented a $200 a month apartment.[3] Now a member of the Pittsburgh business society, Frick met Andrew Mellon, who became one of his friends and business partners for the remainder of both of their lives. He also met Adelaide Howard Childs, daughter of a shoe manufacturer, and married Adelaide on December 15, 1881. It was on their wedding trip that Frick met with one of his key coke customers, Andrew Carnegie, in New York City.[4] To ensure that his steel furnaces would have the necessary coke, Carnegie entered into partnership with Frick. In the next year Frick reorganized Carnegie Steel into the largest steel manufacturing firm in the world, vertically integrated with mines, mills and rail and ship transportation. But the relationship between Frick and Carnegie would prove to be a tumultuous one.

In Pittsburgh, Frick purchased the Italianate-style Clayton house on Pennsylvania Avenue, known as “Millionaire’s Row.” A son, Childs Frick, was born March 12, 1883; and two daughters, Martha Howard Frick (1885, died in 1891) and Helen Clay Frick (1888) followed. By 1890, the house was deemed too small for the family, staff and the children’s pets (including ponies, dogs and birds). Frick was by now the chairman of Carnegie Steel, and the “modest home” at Clayton no longer suited him.[5] Rather than move, the house was remodeled by architect Frederick J. Osterling, who transformed the two-story eleven room house into a four-story, 23-room mansion.

On the business side, the physical dangers of the coke mining industry were never far removed. On January 27, 1891, a fire in the Mammoth Shaft of the Frick coke mines killed 116 men. Frick had purchased the mine two years earlier and ran all 500 coke ovens even with a lessened demand for coke during these depression years. When the Pennsylvania mining inspectors did not find the Frick Coke Company to be at fault for the fire, the United Mine Workers of America renewed their call for stricter mine safety laws. Between 1877 and 1940 it is estimated that more than 18,000 people died in the Pennsylvania coal mines. Frick, the owner of the majority of coke ovens, became the target of worker animosity.[6]

On May 31, 1889, a dam collapsed at the Lake Conemaugh Hunting and Fishing Club, of which Frick was a founding member. Millions of gallons of water rushed into the town of Johnston, PA, killing more than 2,200 people.[7] This was at the time the worst disaster in American history and received international news coverage. Although Frick was instrumental in setting up a relief fund, he was also instrumental in the cause of the man-made disaster as an influential supporter of the dam construction. Frick's reputation was further tarnished, earning him the sobriquet of "most hated man in America."[8]

At Carnegie Steel, Frick was managing the limited partnership with $25 million in capital and more than 30,000 workers.[9] Frick reorganized internal departments, and was especially keen to cut labor costs. The contract with the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers at the huge Homestead Steel Works was to expire in June 1892. Frick wanted to introduce new mechanized technologies at Homestead which would cut labor costs and jobs. Negotiations between labor and management were contentious, ending in a lockout of striking workers as Frick sought to break the union. Frick hired Pinkerton guards to provide access to the mill for non-union workers and bar the strikers. Crisis erupted on July 6, 1892, as a twelve-hour fight amongst the striking workers and Pinkerton guards ended with 13 dead.[10]

There was much debate over the role of Frick's business partner, Andrew Carnegie, during the Homestead tragedy. Carnegie was in Scotland, communicating with

Frick by telegram. Sources, including Frick himself, reported that Carnegie instructed Frick to take a hard company line with the union.[11] But others claimed that if Carnegie himself had been at Homestead, he would have taken a more conciliatory stance towards the union and diffused the situation before violence erupted. At any rate, it was Frick who was on-site and who made the decisions, and it was he who was vilified by the workers and in worldwide press accounts. Frick's reputation was now battered, exacerbating the next ten years of his strained relationship with Carnegie.

In what proved to be one of the most eventful weeks in Frick's life, on July 8, 1892 – two days after Homestead – Henry Clay Frick, Jr., was born, only to die ten days later. Then, while in his downtown Pittsburgh office, Frick was attacked by Alexander Berkman, described in the press as "an anarchist."[12] Frick was soon back at work but the events reportedly took a toll personally and professionally. Still, despite the controversy that followed Frick and the resulting strained relationship with Carnegie, Frick remained chairman of Carnegie Steel until 1900. Carnegie and Frick vacillated between friendship and adversary; when finances were secure and money was being made, all was relatively smooth. But in turbulent times, their different temperaments over-ruled trust. Finally, Frick left Carnegie Steel – or according to some accounts Carnegie pushed Frick out of the company – and created U.S. Steel, the world's first big corporation.[13] Frick diversified from coal and steel, investing in railroads, and began to seriously collect artwork. His purchases were displayed at Clayton, and at his home in Prides Crossing, Massachusetts.

According to an account by George Harvey, in his privately-printed book, *Henry Clay Frick The Man*, the last time Frick and Carnegie spoke to each other was in Frick's office in the Carnegie Building in Pittsburgh, on January 8, 1900: "during the ensuing nineteen years, from 1900 to 1919…neither Mr. Carnegie nor Mr. Frick spoke to the other."[14] Frick decided that New York City was where he now needed to be headquartered, the center of the financial world. Perhaps as a parting shot at Carnegie, he ordered that the new headquarters of U.S. Steel Corporation, built adjacent to Carnegie's office building, rise taller to ensure that it would overshadow Carnegie.[15]

From 1902 through 1905, Frick's New York address was the Sherry Netherland. He then leased the Vanderbilt Mansion at 640 Fifth Avenue; he had first seen this mansion as a young man and "it must have given Frick a jolt of pride to inhabit the grandiose home where he had first been introduced to New York 'society' during a trip with Andrew Mellon nearly twenty-five years earlier."[16] According to his great grand-daughter Martha Frick Symington Sanger, the Vanderbilt mansion with its expansive art galleries was to Frick "all I shall ever want."[17]

Frick rented the Vanderbilt mansion for ten years. During this time he added to his art collection, purchasing works by Rembrandt and Vermeer. Frick hoped to put the vitriol of the Johnstown Flood and the Homestead strikes behind him, creating a new legacy of art patronage, stating "this collection [is] to be my monument."[18] Fifty paintings were brought from Clayton, creating the beginnings of The Frick Collection, when Frick claimed that "the smoky, acid-laden air" pollution in Pittsburgh – a result of Frick's own mills and factories – was damaging his artwork.[19] His collection grew with acquisitions of portraits by Reynolds and Gainsborough, Turner landscapes, and the El Greco Saint Jerome. Frick sought guidance from noted art dealers Roland Knoedler and Joseph Duveen, both of whom would advise Frick for years to come.[20]

Frick's intent was to build his own mansion in New York. Negotiations began for the purchase of a lot on Upper Fifth Avenue, "the most desirable residential site in New York."[21] Unlike many of his social circle, however, Frick was a late comer to New York and there were few parcels of farmland or pasture remaining, all had been developed. Frick set his eyes on Fifth Avenue between East 70th and 71st Streets, the home of the Lenox Library, a rare book and manuscript library founded by James Lenox.

Like Frick, James Lenox was a successful businessman; unlike Frick, he had inherited much of his wealth from his father, a Scottish importer. Lenox was born in New York in 1800 and, as did many wealthy families, lived on lower Fifth Avenue. He had a small social circle and was notable in developing city health and cultural institutions. He expanded health services for the growing city population with a land grant and $100,000 contribution for a new hospital to be operated by the Presbyterian Church. The donated site, part of the land inheritance from his father, spanned 70th to 71st Streets between Madison and Fourth Avenues in the area now known as Lenox Hill. Lenox had previously befriended Richard Morris Hunt, architect of academic buildings, churches, hospitals and libraries, and Lenox commissioned Hunt to design the hospital, which opened in 1872.[22]

But their most notable collaboration was the Lenox Library. By 1870, Lenox had amassed more than 20,000 books and manuscripts and his private home was filled from floor to ceiling with stacks of books and artwork.[23] Lenox incorporated and endowed a library to the City of New York, with materials to be made available to scholars and students. Lenox again chose a site within the farmland he had inherited, west of the hospital, at Fifth Avenue between 70th and 71st Streets. At that time, the land was "far to the north of the heart of the city, and even for many years after the library was put up, cows were pastured beside the building and market gardening was carried on across the street."[24] On the south side of 70th Street, stables and carriage houses served single-family residential buildings, which were later destroyed and replaced by large apartment buildings. The north side, adjacent to the new Library, remained open.

By the end of 1871, the library foundation and first-story walls were in place but progress soon slowed and it was not until 1876 that construction was sufficiently complete that books, paintings and sculptures were transferred to the building. Then on "Monday January 15, 1877, the rooms containing them were thrown open for public inspection."[25] For ten years access to the library was limited to those with admission cards; this was an elite research facility, not a lending library. But the lack of public access did not diminish the architectural achievement of the building, a "beloved Beaux-Arts masterpiece," or the contribution it made to the further development of Fifth Avenue and the Upper East Side.[26]

The main Library façade faced west, 192 feet parallel to Fifth Avenue; the north and south facing walls spanned 114 feet down 70th and 71st Streets.[27] A deep courtyard fronted Fifth Avenue, with two wings flanking the north and south ends. The front entrance opened to a reception vestibule, with triple windows and columns of pink granite, ionic capitals and white marble bases. Hunt's design was described as "classical in inspiration and monumental in conception."[28] Limestone walls, an elevated second story, and recessed arched windows with rosette decoration completed the edifice. The Lenox had "a noble monumentality about it, although it lacked the grace and elegance characteristic of Hunt's later work. Built of one type of stone throughout – a gray limestone – it differed from New York's brownstone buildings and from the brick-and-stone coloration of the High Victorian architecture of that era."[29]

But the "life span of this remarkable edifice was pitifully short" as in 1895 the Lenox Library agreed to consolidate with the Astor Library and the Tilden Trust to form the New York Public Library.[30] By the early 1890s, both the American Museum of Natural History and the Metropolitan Art Museum were under construction but New York City still had no circulating library. While "semi-public" libraries did exist, as well as smaller branch libraries, there was no public reference library for an expanding city population. New York was emerging as an important world city; it was more populated than Paris and gaining on London, then the world's largest city, but services were lacking. This was a time of nationwide library construction, as great public architecture was championed by the City Beautiful movement. McKim Mead and White had just completed the Boston Library in 1885, spurring criticism that New York was not only without its own library but had forced one of its most eminent firms to work in Boston.[31]

The Tilden Trust was formed in 1886 upon the death of New York Governor Samuel J. Tilden, who bequeathed $2.4 million to establish a public library for the city.[32] The Tilden trustees approached Lenox, and John Jacob Astor who in 1849 had established the Astor Library, with the idea of merging. Both the Lenox and Astor libraries were experiencing financial difficulties and evaluating their functionary roles as reference institutions. With the input of John Bigelow, a Tilden trustee, all parties eventually agreed to merge, and in May 1895 the "Board of Trustees of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations" was established.[33]

At first it was thought that the entire newly-formed collection could be housed within the Lenox Library building, or that a second building or expansion could be constructed on vacant land to the east of the block, towards Madison Avenue. This marked the first discussion of expansion on the site, a debate that would continue to this day with the Frick. But the trustees decided to erect a new building, choosing the Croton Reservoir site at Fifth Avenue between 40th and 42nd Streets. The library director, Dr. John Shaw Billings, provided the original design concept and architects Carrére and Hastings were selected after a long public contest. The Croton Reservoir had opened in 1842 but was no longer operating; even so, while the cornerstone was laid in May 1902, it took two years to dredge and prepare the site for construction. The Library itself was not dedicated until sixteen years later, on May 23, 1911, hosting an estimated 30,000 to 50,000 visitors on its opening day.[34]

With the merged libraries to be housed at this new location, the Lenox Library property was available and Frick wanted it. However, Lenox had vowed that if the land were not going to be used for a library, the title would revert to his heirs. What he had not accounted for was the pressing financial needs of the new public library. The trustees required funds and eventually convinced Lenox and his heirs to approve the sale of the Library to Frick; a contract was signed on December 3, 1906 for Frick to purchase the Lenox building and site for $2,250,000; Frick purchased additional Lenox land in April 1907 for another $600,000.[35] Ironically, given the competitive relationship between Frick and Andrew Carnegie, both men played an integral role in the development of New York's library system. Frick in essence funded the construction of the New York Public

Library with his purchase of the Lenox property; Carnegie's bestowal of $5.2 million fostered branch libraries throughout the city.[36]

While the financial arrangement appeared to satisfy both Frick and the library trustees, public opinion raged against Frick. Although the Lenox Library was visited by a relative few, the building itself was seen as an integral part of the Fifth Avenue streetscape and a significant Hunt architectural work. The common opinion was that "Frick was going to ruin everything."[37] Frick sought "to appease lovers of Hunt's edifice" by offering to have the Lenox Library taken down and rebuilt brick by brick at a location within the city. This proposal by Frick, made to New York Mayor Gaynor, did not mention a specific site for relocation.[38] But Park Commissioner Charles Stover, eager to replace the 1848 Arsenal building, quickly forwarded Central Park as the appropriate site. Defending this plan, Stover asked:

> What, then, shall we lose, if instead of this ramshackle and inadequate old building, the Arsenal, we erect in its stead – not necessarily in its place – another building, the Lenox Library, at the expense of Mr. Frick? The present building should be razed to the ground and its site converted for landscape purposes. The library building would not occupy greater space than does this with the roadways around it. It seems to me that of all conceivable buildings to be placed in Central Park, it is right that the first of all should be the headquarters of the Park Department.[39]

Frick's remarkable proposal would not only have removed the Lenox Library from its original site, but spurred the destruction of the Arsenal, a landmarked building still serving the Parks Department today. At the time, Central Park was still developing its social and cultural identity but there was a strong sense within the city that the Park should remain at least relatively free of architectural structures. Many of the park roads were gravel and use of the grounds was much more passive than active. Stover was adamantly opposed to playgrounds and sports within Central Parks, stating that "if I had my way…there would be wholesale arrests for intrusion on lawns that are not open to the public." But he conceded that some exceptions were necessary, gallantly offering that "I do allow the little crippled children to play daily on the lawn north of the Swedish Schoolhouse at Seventy-Ninth Street."[40]

A few supporters championed Frick's proposal, maintaining that the Lenox would be an "ornament to the entrance of our Park."[41] Overall public reaction to rebuilding the Lenox within Central Park was however negative. The desire to preserve the Lenox was overridden by fears that this "Frick gift" would set a precedent of "haphazard construction" in the Park; that a series of buildings would be "plonked down in the park" destroying the Olmsted and Vaux plan.[42] At a meeting of the Parks and Playgrounds Committee, the Frick plan was condemned by political leaders, residents, and architects. A letter to the New York Times stated that "something must be very wrong with things as they are if it is possible for the public to lose any portions of such a Park. Surely something can be done to prevent this ever-recurring danger of stealing, under one pretense or another, any portion of so valuable a fresh-air space in a great city like this."[43]

In response, an angry Henry Clay Frick withdrew his offer to rebuild the Lenox within Central Park. Frick then "decided that it was his property, in fact, and in 1911 he ordered the library demolished and his own sixty-room palace erected in its place."[44] Architectural firm Carrere & Hastings was instructed to tear down the Lenox as soon as possible. The Lenox building closed on March 18, 1911; by April 12 all contents had been removed and transferred to the new library at 42nd Street. Frick took possession of the building in June 1912. Demolition began in July and by November 1 the building was no more than foundation and rubble.[45] A memorial to Hunt, the Lenox architect, was erected in 1898 on the west side of Fifth Avenue. The memorial directly faces the Frick, "staring in perpetuity at the indignity of his masterwork's replacement. The monument is a reminder of what was once there, and a wry commentary on the city's history of preservation and the nature of the architectural profession."[46]

Despite lingering sentiment that the Lenox Library might have been saved through relocation, the financial costs of the project may have proved Frick's offer impossible to implement. The Library was constructed of limestone with each stone weighing nearly five tons. According to Frederick Heather of the Tripler Wrecking Company, "to have taken the library down stone by stone and to have marked each stone and set it up again would have taken fully two years. I never in my life saw a structure so magnificently constructed as the Lenox Library. It would have lasted hundreds of years."[47] This estimate can be viewed as reliable; for it was the Tripler Company that Frick awarded the contract "for $11,000 Wrecking and Removal of Lenox Library."[48] On October 14, 1912, the New York Tribune estimated that the "costly wrecking work" of the Frick plan to rebuild the Lenox Library in Central Park would have cost approximately $500,000.[49]

In his 1923 book detailing the origins of the New York Public Library, Henry Miller Lydenberg wrote that with the demise of the Lenox Library, "the sentimental interest in these buildings and their sites, so full of suggestion for the antiquarian, the historian, anyone interested in the intellectual life of the city or the people who have taken part in that phase of the city's life, will not pass away, even with the passing of the structure."[50] Little was he to know that the destruction of the Lenox Library, fueled by

Frick's pursuit of the site, was a harbinger of events to come regarding The Frick Collection, urban development and preservation politics. Lydenberg's "sentimental interest" in the loss of the Lenox had become for modern preservationists "an act of vandalism that would likely not go over today."[51] Given the historical loss of outstanding architecture in New York, it is not a foregone conclusion that the Lenox Library would be spared under current preservation conditions. What is clear, however, is that from its inception the Frick mansion was a contested site. It is therefore not surprising to find it surrounded by continued controversy.

Chapter 2. Henry Clay Frick: The Man. Endnotes.

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Chapter 3. The House that Frick Built.

Frick's destruction of the Lenox was just one of such transitions happening at the time. The changing character of Fifth Avenue, and the Upper East Side as a whole, was noted in a New York Times 1912 article sub-headed "Landmarks Disappearing." South of 59th Street, almost every building fronting Fifth Avenue was now commercial, not residential. In a precursor to many more such articles, the Times reported that "several landmarks of early residential days have already been torn down along upper Fifth Avenue. The coming demolition of the Lenox Library will be the most important as well as the largest single building to go for a modern improvement."[1]

Construction began in early 1913 on the new Frick home, led by Thomas Hastings of Carrére & Hastings. The firm had just finished the New York Public Library (1898-1911), as well as smaller projects including the Fifth Avenue gallery for the art firm Knoedler & Co. Thomas Hastings was a friend of Charles Carstairs, a Knoedler gallery employee who was the representative to Frick, and it was Carstairs who introduced Frick to Hastings.[2] Carrére and Hastings was reportedly also recommended by Frick's advisor Joseph Duveen. There was one report that Frick had first commissioned the architect Daniel Burnham, who had modified the Clayton House in Pittsburgh, for the New York home but this has little substantiation. In the event, by May 1912 it was reported in the New York Times that the firm of Carrére and Hastings had been hired by Frick.[3]

The choice of the classically-trained Thomas Hastings (John Carrére had died on March 11, 1911 after an automobile accident) meant that the house would embrace the Beaux-Arts style. In *Gilded Mansions: Grand Architecture and High Society*, Wayne

Craven wrote that at this time the mantel of architectural excellence was being passed from McKim Mead White to Carrére & Hastings.[4] The Architectural Record for January 1910 reported that "Carrére & Hastings have been as successful in giving a modern American version of these good French architectural manners of the 18th century as McKim Mead White have been in sympathetically interpreting some of the earlier phases of Renaissance architecture."[5]

Frick's intention from the beginning was that his private home would convert to an art museum after his death, but this was not divulged publicly until the reading of Frick's will. It may be that the initial controversy – destroying a library to erect a massive private home – would have been abated if the plan to convert to museum had been announced. But this assumes that Frick's ego would play no part in his decisions, that he would cater to public opinion and not do as he pleased with his private property, an unlikely assumption given his past actions.[6]

The mansion was also built to commemorate Frick's status among the wealthiest of Americans. And for Frick, that meant outdoing Andrew Carnegie. Most sources view the competition between Frick and Carnegie as one-sided, with Carnegie a passive agent and Frick the aggressor. What is agreed is that Frick thought of Carnegie as his adversary throughout his entire life – even on their deathbeds Frick willed himself to outlive Carnegie. The Carnegie New York home was further north on Fifth Avenue, at 91st Street, and viewed as one of the grandest in the city. To Frick, the house was a symbol of Carnegie himself, one that needed to be beaten. He reportedly instructed Thomas Hastings to design a home that would make the 64-room Carnegie mansion "look like a miner's shack."[7]

In early 1914, George Vanderbilt died, and his heirs Cornelius and Grace Vanderbilt expressed their intent to move into their newly-inherited Fifth Avenue house that Frick was still renting. This news led to a hastened construction schedule on the new mansion, with Frick setting a deadline of October 1, 1914, for completion of the house. All facets of the project were urged to meet this deadline; Frick even informed his interior designers that they were “absurd” to claim that the war in Europe was delaying orders from English craftsman.[8]

Even under this pressure, critic Francis Morrone stated that Hastings “designed a splendid house.”[9] Yet Frick was not pleased with all of Hastings work, particularly the interior decoration. He brought in Sir Charles Allom to decorate the public first floor rooms, with the direction that the décor was not to compete with the art. Simplicity, not ornamentation, was the desired effect. But in the end, the galleries were not simple or un-ornamented. Morrone writes that “the Frick is our outstanding object lesson in how paneling, moldings, and fine materials enhance our appreciation of artworks (just as do elaborate frames) in a way minimalist spaces, like the ones at MOMA or the ones designed by Renzo Piano at the Morgan Library, do not.”[10]

The Frick Collection archives hold the original construction bids and contracts, and correspondence from Frick, his construction manager D.B. Kinch, and Thomas Hastings. Entries were hand-written, and items paid listed and checked off in pencil. While Kinch warned Frick “that there has been more or less trickery in recent demolition contracts in New York City” the Tripler Co. seemed to have completed the contract for destruction of the Lenox all too well.[11] Excavation work of the site was done by the Canavan Bros. Co., under specifications from Thomas Hastings and the consulting engineer Owen Brainard.[12] The Lenox was demolished down to its basement foundation walls, and Canavan then excavates all the "masonry rubbish" and filled the "open cellars of the old Lenox Library, to a level of about 4 feet below finished surface."[13]

Frick's involvement in the work was down to the last detail. For example, Thomas Hastings, in a letter to Frick dated August 4, 1916, inquired if it were permissible to remove a tree on East 71st Street that was interfering with the laying of the slate sidewalk; Frick replied by Western Union telegram on August 8 that he approved the removal of the tree and that Hastings could submit a removal request to the Park Department.[14] Frick was involved in labor costs as well: union wages for masons contracted by Carrére & Hastings were 75 cents an hour.[15] By January 1915, more than $1,048,000 (equivalent in 2016 to nearly $25,000,000 according to the U.S. Department of Labor Consumer Price Index) in contracts had been awarded to Carrére & Hastings, spurring Frick to inquire about cost over-runs. In a letter dated June 2, 1915, Frick explained to Thomas Hastings why he had withheld payment to the firm:

> I regret that you have been inconvenienced, but I think that the house cost me a great deal more money than it should have on account of your office not having been properly organized, and the plans and specifications properly and promptly made. However, I do not find fault with you on that account, because very artistic men are generally very poor business men.
>
> If you will remember, you led me to believe the house would not cost over $1,200,000 to $1,300,000, and I am sure it should have been built for at least $250,000.00 less than it cost, if it had been properly looked after. All the same we are enjoying it, and there are many features for which we are indebted to you. I think it is a great monument to you, but it is only because I restrained you from excessive ornamentation.[16]

Frick wanted the very best, but carefully monitored all expenditures. Even so, he spent approximately $5-$5.4 million (2016 CPI equal to $118,000,000 – $128,000,000) to build his grand new house, excluding the sale price and demolition of the Lenox

Library, while the Carnegie mansion had reportedly cost $1 million. Frick was also spending massive sums on works of art. Upon the death of J. P. Morgan in 1913, Frick purchased his series of Fragonard panels for $1.25 million and had a special room constructed to display these in the new house.[17] The Metropolitan Museum exhibited more than 4,000 pieces of Morgan's art collection, many of which were then sold to Frick through his art dealer Duveen.[18]

Frick was following in the footsteps of not only Morgan, but of William H. Vanderbilt, who had filled his galleries with one of the best art collections in the United States, if not the world. Private galleries were created and then sold as wealthy art collectors passed away. In 1913, Benjamin Altman (of B. Altman) died and the contents of his two-story private gallery was dismantled and given to the Metropolitan Museum. Frick surely noted this dissemination of artwork to museums, the distribution of inheritance assets outside of the family.[19] At the same time, it was fashionable to have one's own art gallery within the home. Thomas Fortune Ryan had a gallery behind his mansion on Fifth Avenue and 67th Street, also designed by Thomas Hastings. Even Frick's art dealer, Joseph Duveen, had a neo-Classical gallery designed by John Russell Pope built adjacent to his house at 15 East 91st Street. While the size and expense of what Frick was building was on a greater scale, the project was not outrageous, at least within Frick's social circle.

On December 16, 1914, Henry Clay, his wife Adelaide and daughter Helen finally moved into the new mansion. While The New York Times noted that the house was located "a trifle north of what has been called the center of the fashionable city life,"[20] Frick, a college dropout and vilified industrialist, now owned one of the most magnificent homes in New York. Yet he enjoyed his mansion for a mere five years. On November 4, Frick contracted both a cold and ptomaine poisoning from “a lobster he’d enjoyed at a celebratory lunch” after a round of golf, dying at home on December 2, 1919 at age 69.[21]

Under the terms of Frick’s will the house would remain a private home until the death of his wife, at which time it would be transformed to a public art museum. One-sixth of his estate went to his family, while the house and contents were bequeathed to The Frick Collection (Incorporated). The Frick trustees (Adelaide Frick, Helen Frick, Childs Frick, George F. Baker, Jr., Horace Harding, Walker D. Hines, Lewis Cass Ledyard, John D. Rockefeller Jr., Horace Havemeyer and their successors) would receive $15,000,000 in trust and interest for “maintenance of, and additions to, the said Collection.”[22] His will established the new Frick Collection museum:

> …for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a gallery of art in and at the said house and premises above described, and encouraging and developing the study of the fine arts, and of advancing the general knowledge of kindred subjects; such gallery of art to be for the use and benefit of all persons whomsoever, to the end that the same shall be a public gallery of art to which the entire public shall forever have access, subject only to reasonable regulations to be from time to time established by the said corporation.[23]

But almost immediately Frick’s will was entangled in the federal and state tax system. His bequest of $25,000,000 to his wife, son Childs, and daughter Helen, would supposedly be subject to the federal inheritance tax of 40%. The remainder of the estate, except for smaller bequests, would presumably not carry inheritance taxes, especially the Frick mansion which would “go to the public” after the death of Adelaide.[24] In 1892, New York State had passed the first progressive inheritance tax applicable to heirs; by 1901, inheritance taxes were a substantial source of many state’s revenue, with taxes applied by overlapping jurisdictions to the same estate. Frick’s death was widely covered in the media as a story of personal wealth as well as an example of the strange workings of the tax system.

Originally valued at $150 million, by 1922 – three years after his death and amidst a worldwide economic downturn – Frick executors now valued the assets at closer to $77 million (still well over one billion dollars using the CPI data for 2016). Charitable bequests devalued to $20 million from $50 million, not because bequests were rescinded but due to the drop in market value of Frick's real estate and coke factory sites.[25] A further wrinkle was added by Frick's state residency status: he maintained homes in Pittsburgh, Massachusetts and New York, all of which levied taxes on his real estate and personal property regardless of its location. New York State, for example, taxed the tangible and intangible property, but only that which was within the state, which of course included the Frick mansion. But the house had been left to a charitable corporation, along with a $15 million endowment, and New York did not tax charitable bequests. If New York State was to realize inheritance tax gains from Frick's death, it would need to prove Frick was an official resident of New York State, not Pennsylvania.[26] New York contested Frick's residency but the New York Supreme Court found that Frick clearly did intend to continue residency in Pennsylvania. A lengthy series of counter claims ensured, with Pennsylvania, New York and the federal government asserting their rights to tax the estate. In the end, Frick's trustees paid $6,338,899 in federal estate tax and $1,978,950 to Pennsylvania; $131,000 to New York, and $953,459 to sixteen additional states and Quebec.[27] Interestingly, Andrew Mellon, Frick's friend and banker, tried for many years after this to repeal the federal estate tax, but with no success.

Adelaide Frick survived another twelve years, passing away in October 1931. Immediately the trustees of The Frick Collection started planning the conversion of home to museum. Frederick Clapp, the head of the University of Pittsburgh's Department of Fine Arts and a collaborative partner with Helen Frick on a catalogue of Frick's artwork, was integral to the planning and eventually appointed Organizing Director. Clapp reviewed plans submitted from John Russell Pope and Delano & Aldrich, selecting Pope in 1932 for the house transformation and to build the library.

Initially it was thought that the house as designed by Thomas Hastings would suffice, with some small modifications. In fact, the Trustees announced shortly after Abigail's death that the museum would be opened to the public in a matter of months during the Spring of 1932. But the transition required more than the removal of carpets and family heirlooms and 1932 came and went without an opening announcement. In 1933, the Trustees conceded that the project was larger than anticipated and that architect John Russell Pope had been hired to "retain…the present atmosphere of the house" and not involve the "manner of exhibition common in museums."[28]

The third architectural phase of the site – following Richard Morris Hunt and Carrére & Hastings – was about to begin. The art collection had been on display at the mansion until 1931, after which the galleries were closed for two years.[29] Pope now planned interior and exterior changes, removing the Carrére & Hastings porte-cochere and replacing it with an enclosed garden court. Architecture critic Paul Goldberger named this central garden court one of New York's finest public spaces, perhaps the best thing Pope had designed.[30] Yet few visitors are aware that this is a Pope creation and not original to the Frick mansion and that in fact, "a good deal of what we most admire about the building today… is the work of Pope" and not the work of Thomas Hastings.[31]

The changes Pope made to the mansion were to accommodate the public, but also adjusted what were considered less-successful elements of the Hastings design. As a home, the mansion had seemed grandiose but as a museum the scale was more appropriate. Goldberger expressed this well, stating that it is "better to think of the Frick as the smallest and pleasantest museum you can visit rather than the largest house you can see."[32] Pope maintained the classical style of the home, which although facing Fifth Avenue, has the main entrance on East 70th Street. The main house is three stories: the first floor is rusticated and the top attic story is set back behind a parapet, with balusters in front of the windows. A wide band-course encircles the first story, serving as a sill for the second story windows and linking the north and south wings to the main building. There are full-length windows on the first floor, above which are bas-relief panels.[33] The gallery is a "long blank limestone finger stretching out on 71st Street. Windowless, almost 100 feet long, this secret-looking, tomblike structure is Frick's gallery. From the outside it might be some sort of reliquary, which indeed it is, with a breathtaking array of works by Rembrandt and other artists inside."[34]

Pope was viewed as a "dying breed – those architects who studied the great buildings of Greece, Italy and Paris in the late 1800s and came home to spread the gospel of classicism."[35] He had studied architecture at Columbia University, where he was awarded the McKim Traveling Fellowship and then the Rome Prize in 1895. He traveled extensively throughout Europe, and spent three years in France at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (1887-1900). Upon his return to the U.S., Pope worked for McKim Mead & White, and in 1905 opened his own office in New York. While modernism was taking hold across Europe and then America, Pope worked as an "unabashed neoclassicist,"[36] designing notable civic structures including the Jefferson Memorial (completed after Pope's death); the National Gallery of Art; and wings for the British Museum and Tate Gallery. He also accepted smaller commissions, including one from the Frick family to design entrances to Pittsburgh's Frick Park. According to records at the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, Pope's assistant Otto Eggers worked on Frick Park before joining Pope's firm in 1909. It has been suggested, but not proven, that Eggers did much of the work at the Frick New York project as well, including the interior courtyard, as it "looks almost exactly the way Otto Eggers, Pope's longtime co-designer and delineator, envisioned it in 1932, right down to the small palms in planting beds in the room's four corners."[37]

The Frick Collection did not open to the public in 1933 as had been announced. According to Frick Director Frederick Clapp, "things of beauty cannot be created in a hurry" and construction was moving forward quickly albeit on a slightly delayed schedule.[38] *The New York Times* reported that the Frick was already considering future expansion: "all the alterations in the original residence and the new construction under way have been planned with the idea of providing for future development of the institution, Dr. Clapp explained yesterday. The domestic sections of the residence, although not of immediate use for museum purposes, are being altered, nevertheless, for future needs."[39] It is significant to note here that even before it opened, the Frick was planning for growth.

When The Frick Collection finally opened its doors on December 16, 1935, "the public was stunned."[40] The *New York World Telegram* reported that "one forgets all about Frick himself, his feud with Carnegie, the strikes, and everything else, and gives one up to this heart-stirring experience."[41] Unlike other house museums such as the Isabella Steward Gardner in Boston, the art collection had continued to grow after Frick's death as the Trustees purchased additional works. The *Telegram* article noted that visitors expecting a typical house museum were in for a surprise, for "despite the feeling inside that Henry Clay Frick has, perhaps, just stepped out for a moment, the museum is not a 1914 home frozen in time but an ever-expanding, world-class collection."[42] Others were not as enamored. Critic Lewis Mumford seemed to feel that the house overwhelmed the art, writing that the paintings would be better served by "the bare walls of a modern building" rather than the "nuisance" of the Frick decorative choices.[43]

The Frick Collection includes an Art Reference Library, almost willed into existence by Helen Clay Frick. She had commissioned Thomas Hastings for a one-story reference library on 71st Street; when it opened on May 23, 1924, it housed more than 37,000 photographs, 7,000 sales magazine and catalogs, and 5,000 reference books.[44] Pope designed an expanded library as part of the conversion from private house to museum, requiring the purchase in January 1933 of 10 and 12 E. 71st Street and the subsequent destruction of the homes on these lots. The cost of the new Library, which opened on January 14, 1935, was reported to be $850,000. Pope's building was of Indiana limestone to harmonize with the Frick mansion, and in French Renaissance style. On opening day, 27 people came to use the library, which held more than 200,000 photographs and 45,000 books.[45]

Despite the alterations by Pope to create gallery space as house was transformed to museum, it was not long before the Frick signaled its intent to expand. On November 15, 1940, the *New York Times* reported that the trustees had purchased the townhouse at 9 East 70th Street, just to the east of the museum's main entrance.[46] The house, owned by Oliver B. James, was six stories and had thirty rooms including nine bathrooms and two elevators. From the Lenox Library, to the Carrére & Hastings mansion, to the Pope alterations, the architectural life of The Frick Collection was beginning its next chapter.

Chapter 3. The House that Frick Built. Endnotes.

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44. "New Frick Library Ready for Opening," New York Times, May 23, 1924, 18.
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Chapter 4. Destruction is Not an Alteration.

The history of The Frick Collection – as with all real estate – includes the history of its location. In his survey of "great buildings" in New York City, architecture critic Paul Goldberger laid out the important dates pertaining to One East 70th Street:

- 1914 Carrére & Hastings original construction
- 1935 John Russell Pope renovation and addition
- 1977 Harry van Dyke and John Barrington Bayley East Wing
- 1977 Russell Page Garden.[1]

But as discussed, this tidy timeline omits the construction of the Lenox Library and its purchase and dismantling by Henry Clay Frick. This is an extremely important omission to highlight as the Lenox Library was literally the foundation of the Frick mansion. Hunt's Lenox Library also initiated the cycle of build, destroy, rebuild on the site.

The Frick Collection converted the townhouse it had purchased in 1940, at 9 East 70th Street, into a "wartime storage area" with no construction even though it had filed a plan to build a 13-story storage building along the street, and in 1946 purchased neighboring 7 East 70th Street.[2] This house, built in 1913 for Dr. Walter Belknap James and designed by Trowbridge & Livingston, was one of the largest private homes on the East Side, with 37 rooms.[3] At the time of purchase, the Frick did not comment on what purpose the property would serve; the house was demolished in 1952 and converted into "an expanded service area" for the museum.[4]

With the houses at 7 and 9 East 70th Street purchased and then demolished by the Frick, the only building standing between the Frick mansion itself and their now empty lots was the Widener house, at 5 East 70th Street. The townhouse, in Louis XV style, immediately adjoined the Frick entrance. The house was built in 1909 for George D. Widener, who made his fortune in trolley cars and race horses.[5] Widener passed away in 1971, and in 1972, the Frick purchased the house. There was no intention by the Frick to utilize the existing Widener house, due to its "narrow width and excessive height" which was not ideal for gallery space.[6] After Widener's death the house was left empty; according to Frick spokesman Paul G. Pennoyer, "in its present condition, it is a security risk to the Frick Collection and requires the use of extra guards."[7]

The stage was being set for the demolition of the Widener house. Five years earlier, Johnstone, McMillan & Associates had designed an expansion wing for the museum to "symmetrically mirror the 70th Street façade of the museum."[8] Clearly, expansion had been planned for many years by the Frick, on hold until the purchase of 5 East 70th Street would complete the full desired building site. Given the history of the Frick mansion – literally rising from the destruction of the Lenox Library – it was not surprising that the Frick board embarked on a campaign to build through demolition. It would also not be surprising with regard to recent Frick expansion plans to learn that the building design focused on enlarging the auditorium and providing more offices, seminar rooms, cloakrooms and visitor service areas, with no expanded gallery space.[9]

But unlike the Lenox Library and the townhouses at 7 and 9 East 70th Street, the Widener house had a legal champion in the New York City Landmark Preservation Commission (LPC). A public hearing had been held on March 31, 1970, regarding the Frick and at that time Frick representatives "indicated its support of the proposed designation of its building."[10] By 1973, the LPC had completed its mandated three-year hiatus and was working with historic properties, including the Frick, on landmark designations. But reportedly a year earlier, discussions had been held between the Frick and LPC regarding the significance of the entire north side of East 70^{th} Street between Fifth and Madison Avenues, not just the Frick-owned properties.[11] Notably, it was after these discussions with the LPC that the Frick purchased the Widener house.

Michael Knight of the *New York Times* covered the unfolding drama in detail. In early March of 1973, Knight reported that the LPC heard rumors "that the Widener house would be torn down and that the Frick would build an extension on that site and two adjoining empty lots."[12] In a ninety-minute meeting on March 2, between Frick and Landmarks representatives, it was announced that The Frick Collection and Library would receive Landmark Status at the LPC's public meeting to be held the next week. The Widener property had not been included in the Landmark designation, but now Commission Chairman Harmon H. Goldstone urged that it too be included in the designation as part of the Frick holdings, with interior alterations only to be allowed.[13]

After the meeting, Goldstone "was left with the impression that the future of the six-story former George D. Widener mansion was open to discussion."[14] According to noted preservation attorney Frank B. Gilbert, then the executive secretary of the LPC, "the people at the Frick appeared to be interested in this approach and indicated that they had no immediate plans for demolition. They agreed that they would not act precipitously, and that there would be no surprises between the two parties."[15] The LPC's understanding was that the Frick did not yet have the funds to develop the site, and that it would leave the property as-is for some time. But only three days later, on March 5, the LPC received a phone call from the New York City Buildings Department, notifying it that the Frick had applied for an alteration permit for the Widener property, which "consisted of tearing down and replacing it with an extension of the wall bordering the two vacant lots to the east."[16] Gilbert immediately wrote a letter to Frick Acting Director Edgar Munhall, dated March 6:

> Your haste to destroy a beautiful building will prevent the type of careful investigation to which your neighbors and the entire city are entitled. To tear down the Widener House is a hostile act which will anger many New Yorkers. The Landmarks Preservation Commission hoped that the experiences of the last ten years had taught the museums and other tax-exempt institutions of New York City the importance of being responsible citizens.[17]

The LPC blocked the demolition permit. Newspaper accounts differ slightly on the date on which the Buildings department permits were denied, reporting it as either March 14 or March 20. In the event, the LPC's decision to deny the permit was clear. At a meeting on March 14, 1973, Goldstone stated that Frick officials "had misled the commission into believing that the museum had no immediate plans for the mansion's destruction," exclaiming that destruction "is not an alteration!"[18] According to Knight, it was on March 20, 1973, that the New York City Department of Buildings approved and then "hours later Buildings Commissioner Joseph Stein revoked" an "alteration" permit for the Widener townhouse submitted by the Frick to demolish the house and build a 16-foot masonry enclosure wall until the Frick built a new wing.[19]

Significantly, March 20, 1973, was also the date on which The Frick Collection and Library was granted Landmark status (LP-0667). Future interest in the entire 70th Street block between Fifth and Madison Avenues was again noted by the LPC, which now had the authority to intervene to "prevent any change in the adjoining Widener house" in the newly Landmarked property.[20] Without the landmark designation the LPC would have been powerless. The relationship between the LPC and Frick staff had so soured during this time that the Commission even sent a building inspector to the Frick on March 21 to ensure no demolition occurred.[21]

The debate raged not only with regard to the fate of the Widener house, but as a contest of political wills. The purchase of 7 and 9 East 70th Street, and the subsequent purchase of the Widener house, were clear signals that the Frick intended to expand the Collection's footprint. Coupled with the fact that Frick and LPC staff had been discussing landmark status for several years, it was odd that the LPC was unprepared for the Frick attempt to dismantle the Widener house. Perhaps it was a matter of poor timing for the Frick. There were only a few months between the death of Widener, the purchase of the Widener house, and the Landmarks designation, which could explain why the Frick was unable to demolish the house before the LPC would have jurisdiction. More importantly, the Frick was operating without a director at this time: Harry Dobson Miller Grier, a former Monument Man, had been killed in a street accident in 1972 and the new director, Everett Fahy of the Metropolitan Museum, was not named to the post until May 1973. It was Dr. Henry Clay Frick 2d, president of the Frick board who presented the hastily forwarded agenda to destroy the Widener, engendering perceptions that the Frick board was devious if not out-rightly hostile to the LPC.

However, Buildings Commissioner Stein was aware of the plan, noting that in early 1973, correspondence with Frick officials indicated their "intention to demolish the building and replace it with a new wing for visitor services and storage space."[22] David Prager, president of the Municipal Arts Society, took issue with the LPC's handling of the matter and "expressed surprise over the assertion by commission officials that they had little prior notice of the Frick's plans to raze the Widener townhouse. Prager told the *New York Times* that "plans for a new wing have been in the works for some time and were reportedly shown to some member of the commission's staff well in advance of the March 2 meeting."[23]

On June 15, 1973, the next chapter unfolded with an article in the *New York Times* by Carter Horsely that announced "Frick Plans Garden on Widener Site."[24] Horsely reported that "the Frick Collection plans to create a temporary 100-foot-square garden and terrace on East 70th Street to be replaced in 10 to 20 years by a new wing."[25] A follow-up article in November 1973 by Glenn Fowler included information that in July 1973, the "Commission was persuaded by the Frick trustees that the formal garden and terrace proposed by them would justify tearing down the Widener house"[26] and the destruction plan was approved. The approval extended to the creation of a temporary garden, which would be replaced in ten to twenty years by a new building wing. Goldstone and the LPC "decided that 'as an interim measure a formal garden viewed through a handsome fence and the reinstalled original Frick mansion gates will provide greater enhancement to the neighborhood than the retention of a high stone wall and the Widener house in its present isolated situation.'"[27]

Community Planning Board 8, through its Cultural Affairs Committee, voted unanimously to recommend the Frick plan. The demolition of the Widener house would take between three to four months, at a cost of $200,000, and the garden would be completed by Spring 1974 if permits were timely issued.[28] And significantly, the Frick and LPC officially agreed to extend the landmarks designation to include #5, #7 and #9 East 70th Street, with Frick spokesman Pennoyer clearly stating that now "once the garden is established…any future construction would be subject to Landmarks Commission approval."[29] Interestingly, the landmarks designation extension was bestowed on what were empty lots, without the LPC waiting for construction to begin, much less finish.

Coupled with the announcement expanding the landmark designation to include 5-9 East 70th Street came an announcement from the Frick on November 27, 1973, that it had formally "abandoned its plan for eventual construction of a wing to the east of its museum site at Fifth Avenue and 70th Street, and instead will create a permanent garden and terrace on the space earmarked for the wing."[30] Later that same day, the City Council voted to amend the Landmarks Preservation Law to include jurisdiction over interior spaces as well as authorize the LPC to hold hearings at any time regarding landmarks, negating the limitation of six-month's of activity every three years.[31] One wonders if this extension of LPC authority to include interior spaces had come earlier, would the Widener have had greater protection from demolition?

The three announcements on that date – the Frick move for a permanent garden, and the two expansions of LPC authority – were significant to the Frick's future, as well as the future of preservation law. The wording of the Frick announcement – the garden was now a permanent installation, no longer temporary – was extremely important both then and in debate to come. And of course the increased power to review historic interiors and the removal of the time limitation on LPC helped create one of the most active preservation offices in the country. On this seminal date of November 27, 1973, both the Frick garden and the LPC transitioned from "temporary" to "permanent" entities.

On May 17, 1974, the *New York Times* reported that the Frick had once again altered its plan to develop the Widener lot; it would now move forward with construction of the garden but with a one-story building rather than a full terrace.[32] According to Frick Director Everett Fahy, "high cost estimates for the work had necessitated the revision for a permanent treatment for the property" which meant that construction needed to occur once, not again in ten or twenty years.[33] Fahy's statement provided evidence that the intent was indeed to create a permanent structure and garden, not a place-holder to be demolished at a later date. While the Frick revised construction plans, the Widener house was demolished. At the end of August 1974, Richard Peck reported that "The Frick remains New York's great private palace gone public, though the demolition next door leaves its 70th Street entrance looking sadly amputated."[34]

For the one-story pavilion, the Frick turned to John Barrington Bayley, a graduate of the Harvard School of Design, founder of the architecture group Classical America, and an LPC member since its inception in 1962. In conjunction with Harry van Dyke, Bayley, inspired by the Grand Trianon at Versailles, designed a 34 x 91 foot gallery running perpendicular to East 70th Street. Bayley looked back in history, beyond the Beaux-Arts ideals of Carrére and Hastings and Pope, to the 17th century. Within the context of modernist building trends of the 1970s, classical design was an outstanding departure from the norm. While sounding oxymoronic, the traditional Frick was radical by being traditional. Goldberger explained the risk inherent in the concept: "it was a daring idea, creating a true classical pavilion in the 1970s, and a lot of folks – mostly architects – laughed. It has turned out, with the exception of some rather heavy interior details that look as if they were made of Fiberglass instead of wood, to be quite a success."[35] Architectural historian Christopher Gray seconded Goldberger's appraisal, writing that in the modernist 1970s, Bayley's work "was so far out it was almost in, and professional critics seemed embarrassed."[36]

Like the Pope alterations to Hastings' building, the van Dyke-Bayley addition worked with and not against the existing structure. Goldberger wrote that the work stylistically "not only integrates itself well with the rest of the Frick complex, it fits comfortably with the neighbors of the Collection along 70th Street."[37] The pavilion melded with Pope's work, was sympathetic with the surrounding neighborhood, and was classically beautiful. It was also noted that the Indiana limestone pavilion was properly constructed; Francis Morrone stated that addition was "executed to a standard of refined traditional workmanship that modernists had claimed was no longer attainable."[38] Goldberger praised Bayley's work even further, stating that his addition outshone the Pope-designed Reference Library on 71st Street in which Pope "is cold, wildly over-scaled, and utterly pompous."[39] Whether one agreed with this assessment, it was significant that critics did not automatically venerate Pope's work over the new van Dyke-Bayley design.

The work cost an estimated $2.85 million, and the expectation was that the Frick would quietly open the new building to the public without much fanfare. Goldberger summarized the prevailing sentiment:

> The Frick is an institution of such conservatism that it resists change utterly, and when change comes, the museum's administration endeavors to hide it…What the Frick has done is to add a limestone structure to the east of its present building at the corner of Fifth Avenue and 70th Street, done essentially in the architectural style of the main complex. It is the sort of building that is so unthinkably out of fashion that it becomes, in a strange way, rather daring.[40]

Perhaps Frick decision-makers were not simply enamored with the classical, but the vanguard of waning modernist sensibility. Design inspired by Versailles was an enormous departure in trends of the time. While Bayley had prepared designs for the reconfiguration of Columbus Circle, Roosevelt Island, the Hunters Point waterfront, and even a classically-styled housing project in Harlem, "only a handful of 'eccentrics' like Paul Mellon or the trustees of the Frick Collection were willing to commission even the most modest classical projects" during the 1970s.[41]

For preservationists, the pavilion is a quandary. Having lost the battle to preserve the Widener, there was consolation that the new building was of a scale appropriate to the existing mansion. But was this relatively seamless work, like Pope's alterations to Hastings' work, too successful? As Pope's interior courtyard is now one of the most lauded sections of the museum – yet not part of the original Carrére & Hastings construction – has Bayley's addition been quietly absorbed into the Frick and now perceived as an original structure? And if so, is this a negative development? The next chapter looks at the Russell Page garden, the other half of the development by the Frick after the destruction of the Widener house. As Gray wrote, all the debate over what are big, significant architectural and urban planning questions was now centered on Page's small work – "the lightning rod is the garden itself, a simple innocent thing."[42]

Chapter 4. Destruction is Not an Alteration. Endnotes.

The chapter title comes from a quote from LPC Chairman Harmon Goldstone as reported by Michael Knight, "Frick Planning to Raze Widener Town House," New York Times March 15, 1973 and Glenn Fowler "Frick Drops Plan for its New Wing," New York Times, November 28, 1973.

1. Goldberger, The City Observed, 239.
2. Carter Horsley, "Frick Plans Garden on Widener Site," New York Times, June 15, 1973; "Frick Collection Buys Home Near Art Gallery" New York Times, November 15, 1940, 41; and Christopher Gray, "The Frick's Garden and How it Grew," New York Times, November 16, 2014, Real Estate p. 12.
3. "Frick Collection Buys Town House," New York Times, January 24, 1947, 35.
4. Horsley, "Frick Plans Garden."
5. Michael Knight, "Frick Planning to Raze Widener Town House," New York Times, March 15, 1973, 45.
6. Horsley, "Frick Plans Garden."
7. Horsley, "Frick Plans Garden."
8. Horsley, "Frick Plans Garden."
9. Knight, "Frick Planning to Raze Widener."
10. Upper East Side Historic District Designation Report and Christopher Gray, "The Frick's Garden and How it Grew," New York Times, November 16, 2014. Real Estate Section 12.
11. Knight, "Frick Planning to Raze Widener."
12. Knight, "Frick Planning to Raze Widener."
13. Knight, "Frick Planning to Raze Widener."
14. Knight, "Frick Planning to Raze Widener."
15. Knight, "Frick Planning to Raze Widener."
16. Glenn Fowler, "Frick Drops Plan for its New Wing," New York Times, November 28, 1973, 36.
17. Fowler, "Frick drops plan."
18. Fowler, "Frick drops plan" and Knight, "Frick Planning to Raze Widener."
19. Michael Knight, "Widener Mansion Given a Reprieve," New York Times, March 21, 1973, 54.
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27. Carter Horsley, “Widener Mansion is Coming Down,” New York Times, July 9, 1973, 41.
28. Horsley, “Frick Plans Garden.”
29. Maurice Carroll, “3 New Sorts of Landmarks Designated in City: Landmarks of 3 Sorts are Chosen,” New York Times, November 14, 1974, 98.
30. Fowler, “Frick Drops Plan.”
31. Fowler, “Frick Drops Plan.”
32. “The Frick Changes Plan for Vacant Plot, Proposing 2d Wing,” New York Times, May 17, 1974, 41.
33. “The Frick Changes Plan for Vacant Plot.”
34. Richard Peck, “On Millionaires Row, today’s issues find an echo in history,” New York Times, August 25, 1974, 448.
35. Goldberger, The City Observed, 240.
36. Gray, “The Frick’s Garden and How it Grew.”
37. Goldberger, The City Observed, 240.
38. Morrone, “The House that Frick Built.”
39. Goldberger, The City Observed, 241.
40. Paul Goldberger, “Frick Addition Echoes Original, a Holdover from Innocent Times,” New York Times, March 1, 1977, 31.
41. Francis Morrone, “Classical New York,” City Journal. Winter 1993. http://www.city-journal.org/article01.php?aid=1156.
42. Gray, “The Frick’s Garden and How it Grew.”

Chapter 5. The Education of a Gardener.

A sentiment one hears again and again regarding the Frick is that things never change there, or if they do, it comes so slowly as to be almost undetected. Yet the Frick has changed – from Lenox Library to private home to public museum – and in the 1970s the Frick was altered again with the new van Dyke-Bayley pavilion and Russell Page viewing garden. But the key here is that the Bayley and Page works, while new, harked back to a certain place in time. Bayley and Page followed the lead of Hunt, Carrére and Hastings and Pope in looking to traditional classical design principles for inspiration. Their alignment of new with existing building was harmonious. Change had occurred at the Frick, but it was undetected change.

The history of the Frick has been contentious, particularly with the New York City Landmarks Commission with regard to alterations. It seems almost counter-intuitive to then say that the Frick does not change. But there are two issues at play here. The first concerns the process of how alterations are made to landmarked buildings, from additions to outright destruction. The second issue, discussed in this chapter, is what happens after alterations to a landmarked property have been approved. As historic properties age, and use patterns change, preservationists are challenged to meet new needs while conserving the historic. The Frick Collection is one example of how both process and result have been managed, and exemplifies the need for continuous stewardship of landmarked properties.

Ironically it was threat of destruction that brought the work of landscape designer Russell Page back into the spotlight. It is not unusual to recall the value of something when threatened with its loss; and works of art, architecture and landscape design are no different. But as contested spaces go, it is the built environment that generally is the focus of attention, not the landscape. At the Frick however, this is reversed. The Bayley pavilion was just as threatened as the Page garden yet preservationists rallied around the garden. Why did the garden take precedence in the debate?

In a 1977 review of gardens within city museums, *New York Times* reviewer Dena Kleiman extolled the simple beauty of the "lush new garden…with its white iceberg roses, flowering cherry trees and clear pool of water lilies" at the Frick.[1] But what was most noteworthy about Kleiman's article is that it discussed the landscape, not the building or art within. The Frick is one of a very few owners of a Russell Page garden in the United States. Yet until the 2014 fracas about destroying the garden, Page and his work were largely unnoticed, despite claims that "it is beyond dispute that Russell Page, an Englishman now in his 77th year, has designed more gardens for more people in more parts of the world than anyone else in history."[2] So who was Russell Page, and why is his garden at the Frick significant?

Page called himself a gardener. Like many "natural" talents, he had amassed years of experience and knowledge of plants and design. Born Montague Russell Page in Lincolnshire, England, in 1906, Page from an early age was interested in painting, drawing, music and nature. The family home was a country cottage, converted from farm buildings, and surrounded by gardens. Page was familiar with the creative ideas of British landscape architects of the time, writing that "I was at first very much influenced by the work of Gertrude Jekyll and Edwin Lutyens."[3] His visit to the gardens at Hidcote Manor in the English Cotswalds was to affect him for many years, as he referred to it as "the best modern garden he knew and the one that most influenced his work."[4]

Page attended the Charterhouse public school, going on to Slade School, University of London. He then relocated to Paris to study art, but was soon swayed towards landscape design as he was introduced to French horticulturists and found work gardening at chateaus and homes outside Paris. His biographer, Gabrielle van Zuylen, wrote that "there was still a leisured class in the late twenties and early thirties, and it was a good time for a young man without a fixed ambition to make friends, follow his curiosity and travel, and, in Page's case, garden where and when he could."[5] In 1928, Page traveled to the Mediterranean and experienced Moorish architecture first-hand. The Islamic influences taught Page "a more subtle geometry and how to use it to make a very basic and apparently simple pattern and forms and then to add all the luxuriance of living plants to make a special kind of world whose visual impact is unique."[6]

Page returned to France and spent the summer of 1932 at Boussy, studying French formal garden design at the library, and sketching from his memories of English gardens. Page acknowledged that these experiences were instrumental to his understanding of how to merge the formality of European design with his own experiences and love for cottage gardens: "I spent long hours each day with pencil and paper working out problems in design and interpreting the 'feel' in terms of precise measurements of the many gardens I had been visiting in the previous few years."[7]

In England Page met Henry Bath, the owner of Longleat House, an Elizabethan mansion in Wiltshire. Longleat, parkland designed by Lancelot "Capability" Brown, was a prime commission for Page not only because of the scope of work but for the opportunity to make connections that would propel his future career. Page met Geoffrey Jellicoe, the founder of the Institute of Landscape Architects, with whom he partnered on a number of English garden projects. He also began a long-term collaboration with Stephane Boudin, a French interior designer, which "resulted in years of our making houses and gardens together."[8] Symbiotic relationships like this worked well for Page; he was by nature rather shy and sometimes brusque, and recommendations from noted experts helped ease uncomfortable clients.

Page's early work focused on rehabilitating existing landscapes like Longleat and designing new projects based on classical French designs; what Page called "borrowings" and "fashions rather than styles."[9] But as modernism overtook Beaux Arts in popularity, Page's sensibilities may have seemed outdated: "by and large he was a descendent of Le Notre rather than of Gertrude Jekyll; the French tradition suited him better than the English."[10] Yet Page learned how to adapt and create his own aesthetic, rather than imitate others, while meeting the design challenge of how best to connect architecture to the land. The large-scale commissions provided ample opportunity for Page to learn "to link the house to the garden, the garden to the site, and the corresponding style of architecture to the whole – to link, in effect, the past to the present."[11]

World War II changed everything. According to Page, "within a week of the beginning of the war our practice ceased to exist and all my modest accumulation of plans, photographs and eighteenth-century garden books went up in flames in the first London blitz a year later."[12] Page was stationed in Southeast Asia with the Political Warfare Department of the Foreign Service, and in 1945 returned to London seeking landscape commissions similar to those before the war. But the country chateau life had disappeared. Estates once employing ten or more gardeners now were fortunate to have one or two, and the elaborate flower beds could not be maintained on the levels previously known. Page adapted, learning to design for clients with limited financial and labor resources, and for the first time took on smaller projects. His work focused on clients who may have once desired grand landscape architecture but now had the financial means only for the small scale. Page learned an important feature of his later work, including the Frick garden, of how to "suggest, rather than elaborate, a certain formality" in small spaces.[13]

By 1946, Page was based in Paris, where he made his home for sixteen years before returning to London in 1962. He designed small private gardens, often walled for privacy. Page did not miniaturize classical design to accommodate small spaces, but creatively merged classical elements with modern touches. By decreasing the width of a pathway or using specimen plants with informal branching or flowers, Page created gardens that were purposefully simple, but not severe, designed to relax both eye and ear from the surrounding city. His reputation grew as a designer who could configure the chateau gardens of old as well as the farmhouse and small manor gardens now owned by a younger generation. This was a new wave of clients, many of whom worked in cities but escaped to country houses on weekends, especially in Belgium.[14]

Page incorporated long views, water, hedges, compartments, steps, paths, and transitions from one garden room to another as signature aspects of his work. If a water feature did not already exist in the space, Page added one: he was "a hydro maniac of the first order."[15] While Page employed traditional structure and proportions in his work, he omitted the fussiness that was often part of the older garden styles. He liked flowers but was careful to use either an abundance or none at all; a half-way effect would not work. Perhaps the best summation Page gave of his style was a phrase he was taught at art school: “know what it is you want to say then try and express it as simply as you can.”[16]

In the mid-1950s, Page received his first American commission. By this time he was already well-established in Europe and American projects meant an introduction to new plant materials and influential clients. Mrs. William S. Paley brought in Page to consult on her Long Island farm, a large property with trees planted to bloom sequentially. (This landscape has now reverted to woodland.) Mrs. Albert Lasker hired Page for her gardens outside of New York City in the early 1960s. She introduced Page to Lady Bird Johnson, with whom Page had discussions regarding a national botanic garden in Washington. He received private commissions throughout the United States: St. Louis, Palm Beach, Connecticut, California, Washington State, Texas, Maryland, Ohio, and even in Montgomery, Alabama, for a theater’s Shakespearean garden. In 1966, Mrs. Vincent Astor requested that Page design a new garden plan for the Metropolitan Museum; Page produced a Beaux-Arts style elevation plan with elm trees, lawn, ilex holly hedges, magnolia trees and foundations. Page’s work was however excluded from the museum’s 1967 master plan.[17]

The circumstances of how Page landed the Frick commission are a bit murky. The Frick archives make little mention of Page, seemingly strange given the extensive architectural records. Yet perhaps it is understandable, given that much of the archival records are from Henry Clay Frick and the early days of converting the house to museum. At any rate, the decision to hire Page is more anecdotal than factual record. Supposedly, the Frick board of trustees, a small group of close friends and Helen and Childs Frick, discussed possible designers and then Mrs. Paul Mellon flew her gardener into New York to solicit his advice. He recommended Page, saying that Page would "look over the situation, make a drawing on the back of an envelope or a bit of paper, and be the right man for the job."[18]

According to a report in the *New York Times* on June 15, 1973, however, Richard K. Webel of Innocenti & Webel "has designed the temporary garden."[19] Innocenti & Webel had worked at the Frick for many years, managing the Frick's Fifth Avenue Garden as well as the interior garden court and perhaps in their eagerness to get approval from the LPC for the garden the Frick asked the firm for a design. Innocenti & Webel's plan for the new garden on the site of the Widener house included a sunken lawn and magnolia trees surrounding a fountain. The street façade would include fencing similar to that on the Fifth Avenue side of the museum as well as the original ornate gate that was moved to Child Frick's home on Long Island in the 1930s. The interior garden walls would be trellised with roses and poplar trees, and the garden accessible through the museum itself.[20]

Yet the actual commission went to Page. He assessed the site in 1973, noting to the west the new pavilion with a classical façade of a 17th century orangerie; the northern and eastern ends with 20 foot high elaborate stone walls, and beyond this "the rather sleazy backs of high buildings."[21] Page was deliberate about his plan: "it was decided that the space had to be a garden and not a graveled courtyard" and that it would be a viewing garden, not an active space.[22] His initial concept was a formal box-edged border with a fountain, but he soon decided that the plot was too small for this type of garden and that the tall buildings to the north would overpower the plantings. Page related why he changed his concept:

> At first glance, a formal box-edged parterre, maybe surrounding a central fountain, seemed the obvious answer. Thinking it over I decided against this. As the principle façade of the pavilion was architecturally in larger scale than the more delicate stone walls, it would have been almost impossible to create any formal pattern in a scale to work with both. I also thought that a flat, formal pattern would produce a sunbaked room furnished solely with a carpet, when what was needed was to distract attention from the high buildings to the north. So first I set a planter 60 feet long, 5 wide, 4 ½ deep, on a steel framework behind the top of the north wall. Planted thickly with trees, this suggests a neighboring garden at a higher level. The buildings beyond cease to dominate.[23]

Page studied the site in relation to the streetscape, as well as to the larger neighborhood context. Located mid-block on a one-way side street between Fifth Avenue and Madison Avenue, one almost "stumbles upon" the garden. Page most certainly took the proximity of Central Park into his design considerations, playing passive against active while championing the co-existence of both. According to historian Paula Deitz, "no doubt Page also saw his enclosed design as an antidote to the rustic openness of Central Park across the street."[24] Page's gated garden entrance was not an obstruction to enjoyment, but an integral part of its charm: "nothing is more tantalizing or inductive to fantasy than a beautifully trimmed garden with a refreshing fountain in an enclosure that no one may enter."[25]

The water feature was added to establish a sense of distance that could not be achieved with lawn and plantings alone. Set on the axis of the pavilion windows, parallel to 70th Street, the pond takes up a third of the lawn area. It is flush to the ground, rimmed with flat narrow stone, and planted with water lilies and American lotus. The fountain jet in the middle provides additional height and visual interest viewable from the street.[26]

Page noted that water distorts distance perception and that he could use this phenomenon to visually expand small spaces as seen from both inside the museum and from the street:

> It was recently, while wandering around Haarlem in Holland, I noticed how a narrow canal between buildings suspends one's judgment of actual distance. At the Frick garden, a visitor looking from the street sees a narrow strip of water, which seems to make the back wall recede. Seen from inside the building, the rectangle becomes square – so already I have two quite different spatial compositions in this very small area.[27]

Page included detailed instructions in his plans for the pond in order to create the effect he desired. The pond was to be "2'6" deep from the top of the stone paved edge" with a high water level, one-half inch below the stone edge, to ensure that the water itself was part of the view. Overflow should occur at the edges, but only on the sides of the pond facing east and west, not on the south side facing the street. As for the actual construction, Page wrote in his notes "I do not know what New York practice is so that I must leave this to you. Normally here we would use about four or five inches of reinforced concrete level with waterproof cement and the concrete would be extended horizontally to form a base for the stone edging."[28]

Familiar with walled gardens, Page added stone steps to physically separate the garden from the street level and move the eye up to the raised garden bed. Trees were added for broken light and shade and to soften the hard angles of the site. Page thought that the easy solution would be clipped Lindens, which if pleached would be historically correct, but he felt it was necessary to "hold the spectator's attention, to tempt the eye to explore and linger."[29] During the planning stages, Page met with Powers Taylor from Rosedale Nurseries of Hawthorne, New York, relying on their expertise for plant selection. Page and Taylor chose trees of different habits and forms, placing them asymmetrically "so that their trunks would give illusory depths to a very shallow garden."[30] In the foreground two Cryptomeria japonica (Japanese cedar) broke the hard lines of the buildings closest to the street and to the northeast a 30-foot Metasequoia (dawn redwood) would "mask a disagreeable corner at high level."[31]

Malus hupehensis (crabapple) and Cladrastis lutea (Kentucky yellow-wood) provided spring blooms, followed by a Koelreuteria paniculata (golden raintree) and Sophora Japonica (Japanese pagoda tree).[32] A row of Pyrus calleryana (callery pear) in planters camoflauged the rear Library wall and corner niches were filled with trellises of wisteria, cotoneaster, pyracantha and quince. Page conceded that there were many trees for such a small space, but it was intentional over-planting so "that from the street and from inside the building the eye may wander under a canopy of leaves and flowers through the airy spaces defined by their trunks."[33]

Page did not neglect flowering plants. The first planting plan included two box-edged border beds with tulips, begonias, marigolds and blue salvias to bloom seasonally. While the beds were formal, they would change with the seasons:

> Page insisted, however, that no permanent bedding-out plan be adopted; otherwise the garden would become stale. The only permanent planting he did suggest was that of his favorite white Iceberg roses along the entire length of the eastern wall. He also placed white, cream, and pale yellow azaleas, hydrangeas, and andromedas, underplanted with pale pink lilies and tall summer hyacinths (Galtonia candicans), under the north wall.[34]

Even when plants were not in bloom, or the garden covered by snow, the geometric bones and the sense of the garden remained.

Page summed up his work at the Frick very simply: "if, as a garden designer, I were asked what I was aiming for in this small city garden, I would answer 'tranquility.'

Because that is what I feel inside the Frick Collection, and that is the quality shared by the greatest gardens I have known."[35] The general consensus is that Page achieved his goal. Galen Lee, Horticulturist and Special Events Designer at the Frick, described the garden as a personal experience: "Page's garden is designed to slow, or stop, a busy New Yorker, to pause for a moment – a respite from the city."[36]

The Frick commission was extremely important to Page. Indeed, Everett Fahy, Director of The Frick Collection when the garden was installed, stated that Page "regarded this garden as his calling card."[37] But the significance went beyond the garden itself, for he knew that of the hundreds of gardens he had designed, many of them had been dismantled or changed so much over time that they were no longer recognizable as his work. By working with American institutions and private homeowners, Page hoped that his gardens might find permanence. In 1977, Budd Harris Bishop, director of the Columbus Museum of Art, was impressed by Page's work at the Frick and commissioned Page for his garden. In 1981, Anne Bass and architect Paul Rudolph both arrived to a meeting with the same article by Page in hand and agreed that Page was the perfect designer for the Bass's Fort Worth home. They, like Mrs. Mellon's gardener, understood that "Page's great strength was his artist's eye and imagination. Without putting pen to paper, without a drawing, Page could visualize the entire project and every detail with masterful clarity."[38] Page's last project, undertaken as his health failed, was the Donald M. Kendall Sculpture Gardens on the corporate grounds of PepsiCo in Purchase, New York. Pepsi had moved to the location in 1965 but it was not until 1981 that Page was commissioned for a large-scale project to "transform the corporate estate into a landscaped park and sculpture garden."[39] At 140 acres, the PepsiCo project was on a much different scale than the Frick garden, but in relation to the European estates of Page's early career, it was a small park.

Discussing the impact of his work, Page reflected on his legacy: "I don't think I'm well known at all. I'm a word-of-mouth boy. Besides, gardening is a very ephemeral occupation. So many gardens have just gone, and when they're gone who remembers who made them?"[40] This self-assessment as a "word-of-mouth boy" understates the relationships he forged throughout his career. Page was discreet about his clients, reliant upon their referrals, and collaborative in approach, for as he said, "the garden is going to be their portrait as much as mine. And when it's done it has to look as if it couldn't ever have been any other way."[41]

Page relied on the space to tell him the design rather than imposing upon the space: "I must absorb as best I can all that I see, the sky and the skyline, the soil, the colour of the grass and the shape and nature of the trees."[42] While seemingly a simple creative process, it is one extraordinarily difficult to achieve without horticultural knowledge and experience. The shape of the garden, and the geometry of the plants themselves, the shape of the petals, the veining of leaves, all create symmetry. Page then used the surrounding hardscape of "buildings, walls, steps, paths, [as] a framework or support for planting." A garden specific to that particular site then emerges.[43] This importance of place in Page's work cannot be overstated. Christopher Woodward, in the *Garden Museum Journal* in 2015, emphasized how sense of place was integral to all of Page's work:

> What would have infuriated him most in the current debate over the Frick Collection's plan to build over the garden he designed within its 1970s extension

> would be the 'design critic' who suggested that if the garden is so important it could be moved to another part of the city. A patch of turf, and trees, and a pond can be moved, yes; a garden cannot be, when that garden is about how an open space can illuminate architecture, the illusion of distance over water, and a note of green struck in the hard marble heart of a city.[44]

Page died in 1985; he was 79 years old. His health declined rapidly while he was still working on the PepsiCo project and a sequel to his seminal book, *The Education of a Gardener*. Page's office archive went to his friends and former clients, Robert and Jelena de Belder in Belgium, who established The Russell Page Archive Council. For a 2015 exhibition of Page's work at the Garden Museum in London, Jelena de Belder stated that Page's genius lay in his ability to know exactly how a garden should be structured:

> His capacity to get the feeling of the place, to absorb the surroundings, to see the potential without being influenced by the existing, was fabulous. I have never met another person who came close to it. His sense of balance, his way of fitting the house in the landscape harmoniously was a legend.[45]

While recent attention has focused on Page's work at the Frick, there is another garden, facing Fifth Avenue, as well as the interior planted courtyard. Both gardens were also the work of "a legend" – the noted firm of Olmsted Brothers. Not only did The Frick Collection house works of art, but its landscape too was shaped by luminaries. The Frick has historically sought out the top professionals in landscape architecture and it would be disingenuous to suggest that it institutionally has no interest in gardens. The cavalier attitude taken by the current Frick administration to destroying the Page garden was therefore a noteworthy departure from past practice, indicating that expansionism was again top-of-mind.

From the beginning, landscape was an important component of the Frick estate. Hastings had called the Frick commission "the chance of a lifetime"[46] and by setting the mansion back from Fifth Avenue, ensured that house and land were fully integrated on the urban site. The Carnegie mansion was similarly situated away from the street, and with the Frick house "were also the only two of the Fifth Avenue residences that incorporated major gardens and landscaping…a luxurious use of Manhattan real estate on the exterior of the house."[47] In 1915, the landscape firm Wadley & Smythe were engaged to design the two entrances to the house on 70th and 71st Streets. Their plan included boxwood hedges, up to five feet high, English ivy, a large grass lawn for the forecourt, two old boxwood tree specimens, and honeysuckle vines on pilasters facing the east side of the courtyard. The total spend was $1,513.50 – a bargain for today, but a considerable amount in 1915.[48]

Frick himself took a keen interest in this work, with particular concern for the trees which had difficulty thriving. In April 1915, the *New York Times* reported that thirteen horse chestnut trees on the Frick estate along Fifth Avenue had died. The trees were planted in the fall of 1913, having been brought in by special train from Long Island. Problems with pipe connections from the street to the house resulted in leaks of poisonous illuminating gas into the soil, which damaged the trees. What must have galled Frick even more than the death of the trees was the quip that "unlike his neighbor, Andrew Carnegie, [Frick] has not succeeded in his first attempt to transplant full-grown trees and make them flourish on the grounds of his town house. The Carnegie trees are still alive and getting ready to leaf out."[49]

The Frick Collection opened in the winter of 1935, and as a public museum new landscape components were necessary. Frick director Frederick Clapp began discussions with the Olmsted Brothers: in a letter dated July 2, 1935, Clapp requested a proposal for professional services including sketches and treatment recommendations for the “area surrounding the fountain in the covered court” and “improvements in detail of the existing treatment of the foreground between the Building and Fifth Avenue.”[50] Frederick Olmsted Jr., who led the firm since the passing in 1903 of his father Frederick Law Olmsted, replied that the scope of work requested could not adequately be conveyed in a series of sketches that may be difficult to understand. In a lengthy response to Clapp, Olmsted eloquently expressed his design theories:

> The difference between a really first rate result, outstandingly delightful in the total impression given by the court and its contents, and a result free from serious tangible faults yet as a whole essentially lacking in distinction, or even one that would be positively distressing in the total effect, will turn, I think, mainly on very subtle and complex relationships between the already completed architectural elements of the design and such still undetermined elements as the vegetation and the surfacing materials to be used in the court; relationships which can be only very partially and inadequately represented in drawings and which are liable to radical alteration in their esthetic effect, in ways not certainly predictable, by curiously small differences in position, size, form, color or texture of the plants used.[51]

Olmsted addressed as well the requirements for the two gardens: firstly, that the horticultural species chosen would thrive indoors; and secondly, that the design would be appropriate to the architecture and expected traffic circulation patterns. As Page asked fifty years later with regard to his outdoor garden room, Olmsted questioned how the interior court should be viewed – was the surface area to be considered a floor or a plot of ground – and stipulated that different solutions were needed dependent upon the answer.[52] And like Page, Olmsted urged the Frick to consider the interior courtyard as one entity, with architecture part of the whole, rather than a series of disparate parts.

In July 1935, the Frick trustees approved funding for Olmsted-directed landscaping, both for the interior garden court and the Fifth Avenue garden. John D.

Rockefeller Jr. headed up the project for the Frick, establishing a Planting Committee. The Syosset Nursery provided plant materials, and Innocenti & Webel enacted the Olmsted plan, but not without adding their own modifications.[53] Rockefeller stipulated that Innocenti's work should not eliminate established pathways but would drain, grade and re-sod the Fifth Avenue garden. The Olmsted firm then turned its attention to selecting plants appropriate for the indoor courtyard. Water lilies provided by Rockefeller died, as the water was too cold and there was little interest in installing an expensive water heating system.[54] Similar plantings to those at the Gardner museum were considered, but Olmsted dismissed these, writing that the groundcover Rockefeller mentioned, the Tradescantia fluminenaie (wandering jew), was "rather insipid, and somewhat weedy."[55]

Olmsted did not decide for the Frick what the appropriate use of the space should be, but awaited their direction. And not unexpectedly, the entire question was set aside as immediacy took precedent. In a letter dated August 13, 1935, Olmsted addressed the Frick's intent to have the courtyard planted by its opening that autumn (although later delayed) and the sentiment that meeting this timeline was more important than Olmsted's pursuit of design theory. As Olmsted wrote, "the problem is thus reduced from finding the best possible treatment to finding a reasonably satisfactory treatment that can with certainty be carried out within a few weeks" – and he added – "incidentally a less laborious and less costly task."[56]

It is significant that the expertise and artistry of the Olmsted firm was subsumed by the Frick. Frederick Olmsted is relegated to horticulture advisor, providing a list of the plants he feels will work well within the gallery, including ground-covers, bedded plants to rise above the ground cover, and potted or boxed larger specimens. He even sourced a nursery in New Jersey to provide the plants and offers to be present for the installation.[57] It certainly wasn't the first time and nor would it be the last that the Frick side-stepped the expert services for which it had contracted. Perhaps it was Frick himself who established this decision-making pattern. In the event, it supported the practice that landscape and gardens at the Frick, while important to the overall sensibility, would be subject to expedient solutions rather than long-term planning.

While Henry Clay Frick may have been concerned about certain elements within the landscape, from the beginning the horticultural and landscape aspects of the Collection were not nearly as developed as the architectural features. The Page garden has been marginalized by the Frick as a small, gated, inaccessible site not open to the public. Charles Birnbaum, the founder of The Cultural Landscape Foundation, wrote that Page's garden is "depicted as under-utilized, or worse – in an era when just about everything is monetized – under-performing."[58] This reeks of political posturing by the Frick, an attempt to portray the garden as no loss to the museum or to the public should it be destroyed. And as the garden's owners are dismissive about the continued existence of the garden, it is only natural to view this as a dismissal of Page himself.

Yet the Frick landscape, and particularly Page's viewing garden, is a work of art just as are the paintings and sculptures inside the museum walls. The experience of the Frick is a contribution of both architecture and landscape and this uniqueness is worth savoring and worth saving. In a city where change may be the only constant, the search for beautiful stability is a worthy goal. Simeon Bankoff, the executive director of the Historic District Council, wrote that "the Frick garden is emblematic of Page's pursuit of permanence."[59] Is not permanence also a suitable pursuit for the Frick, ensuring its special qualities endure?

The retrospective of Page's work that is most authoritative – apart from his own book *The Education of a Gardener* – is *The Gardens of Russell Page* by Gabriela van Zuylen with photographs by Marina Schinz. After Page's death, van Zuylen and Schinz embarked on a project to document all the Page gardens before they were lost. But even Schinz acknowledged that "change is, after all, the very nature of gardens, and few gardeners have the gift of leaving a recognizable trace."[60] Page knew that change was innate in landscape design, even as he strove for permanence. The land itself may be altered by natural or man-made actions and horticultural elements reach the end of their lifespan as new plantings are introduced either by design or accident. A landscape must be managed to ensure its foundation is secure, that it is structurally sound, and that the various elements are all in working order. Even so, change will occur; that is the very nature of nature. But the extent of that change is almost always – except during times of severe climatic events – the choice of man and not of nature. Hence at the Frick, the choice was made to exterminate that which had been created.

Chapter 5. The Education of a Gardner. Endnotes.

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Chapter 6. That Small Piece of Nature.

Despite the contribution of landscape architecture to the Frick, and to the environment as whole, within preservationist circles, landscape has historically been deemed less worthy of protection than the built environment. But this ignores the importance of green space, whether natural or designed, and the role it plays in our lives mentally, intellectually and physically. Birnbaum argued that landscapes require greater stewardship; since landscapes by nature change over time they need more attention, not less.[1] At The Frick Collection, with Central Park a block away, proponents of expansion argued that the Page garden was unnecessary and that a building on the site would better serve the Frick. By describing the garden as passive and unnecessary, by extension the argument was made that it did not deserve preservation.

The Page garden was unusual in that preservationist advocates immediately took up its cause, extolling the work of Page as well as the value of the green space within its urban context. Most often landscapes are simply taken for granted. In 2005, New York City had 29,000 acres of park and 28 gardens; Chicago had 7,500 acres of park and 700 gardens.[2] City dwellers are prone to assume that their public parks have always existed and will continue to do so. The parks and gardens become part of the everyday vista, neighborhoods forming around the streetscape and green spaces. In urban areas, most parks are designed works, not natural open space, but are still "of the earth, they are of the people, and they give the best possible glimpse of the sky and stars amid the high-rises and rooftops of crowded urban life."[3] Albert Camus asked "how to conjure up a picture, for instance, of a town without pigeons, without any trees or gardens where you never hear the beat of wings or the rustle of leaves – a thoroughly negative place, in short?"[4] In addition to their crucial life-sustaining botanical functions, parks also lend a city, and its residents, an identity. London without Hyde Park, or Paris without the Luxembourg Gardens, or New York without Central Park – these parks define the character of the city and "add to the luster of a place, contribute handsomely to its effect, advertise its history, or proclaim its style."[5]

Ironically, urban dwellers often seek out these public spaces in which to enjoy private moments. Landscape designer Lynden Miller stated that "human beings have always needed a relationship with nature, oases of green escape."[6] A key to urban living is to find that relationship to nature wherever one can, which for most urbanites will be a public space. But ownership of the space is not the key; rather, it is the sense one gets from the space. As Miller wrote, "it is not necessary to be rich or well educated to love a flowering place where you are made to feel welcome."[7]

Of course, "good" parks and public gardens are needed. Neglected spaces do not benefit individuals, neighborhoods or cities as a whole. A garden must be safe, it should be welcoming, it should be maintained. Public spaces need protection from abuse as well as disuse, and as Miller noted "even if a garden or park is well established, you will encounter situations that require advocacy."[8] Public parks compete with other city departments for operating funds and capital for restorations and new facilities construction and improvements. Many parks have become public-private enterprises – Central Park, Prospect Park, Bryant Park, Madison Square Park, and The High Line – to better ensure capital investment.

In the introduction to *New York City Urban Landscapes*, Richard Moylan, the president of Greenwood Cemetery, wrote that parks give us our "breathing room" and are a "reflection of the time in which it was created."[9] His phrase "reflection of the time in which it was created" shows that landscapes, like buildings, are tied to specific stylistic eras. It is important therefore to consider the Russell Page garden within the time it was created, as well as how it now functions, just as the Frick mansion is reviewed in terms of its Beaux Arts architectural elements.

Page's garden shares sensibilities with the urban pocket parks, small oasis of greenery tucked within city blocks, which emerged in the late 1960s. Like many pocket parks, the Page garden is tucked amongst neighboring buildings. While Page took the classical approach to his design, the first pocket park in New York was the modernist Paley Park, at 3 East 53rd Street just of Fifth Avenue. Designed by Robert Zion and opened in 1967, Paley Park reflected the unornamented, modern aesthetics of its time.[10] Paley Park and the Page garden share similar sizes, shapes and components – small lots with water features, tree canopies, and the use of plantings to disguise neighboring buildings. Yet in design and sensibility they are worlds apart. The modernist Paley Park echoes its steel and glass urban neighbors with its streamlined forms, while the classical Page garden harks back to European traditions. Yet both are products of a similar era, a span of ten years from 1967-1977. Perhaps the most striking similarity is that Paley Park may too be endangered by encroaching development, a possible casualty of re-zoning the East Midtown business district.

Paley Park is a privately owned public space (POPS), built on land provided by William Paley, the former chairman of CBS. While also privately owned, the Russell

Page garden access is limited by the Frick to either paid or invited guests of the Collection and is therefore not classified as a public space. There are slightly more than 500 POPS in New York City; some living up to their potential, others underutilized, and some barely surviving.[11]To understand the importance of urban POPS, it is instructive to review the history of zoning in New York City. Modernized construction methods in the late 1880s through the early 1900s ushered in taller buildings, but bulky and blocky to support the new heights. Light and air were shut out while at the same time the lower part of Manhattan was seeing a resurgence of industrial activity. The garment industry moved into lower Fifth Avenue, mixing factory workers with residents, retail customers and office workers. While today this could be deemed a desirable mixed-use neighborhood, at the time the Fifth Avenue Association and other business groups pushed for regulations to limit industrial activities.

The city was under pressure to enact building policy laws. In 1914, the city Charter was amended by the State of New York, giving the city the power to zone and on July 25, 1916, New York City adopted the first zoning laws in the country. This was the first use of police power to preserve and regulate building, a significant marker in preservation law.[12] Three types of districts were established, using building height, use and area to define each district type. Most new construction was the wedding-cake style; 90% of the lot was used, with floors set back at each subsequent level. Others were "25% buildings" permitted to go as high as desired if they covered no more than 25% of their lot area.[13] Advancements in construction techniques and new materials, along with changing design aesthetics, soon meant that these 1916 regulations were cumbersomely bogged down with thousands of amendments.

Yet it was not until 1961 that new zoning regulations were introduced. Buildings were now classified as residential, commercial or manufacturing, with new maximum bulk restrictions including floor area ratio (FAR). While the 1916 laws were enacted to keep tall buildings from blocking light and air, the 1961 regulations were designed to maximize the experience at street level. The new legislation led to a change in construction design, as well as ushered in the era of POPS, spaces for public use that were within private property.[14] Under POPS, "the city would deploy its zoning power affirmatively rather than negatively, encouraging rather than requiring, private developers to act in a manner desired by the public sector, an approach that would become known as 'incentive zoning.'"[15]

Under incentive zoning, the City granted FAR bonuses and other financial concessions to developers if they provided space for public-use plazas, arcades or atriums, which would be classified as POPS areas. The design of the spaces was regulated by laws stipulating that the space must remain both accessible and usable by the public for as long as the building existed. Regulations issued in 1975 more stringently laid out the legal parameters of POPS, focusing on public accessibility.[16] Some POPS were very successful, such as Paley Park, others less so. The carrots of FAR incentives and tax benefits, even when combined with legislative safeguards, were not sufficient to ensure that every POPS venture succeeded. Just like preservation advocacy, it was not enough to pass a law: the public needed to be involved.

The relationship of POPS to the Frick is not because the Russell Page garden, or any aspect of the Frick, is a privately-owned public space. But it was under POPS that the city formally recognized the benefits that small urban green spaces bring to individual buildings, to neighborhoods, and to the city at large. The evolution of the zoning laws in 1961 to include POPS prepared the way for the historic preservation legislation of 1965: the authorization to use police powers to regulate zoning, the new emphasis on the street-level experience, and the desire to create better urban spaces, reappear in the historic preservation act. Without the Historic Preservation Act, and the creation of the New York City Landmarks Commission, the Page garden – and the Frick as a whole – would be an intriguing historical entity but without legal preservation protection.

Yet another way to view the Page garden in relation to its era of origin is as a community garden for those with no time or place to garden. New York community gardens emerged in the 1970s as small green spaces as urban blight brought on the destruction of older buildings. As of 1990, there were 550 official community gardens in New York City, not including gardens on private lots.[17] Initiatives such as community gardens fostered what Jane Jacobs called the "irreplaceable social capital" of a city, dependent upon interconnected relationships to maintain healthy neighborhoods. Over time, established networks developed of "small-scale, everyday public life and thus of trust and social control" that were intrinsically necessary to the "self-governance of urban neighborhoods."[18] If a city was only as strong as its neighborhoods, then community-based initiatives such as gardens strengthened vital neighborhood ties.

While the creation of POPS green spaces gave tax benefits to real estate developers, community gardens were negatively perceived by developers as a taking of their land. Some gardens were located on lots that were in development "holding patterns" – the old structures had been demolished but funding for new construction was not yet available. But most of the community gardens were on city land: most owned by the New York City Housing Authority, with 26,000 acres of open space within its developments.[19] In 1998-1999, Mayor Giuliani's administration moved to privatize the City's public lands and services, declaring that a shortfall in public housing necessitated the development of its vacant lots. Many of these "vacant" lots were established community gardens and more than one hundred garden lots were put up for auction. But communities mobilized to fight the auction. The New York City Garden Preservation Coalition joined the protest, stating that destroying the gardens "would deprive their communities, especially the most vulnerable, of critical social resources provided by the gardens – including open space, environmental education, intergenerational and intercultural exchange, trees and flowers, and reduced crime and urban decay."[20]

Legally, community gardens were deemed temporary uses of land until more economically productive uses could be developed. This language was repeated within the Frick debate, with the Page garden initially called a temporary measure until funding for an expansion was secured. While the Page garden was not legally deemed "vacant" with zero value, as the community gardens were, the rhetoric used in both cases downplayed the gardens as "just another piece of undeveloped land" with no regard to the benefits the gardens brought to their communities.[21]

Community garden advocates linked to larger groups, and then to city-wide and even nation-wide coalitions, to change the rhetoric. They claimed that the city approach was short-sighted: "by treating the land as static and removed from its social context, city officials could easily conclude that the costs of destroying the gardens would be completely outweighed by the benefits that would accrue from more new housing developments, some affordable, in these neighborhoods."[22] Communities rallied around the gardens, their neighborhood cultural markers, while the city viewed the "land as atomized space, separate from the social fabric of the surrounding community in which it had become actively engaged."[23] Garden proponents did not ignore or deny the public housing shortage, which had been the Mayor's rationale for privatizing the land; "rather, they insisted that the city needs both gardens and housing, presenting housing and gardens as complementary elements of a healthy city."[24]

While a curtailed recap of a complicated situation, this highlights some of the same issues presented in the Frick expansion debate. The community gardeners did not dismiss the housing shortage situation; rather, they positioned community gardens as part of the solution. Likewise, the majority of Frick expansion critics conceded that the museum does have the right to expand but that alternative solutions to destroying the garden should be considered. Both the community gardeners and the Frick opponents expanded the public discussion to include larger issues, particularly that of City Hall's real estate development plans and in the case of the Frick, private museums' expansion agendas. Organizers utilized formal legal and political channels to advance their cause and tapped into social and cultural networks to raise funds. The most significant parallel was the use of the internet to extend local issues to city, state, national and even international levels stipulating that a threat to one garden was a threat to all. With the controversy thus widely framed, the organizers focused on "soliciting letters to Giuliani from mayors of other cities, expanding the network of associations, and increasing the scope of controversy considerably."[25] The Coalition to Save the Frick, a web-based advocacy platform, was more sophisticated than the community garden efforts, but launched a fundamentally similar effort to engage support for its agenda, particularly among architectural and preservationist elites.

Eventually land-trust organizations, including the Trust for Public Land and Bette Midler's New York Restoration Project purchased much of the community garden space, saving it from development. Purchasing the Russell Page garden was not an option, nor could it be managed like a pocket vest park. But like these entities, the Page garden is a valuable urban green space. But how does one determine its value? While typically not revenue-generating, gardens are economic entities – they cost money to build and maintain – just as a building does. However, the value of a garden can rarely be expressed in terms of real dollars. Unlike a building that earns rental income, or increases in real estate value, gardens achieve value through the eye of the beholder. Subjective valuations invariably lead to debate as to whether a garden is an effective use of land, particularly within urban areas.[26]

A garden's site may become more desirable, and therefore more valuable, in real estate terms. Or a garden may become more significant in terms of uniqueness – the Frick has the only Russell Page garden in New York City – or for a special quality not easily translated into financial terms. This difficulty in assigning a revenue-based value to green space often leads to assumptions that the space is underutilized or even wasted. If the value of a garden is not understood, then it is more susceptible to change, or even destruction. Protecting these spaces therefore necessitates first comprehending the purpose of a garden:

> Gardens have always been connected with the life of society and the life of private individuals in that they were locations of preference for jovial

> conviviality, carefree play, peaceful recreation, education and fortification, and secret love. Gardens are intended to serve the purposes of variety and diversion, recreation and recuperation, and the adventure of an experience in a special setting.[27]

Preservation is even more difficult to enact if landscape architecture is not considered the equal of architecture. Gardens and landscapes will be contested sites unless their significance is understood and sound stewardship enacted on their behalf.

Interest is on the upswing on how to best maintain and preserve gardens and landscapes. For the first time in history, more of the world's population lives in urban areas rather than rural areas and nature can "provide a mental break from the urban roil" in which "we're crowded into concrete jungles, surrounded by taxis, traffic, and millions of strangers."[28] A study by Frances Kuo at the Landscape and Human Health Laboratory at the University of Illinois in the 1990s found that even a small bit of nature can positively impact city dwellers: residents in apartments with green views fared better in assessment tests than those with city views.[29] In fact, Rachel Kaplan and Stephen Kaplan demonstrated that "one of the most pervasive interactions people have with nearby nature comes from looking out the window."[30] Their study demonstrated that similar benefits were measured in people looking at nature through a window at their workplace, residence, prison or hospital as for those physically placed in nature. This phenomenon could apply to the enclosed Page garden; rather than through a window, the garden is viewed through the iron-work fence. The Kaplan study asserted that exposure to nature is effective even when we are not physically amongst it, as in viewing photos of trees in a book or gazing out a window at the tree canopy. And it turns out that the real estate agents are correct, people want a view:

> Even a single tree outside the window can be a special place, a whole little world for that moment. Not only does this provide a chance for directed attention to recover, it also provides opportunities for exploring that little world and feeling connected to it. When viewed from the window, these connections to the natural world may occur in very short bursts of time, but they nonetheless lead to effects that are positive and substantial.[31]

Yet even if a garden's value is established, it is still difficult to manage the conversation in such a way that landscape architecture is considered equal to the built environment. While people relate how a certain park is meaningful to them, or talk about their garden successes, there is a "lack of a meaningful language to talk about connection to landscape among American city dwellers."[32] While there are horticulture groups and resources, "what American gardeners in [her] research rarely talk about is the larger urban landscape and how their personal activities are part of both a natural system and a civic whole."[33] This separation between gardeners and landscape architects, the divide between personal garden space and larger designed landscapes, makes it difficult to engage even those most involved with larger landscape preservation efforts. It is therefore remarkable that for many architects, artists, gardeners, historians, critics, scholars, and concerned citizens, the Russell Page garden has become that "small piece of nature"[34] which incited personal passion and served as their gateway garden to landscape preservation advocacy.

For many people, visiting parks and gardens are ingrained routines, perhaps their constancy taken for granted. Subsequently, "when a landscape becomes an indelible part of our identity, it can feel as though any change, no matter how small, is a threat to the present we know and the past we have constructed."[35] Conserving this present, as well as the past, requires the development of landscape preservation guidelines to mirror those of the built environment while addressing the specific qualities of landscapes. These protective measures and their applicability to the Russell Page garden would help determine the fate of the Frick's newest reiteration to "build, destroy, rebuild."

Chapter 6. That Small Piece of Nature. Endnotes.

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Chapter 7. Integrity and Authenticity.

The difficulties often faced in assessing the value and significance of landscapes, particularly urban landscapes, was addressed with the introduction of cultural landscapes into the formal structure of historic preservation processes and laws. In 1984, Robert Z. Melnick published *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System*, bringing cultural landscapes into the National Park Service (NPS) preservation program. Cultural landscapes are comprised of "a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values."[1] Since their introduction the terms cultural landscape and historic landscape have been used interchangeably. It is important to recognize however, that historic landscapes are just one of four specific types of cultural landscape. The additional categories of cultural landscape are historic sites, historic vernacular landscapes and ethnographic landscapes.

The full definitions of the four categories of cultural landscape illustrate the extent to which landscapes are historically significant and worthy of preservation:

> *Historic Designed Landscape*: a landscape that was consciously designed or laid out by a landscape architect, master gardener, architect, or horticulturalist according to design principles, or an amateur gardener working in a recognized style or tradition. The landscape may be associated with a significant person(s), trend, or event in landscape architecture; or illustrate an important development in the theory and practice of landscape architecture. Aesthetic values play a significant role in designed landscapes.
>
> *Historic Site*: a landscape significant for its association with a historic event, activity, or person.
>
> *Historic Vernacular Landscape*: a landscape that evolved through use by the people whose activities or occupancy shaped that landscape. Through social or cultural attitudes, often individual, family, or a community, the landscape reflects

> the physical, biological, and cultural character of those everyday lives. Function plays a significant role in vernacular landscapes.
>
> *Ethnographic Landscape*: a landscape containing a variety of natural and cultural resources that associated people define as heritage resources.[2]

The NPS further defined an historic landscape as including "residential gardens and community parks, scenic highways, rural communities, institutional grounds, cemeteries, battlefields and zoological gardens."[3]This may seem an overly broad definition but it matched the parameters given for historic buildings, since one of the key NPS tenets of cultural landscapes was that "almost every historic property has a landscape component."[4] Too often however the historic landscape significance of a site is ignored. Even the title of the NPS *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Buildings* needed adaptation, changing *Historic Buildings* to *Historic Properties* in 1995. This was a small semantic matter but a necessary step towards additional measures to further address landscape preservation.

With respect to The Frick Collection, we can dismiss the site from consideration as an historic vernacular or ethnographic landscape. Clearly this is not a place that evolved over time such as an agricultural area, industrial complex or transportation or mining network. It is also not a settlement area, sacred site or one possessing significant topographical features or horticultural or animal species. But the Frick mansion is a designated historic site. And the Russell Page garden – as well as the Olmsted-designed Fifth Avenue lawn – match the definition of historic designed landscape.

Ideally, once a site has been determined to meet the definition of a cultural landscape in any of the four categories, a treatment plan is developed to ensure the site's survival. This is not much different than developing a treatment plan for an architectural entity, and can include historic research, input from construction and design professionals, and contributions from local, state and federal historic preservation offices (SHPOs and the NPS.) For landscapes, the plan is outlined in a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) – sometimes referred to as a Historic Landscape Report – which provides the history, significance and recommended treatment.[5] The CLR begins with historical research to ascertain the site's previous ownership, development, maintenance and management. Recording the existing site details reconciles the original designs with the present situation, especially for horticultural elements that may no longer be in place.

Then "once the research and the documentation of existing conditions have been completed, a foundation is in place to analyze the landscape's continuity and change, determine its significance, assess the integrity, and place it within the historic context of similar landscapes."[6]The landscape's historic significance is "the recognized importance a property displays when it has been evaluated"[7] coupled with its integrity. Seven criteria are used to measure integrity: location, setting, feeling, association, design, workmanship and materials. As the horticultural materials are constantly changing, documentation of the history of the site and the current status assessment are all used to establish the degree of integrity for these seven measurements.

Treatment guidance is provided by the Secretary of the Interior Standards, which cover both the built environment and landscape preservation. Four types of treatment are included in the Standards, in the desired order of action:

> *Preservation*: the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of an historic property.

> *Rehabilitation*: the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical or cultural values.
>
> *Restoration*: the act or process of accurately depicting the forms, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of removal of features from other periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period.
>
> *Reconstruction*: the act or process of depicting, by means of new construction, the form, features and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time and in its historic location.[8]

Preservation treatment will have the least impact on a site, and typically retains the most integrity of the historic materials and sense of place. But no matter which treatment is chosen all work should be documented fully with written and visual records for the historic record. In sites that have documented significance and high integrity, preservation is usually the treatment selected, with the focus on protecting and stabilizing the site as needed and providing for its continued maintenance. Just as a building would need to have systems checked, a landscape needs proper scheduling to ensure that plantings are pruned and replaced, water features are serviced and hardscape maintained. Seasonal changes, and work, should be recorded for future consultation. The NPS has developed two tracking systems – the Maintenance Management Program and the Inventory and Condition Assessment Program – to document their maintenance. But private or smaller institutional landscapes can track these measures in their own ways; what is important is not the method of documentation but the fact that it is documented.

The CLR is a tool to establish significance and authenticity, and as such is a viable tactic for promoting preservation agendas. While the NPS has created in-depth CLR's for sites under their purview, there are few such detailed documents for properties not controlled by the NPS. And for smaller, privately-owned landscapes, such as at the

Frick, CLRs or any semblance of such a document are almost non-existent. When these undocumented cultural landscapes come under threat, there is no immediate counter to the threat in terms of detailed, expert-reviewed documentation on the significance and integrity of the site. Preservation advocacy is therefore often reactionary, with a scramble to amass the data needed to prove protection is warranted. A CLR is not suggested for every cultural landscape, contested or not; this would be a costly and time-consuming endeavor. What is needed is a shift in the public discussion of preservation towards increased inclusion of landscapes within the preservation field.

Landscapes that are more than fifty years old are, like architectural structures, eligible for the National Register should they meet the significance and integrity criteria. "Integrity" when applied to landscapes can be difficult to assess. If a building were deteriorating it would not be excluded from preservation consideration, in fact it may be the deterioration itself that spurred the preservation efforts. But if a landscape has deteriorated, with overgrown or damaged vegetation, the site is usually lost. The California cultural landscape guidelines reinforce this double-standard all too clearly: landscapes with "substantial loss of integrity can usually be dismissed from consideration in a brief statement without conducting a formal evaluation."[9]

The key therefore is proactive stewardship of landscapes, establishing significance and enduring integrity before they are lost. Specific management and maintenance of these cultural sites ensures that the "values ascribed to a site – be they aesthetic or historical or social – are preserved."[10] Much of the models for this type of value-led planning pertain to large sites or those managed by government agencies. But there is no size requirement for a preservation plan that protects the value and significance of a site. Particularly at the Frick, where management is intent upon expansion, a values-led site plan incorporating the landscape would be appropriate.

On a larger context, the Burra Charter of 1981, developed by members of the Australian International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), advocated that a decision-making process be followed to preserve cultural heritage, rather than issuing yet more rules for conservation. The Burra Charter states that "conservation of a place should take into consideration all aspects of its cultural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one at the expense of others."[11] This process is a balancing act of a number of value variables to be used in determining "the universal value of the combined works of humanity and nature."[12] When applied to the Frick, universal value is impacted by its history of expansionistic architectural destruction and construction, as well as the significance of its landscapes, within the sphere of preservationist integrity and authenticity. Reconciling these oft-conflicting values becomes part of the process.

More traditional preservation tactics, such as landmarking, may not adequately establish the significance and integrity of landscapes. A landscape may not be easily categorized into one area of significance, making it difficult to conform to National Register criteria for example. Amending the process to be more inclusive is one solution. Timothy Keller and Genevieve Keller prepared "How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landmarks" to provide guidance for the nomination of historic designed landscapes to the National Register of Historic Places.[13] They study the sense of place and the original intent when evaluating landscapes. As many historic landscapes were designed as part of an adjoining architectural space, the landscape and the architecture may be best considered as a unit rather than as separate entities. In other cases, it may be more beneficial to separate the landscape from the architecture if different preservation paths are to be taken.

National Register nominations require that a "period of significance" be assigned to the property. This is the "time period in which the property achieved the qualities that made it eligible for the National Register."[14] For architecture, the period of significance is typically the years in which the construction was completed or subsequently altered. The Frick period of significance listed in the National Register are the years 1914 and 1935; 1977, the year of the Page garden and Bayley pavilion is not included.[15] Although it may be more difficult to assign a specific period of significance to a landscape, as it changes over time, it should not just be ignored altogether.

Landscapes, like buildings, are evaluated within four criteria to determine eligibility for the National Register:

(a) Be associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history
(b) Be associated with the lives of persons significant in our past
(c) 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
(d) Have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history.[16]

Keller and Keller write that even properties which fit criteria (a), (b) and (d) should also meet criteria (c) on the basis of historic landscape gardening or landscape architecture merit:

> Typically, a designed historic landscape meets criterion C because of its association with the productive careers of significant figures in American landscape architecture such as Andrew Jackson Downing, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jens Jensen, Beatrix Farrand or other noted practitioners; an association

> with a historical trend or school of theory and practice within landscape architecture such as the City Beautiful Movement or the Country Place Era, rather than with an individual person of significance; the presence of highly skilled craftsmanship or use of particular materials in the construction of walls, walks, fountains and other landscape elements; evidence of distinguished design and layout that results in superior aesthetic quality and constitutes an important artistic statement; or rare or specimen plant materials associated with a particular period of style of landscape history.[17]

Seemingly then the Russell Page garden, as well as the Olmsted Fifth Avenue lawn fall under criteria C at the very least, with criteria A and B also applicable.

As for integrity – the extent to which a site retains its historic identity and character – landscapes are unique in that they are composed of living materials constantly changing. The degree to which the original character has been retained, rather than the presence of the original materials, is therefore key. Integrity covers a myriad of features, including "spatial relationships, vegetation, original property boundary, topography/ grading, site-furnishings, design intent, architectural features, and circulation features."[18] Grading, pathways and water features that remain in situ are good indicators of site integrity. Plantings are a bit more challenging but "if one first determines that the more stable elements of the designed landscape are sufficiently intact to represent the original design intent, than it can be determined whether the existing vegetation taken as a whole reinforces or supports the original design intent."[19]

Typically properties that are less than fifty years old are not deemed appropriate for the National Register. They can however be considered under special circumstances if they are part of districts that fall within specified categories. The Russell Page garden dates only to 1977, but it could be considered as a property of "exceptional importance" as one of the few surviving Page landscapes in the United States. The National Register would require that exceptional significance be established "because only that type of analysis can convincingly demonstrate that despite the lack of the passage of the fifty-year period, sufficient historical perspective exists to evaluate the particular property."[20] If a landscape is not in itself eligible for the National Register, it may be so as a portion of a larger historic district. The Frick listing on the National Register of Historic Places includes the Russell Page garden. As such, the garden is part of the overall recognition of the significant historical site and is accorded some measure of protection from harmful future actions.

In June 1965, New York's Central Park was the first landscape to be added to the National Register of Historic Places. Few would argue with the validity of this designation, one of the world's great urban parks designed by the canonical Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. Yet the Central Park designation established an unintended precedent: it "projected a narrow definition of both 'historic' and 'landscape.'"[21] As early architectural preservation addressed individual buildings, early landscape preservation concentrated on the great designers of large-scale work, ignoring smaller, more vernacular projects. Particularly in urban areas, landscape preservation has meant "restoration" and "usually involved the creation of period settings around historic houses and public buildings…landscapes were decorative adjuncts to the more important architecture."[22] As architectural preservationists adopted more sophisticated strategies, such as establishing historic districts, the focus expanded from building-centric to include the surrounding streetscapes and green spaces.

Schuyler and O'Donnell write that another influence on the development of historic landscape preservation efforts was the environmental movement in the 1960s and

1970s. They maintain that the 1972 celebration of the 150th anniversary of Frederick Law Olmsted's birth, just two years after the first Earth Day in 1970, was "more than coincidence." As renewed care for open spaces, particularly in urban areas, emerged within the public debate about the environment, the work of Olmsted was cited "precisely because he created cherished open spaces within cities and anticipated many of the ecological concerns of the late twentieth century." [23] In retrospect, the environmental movement evolved in the exact opposite of the preservation movement: environmentalists channeled large-scale ecological issues down to the local level, focusing on specific parks or bodies of water. In preservation, early efforts were targeted to local house-museum conservation and only later expanded to encompass historic districts and cultural heritage.

In the 1980s landscape preservation "became widely accepted as a discipline in its own right and cities began planning efforts on behalf of their historic parks."[24] New York, Seattle, Boston, Chicago, Buffalo and Denver, as well as professional associations including the American Society of Landscape Architects and the Alliance for Historic Landscape Preservation, developed sophisticated planning procedures for the preservation of historic landscapes. The NPS created the Historic Landscape Initiative in 1989, and in 1996 published the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes.* It was not until October 2000, however, that the first permanent NPS program to document historic American landscapes was established, the Historic American Landscape Survey (HALS). HALS addressed the importance of the landscapes themselves, as well as the "growing vitality of landscape history, preservation and management"[25] of these sites that deserved recognition as well.

While much of the discussion has centered on public spaces and preservation, the same evolution can be applied to privately-owned parks and gardens. While public parks may grapple with funding or appropriate use – the location of sports fields in a historically passive lawn area for instance – private green space can be drastically altered or even lost depending upon ownership desires. While public parks can hope to arrive at some compromised shared usage solution, private gardens are more susceptible to radical change. Hence the situation at the Frick, where the Page garden was viewed not as an historic work of art but as an under-utilized space best optimized with a building. This is surely the ultimate contested space; either the garden is saved or destroyed.

As landscapes change, through their very "nature," the Page garden has retained its integrity by the design remaining constant since its inception. There is no issue then in deciding which history to preserve and it is clear that the Page garden is worthy of landscape preservation as all that remains is truly historic. But why is this important? Is it really necessary to preserve historic landscapes? And particularly if landscapes are ever changing, what is the point in preserving them?

Historic landscapes, like architecture, painting, sculpture, dance and music, are cultural markers that identify people in a place and time. As conservation and preservation ideas became more widespread, and the significance of landscapes a greater part of the discussion, the link slowly strengthened between urban planning and conservation. Preventative measures to maintain natural and designed rural and urban landscapes were included within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites of 1964 (The Venice Charter). The Venice Charter focused on protecting buildings more than landscapes, but importantly, historic gardens were included within the category of historic monuments.[26] The Venice Charter expanded the basic principles of preservation included in the Athens Charter of 1931, but semantic issues still arose regarding how to best classify landscapes. Although the Venice Charter defined historic monuments as not only buildings but the urban/rural setting in which they are found, landscapes were not fully addressed.

UNESCO did acknowledge the importance of historic gardens and landscapes in the subsequent Charter of Florence, which addressed the "historical garden [as] an architectural composition in which the main element is vegetation – a vegetal architecture – to be safeguarded as bearing witness to a culture."[27] The Florence Charter was adopted in 1982 as an addendum to the Venice Charter, following a meeting in Florence in May 1981 of the International Committee for Historic Gardens. The Florence Charter reflected the content of the Venice Charter while setting a stronger preservation course by defining historic gardens no longer as "historic monuments" but as "living monuments." The Charter outlined strategies to preserve gardens, including maintenance, conservation, restoration and reconstruction of gardens, much like the Secretary of the Interior Guidelines. The first nine Articles of the Florence Charter included "Definitions and Objectives" to clarify some of the confusion arising under the Venice Charter; historic gardens were defined as architectural and horticultural compositions, consisting of living materials, of any size or design. Article 5 highlighted the cultural significance of historic gardens in which they are "a 'paradise' in the etymological sense of the term, and yet a testimony to a culture, a style, an age, and often to the originality of a creative artist."[28]

The Note Bene concluding the Charter stated that “the above recommendations are applicable to all the historic gardens in the world” – a sweepingly optimistic proclamation.[29] It set the stage for future landscape preservation advocacy, including the 1984 NPS cultural landscape guidelines. The phrase “living monument” embraced the horticulture changes that naturally occurred in landscapes, which had complicated the authenticity issue, and moved the focus away from architecture. But the term did not get much attention outside of the UNESCO community, and with only sporadic support from the United States, the conversation was based in Europe where the idea of cultural heritage was gaining traction. Gardens and landscapes were now included within cultural heritage discussions as the concept of preservation expanded to include cities and nature as a whole, rather than specific buildings or sites.[30]

Many of the groundbreaking UNESCO documents were formulated as urban redevelopment threatened historic sites. In 1968 a recommendation was issued regarding the preservation of cultural property endangered by public or private works. The seminal 1972 World Heritage Convention codified an approach to heritage sites that expanded protection for individual historic monuments to that of full cultural heritage protection. The Nairobi Recommendation of 1976 became a fundamental reference on urban conservation and the treatment of historic areas as “the living presence of the past in modern life.”[31] Subsequent charters and recommendations – the Washington Charter in 1987, the 1994 Nara document, and the UNESCO 2003 convention on intangible cultural heritage – continued to define and defend heritage sites. As the field of heritage studies grew in stature and sophistication, the emphasis moved beyond preservation to address sustainability and continued conservation of sites.

One of the most significant developments was UNESCO's development of the Historic Cultural Landscape management strategy, which merged the criteria for natural and cultural sites. The1992 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention became the first international legal instrument to recognize and protect cultural landscapes. The term "cultural landscape" was defined in Article I of the Convention as the "combined works of nature and of man."[32] Cultural landscapes included "the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal."[33]

The World Heritage Convention established three categories of cultural landscapes. Category (i) was perhaps the most easily recognized, a "clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man (gardens, parks)."[34] The other categories concerned organically evolved landscapes from "social, economic, administrative, and/or religious use" and associative cultural landscapes not based on material cultural evidence. All three cultural landscapes categories incorporated a sense of belonging and singularity of place as well as the tenets of outstanding merit and universal value. The cultural landscape designation established a more encompassing management scenario than that of a cultural heritage site. Mechtild Rossler wrote that "the introduction of cultural landscapes into the World Heritage field made people aware that sites are not isolated islands, but that they have to be seen in the ecological system and with their cultural linkages in time and space beyond single monuments and strict nature preserves."[35]

Rossler's was an important voice in expanding the scope of cultural landscapes, stating that "cultural landscapes are at the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible heritage, biological and cultural diversity – they represent a closely woven net of relationships, the essence of culture and people's identity."[36] But in both city and landscape, physical structures and social conventions change with the passing of time. Urban cycles of build, destroy, rebuild – such as in New York City – may destroy the sense of place. The 2005 Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture was issued by the World Heritage Committee in response to a flurry of new construction near historic city centers. The Vienna Memorandum reinforced the concept of cultural landscapes by specifically addressing historic urban areas as "comprehensive systems" that must be addressed as an entirety. Francesco Bandarin acknowledged however that preserving historic urban centers is extremely difficult, as "there is not a single 'historic' city in the world that has retained its 'original' character: the concept is a moving target, destined to change with society itself."[37]

Until 2005, the barometer for cultural heritage sites was authenticity and for natural heritage sites it was integrity. But this divided natural from cultural, more by linguistic debate than intent. Once authenticity and integrity were linked into a single statement of outstanding universal value by the Vienna Memorandum, the divide was closed. The challenge then was managing change in terms of integrity and authenticity to ensure a continued spirit of place. A systemic management approach was further supported in 2011 with the "Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape by the General Conference of UNESCO." Rather than apply traditional zone regulations to historic cultural landscape sites, the recommendation offered a comprehensive management scheme for sustainable planning and design changes to “take into account the existing built environment, intangible heritage, cultural diversity, socio-economic and environmental factors along with local community values.”[38]

The declaration reflected the transition to a broader view of historic urban management and development. The Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach linked the physical and social, the natural and man-made, within an historic continuum. Historic urban landscapes were now “the big picture” representing a layered approach to sites rather than the previous monumental or site-specific focus. Bandarin supported the new approach, stating that when historic urban sites are treated as isolated special districts “the partition between what is ‘historic’ and what is not is increasingly seen as an artificial one, as every city is densely layered in a series of ‘episodes,’ where heritage is viewed as the flow and mix of these events rather than as an arbitrary selection of some urban parts defined as ‘historic.’”[39]

HUL, like the Burra Charter before it, was a process methodology rather than a mandate. The process examined the existing environment – including culture and heritage, values and social mores, and political, economic and environmental factors – to achieve sustainable preservation specifically within urban areas.[40] In established neighborhoods, the HUL approach was “an alternative method to cutting the city up through ‘zoning’ into separate conservation areas, which thereby become ghettos of historic preservation.”[41] Each HUL site was reviewed in terms of its history, and “for each local situation a balance is reached between preservation and protection of urban heritage, economic development, functionality and livability of a city.”[42] The goal was to develop a balanced approach rather than succumb to competing interests.

HUL related to the layers of the city itself. The cultural identity and diversity of the city was just as important to the end solution as was the built environment and infrastructure, with "the layering and intertwining of cultural and natural values over time."[43] There are more than 250 historic cities on the World Heritage List, but it is not necessary to be an urban site of this stature to utilize the HUL approach to preservation. The goal is to conceptualize the site as part of a whole, and integrate the cultural heritage features of the site into the discussion. The HUL concept is encapsulated into seven steps, very similar to those for preservation, including cooperative site assessment, stewardship and planning. The process was not ground-breaking – the proscribed steps are actually very pedestrian – but it brought culture and heritage into a conversation typically dominated by the more tangible built environment characteristics, enabling landscape preservation to be addressed.

Within world heritage circles, HUL represents both traditional and contemporary views on urban planning, preservation and sustainability. So why did HUL generate so much controversy? There were two main issues: the first is that decisions are difficult on how best to manage, conserve and develop historic urban areas. The second harks back to the definitions and applicability of authenticity and integrity. There seems to be consensus that the authenticity and integrity of urban heritage is under threat, and that change, much of it unplanned, is obliterating the past. HUL encompasses a large evolutional context of the site and historic patterns, and perhaps in doing so becomes less manageable. When preservation concentrated on materials, rather than intangible or systems or processes, it was easier to establish integrity and authenticity and to initiate appropriate conservation plans. But as cultural landscapes entered the picture, the method for establishing integrity was now murky. If original construction materials were no longer present, how could it be authentic? And if a site were not authentic, then why would it be worthy of preservation?

The 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity had attempted to provide a practical guide to measuring authenticity, particularly for cultural landscapes. The Nara authenticity test looked at the materials and substance, use and function, traditions, techniques and management systems, and location and setting of the landscape.[44] Under Nara, authenticity could be tested for designed cultural landscapes, but not for those with associated cultural values. Additional meetings, such as the San Antonio conference of 1996 and its subsequent Declaration, further defined authenticity, particularly in the Americas, as multi-cultural and more than just materialistic integrity. Despite these and similar conferences around the world, integrity was still valued over authenticity.

Yet when it came to cultural landscapes, tests for authenticity trumped those for integrity. Perhaps it is because it is easier to test for visual and structural integrity of a building than for a cultural entity. The 1972 World Heritage Convention included the "test for authenticity" for cultural heritage.[45] The debate on authenticity continued; the introduction of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, 1990) again expanded the meaning of heritage. The cultural dimensions of preservation continued to pose questions of what was authentic, leading to acceptance of both tangible and intangible heritage integrity and authenticity. Preservation was now complicated with theories of cultural landscapes, intangible heritage, and historic urban landscapes.

Meanwhile urban areas were growing, and pressure mounted to preserve before encroaching development destroyed historic sites. The goal, according to Bandarin and Van Oers, was enacting "acceptable change" growth without over-stepping the physical setting and historical context boundaries.[46] Questions of authenticity and integrity must either be answered or set aside to clear the path for preservation advocacy. The Florence Charter had stated that "the authenticity of an historic garden cannot be reduced to the 'stuff' of the monument, but embraces the totality of its appearance from the spatial conception to the detailed configuration with plants and architectural design elements."[47] This broader stance, embracing more than the materialistic qualities of an historic garden, lends itself to a greater scope of conservation activity.

The connection of the international progressive movement towards a more inclusive conservation of historic gardens to the Frick and Russell Page garden is real. The significance of an historic garden is determined by authenticity and integrity, not by its size. If the Frick is intent upon expansion – and despite calls to maintain its jewel-box intimacy the museum does have the "right" to expand – then the best protection of the Page garden is to consider it as both a natural and cultural heritage site. Perhaps the Page garden, and the entire Frick footprint, could be recognized as a site of outstanding universal value that transcends local, state and national borders in terms of its significance. Within this larger context of international landscape preservation, coupled with locally-based landmark protection procedures, the demands of integrity and authenticity can promote the "wise stewardship [that] protects the character, and or spirit of a place by recognizing history as change over time."[48]

Chapter 7. Integrity and Authenticity. Endnotes.

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Chapter 8. Landmarked.

While UNESCO charters and the NPS cultural landscape definitions are applicable to the Page garden, The Frick Collection and Library is also a designated city, state and national landmark. The designations are:

- March 20, 1973: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission designated The Frick Collection an individual landmark, including mansion and art library
- November 12, 1974: New York Commission expanded the Frick site historic designation to include three lots to the east of the mansion – #5, #7 and #9 East 70th Street (including the Page garden)
- May 10, 1981: Upper East Side Historic District Designation includes the entire Frick complex
- 1984: New York State and National Register of Historic Places
- October 6, 2008: Frick Collection named a National Historic Landmark.

These designations are significant in terms of the Frick's protected status, as well as in the politics and process of urban historic preservation. Currently the New York City LPC is the largest municipal preservation agency in the United States, with eleven commissioners appointed by the Mayor, and a staff of more than sixty. The Commission grants historic district and landmark status and regulates alterations of properties once designated. There are more than 31,000 landmarked properties in New York City, including 111 historic districts and twenty historic district extensions.[1] But the LPCS's beginnings were much more humble.

The first use of zoning preservation, the designation of historic districts, was in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1931. While New York City had enacted the first zoning ordinances in the country in 1916, it was not until 1956 that the state passed legislation regarding the designation of landmarks and historic districts: the New York State Historic

Preservation Enabling Act of 1956. Preservation was viewed as a tool to maintain diversity of the past and its distinctive characteristics, as well as conserve the sense of identity. This was an important topic at the 1966 U.S. Conference of Mayors, which addressed a certain “feeling of rootlessness” across the country; urban renewal and destruction, people moving from one place to another, and a general sense of pervasive disconnection. It was thought that the preservation movement could alleviate this uneasiness by looking at successful elements of the past to establish values for the present and future.[2] The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and state-focused activities were the legislative results of these conversations; the Act gave the Secretary of the Interior the right to expand and maintain the National Register of Historic Places and to create guidelines for historic preservation efforts (16 USC 470).

The New York City Landmarks Commission was created on June 30, 1965, as part of the ground-breaking historic preservation legislation signed by Mayor Robert Wagner to protect the city’s cultural, social, economic, political and architectural history (NYC Law § 25-301). The stated goals of the Commission were to stabilize and improve property values; foster civic pride; protect and enhance city attractions to tourists; strengthen the economy of the city; and promote the use of historic districts, landmarks, interior landmarks, and scenic landmarks for the education, pleasure and welfare of the people of New York.[3] The Commission was not to focus solely on the built environment, as the Administrative Code specifically includes “landscape features” defined as “any grade, body of water, stream, rock, plant, shrub, tree, path, walkway, road, plaza, fountain, sculpture or other form of natural or artificial landscaping.”[4]

The newly formed Commission held public hearings for eighteen months, with a final hearing on December 27, 1966. Then, by law, the hearings were suspended for a three-year "wait period" before another six months of hearings on additional landmarks proposals could be conducted: "these stop-and-go regulations were written into the Landmarks Preservation Law under pressure from real estate and banking groups, which had originally insisted on a five-year suspension period."[5]

Despite the cumbersome legal regulations, the Commission announced the first New York City historic district – Brooklyn Heights – in December 1965. But most district designations were subjected to longer timelines. While hearings on the Upper East Side Historic District were first held in October 1966, momentum did not pick up again until the late 1970s when new construction threatened the neighborhood. In 1979, Community Board 8, the local district board, forwarded the nomination of the district to the LPC, stating that the "special cultural, aesthetic and historic quality to the area" was under siege by the "dynamic market for commercial and residential space on the Upper East Side."[6] It was still not until May 1981 that the Upper East Side Historic District – including The Frick Collection – was officially recognized.

Part of the delay can be attributed to changing preservation attitudes. Early efforts were more about patriotism and respect for ancestors, centered on house museums and historic persons rather than broad groupings of architecture. But preservation then evolved to more effectively help create stability and identity, serving as a type of environmental control mechanism "to retain diverse elements of the past, to perpetuate the distinctive identities of places, to involve amateurs in landscape care, and to practice a conservative approach to environmental change."[7] Preservation now included historic districts, not just individual buildings, and expanded to include sites and importantly, landscapes. With this expanded outlook came new ways to financially incentivize people to choose preservation – it was economically more feasible to preserve then to destroy – particularly under the Economic Tax Recovery Act of 1981 which ushered in a surge of preservationist projects.

A second explanation for the delay was more pedestrian, as much time was spent debating the proposed boundaries of the district.[8] The area was large, from 59th Street to 78th Street along Fifth Avenue and then east to Lexington Avenue between 69th and 71st Streets, and all of Madison and Park Avenues from 61st to 79th Streets. By 1979, the Commission was reportedly receiving more than 800 applications a year for alterations to landmarked properties. The perceived fear of Upper East Side property owners was that their rights would cede to the LPC; even if approval were granted it would only be after lengthy hearings and onerous administrative paperwork. Testimony at a June 1979 public hearing on the proposal reflected a mixed reception to the proposal: sixty-two people spoke in favor of creating the district designation, while nine people spoke against it.[9]

The Frick Collection and Library – including parcels 1, 5, 7 and 9 on East 70th Street – is a New York City landmarked site. There are a number of other designations on the same block. Numbers 15 and 17, for example, were under construction by 1909 in the French classical style. While individually landmarked, these properties are also within the larger Upper East Side Historic District. Charles I. Berg designed #15 for Mrs. J. C. Corinne deB. Moore; #17 was designed by Arthur C. Jackson of the firm Heins & LaFarge.[10] Alice Vanderbilt Morris and her husband Dave Hennen Morris built at 19 E. 70th (now the Knoedler Gallery). Their granddaughter Lee Petty reported that the

Morris's had considered the lot next to the Frick parcel, "but my grandmother said 'oh no, we cannot be that ostentatious' and instead bought lot 19."[11] Petty said that her grandfather had tried to convince his new neighbors to use the same architect, to achieve a cohesive cornice line, but no agreement was reached. Various architects were therefore all working at the same time in the same style within the block. It is interesting to think about the ramifications if the Morris's had purchased the lot next to the Frick: would this land have remained in the Morris-Vanderbilt family? Would there have been no Bayley pavilion, Page garden or expansion plan? Clearly as soon as Lenox and the Library Trust opened the block for sale, lots were purchased by not just Frick but others seeking proximity to Fifth Avenue.

Recognition as a National Historic Landmark came many years later: on October 6, 2008, the U.S. Department of the Interior designated sixteen new national historic landmarks, including The Frick Collection and Arts Reference Library. National Historic Landmarks [NHL] "possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States."[12] The landmarks can be districts, buildings, sites, structures, or objects with national significance. There are less than 2,500 such landmarks throughout the country; the Simon R. Guggenheim Museum (Frank Lloyd Wright, 1956-59) was named to the list at the same time as The Frick Collection.[13] The Frick had previously been listed on the National Register of Historic Places, under Criteria A and C; the listing as a National Historic Landmark was under Criteria 1 and 4. The criteria are linked, A correlates to 1 with regard to entities associated with events that have made an outstandingly significant contribution to the broad national patterns U.S. history. Criteria

C and 4 apply to those exceptionally important works of architecture that are extraordinarily significant.

The NHL nomination form for The Frick Collection includes detailed architectural classification information on its Beaux Arts revival style, listing materials such as the brick and concrete foundation, limestone walls, and glass, copper and asphalt roof. Its areas of significance are architecture, education and collecting in the United States. Thematically, the Frick was involved in creating social institutions and movements, recreational activities and expressing cultural values, educational and intellectual currents and architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design.[14] It is significant that landscape architecture is included in the roster of contributions made by the Frick. This demonstrates the advancement of landscape stewardship within professional preservation discussions, stressing the original intent by Hastings to treat buildings and landscape as one entity within the historical account.

Yet the NHL cited the Frick's period of significance as the years 1912-35, with 1914, 1919 and 1935 noted as significant dates; this is not inclusive of the van Dyke-Bayley or Page work in the 1970s.[15] The indication here is that significance lies only in the Beaux-Arts construction of Carrére & Hastings and Pope. The designation does however encompass the full 1.26 acre site, which of course includes the Page garden and Bayley pavilion. One explanation could be that as these structures were not yet fifty years old, they were not considered as contributing individual elements. For Page, the Frick designation was another step forward in achieving permanence for his work, but anonymously so, just as the garden was amended by the LPC into the Frick landmark designation while the site was still an empty lot.

Another puzzling element of the NHL is the laudatory language regarding alterations made by Pope to the original house. Stating that the transition from private home to public museum “required an expansion program so expertly conceived by John Russell Pope, that the earlier and later portions read as a seamless whole”[16] is a preservationist conundrum. The Secretary of the Interior Standards call for differentiation between old and new when working with historic building alterations. Long-time Frick curator Colin Bailey confirmed that during the Pope construction “everything was designed to disguise the transition from the original house to its modern additions: similar marbles, woods, and stone were used where ever possible.”[17] As seamless and disguised, there is no distinction between the original Carrére and Hastings work and Pope’s subsequent alterations of the entrance drive, rear garden court, porte cochere, and office and service spaces.

The Secretary of the Interior guidelines call for compatibility and reversibility of work as well. Ideally the new will not be mistaken as part of the old, and the historic building, or landscape, will dominate. In compatibility, the new is “differentiated from the old [to] be compatible with historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.”[18] The design tendency to match new with old is discouraged as visual distinguishing between the two is difficult. Jarring contrasting designs are also problematic as they can interfere with the integrity and authenticity of the original work. Additions to historic sites are especially challenging in that they need to achieve differentiation, highlight the historic elements, and create well-designed new segments appropriate to the site.

At the Frick, compatibility has been over-achieved. It is interesting nonetheless that the National Historic Register celebrates "the seamless whole" while official policies urged distinction. Of course, Pope's work was completed decades before historic preservation guidelines were established, and issues of differentiation and reversibility were non-existent. Yet the van Dyke-Bayley pavilion built in the 1970s, after the Frick received New York City landmark status, followed the same pattern: a classical addition to the classical Pope addition to the classical Carrére and Hastings original. Critics of the pavilion noted that it "made quite a stir with a design then considered outrageously traditional."[19] But there was no discussion regarding the preservationist merits, or lack thereof, of new construction that perfectly meshed with the existing structure, again creating a "seamless whole" with no distinction of old and new.

The NHL designation also cites the "uncommon degree of physical integrity that conveys the exceptional importance of the Frick as a cultural institution and as an outstanding work of architecture."[20] Leaving aside the issue of why landscape architectural integrity is absent from this statement, it is interesting to consider, then, what could happen if the Frick expanded in such a way to void the historical merit of its building. If an expansion adversely affected the existing architecture, could the Frick be de-listed from the NHL? According to *Sec. 60.14 Changes and Revisions to Properties Listed in the National Register,* a property may have its historic boundaries redrawn or even be de-listed. Changed boundaries are a less drastic measure and acknowledge the merit of the original listing while excluding those elements not worthy of consideration. The listing remains, but only for those stipulated elements. If the NHL listing were in jeopardy, especially with a loss of historic integrity, the Frick could apply to have its boundaries re-evaluated: but "if the boundary change is not accepted, the old boundaries will remain" and raise the possibility that the Frick could be removed from the NHL.[21]

A less drastic approach to change is possible however. The NHL depends upon input from State Preservation Offices, who in turn rely upon their local offices for recommendations, in this case the New York City LPC. While the Frick has had its share of highly publicized battles with the LPC, there have also been instances in which alterations have been permitted. Approval was granted by the LPC in 1983 for removal of the bluestone slate sidewalks on Fifth Avenue, between 70th and 71st Streets. One of the last remaining blocks of slate sidewalk at the time, it was replaced by Canadian granite in hopes it would be easier to maintain.[22] On July 11, 2006, the LPC approved the Frick's request to install permanent signage at the museum entrance on East 70th Street and at the Library on East 71st Street, as well as temporary signs to promote exhibitions. But a request to install a red cloth canopy at the museum's entrance was denied. The Frick wanted the canopy to protect visitors from the weather while opponents testified that a canopy "obscures the restrained, elegant architecture of the entry way" and that it would make the building look like a club, hotel or apartment building.[23]

While small matters in terms of the overall architectural significance of the Frick, these approvals and denials are interesting for two reasons. Firstly, both the signage and canopy requests had been approved by the Friends of the Upper East Side Historic Districts Council and Community Board 8 before going to the LPC for review. It was odd that approval by both of these boards would not in turn be granted by the LPC. Secondly, the plans for these installations were presented to the LPC not by a Frick staff member, but by Michael Wetstone of DBB.[24] This begs the question, if DBB had prior experience representing the Frick with the LPC, should it have been more prepared in presenting and supporting the expansion plan of 2014?

The most extensive alteration awarded by the LPC to the Frick was in June 2010. The Frick issued a press notice announcing LPC approval to enclose their sculpture gallery, notably beginning with a statement that many visitors were unaware that the Garden Court was not original to the Frick mansion, but a later Pope modification. The Frick release continued to champion its architectural changes, stating that "the presentation of works of art within the mansion never remained static either."[25] Although the Frick had physically changed little since Pope's alterations, the internal desire to expand the museum footprint burned brightly.

The gallery enclosure was a project embarked upon by Frick himself, who "had requested that Thomas Hastings plan an extension to the mansion for a sculpture gallery, and now years later **the Frick Collection now returns to that idea."**[26] The bold typeface was included in the Frick's release and there was no doubt that the Frick had drawn on historical desires to expand as justification for the project to the LPC. Frick Director Anne L. Poulet deemed the work an "adaptive reuse" project that "will fulfill a wish first expressed by its founder more than ninety-four years ago to improve upon the display and public appreciation of sculpture and the decorative arts."[27] Poulet, a specialist in European decorative arts who had been fired in 1999 from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston under the reorganization by Malcolm Rogers, was the first woman to hold the position of Director at the Frick. Her term was short however: in September 2010, just three months after the portico enclosure project was approved, she announced that she would retire in October 2011.[28]

While Poulet was at the helm of the Frick during the construction phase of the project, by December 2011 when the portico opened to the public, Ian Wardropper was the new Frick Director. The search to replace Poulet was headed by Margot Campbell Bogart, chairman of the Frick board, who reportedly narrowed the field to three candidates, including Frick curator Colin Bailey who had been passed over earlier with Poulet's hiring, but not Wardropper.[29] Wardropper was the chairman of the European sculpture and decorative arts department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 2008, he had been passed over for the position of Metropolitan Director, which went to Thomas B. Campbell, a curator in Wardropper's own department. While infamous for his purchase of a fake Gaugin in 1997 (the Faux Faun) for the Art Institute of Chicago, Wardropper had a strong scholarly background and was seen as a safe choice for the Frick.

Even so, the appointment was a surprise to many in the field. Wardropper was not known as a dynamic fund raiser – Poulet had brought in more than $55 million – but it was felt he would not force the Frick into unwanted changes.[30] Yet the selection of Wardropper suggests that the Frick did indeed want change, but on the Board's terms. Wardropper's appointment was announced on May 19, 2011, three months before Poulet's departure. He was immediately asked about expansion at the Frick and replied that "I know that they have some plans drawn up, but I've never seen them."[31] Lee Rosenbaum, creator of the arts-focused CultureGrrl blog, highlighted Frick comments regarding Wardropper's administrative capabilities and collaboration with the trustees and development department during the Metropolitan's renovation of the Wrightsman Galleries in 2006. Rosenbaum then asked the question, "could there be a major capital project in the Frick's future?"[32] Wardropper denied any expansion mandate as his directorship began, which oddly contradicted the constant chorus from the Frick that it has been destined to expand since its beginnings. Yet in an interview with Hoelterhoff in 2015, he conceded that he had inherited three architectural plans from three different firms. While not providing specific plan details, he reported that none would add more than 18,000 square feet (the 2014 DBB plan would add more than 40,000 square feet).[33]

Not only was Wardropper involved in this first major renovation of the Frick since Bayley and Page, so was DBB. The firm designed a glass enclosure for the newly named Portico Gallery for Decorative Arts and Sculpture. Located on the 71st Street side of the house, the open-air portico was original to the Carrére & Hastings building, but the limestone was threatened by weather and pollution, including vehicle exhaust fumes from Fifth Avenue traffic. Enclosing the portico would protect the original construction materials, as well as add year-round gallery space. It is significant that this project, which focused on expanded exhibit and not administrative space, met with little to no dissension from critics. In fact, it was just the opposite. The project won the 2012 AIA New York Chapter Design Award, the Architecture Merit Award, and the Friends of the Upper East Side Historic Districts 2012 Transformation Award.[34] The project demonstrated that the Frick, and DBB, was capable of achieving their expansionist goal with the approval from the LPC, while mitigating preservationist fervor in the process.[35]

A gift of porcelains from Henry H. Amhold, and the funding to pay for the construction project enabled the conversion of the portico to gallery space.[36] Although a small space, the gallery was, as Poulet said, “a very big project for us.”[37] The design was simple: enclose the portico in glass without intruding upon the existing exterior materials. A textbook example of the Secretary of the Interior’s guidelines, removable cantilevered glass panes and bronze frames were inserted between the original limestone columns. The work is literally transparent, immediately distinguishable between old and new. DBB used the Frick construction archives to develop their design, hoping to avoid the missteps that had derailed earlier expansion projects: “years ago the Frick considered more grand schemes, including underground galleries beneath its Fifth Avenue garden, but for now it is happy to work within its existing footprint.”[38]

While many critics decry the use of glass in museum expansions – from the Louvre pyramid to the Morgan enclosure– this is one instance in which opinion was favorable. But oddly enough, an earlier DBB glass-enclosure project, at the Harvard Club, led to a nasty legal battle. In 2001, DBB “slapped an ungainly glass-fronted appendage of the side of the McKim Mead & White Harvard Club on West 44th Street, [and] the club’s members mutinied in court.”[39] While the Club members eventually lost the lawsuit, many felt they “were morally justified; the new structure has aged as badly as your high-school haircut.”[40] Critic Justin Davidson summed up the Harvard Club enclosure project, and others of its ilk, with the pithy statement that “the one certainty of adding to a beloved Beaux-Arts monument is that most people are going to hate it.”[41]

The significance of the portico project on the current expansion debate is threefold. Firstly, it highlighted the Frick’s independence from architectural trends: the portico project was a modern solution to a classical structure, while in the 1970s, in the midst of modernism, the Frick had erected the classical Bayley pavilion. Secondly, it demonstrated that the Frick and DBB were capable of design that is in accordance with preservation guidelines as well as meets the museum’s needs. Thirdly, it showed that the landmarks political process can be successfully navigated by the Frick and DBB. Perhaps because the portico itself did not expand the Frick footprint, LPC approval was more easily obtained than previous attempts. The transition from the portico work, which even Frick staff deemed a small project, to the huge expansion design announced in 2014, therefore raises a number of interesting questions. Did the success of the portico project lead to false expectations that subsequent projects would be equally welcomed? And did the extensive building programs undertaken by other museums convince the Frick that they too could expand unhindered by critical response?

As an interesting side note, the Frick was not the only entity on its block requesting approvals from the LPC during this time. In October 2012, the LPC approved by unanimous vote the request by residents of 11-15 East 70th Street to install four new windows on the west side of their building, overlooking the Page garden.[42] The windows would be added to the solid brick wall on the third floor of the condominium. The Community Board 8 Landmarks Committee had approved the submission and passed the request to the LPC but dissenters worried that these cosmetic changes would not only alter the aesthetics of the neighboring Frick, but set a precedent for future work.

The Frick seemed resigned to LPC approval for the windows, issuing a statement that “the deliberation of the Landmarks Preservation Commission is a very thoughtful process, and we fully respect the decision of that body.”[43] But there was certainly basis for contesting the approval. LPC Deputy Director Robert Goldsmith noted that the windows did not conform with the LPC’s own rules, which had stipulated three, not four, windows all spaced twenty feet apart. The Frick could have also argued that approval would not have met Goldberg’s mandate that “the proposed lot-line windows do not detract from the significant architectural features of the adjacent buildings.”[44] Even

Commissioner Michael Devonshire, who approved the window installation, acknowledged that the windows could be problematic for the Frick when he commented "I hope I'm not standing in the garden the day when a teenager opens a window and Led Zeppelin is playing out of his bedroom in the condo."[45] In the end, the LPC approved the request and windows were installed overlooking the Page garden, a view never intended by Page or, one surmises, by anyone at the Frick.

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Chapter 9. Manifest Destiny.

Most critics of the Frick's expansion plan did not object to expansion per se, but had concerns about the proposed size, scale and style of the addition. Alternative designs were urged and architectural sensitivity was called for, deemed to be very much lacking in the plan submitted by DBB. Yet there were those dismayed by the expansion itself, and the rhetoric used by the Frick to support its plan. Design critic David Masello, who reportedly visited the Frick on a weekly basis, claimed that the Frick "was not supposed to need any more room" as Henry Clay Frick himself had finished the collection in 1914.[1] Masello wrote that museums do not need all the space they desire and that this "Manifest Destiny doctrine that museums have adopted has to end somewhere."[2] Masello was perhaps responding to the backlash of other museum expansions, many of them deemed failures. But similar thoughts were expressed by Birnbaum, who called the Frick's rationale for expansion "museological Manifest Destiny."[3]

Manuela Hoelterhoff, *Bloomberg News* arts editor, also questioned the museum's need to expand, sarcastically wondering if "exiting visitors fumed: "Very disappointing! I will never come back until you build a bigger gift shop and let me see Mrs. Frick's bedroom."[4] Hoelterhoff maintained that the past changes to the Frick had been sensitively achieved, but the new DBD plan was "bulking it up" to create something unlike the gem that is the Frick. While Hoelterhoff worried that the proposed design would ruin the Frick – writing that similar work at the Morgan had left it with a "lobby with a façade like a gigantic Sub-Zero refrigerator" – it was the expansion itself and not the design that was her major concern.[5] In her view, bigger was certainly not better.

In an article dated November 11, 2014, Hoelterhoff related her interview with Everett Fahy, director of the Frick from 1973 to 1986. The Page garden and Bayley pavilion were constructed during Fahy's tenure and he understandably disagreed with the opinion that a viewing garden could not be significant. Unsurprisingly, Fahy also offered an opposing viewpoint to that of Wardropper, stating that the Page garden was not an acceptable price to pay for expansion.[6] Fahy echoed this idea of museum manifest destiny when he said "what I see is that he [Wardropper] or the trustees want to do everything that a large museum does."[7] Such statements can be attributed to contrariness, or the not atypical schism between past and present leadership. But Fahy's salient point was that the Frick is not a large museum, and attempting to become one will have consequences. Fahy's divergence from the expansionist Frick regime was illustrated still further, with his avowal that the Frick is "a house museum" and "if it were kept as a house museum it would serve its purpose."[8]

However, perhaps in his zeal to protect the garden and pavilion, Fahy suggested the Library as an expansion site. The Library is also landmarked, and any exterior changes would need the approval of the LPC and would presumably raise preservationists concerns of its own. A more realistic site mentioned by Fahy was the Berry-Hill Gallery, adjacent to the Frick on East 70th Street. According to Fahy, though, "Wardropper told me that the space didn't work. But I don't understand that, since the gallery had sales and exhibitions."[9]

To put the Frick expansion plans in perspective, it is helpful to look at projects of similar scope and intent. As one of many museums in New York, The Frick Collection competes for funding, visitors and status. Expansion has been the route taken by much of the "competition" and it is therefore unsurprising that the Frick would also view expansion as a necessary capital investment to ensure its future. The Frick is a small museum, which is part of its charm. But visitor attendance has risen 33% over the past ten years and the art collection itself continues to grow.[10] The Frick also must meet the legal criteria mandated by 501© tax status: it needs to "live up to its public charity designation and educate the public, rather than just sitting there displaying art many people do not understand."[11]

While cogent arguments have been made that the Frick physical footprint is fine as it is, others concede that the Frick, like any institution, needs to grow to survive. But if it is to grow, surely there is a way to do so that does not destroy the special character of the place nor succumb to the manifest destiny approach inflicted by similar institutions. But taking a proactive stance on change is not easy, particularly for the Frick which architecturally and intellectually is more steeped in the past than the present. The Frick maintains that the only feasible way to expand is to build up, dismissing options such as lateral movement into neighboring townhouses or underground facilities. It is therefore instructive to look at the expansion projects of two similar museums – the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum and the Morgan Library & Museum – that like the Frick originated as private homes.

While Henry Clay Frick might object to comparisons to his business nemesis Andrew Carnegie, Carnegie's home-turned-museum serves as a plausible model for the Frick. The Cooper Hewitt, at Two East 91st Street (Babb, Cook & Willard, 1899-1903), in December 2014 reopened after closing in 2011 for a "transformation." Gallery space was added throughout the four floors, increasing display space by 60%, and new service and support areas were constructed, all while keeping the exterior intact. Even the museum's logo was updated as the hyphen was dropped between Cooper and Hewitt. Reviews were positive: "the Carnegie mansion, which often felt like an obstacle in the past, is very much intact and present in the viewing experience, yet the galleries can now better accommodate contemporary shows and innovative exhibition design."[12] *The New Yorker* critic Alexandra Lange praised the new space, writing that "it's a relief that the Cooper Hewitt finally spent the time and the money to make their 1902 Carnegie Mansion sing."[13]

Andrew Carnegie, his wife Louise and their five-year old daughter Margaret took residence of the mansion on December 12, 1902. At the time, the house was located so far uptown that its neighbors were farmers, many living in shanties. Unlike the classical limestone Frick home, the Carnegie mansion has been described as looking "like a bank vault, chunky and dark."[14] But it was one of the earliest homes in the city to have electricity and climate control systems, an elevator, a pipe organ, and exotic wood carvings throughout, all of which made it worth the journey uptown. This was an enormous private home; the 1915 census record reported 27 servants residing in the house.[15] Carnegie passed away in 1919, just a few days before Frick, and like Adelaide Frick, Carnegie's wife Louise lived in the house until her death, in 1946.

In the transformation from private home to public gallery, "house and museum have always made an awkward fit, a standoff between preservation and innovation."[16] Does the home itself become an artifact, or do the exhibitions take center stage? At the Frick it is a mix of both, as the house was built to Frick's standards, with the intent to convert house to museum. The Frick interior therefore is by design both private and public. The Carnegie mansion is a different type of museum experience; the modern design exhibits were not part of Carnegie's collection. While the exterior of the mansion remains, the interior of Carnegie's home has been completely given over to display areas and today would be unrecognizable to the Carnegie family.

While the interior does not match the exterior in terms of materials or style, there is cohesion with the retention of the original Carnegie footprint. The strategy was to give over the historic home to gallery space as much as possible, shifting administrative functions to nearby townhouses and storing collections off-site. The resulting campus-like collection of buildings enhances the sense of place and space the museum lends to the neighborhood. The Frick took the opposite approach, purchasing neighboring buildings with the intent to tear them down, rather than adapt these townhouses for use by the Collection.

A large reception hall was dropped from the project at the Cooper Hewitt and the coat check area is still small to allow the installation of new revenue-generating areas including a shop and café. Notably, the café and a small garden are open to the general public via a new entrance on 90th Street.[17] One wonders if these new elements induced a fit of jealousy by Frick trustees in search of their own new revenue streams. Like the Frick's project to enclose its portico sculpture garden in 2011, the Cooper Hewitt renovation was modest, but effective. As a similar landmarked mansion-cum-museum, the Cooper Hewitt serves as a guidepost for the Frick. Like the Cooper Hewitt, "maybe the Frick can learn to live with a cramped coat-check area or move the director's office offsite. The Cooper Hewitt, a partially publicly funded museum, seems to have found a way – it's a refreshing example of public stewardship, institutional self-reflection, and intelligent restraint."[18]

The Morgan Library & Museum series of expansions received far less laudatory reviews. The Morgan was closed for construction for more than three years and upon its reopening was vilified. Like the Frick, The Morgan is a Beaux-Arts style building; unlike the Frick limestone expansions, the new Morgan wing was contemporary glass and steel. Critics of the Frick plan pointed to the Morgan as a harbinger of modernist encroachment on a beloved edifice. The historical similarities shared by the Morgan and Frick are instructive should the Frick move forward with a revised expansion plan. Like the Frick, the Morgan Library expanded to neighboring lots and then built upwards, and like the Frick the Morgan plan was controversial. The 2006 Renzo Piano work at the Morgan Library "still has some people foaming in fury" as he "tied together an eclectic collection of historic buildings (a Victorian brown-stone, J.P. Morgan's baronial library by McKim Mead and White and a 1928 annex) with modernist connective tissue, all pure lines and clear glass."[19]

An adjacent private townhouse, which had been purchased in 1905 by Pierpont Morgan for his son J.P. Morgan Jr., was subsequently sold to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, which used it as their headquarters. The house was then awarded Landmark status, but the Church fought to have it stricken from the register so it could legally tear down the house and replace it with an office tower. The New York Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the church, that the Landmark designation was a "naked taking" by the state and that the church's economic hardship outweighed the landmark's importance.[20] Eventually the house was indeed delisted by the Landmarks Commission, but by then there was no longer sufficient funding to demolish the house and erect a tower. Instead, a six-story office building was constructed on 37th Street, to the east of the existing townhouse. In 1987, the brownstone was listed for sale and the Morgan met the asking price of $15 million; a small price to reclaim a piece of its history and a property adjacent to their main Library.[21] The Morgan launched a capital expansion campaign, but limited funds meant that not even the Morgan could afford to tear down both the brownstone and adjacent office building. While not driven by preservationist concerns, the outcome was that the Morgan townhouse was saved; ironically, the Widener townhouse, which was a preservationist issue for the Frick, had been lost.

Another significant similarity between the Morgan and the Frick was the presence of an historic garden: celebrated landscape architect Beatrice Farrand (1872 - 1959) designed the Morgan garden in the 1920s. As part of the remodel in the 1990s, the garden was revitalized as a link between the old and new library buildings. According to Morgan director Charles Pierce, the glass garden was to invoke the feel of an English conservatory or French jardins des plantes as well as "perpetuate the spirit of Beatrix Farrand's garden, while accommodating itself to the realities of urban life. It would permit what Andrew Marvell long ago described as 'a green thought in a green shade.'"[22] Completed in 1991, the garden court was deemed a success; it fulfilled the task of joining the old and new buildings and was a bright, airy public space. It was also indicative of future expansion, as "the 'Garden Court' emerged as a powerful outward and visible sign of the Library's commitment to growth and public access."[23]

The Farrand garden was an amalgamation of the Page outdoor garden and the Pope indoor courtyard garden at the Frick. By the 1990s, Farrand's design now seemed "a rather stiff, formal parterre meant principally for viewing, for physical access was confined to a strictly utilitarian doorway."[24] Farrand's garden, like Page's at the Frick, was a viewing garden and now deemed unsuitable. A key difference in the gardens was location: Farrand's passive garden was in a central courtyard, similar to Pope's interior courtyard at the Frick which serves as a main foyer. To retain the private sense of space, Farrand's garden was now purposefully not given the prime entrance position, for "to make the garden the point of entry, with all the activity this implies, would be to destroy the tranquility which is one of the most attractive, and in New York, most irreplaceable attributes of the place."[25]

Beyond the Cooper Hewitt and Morgan projects, museum expansion has become the norm in New York City. The new Whitney Museum of American Art, designed by Renzo Piano, opened in May 2015 on Gansevoort Street adjacent to the High Line. Piano's design borrowed city and park views, including open air terraces with views of the Statue of Liberty, the Empire State Building, the Hudson River and the surrounding neighborhood. The first level of the building is open to the public and a restaurant helps lure people to the site. The Whitney left the Upper East Side – some would say "escaped" – after numerous attempts to expand were denied by protesting neighborhood groups, Community Board 8, and the Landmarks Commission.[26]

As Datel noted, "the preservation movement has strengthened sympathy for the old and the familiar, partly because of unsatisfactory experiences with modern architecture and urban planning."[27] Particularly when we think of previous museum expansions, and the conflict they have raised, this is a salient point. The vociferous debate over the proposed $200 million eleven-story addition designed by Rem Koolhaus at the Whitney affirmed the difficulties faced by landmarked buildings when considering alterations. Rick Bell, AIA New York Executive Director, while not lauding the new Whitney, acknowledged that "I also realize that it is almost impossible to build anything on Manhattan's Upper East Side that does not pander to the residents' misperception of their area as an oasis of delicately scaled and classical buildings."[28]

The Metropolitan Museum of Art has leased the old Whitney building, designed by Marcel Brauer, and opened in March 2016 to fittingly exhibit their collection of modern and contemporary art. Meanwhile, MOMA has been in a cycle of destruction and reconstruction for years as it "keeps knocking down anything that sits in its expansionist path."[29] MOMA is a prime example of manifest destiny as practiced by museums: the $800 million dollar renovation of MOMA has raised more issues than it has solved, without bettering the visitor experience. The purchase and subsequent destruction of the American Folk Art Museum (Williams-Tsien, 2001) amidst much criticism was justified by MOMA as necessary for its expansion. Despite, or perhaps because of, the expansion projects, the MOMA visitor experience remains flawed. Kimmelman commented that viewing exhibits at MOMA is "as jammed and joyless as the Van Wyck Expressway on a Friday in July."[30]

Other museums have literally gone underground in their search for more space. The Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, The Hague, Netherlands, reopened in June 2014 after a renovation by Hans van Heeswijk Architects, with a new below-grade visitor arrival area that connects to an adjacent annex. This small 17th century gallery was once too a private home and offers conceptual ideas for the Frick. At the British Museum, 70% of its new space is below ground, with an enlarged footprint that "virtually nobody knows about…because the expansive new facility, which was designed by the firm of star architect Richard Rogers, is completely tucked into the gap between the sprawling institution's older buildings, and buried beneath its floors."[31] The Philadelphia Museum of Art and Frank Gehry have collaborated on an expansion creating 55,000 square feet of new underground gallery space. Even the Morgan went underground, with more than half of the new 69,400 square foot addition below grade. According to project architect Renzo Piano, "there is no better place to preserve books forever than Manhattan schist."[32] This underground movement is one that the Frick may want to join as it avoids public outcry while satisfying expansionist mandates.

Twenty-five years ago, Kimmelman wrote about the "revolution" at the Guggenheim and how it could impact other museums.[33] The Guggenheim had closed to finish construction on its annex and Museum Director Thomas Krens had suggested that not only would there be massive changes to the Frank Lloyd Wright building, but to the management and collection of the museum. A new global footprint would be developed with Guggenheim branches around the world; Venice would host the "European franchise" (The Peggy Guggenheim Collection). These branch locations would provide more opportunities to exhibit artwork, to attract paying visitors, and to share costs with sponsors and local governments. Like a touring exhibit, but with more staying power, they would minimize the host institution's financial risks, decrease the resources needed at the main facility, and bring the "brand name" to a new audience.

But if the franchise model were to be the new best way to run a museum, similar to a fast food restaurant, why was it necessary to expand the original Wright building? Would not decentralization by definition direct resources away from the central tenet?

Part of a museum's allure is the building itself, the sense of adventure and embarkation to someplace special. Built surroundings cannot be easily replicated. The Peggy Guggenheim Museum in Venice has a fantastic location, hidden amidst winding narrow streets on the canal, but visiting it is a very different experience than visiting Wright's Guggenheim on the Upper East Side. One location cannot replace or replicate the other.

In 2002, the Guggenheim cut staff and programs while "de-accessionizing" $15 million of their collection to help fund its expansion project.[34] This begged the question of the appropriateness of selling off art to build more space to exhibit art. Museums at this time were either planning to expand or under construction, Birnbaum's museological manifest destiny at work: MOMA was under construction, with much of its artworks shifted to Long Island City and The Morgan was closed for yet another mega-million dollar renovation. However, the economy was shifting downward and "among New York museums these days, those that are not already in the process of realizing some mega-expansion folly are suffering the embarrassment of having to announce the cancellation of their projected expansions, which – surprise, surprise – it has suddenly been discovered the museums can no longer afford."[35]

Birnbaum suggests that these periodic downturns in funding availability are opportunities to step back and reassess the goals and values of expansion plans, and specifically calls for the inclusion of landscapes within the overall planning and design process, which are all too often ignored or sandwiched in during the final project phase. As such, financial constraints that halt expansions offer the opportunity for "a more holistic reevaluation of their proposed building and site expansion programs, one that would result in built work in which curatorial values previously placed solely on architecture and collections would be extended to include landscape, and both the physical and historical context for the museum would be given weight in planning and design decision making."[36]

The Frick vaulted into the debate about museum expansion without providing information regarding its funding, so it is difficult to assess whether financial concerns affected the project. Perhaps the Frick, seeing the "increased competition for the cultural spotlight, as well as a rebound in fund-raising since the dark days of the economic downturn"[37] thought the timing was right to expand. If this is indeed what Alfiero calls the age of "mega-museums," could the Frick afford to be left behind?[38] When museums outside of New York embraced expansion as well – the LA County Museum of Art, the Miami Art Museum (Perez Art Museum Miami), the Cleveland Museum of Art and the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts to name but a few – it is not surprising that the Frick followed their lead.

The Frick expansion is only the latest example of manifest destiny as practiced by museums, threatening not just the Page garden and Bayley pavilion, but the experience of the Frick itself. Birnbaum's "challenge to extend stewardship practices beyond art and architecture to include landscape"[39] in considering museum expansions has implications beyond the Frick. Lawrence Halprin's work at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (1974) and the Dan Kiley landscape at the Tampa Museum of Art (1984) are similarly contested spaces. At the Kimbell Art Museum, Piano's proposed addition would be located to the west of the existing building in a location he dismissively referred to as a "vast lawn dotted with trees." This lawn however was integral to architect Louis Kahn's plan for the museum, designed "to lend the museum a sense of place; the trees and lawn were part of the design, not an afterthought and not just empty space."[40]

These are just a few examples of expansions that do not embrace their own site, ignoring the purposeful interaction of land and building created by their designers. Not all landscapes are significant and worth saving, but neither are all buildings. However, when contemplating expansion, museums and other cultural institutions should be on the forefront of sound design practices, unencumbered by unrealistic expansionist sensibilities. This includes (1) understanding and communicating the museum's mission; (2) delineating the space required to meet real needs; and (3) the capacity to compromise. Despite Wardropper's claim that the Frick "has always planned on expanding,"[41] it has historically failed in these three areas. Communication has been one-sided and the function of new space questioned as the Frick has capitulated, not compromised, within its expansionist agenda.

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Chapter 10. The Greater Good?

While the majority of reactions to the Frick expansion announcement were negative, there were some cultural heavy-weights who favored the expansion. Support came from those defending private property rights, from those who liked the proposed design, and from others resigned to yet another expansion project but optimistic the Frick would bring sensitivity and finesse to the execution of the addition, unlike many recent museum expansion projects. The Frick naturally, along with architectural firm DBB, was the biggest champion of the plan. DBB's concept included a limestone façade echoing the work of Hastings and Pope and "scale in keeping with the structures of the surrounding neighborhood."[1] What surprised many reviewers was that as the "surrounding neighborhood" included tall apartment buildings, this harmonization in scale of the proposed expansion was with these buildings, not the Frick museum.

The Frick announced its expansion plan on June 10, 2014; five weeks later museum officials said that public outcry had been relatively modest. Wardropper stated that as of early July, he had received only four letters of complaint but agreed that more was likely: "any architectural change in New York engenders controversy, and this surely will."[2] Wardropper sent letters to the immediate neighbors of the Frick and scheduled meetings with those who would be affected by the construction. He affirmed the attributes of the Frick while simultaneously moving forward to change it, commenting that "I think over time I can convince most of those people that we're doing the right thing, and that's where I think the trust can come in. We love this place. We don't want it adversely affected."[3]

It was Birnbaum who set off a flutter of protest in July 2014 when he first mentioned the Russell Page connection to the Frick plan. A coalition, Unite to Save the Frick (USF), was formed and the New York chapter of the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA), Municipal Art Society, and other institutions and noted individuals voiced their opposition to the Frick plan. USF enjoined global artists to write to Mayor Bill de Blasio and the NYC LPC to "deny the Frick Collection gallery's ill-conceived proposed expansion plan."[4] The USF platform was that the Page garden and Bayley pavilion were the "architectural masterstroke that positions the Henry Clay Frick mansion in counterpoint to the Manhattan street grid. Razing these two elegant and essential elements and replacing them with an institutional 106-foot tower will indeed destroy the Frick experience for artists and art lovers around the world."[5]

For the undecided, Wardropper made assurances that the uniqueness and special qualities of the Frick would be maintained. He told the *New York Times* that "we and our public revere the authenticity, the intimacy of the space. So this is a responsibility we take very seriously."[6] And the Frick, as with prior projects, brought in DBB to speak on their behalf: DBB architect Carl Krebs affirmed that the history of the Frick was important to their expansion design, as "you feel the presence of the founder when you walk inside. That is something critical that can't be lost."[7] In the *Arts Journal*, Lee Rosenbaum noted that while the Frick press announcement did not mention the Morgan Library by name, it made clear that the Frick and DBB approach would be the "antithesis" of the Morgan experience, "keeping with the scale and design of the original house and the library wing" and demonstrating "reverence for the 1913-14 Frick Mansion and the 1935 additions."[8] Rosenbaum was however concerned that in attempting to "smooth the inevitably rocky road through the public-approval process," DBB had gone too far and "opted to slavishly ape the material and detailing of the century-old building. Deference is one thing; dutifully copying the superannuated Beaux-Arts vocabulary is another."[9] The dilemma of distinction versus compatibility was in play, and while critics like Rosenbaum were more concerned with architectural originality than preservation protocols, the conclusion reached was the same: the design as submitted was flawed.

In the *New Yorker*, art critic Peter Schjeldahl agreed that the expansion would "supersize the Frick Collection" but then admitted that "I'm a little surprised to be O.K. with the changes."[10] At the Frick, Schjeldahl "cherished the warmth of a personal collection in a private, albeit opulent, house – in contrast to the meat-rack chill of committee-curated big museums." But while "we happy few would haunt the Frick," times were changing.[11] Museum manifest destiny had ushered in the mega-museums and rather than fight the trend, the Frick should embrace it as well. In response to critics alleging that if Henry Clay Frick had seen the expansion plans, he would have rolled over in his grave, Schjeldahl explained that Frick would have wanted this expansion to ensure that his mission to provide a place "for the use and benefit of all persons whomsoever" would be fulfilled.[12]

Schjeldahl conceded "one solid point of debate" – the putative integrity of the house –and asked "should the museum be preserved as a museum piece, in itself?"[13] But is this really the appropriate question? Must the Frick be preserved as a house museum, or not at all? Presenting this as the only choice negates the advances in preservation legislation over the past fifty years, returning to the early days of historic house conservation. Why cannot the Frick remain a viable, working historic institution within the current structures of historic and cultural preservation?

The debate was not covered solely by architectural and cultural-focused media. In January 2015, a fact-muddled article in *Crain's* supporting the Frick expansion focused on the events of the 1970s, noting that townhouses purchased and demolished by the Frick were to be replaced by new construction to connect the museum to the library. But the article then stated that the Frick "couldn't afford to do the project then, so they created a splendid private garden on the expansion site in the interim."[14] The Frick did create such a garden – the Page garden – but as a result of the Frick's inability to secure LPC approval for an addition, not due to financial constraints. The implication was that past decisions not to build were wholly of the Frick's choosing, independent of any outside jurisdiction. This was patently not the case.

Crain's further misrepresented the historical background with the statement that Frick neighbors "suddenly blessed with a view of a garden rather than the sides of buildings, came to treasure the green space, although (or perhaps because) it was closed to the public."[15] The inference again was that the Frick voluntarily pulled back their plans when they didn't have funding, created a garden that the neighbors enjoyed for free, and was now unfairly faced with complaints from these very residents. According to *Crain's*, "the neighbor's kvetching, boiled down, is that they will lose their view of a closed garden."[16] *Crain's* deemed the Frick plan a "thoughtfully updated and designed proposal" but the validity of its architectural criticism was secondary to their position that the Frick's property rights took precedence over preservation.

Perhaps the most influential support of the project came from the *Wall Street Journal*, in an article by Julie Iovine published on December 16, 2014. Writing “In Defense of the Frick,” Iovine maintained that change is the way of the world and that we prosper from it, that “ruthless change has been a constant along Fifth Avenue, but so has public benefit.”[17] The demolition of Hunt’s Lenox Library – “down went the library” – was necessary in order to make way for Frick and Carrére & Hastings. Writing that “expansion has always been part of the Frick’s thinking, specifically with the notion of saving the main house for art and moving out ancillary activities and administration,” Iovine is one of the few critics who looked into the Frick’s purchase of the townhouses on East 70th Street in detail.[18] She also gave credit to Page, citing his garden as “a universally admired…mature work by a world-famous midcentury landscape designer” but then agreed with the Frick that while “the museum did not lightly decide to eliminate it,” destroying Page’s garden was the “only way to adequately discharge its mission.”[19]

Almost as an afterthought, Iovine seized on a historical nugget: Frick had offered to move the Lenox Library to another site, before he eventually demolished it. Following Frick’s lead, Iovine asked “why not…have the 60- by 80-foot garden transplanted to a site in nearby Harlem – where gardens are truly scarce and people might actually be allowed to sit in it?”[20] She further confounded landscape architects by writing about the proposed new rooftop garden at the Frick, “as we are in the midst of a landscape renaissance, the opportunity to find a talent as distinguished as Russell Page to design that garden is great.”[21] Responding to this suggestion, Christabel Gough, secretary of the Society for the Architecture of the City, in a letter to the *Wall Street Journal,* wrote that the Page garden “is totally site specific and could not be anywhere else.”[22] Echoing

Page's comments that the garden was designed specifically for the Frick site, Gough added that "for all this beauty to be destroyed and replaced by the mundane facilities that are proposed is heartbreaking."

Iovine received considerable criticism as the result of these suggestions, which undermined her more salient arguments. She noted the history of "build, destroy, rebuild" that has marked the Frick's passage, and saw the expansion as a natural part of this established cycle. The *New York Post* echoed her support for the Frick to enact change, but for a different reason: the *Post's* commentary used the issue to challenge the perceived elite snobbery of the *New York Times*. The coverage from the two papers was important as it signified the political divide in the debate, as well as the increasing public interest in the expansion that was developing. In August 2014, the *Post's* James Gardner claimed that the Frick plan, "one of the most important and beneficial changes to the cultural life of New York City," was now imperiled by "a single article" in the *New York Times* by architecture critic Michael Kimmelman.[23] Gardner wrote that Kimmelman "may have triggered the sort of hysteria" that would compel the LPC to deny approval to the project. He denounced Kimmelman's article as "ill-considered" and critical of the plan "not so much on its own merits, as on the palpable demerits of other recent expansions by New York cultural institutions."[24]

Kimmelman had spoken and written expansively on the issue of the Frick and while one may not agree with his conclusions, his arguments were cogent. Gardner's contention that Kimmelman's opposition may have roots in the dismal record of other museum expansions did have merit. The Frick Collection co-existed with hundreds of cultural institutions in New York City, and to pretend that manifest destiny had not infected museum expansion plans would be not only naïve but nearly impossible. Gardner declared that just because other expansions have been more for the worse than the better, doesn't mean that the Frick "shouldn't have the right to expand or that it will fall into the same trap as others have before."[25] And this is of course true. The Frick did have the right to expand, with approval from the LPC just as all other landmarked structures required. And the Frick may very well avoid the pitfalls plaguing other expansion projects – or it may not. To suggest that any critic ignore the possibility that an expansion may be a detriment seemed disingenuous on Gardner's behalf however.

Gardner differed with Kimmelman regarding the Page garden as well, referring to it condescendingly as "the Frick's small outdoor garden at the back." He swiped at Kimmelman's defense of the garden, writing that "the garden is indeed pleasant, but it was built only as filler back in the '70s."[26] His use of the words "pleasant" and "filler" dismissed Page's work of all significance. But then Gardener erred, claiming that the Page garden was not landmarked. While not individually landmarked as it is less than fifty years old, the Page garden was included in the Frick LPC designation, within the Upper East Side Historic District, and as part of the Frick listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

The Post contended that the "reasons to alter and expand the Frick are far more compelling than the option to do nothing."[27] The Frick agreed with this assessment, perfectly representing the mega-museum movement, embracing its jewel-box uniqueness while campaigning for additional space. The historic changes at the museum, particularly Pope's transformation of house to museum, exemplified that "in order to make way for the new, there has been, on occasion, the need to demolish some of the past structures."[28]

According to Wardropper, the Frick had looked at several expansion designs that would have not required destruction, but “concluded that the original plan calling for an addition on the entire parcel is the best solution to satisfy the Frick’s needs.”[29]

According to the Frick, its needs were no longer being met. The collection has grown from 635 works in 1935 to 1,119 in 2014, with “a gentle but notable rise in annual attendance” to an average of nearly 340,000 visitors since 2011.[30] The addition would add 25% more space to the Museum and six-story Library; while the Frick explained this included 50% more space for temporary exhibits and 24% more for permanent collections, critics contended that the expansion would provide little additional gallery space.[31] The majority of new space would be used for the gift shop, larger entrance hallway, coatrooms and restrooms, ticketing, classrooms and an auditorium. The Frick underground galleries, once used as seminar rooms, have been described as “inadequate, unappealing and unworthy of the superlative quality of much that has been displayed there.”[32] Wardropper claimed that “what we have now is byzantine,” which while exaggerated did not mean there were not real issues to be addressed.[33]

But is the call for new facilities based on an overall expanding audience, or does the Frick experience larger audiences for select, special events? A single exhibit in 2013-14, “Vermeer, Rembrandt, and Hale: Masterpieces of Dutch Painting from the Mauritshuis” attracted 235,000 visitors. Patrons were forced to wait outdoors in long lines, residents complained, and the crowds that flocked to the exhibit were deemed “intolerable” by Frick regulars. While certainly profitable for the Frick, the exhibit crowds “shattered” the intimacy of the Frick, “turning art viewing into a contact sport.”[34] The Frick maintained that these super-exhibitions “have underscored the strong public demand and the need for additional space in order to continue to fulfill the Frick's mission of providing the public easy access to the institution's offerings."[35] If mega-exhibitions were to be the new norm at the Frick, then expansion was understandable. But this consideration led to even more concern amongst critics who maintained that "crowds are not what the Frick needs, but Frick might not agree."[36]

Coupled with this concern was the perception that the Frick was selectively discarding its history. With regard to the Page garden, an unnamed Frick official stated, "It's a beautiful garden. We built it."[37] This acknowledged the garden as part of the Frick culture and historical, under its ownership umbrella. But which history would the Frick employ to determine its future? The Page garden was not part of the original house; but neither were the Pope revisions, and before that, Carrére and Hastings built on the ruins of the Lenox. It appeared to critics that the Frick was selectively employing its history, applying standards of authenticity to suit their purpose; the pavilion and garden were not original, therefore not authentic, and therefore expendable.

Even Krebs of DBB spoke of a more encompassing history, that "the evolution of the Frick has been marked by a combination of a consistent design vocabulary, high architectural quality, and respectful additions and alterations."[38] DBB has significant historic building experience, earning more than 175 design awards, many for work on the Rose Main Reading Room and Salomon Room at the New York Public Library (Carrere & Hastings, 1911) and the National September 11 Memorial Museum. They clearly have a solid reputation "for resourcefully working within the constraints of existing spaces, both in its restoration, adaptive reuse and expansion," and their work on the Frick portico in 2011 was highly praised.[39] But in this case DBB seemed to have wandered off-base.

While Krebs looked at the broader Frick site, it was as “a country house in the city.”[40] Relating “a country house” to its urban neighborhood by attaching a large tower addition to it seemed like an overly-forced solution.

At the Frick, it was Carrére and Hastings and Pope, not van Dyke or Bayley or Page, that were representative of the authentic Frick. Destruction of the Page garden and Bayley pavilion was not only vindicated, but presented as an opportunity to upgrade with DBB’s construction – also classical but somehow deemed more suitable to the Hastings and Pope work. Wardropper encapsulated this sentiment, stating that the garden “is not in any way original to either then 1914 house or the 1935 house. I just feel the greater good is to use the space that was always intended for the needs of the institution.”[41]

The task for the Frick now was to publicly reconcile this “permanency” issue of the 1970s additions with newly defined “museum needs.” Usage of phrases “the greater good” and “always intended” to justify the destruction of the Page garden had already raised concerns. Statements that the garden was a temporary solution, not a permanent one, catapulted the debate to a new level. In a letter to the editor of the website “Our Town New York,” Wardropper referred to the terrace and “interim garden…as placeholders for approximately ten years until financing for a larger addition could be secured.”[42] Since the historical records showed that the garden, initially a temporary solution, was indeed permanent, the Frick needed to counter-claim this permanency.

Frick officials contended that “the garden was intended as a temporary step until the museum could fund a full expansion, and, save for about one party a year, the garden is inaccessible.”[43] In a 2010 press release issued by the Frick, announcing LPC approval to enclose the sculpture gallery, the Pope alterations from house to museum – with the Frick "nearly doubling its size" – were recalled. The release also included the statement that during the LPC meeting on June 22, 2010, the Frick received approval "to enclose an underutilized portion of the property, the portico in the Fifth Avenue Garden, which is viewable from inside the house but not open to the general public."[44] The allusion to Pope was precedential justification for the cycle of destruction and rebuilding at the Frick. But even more interesting was the use of the word "underutilized" to describe the sculpture gallery, as the Frick was now employing similar language in discussing the Page garden.

Led by Birnbaum's Cultural Landscape Foundation and the Coalition to Save the Frick, media and LPC reports, as well as documents from the Frick itself, were uncovered that established the permanent intentions for the garden. A Frick press release from 1977, anonymously provided to Birnbaum, detailed the new pavilion which would "harmonize with the main building in scale, materials, decoration and color" and lauds Bayley as "a leader in the preservation of old buildings."[45] Interestingly enough, these same sentiments were applied to the DBB design of 2014 – odd that one is now fit only to be destroyed. More significantly however, the release clearly stated that the Frick would "erect a small one-story pavilion and a permanent garden. These revised plans were accepted by the Landmarks Commission on May 23, 1974, and construction began in May of 1975."

Roberta Brandes Gratz, a former LPC representative, said that on the issue of permanence the original landmark decree in 1973 and the Frick's move to a permanent garden "would have to be taken very, very seriously, because there is no qualitative need for this expansion. This is not really necessary for exhibition purposes. Given that, the permanence issue will be more important."[46] Page's biographer, Gabrielle van Zuylen, had no uncertainty regarding the garden status: as she discussed in her book published in 1991, "the garden is now permanent."[47] Paula Deitz, author *Of Gardens* (2011), wrote that at the Frick "although there was talk of a temporary garden and future expansion, the garden has in fact become a permanent visual amenity."[48]

With all evidence pointing to the intention of a permanent garden, in a bit of semantic scrambling Wardropper then claimed that "permanent meant a garden that would last for at least a few years until the museum could build the building that was needed. We're now forty years later and at that point."[49] There is no doubt that change had come through the years to the Frick, in its physical entity as well as growth in attendance and the art collection itself. But it seemed disingenuous at best for Wardropper to redefine permanent as meaning temporary. Kimmelman noted the Frick's frustration while taking a more pragmatic approach based on the reality of the garden, rather than a battle over definitions or labels. He wrote that over time, things "become permanent because they're admired" – the Page garden was permanent because it had been admired and nurtured for over forty years.[50]

While proving that the contribution of Bayley and Pope was never meant to be a "placeholder" was important to the architectural and landscape significance of the site, the issue was also a perceptual one – the Frick was now seen to be in conflict with its own history. In the *Post*, Gardner had optimistically written that "as long as the Landmarks Preservation Commission doesn't stand in its way, the Frick will get it right."[51] He, like others, believed that the Frick, "one of the most serious and high-minded cultural institutions in New York," would erect an addition that was architecturally in keeping with the space. But as the debate continued, the Frick was now on the defensive, attempting to minimize damage as dissention mounted.

In October 2014, Simeon Bankoff, executive director of the New York Historic Districts Council, issued a statement that the Council had "determined that we cannot support the proposed institutional expansion at the individually landmarked Frick."[52] The Council's Public Review Committee reviews every public hearing proposal of designated properties for the LPC, and as such gaining their approval would have been a boost to the Frick plan. Interestingly, the Council looked to the Frick's past leadership for guidance. A quote from Frederick Clapp at the 1935 opening of the Frick – "the collection does not aim at competing with vast institutions" – convinced the Council that the Frick was intended to be a smaller museum, with a residential and not institutional environment.[53] Bankoff concluded by noting that "any necessary expansion must be achieved with equal individuality rather than giving in to the mania for mindless growth that has afflicted so many other New York institutions."[54]

While Bankoff represented the anti-museum manifest destiny faction, Robert Stern, dean of the Yale School of Architecture, represented supporters especially concerned about the Page garden: it was "as important as a tapestry or even a painting" and an "inextricable element of the Frick's architectural character."[55] Noted architects and landscape architects, the Garden Club of America, founder of the Central Park Conservancy Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, Defenders of the Historic Upper East Side and preservations professionals voiced their concerns as well. The Frick countered with plans for a new meditative rooftop space that would replace Page's garden, which with the existing Fifth Avenue garden and nearby Central Park formed a continuum of three green spaces at the Frick. Kimmelman was not impressed, writing “the museum has three Vermeers, too. That’s not an argument for trading one in.”[56] *Crain’s* however supported the new rooftop garden: “we side with the other 8.3 million New Yorkers and 55 million tourists who would get a garden they can visit – and a vastly superior ‘house museum’ experience too.”[57]

The fate of the garden did not rest solely on establishing permanent intent, but there is no doubt that the publicized debate on the issue influenced the outcome. The lot number on which it sits was included in the historic designation, so any alteration required LPC approval. The consensus was that this LPC approval would be extremely difficult to achieve and that protracted hearings and even lawsuits could effectively delay the approval process. In defending the Frick plan, Iovine had addressed the protests over the 1970s expansion plans but concluded that “past behaviors offer little guidance when deciding what and what not to keep. Change is messy; preservation must be balanced against needs, but also against quality of experience.”[58] But if one is revisiting the same plot of land, under the same ownership with the same intentions for it, then past behaviors is a guidepost. The Frick rescinded its expansion plans of 1974, and it should come as no surprise that it rescinded its plans of 2014.

On June 3, 2015, the Frick formally announced that the expansion proposal would be revisited. Wardropper’s statement specifically noted that the Board of Trustees “has decided to approach the expansion plan in a way that avoids building on the garden site.”[59] The Frick acknowledged that the public dialogue as well as “the potential for a protracted approval process” weighed heavily “against the Frick’s pressing needs.”[60] According to an anonymous Frick official, “it just became clear to us that it wasn’t going to work. It won't be the best plan, but we will go back and prioritize."[61] What was unclear was how much the mayor's office or the LPC had influenced the Frick to drop the plan. If the opinion of Beverly Moss Spatt, former chair of the LPC and a member of the New York City Planning Commission, who stated that destroying the garden and pavilion "would set a terrible precedent for designated landmarks" and result in "a mockery of New York City laws"[62] was any indication, the Frick surely knew this battle was lost.

Throughout the controversy, Wardropper maintained that within the expansion "a visit to the Frick will still resonate with the comfortable grandeur of the Gilded Age but will now provide the expected amenities of a twenty-first-century museum."[63] This is a worthy goal but destroying the Page garden and Bayley pavilion to build a six story addition was deemed too great a loss. "The greater good" in this case was not the addition, but the retention of the existing landscape and building. Despite these preservation wars dating back over a century, or perhaps because of them, the Frick has a long history of change done well. As Pope incorporated the work of Carrére & Hastings, and van Dyke, Bayley and Page then drew on Pope's classical sensibilities and aesthetics, the Frick has the luxury now to seek out solutions to meet its "minimal needs" that more comprehensively reflect both past and future.

Chapter 10. The Greater Good? Endnotes.

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Chapter 11. Without Ruining it Completely.

In 2006, Morrone presaged the next round of Frick expansion hopes. Writing that "the Frick sometimes seems the last bastion of high seriousness in New York, immune to the trends that have destroyed so many other museums," Morrone then asked:

> "What if the Frick were to expand again? What kind of design would it commission? What would happen if they hired Renzo Piano, or Norman Foster? Certainly, the Frick would no longer be the Frick, and some of us would have one fewer reason – a big one – to live in New York. Thus far, the Frick – and the Met under Philippe de Montebello – have stayed the course, and not caved into ill-conceived trends. Long may they hold out."[1]

The Frick did not hold out long, succumbing to museum manifest destiny with its expansion plan of 2014. Opponents of the plan criticized the addition's location as it would require the destruction of the Page garden and Bayley pavilion. The Page garden was clearly a thorn in the side for the Frick officials; Kimmelman referred to it as "a nuisance and an afterthought to them. It was their Cinderella."[2] The Frick had underestimated – if even considered at all – the support the garden would arouse. Christopher Woodward, Director of the Garden Museum in London which ran a retrospective of Russell Page's work in 2015, wrote that "Page's designs have survived owing to the considered nature of his response to a site – somehow, he always got it right – and because he was interested in deeper issues of sense of place, and context, and not just ornamental planting."[3] At the Frick, while Page "got it right," DBB did not.

From its inception the Frick mansion has cycled between destruction and reconstruction amidst the clamor of public outcry: even the Page and Bayley works were built over the bones of townhouses purchased and razed by the Frick. Is this cycle specific to the Frick, or symptomatic of all urban structures? And what does it portend for the next round of museum destiny at the Frick? There are many options open to the Frick. It could choose to make no changes and continue to exist with the current facilities; this is unlikely however given Frick statements and the "climate of rampant expansionism" in which cultural institutions exist, particularly in New York City.[4] But unlike some previous museum super-sizing projects, the proposed expansion design was not a glass extension or modernist appendage; DBB presented a classically-inspired wedding cake-styled addition honoring the tradition of Carrére and Hastings and Pope.

Many critics were of the opinion that it was not the expansion itself that was so objectionable, but its proposed execution. If the proposed design were in keeping with the original building and landscape classical styles, yet still found lacking, what then would be appropriate? Part of the problem may be what Davidson called the uncertainty of how to care for the great buildings of Frick, Carnegie, Vanderbilt and Morgan. Claiming that as New York City is constantly changing, the great mansions – our remembrances of the past – manage to withstand change because we take the attitude of "touch what's left and we get angry, alter them and we despair."[5] The challenge is therefore to identify and manage change at the Frick and "make it better without ruining it completely."[6]

The DBB plan did not measure up to the work of Carrére & Hastings, Pope, van Dyke, Bayley or Page. Cathleen McGuigan wrote that the Frick's "elegant and subdued atmosphere – famously, children under 10 are not allowed" – was now confronted with a "clunky and over-scaled" addition."[7] As for honoring the Beaux Arts history of the Frick, according to Rick Bell, AIA New York Executive Director, DBB's design was "not paying respect; it is flailing around in confusion."[8] Datel stated that with regard to landmarked districts, "whether or not a new structure threatens the character of a place depends in part on the amount of existent architectural diversity."[9] If the character of a place is Beaux Arts, such as the Frick, and a modernist structure is inserted, the historic nature of the place will be altered. But what happens when a Beaux Arts insertion is made to a Beaux Arts site? The Pope alterations to Hastings work was positively portrayed as "seamless" and the Bayley pavilion and Page garden were described in the NHL as "well matched" with the existing structures.[10] There were concerns now that another Beaux Arts construction project would harm, not support, the historic integrity and authenticity of the site.

According to Davidson, the result "collides with a first principle of preservation: that the lines between historical periods should be clear."[11] DBB's design, according to Andrew Dolkart, director of the Columbia University Historic Preservation program, "destroys the garden, it destroys the scale, [and] it's a clumsy attempt at imitating the classicism of Carrére and Hastings.[12] In preservation, imitation is not the sincerest form of flattery. The Secretary of the Interior guidelines call for clear distinction between original and new: DBB was accused of too closely aping the original, over-emphasizing compatibility and under-achieving distinction between historic and new. When original construction is by a known architect – in this case, Carrére and Hastings, Pope, Bayley and Page – distinguishing old from new is important for archeological reasons as well as to maintain the "aesthetic, historical and architectural values and significance."[13] The Frick plan introduced a design quandary. Many museum expansions had been vilified for their discordant steel and glass additions, visually jarring in their distinctions between old and new. Now here was DBB with a Beaux Arts inspired limestone design emulating the original, and they were castigated for it.

For Frederic Bell, executive director of the New York chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), the Frick offered an opportunity in which “some of the sacred cows of preservation could be looked at fresh.”[14] Beyond challenging the established preservation protocols, critic David Brussat agreed with Bell that at the Frick there was the possibility to create a beautiful new building rather than concentrating on what the effect would be on the existing structures. Brussat wrote that in order to do so, “it is vital to resist this bogus ‘authenticity’” which he believed unduly celebrated the old while limiting the new.[15] Even he however supported saving the garden and pavilion. What he sought was an addition, done well, representing current building design rather than harking back to the1970s or 1930s or 1910s. Given the poor track record of other museums – the Morgan addition is “regrettable” and MOMA’s demolition of the American Folk Museum resulted in “a carbuncle attached to a carbuncle”[16]–there were no assurances the Frick would not go down the same road.

The Frick itself is small and intimate, as are its collections; these need exhibit space within an environment of similar scale so that the objects are not minimized. Scale is everything and the Frick sought a way to enlarge “its existing space without making the museum feel any bigger.”[17] There are issues that need addressing, including ADA access ramps, an internal spiral staircase which brings annual lawsuits, and operational needs for exhibits as there is no loading area. Coupled with the “minimal needs” the Frick would like, including more administrative office space, a larger gift shop, and a café, the Frick has more than one challenge ahead.

After meeting with Frick officials in September 2014, the Upper East Side urban planning organization CIVITAS issued a statement that while they support the Frick’s intent to expand, the proposed DBB design was not appropriate for the historic house or the urban street context.[18] If the Frick is to retain the goodwill of groups like CIVITAS, it needs to be receptive to alternative solutions. Just up Fifth Avenue, the 2001 renovation of the Neue Galerie New York by Annabelle Selidorf, while not an addition, shared many of the same design challenges as the Frick. It too is a landmarked Carrére & Hastings building dating to 1914, and now a small, intimate museum. Located some 25 blocks north of the Frick, the Nueu Galerie renovation exemplified work that Davidson claims "by now should have set the standard, not remain the admired exception" for museum renovations and expansion.[19]

Numerous design concepts were proffered to signify that DBB's was not the sole solution. The Unite to Save the Frick coalition, in conjunction with Helpern Architects, proposed an expansion that would not endanger the historical components of the museum, including the Page garden.[20] The design by David Helpern, also a co-chair of the Community Board 8 Landmarks Committee, included the auditorium, new entrance foyer and additional gallery and classroom space so important to the Frick. Repurposed existing space, building underground as other museums have done, and securing space in neighboring buildings were suggested in lieu of tampering with the landmarked site. Questions were posed as to which functions could be moved off-site to create a campus-like facility. Importantly, the suggestions by Helpern and others were consistent with previous projects approved by the LPC. For this reason alone, the Frick should take note as it seems advisable from all perspectives that the Frick work closely with the LPC on any new plan, versus another round of public discord.

Another alternative expansion site to the Page garden, mentioned surprisingly by a number of critics, was the Library. The Library is also landmarked and any changes would require LPC approval; if the LPC were unlikely to approve destruction of the Page garden, it is almost inconceivable that it would permit changes to the Library. The Library is built on eleven stories of short book stacks – one stack supporting the others and the floor above it. According to Wardropper, if the Library were gutted, it would yield about 25,000 – 30,000 square feet as well as the need for an alternative location for the books. In a digital society, books could possibly be kept off site, but Wardropper countered that "scholarship is part of our identity" and the loss of the Library and its contents would be unacceptable.[21]

His point is sound: the Library is of significant value to the Frick and any alteration to it threatens the entire Collection. The same arguments against the contested Page and Bayley sites could be made to protect Pope's Library. Kimmelman acknowledged this yet then suggested that if "trustees are hellbent on expansion" then the Library interior could be renovated, retaining the Pope exterior. Stephen Bury, the Frick's chief librarian, was understandably against the idea of removing the archive material and reading room. Kimmelman conceded that "Mr. Bury raised the point that, in essence, gutting the library would sacrifice the reading room to save the garden. True. But if that's the choice, here's one vote to spare the garden."[22] Perhaps the idea of rebuilding on the Library site is best viewed as a tactic to move the discussion away from DBB's specific design to a more holistic approach to the site. It should not be necessary to save one special aspect of the Frick to the detriment of another, however much landscape preservationists may have enjoyed Kimmelman's support for the garden.

A collective memory exists in historic preservation, in the historic properties themselves but also within the people and agencies participating in the process. To ignore its past "failures" with the LPC is not to the Frick's benefit nor does public acrimony help with fundraising. Notably absent in the expansion debates at the Frick had been the subject of funding; the limitation of funds is now part of the rhetoric concerning the 1970s pavilion and garden, but otherwise financial matters were kept private. The Frick has now introduced a special section within their website entitled "Why Now? Frick Future" which states that "the Frick not only has the ability to raise funds, but its Director and Trustees feel it has the right plan to address long-identified, mission-driven goals."[23] Phrasing such as this instills the sense that for some time expansion has been approved and it is only a matter of putting the appropriate funding in place. Great historical leaps are made over LPC denials and the subsequent "modest addition" by Bayley and Page. Significant contributions to the Frick's sense of place are minimized and the past is misrepresented. While it is perhaps understandable that the Frick does not want to reconstitute past battles with the LPC on their website, it seems fated to restage the same battles over the same ground again and again if this internal rhetoric remains in place.

Henry Clay Frick challenged Hastings to "make Carnegie's place look like a miner's shack."[24] If here were the original source of super-sizing at the Frick, then it is understandable that Frick trustees too are eager to promote their "jewel box" to greater stature. The Frick Board transformed from family and close friends with names like Mellon and Rockefeller as the nature of fund-raising and New York City political and social dynamics changed. In 2005, Stephen A. Schwarzman of the Blackstone Group joined the Board, entering what "may have been the ultimate bastion of Waspdom."[25]

Michael Thomas called the Frick an “oldveau institution” struggling “to figure out how to optimize their prospects in a nouveau world. I think the Frick thought it had a lot of money. Then it woke up and everything was being conjugated with three more zeros, so now they have to play catch-up.”[26] New additions named after generous benefactors are certainly one way to make a grand statement within museum funding circles.

There was also the perception that change and the Frick didn’t coexist well. In 1997, Samuel Sachs II was brought on as the new director, replacing Charles Ryskamp, who retired after nearly thirty years at the Morgan and Frick. Sachs’ contract was allowed to expire after five years under speculation that he had attempted too much too soon and clashed with Frick traditional culture. The Frick had converted from a private foundation to a public charity, which reduced its taxes but legally now had to raise one-third of its budget from donations and admissions fees. Under Sachs, the Frick introduced a media relations strategy and fund raising targeted to those not in the traditional Frick inner circle. These now-standard developments were, if not controversial, then at least departures from established Frick procedures.[27]

The Frick is an entity that in the midst of change does not really know how to go about it. Steeped in tradition, it is historically desirous of change yet often amateurish in pursuing it. On the other hand, the monumental transition from private home to public museum was achieved spectacularly. Smaller modifications such as enclosing the sculpture gallery provided new gallery space without altering the historic footprint. The Bayley and Page works were revolutionary for the Frick as they encompassed new lots, expanding the Collection’s real property, while championing classical architecture in the face of modernism. For all of this, the Frick must be congratulated. But it is also a caution that the desire to "build, destroy, rebuild" has been a constant murmur at the Frick.

Historic preservation, particularly an addition to a significant structure, is a complicated design aesthetic. In *Architectural Record*, McGuigan wrote that architecture projects for cultural buildings "give architects an opportunity to experiment with creative solutions" and lend themselves to intent focus "on how the adaptation or expansion of such significant buildings will affect the public and the city."[28] As the Frick and DBB reconsider their plans, this is an opportunity to reaffirm the uniqueness of the site, especially within the context of its urban setting. Franky Kentish stated that in his garden Page had created "a moment of serenity in the jostle of New York."[29] Is the museum world now about to be jostled, shaken from the era of mega-museums to one of restrained sensibilities? Kimmelman forecasts that the tolerance for growth has ebbed, with a new vigilance surfacing to "prevent nonprofit outposts of civilization from falling prey to the bigger-is-better paradigm."[30] While the Frick should not be held responsible for the failures of other museums to expand in accordance with preservation and aesthetic guidelines, it is difficult to divorce these past experiences from future expectations.

Chapter 11. Without Ruining it Completely. Endnotes.

The chapter title comes from Justin Davidson, “The Trick of the Frick,” *New York,* July 14, 2014.

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2. Kimmelman, “Frick Collection Spares a Prized Garden.”
3. Christopher Woodward, letter to Mayor Bill de Blasio, November 12, 2014; The Cultural Landscape Foundation website. www.tclf.org.
4. Kimmelman, “The Case Against a Mammoth Frick Collection Addition.”
5. Davidson, “The Trick of the Frick.”
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28. McGuigan, "When More is Less."
29. Franky Kentish, "Opposition Mounts Against the Loss of Russell Page's Garden," Telegraph UK, February 5, 2015. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/gardening/11387464/Opposition-mounts- against-the-loss-Russell-Pages-garden.html.
30. Kimmelman, "The Case Against a Mammoth Frick Collection Addition."

Chapter 12. Frick Future.

The New York State Historic Preservation Office plan for 2015-2020 includes as an objective the "engagement of New Yorkers in historic preservation at historic sites and museums" with special attention to "how local community actions have helped to preserve historic properties, and draw parallels to contemporary issues."[1] The recent cycle of "build, destroy, rebuild" at the Frick is a perfect example of such public engagement. Advocates for landscape preservation laud the saving of the Page garden as a successful effort to expand preservation stewardship beyond the built environment. Birnbaum cited the Frick withdrawal of its plan as "all the more significant because works of landscape architecture are often overlooked, their artistic and cultural significance is either unknown or not understood, and they're seen as open space usable for expansions."[2]

Yet the Frick's continued push for expansion means that while the garden was spared it is not yet saved. Wardropper could not have made this more clear when he said that "the trustees didn't spend thirty years buying up townhouses – three! – to put in a garden, though it is beautiful I admit."[3] At the Frick, the focus still centers on the architecture of Hastings and Pope: even within the announcement rescinding the DBB design, Wardropper stated that "foremost among our goals is the preservation of our historic building and maintaining the quality of experience our visitors have always enjoyed."[4] Despite the proven significance and contribution to the sense of place that Page's garden brings to the site, the Frick leadership remains stubbornly devoted to Hastings and Pope.

An announcement dated March 25, 2016, by the Frick stated that the museum "is entering into the next phase of planning for the upgrade and enhancement of its facility, which encompasses a constellation of buildings, wings, and additions constructed between 1914 and 2011."[5] This language acknowledging the Frick as more than the work of Hastings and Pope was a distinct change from previous statements denigrating the contributions of Bayley and Page. The Frick issued a request for qualifications to twenty firms, aiming to select an architect and design for the revised expansion by 2017. DBB would have to compete for the project, with the failed expansion plan now putting them at a disadvantage; Wardropper alluded to this when he said "we're at the point now where we want a fresh approach."[6]

The announcement included the original call for "the creation of new exhibition, programming and conservation spaces" but then added that this would be achieved "within the institution's built footprint."[7] This begs the question as to how the existing built footprint is to be utilized and the design executed. The DBB tower was also within the built footprint of the Frick, using the Page garden and Bayley pavilion sites, but proved untenable. While the project renewal "will preserve the distinctly residential character and intimate scale of the house and its gardens,"[8] there are real concerns as to how the Frick will maintain its historic character. For example, in discussing this new phase Wardropper negatively employed the historical precedents of the Frick – "we're essentially a house that's been retrofitted as a museum" – to explain why the expansion was necessary.

In covering the announcement, the *Wall Street Journal* noted that "the overall project could feature elements of new construction, but the building is landmarked, making any major changed subject to close scrutiny."[9] But as Gray noted, in landmarking there is a choice to be made regarding which history will be preserved.[10] The Lenox Library was destroyed, much of Hastings' original work was transformed by Pope, and the Bayley and Page contributions were minimized. As the Frick moves forward, how will its history be acknowledged, and how will the LPC react?

Modern preservationists would be horrified at the destruction of the Lenox Library – "an act of vandalism that would likely not go over today" – yet pleased to see, in some small respect, that Hasting's new Beaux Arts construction was architecturally compatible with the neighboring Upper Fifth Avenue homes.[11] And what of Pope: one wonders if his renovation, as lauded as it is, would have received LPC approval. The "seamless" merging of new with old lacks differentiation, and reversibility is all but impossible. For example, one of the favorite features of the Frick is the interior courtyard, a pure Pope creation never experienced by Frick himself. Given that it is almost impossible to discern now what was Hastings and what was Pope, many would argue that if preservation standards are in conflict with Pope's work, then it is the standards that are flawed, not Pope.

Landmarked construction challenges, like the Frick's call for a new addition to an older building, are unique in site and design and therefore more complicated for historic preservationists. To assist in the process, O'Donnell and Turner write that it is useful to "envision the practice of preservation within the construct of development," in which "change should ideally be conceived in harmony with the past, rather than in opposition to it."[12] As such, the Frick has gone back to the drawing board to re-explore options that retain the garden yet provide the space for new galleries and administrative functions.

Justification for the renewed attempt to expand is promoted on the Frick's web-based platform, "Why Now? Frick Future." The website refers to the attempted expansion in the 1970s, claiming that "the poor economic climate of the period, when the last parcel was acquired [the townhouse], led the Frick's Trustees to reconsider the feasibility of the project. Instead, they decided to build a modest addition in 1977."[13]

While this statement is true, it is only partly so. Omitted is the controversy brought on by razing the Widener townhouse, the adversarial relationship with the LPC, and the ultimate decision to construct a permanent pavilion and garden. It serves as a delicately written response to preservation advocates critical of any expansion, yet again minimizes the work of Bayley and Page as "modest." While expedient for the Frick to cite its architectural history as a significant factor of the museum's uniqueness and special qualities, it is needlessly provocative to then set this same history aside when it is no longer convenient.

The Frick has the right to spin the discussion in their favor, as do the preservation-minded. New York has witnessed a rebirth of its cultural iconic institutions, and the increase of visitors to the Frick, which spurred the new master plan, is an enviable problem. Every museum would like to claim that demand surpasses its capacity. But in the clamor to grow ever bigger, we must ask the real price to be paid in transforming cultural institutions. Are we losing our sense of place as each square foot of space is monetized? Would the Frick still be the Frick if twice its size?

With the Russell Page garden, landscape preservation trumped architectural expansionism, a rare occurrence. This was rightly heralded as a positive step forward for landscape preservationists and urbanists promoting greener cities. But the reality is that this was just one win among many losses of cultural and historic landscapes. Emblematic of urban spaces, and particularly of New York City, the Frick has a long, successful history of destruction and reconstruction. Henry Clay Frick was vilified for tearing down the Lenox Library and subsequently celebrated for the rebuild by Hastings. Pope then destroyed and altered Hasting's work, creating a new Frick. Bayley and Page continued the cycle, erecting their works on the lots where once grand townhouses stood. Page's garden took one step closer to enduring permanency, yet is still threatened by the Frick's moniker of temporariness. The cycle of "build, destroy, rebuild" still spins at The Frick Collection, with destruction leading the way for creation.

Chapter 12. Frick Future. Endnotes.

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Appendix

The Lenox Library, Sanborn Map, 1907

The Frick Collection, Land Book Map, 1925 and 1955

The Lenox Library, Architectural Rendering and Photograph

The Frick Mansion, Construction 1914 and 1934 Photographs

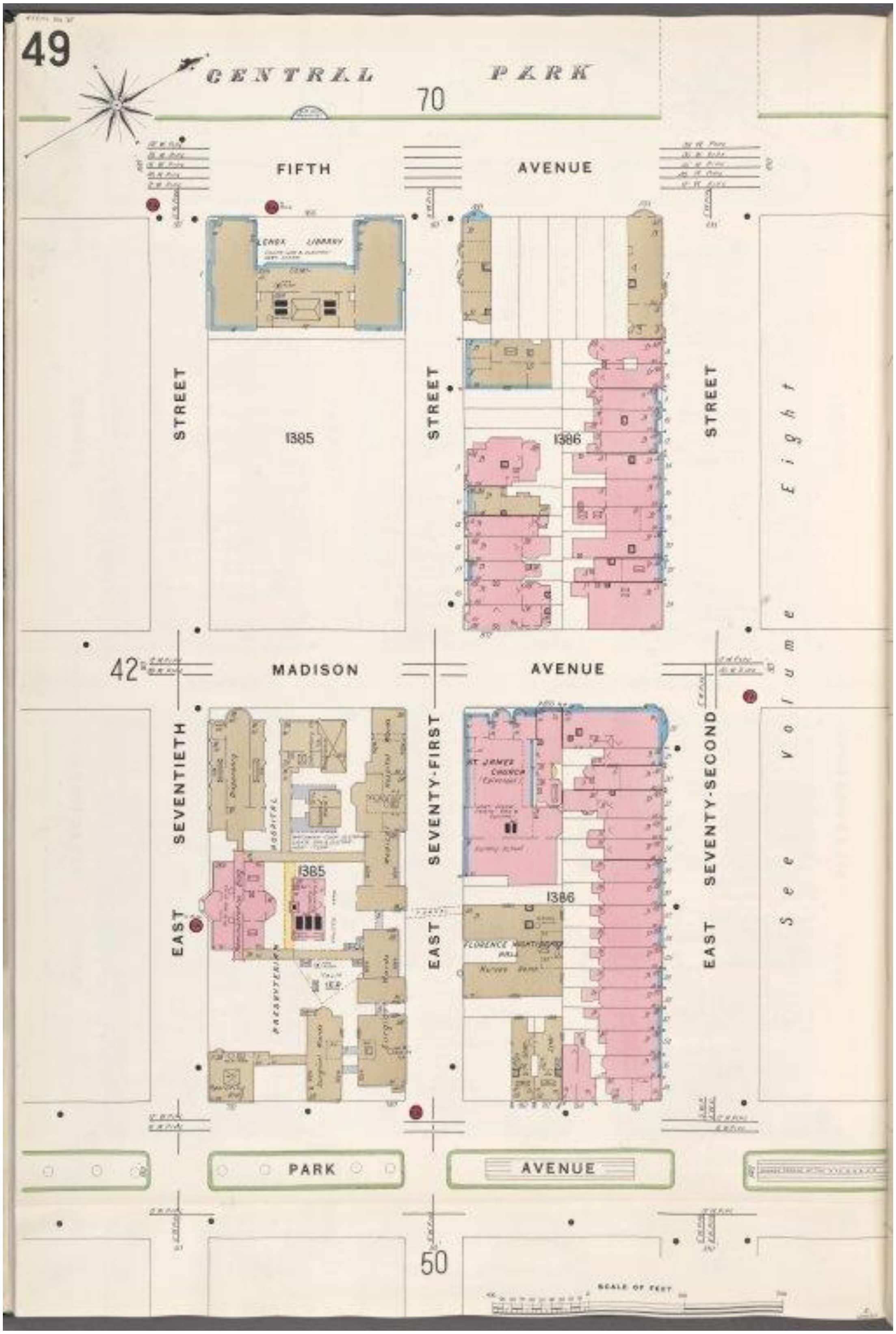
The Frick Mansion, Pope Addition Diagram

The Frick Mansion, Sculpture Gallery Enclosure Photograph

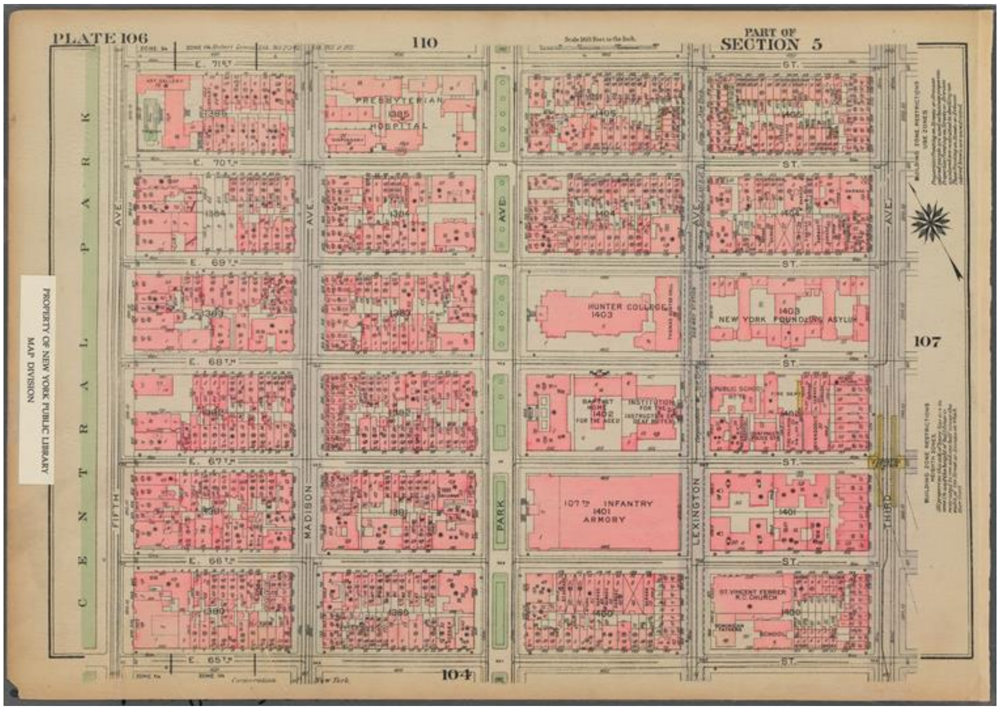
The Frick Mansion, Proposed Expansion 2014 Diagram

The Russell Page Garden, Photographs

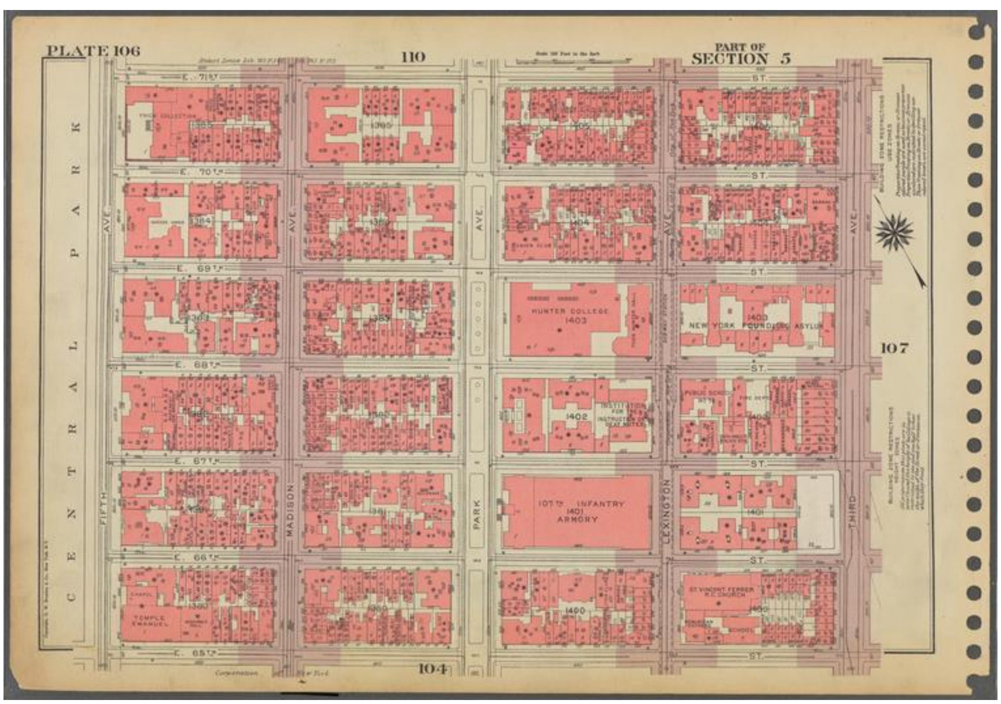
The Lenox Library. Sanborn Map 1907, Atlas 118. Vol. 6 Plate No. 49.



Land Book of the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, G.M. Bromley & Co., 1925, Plate 106.



Land Book of the City of New York. Desk and Library Edition, 1955. Plate 106.



Richard Morris Hunt. Original architectural drawing, a presentation rendering, showing the Lenox Library on Fifth Avenue in perspective from northwest, 1871. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print.

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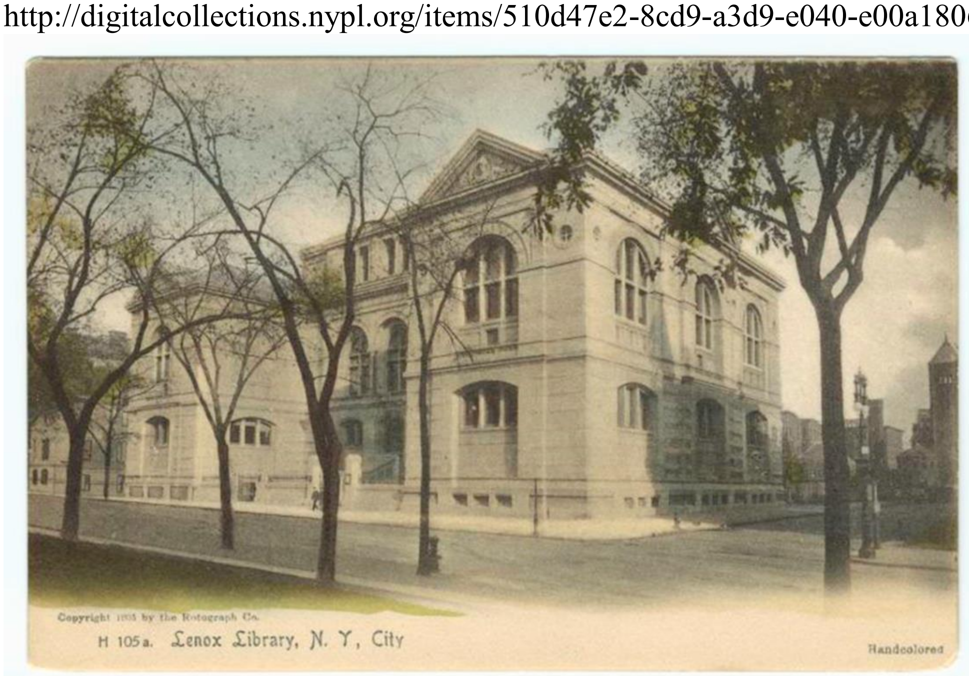
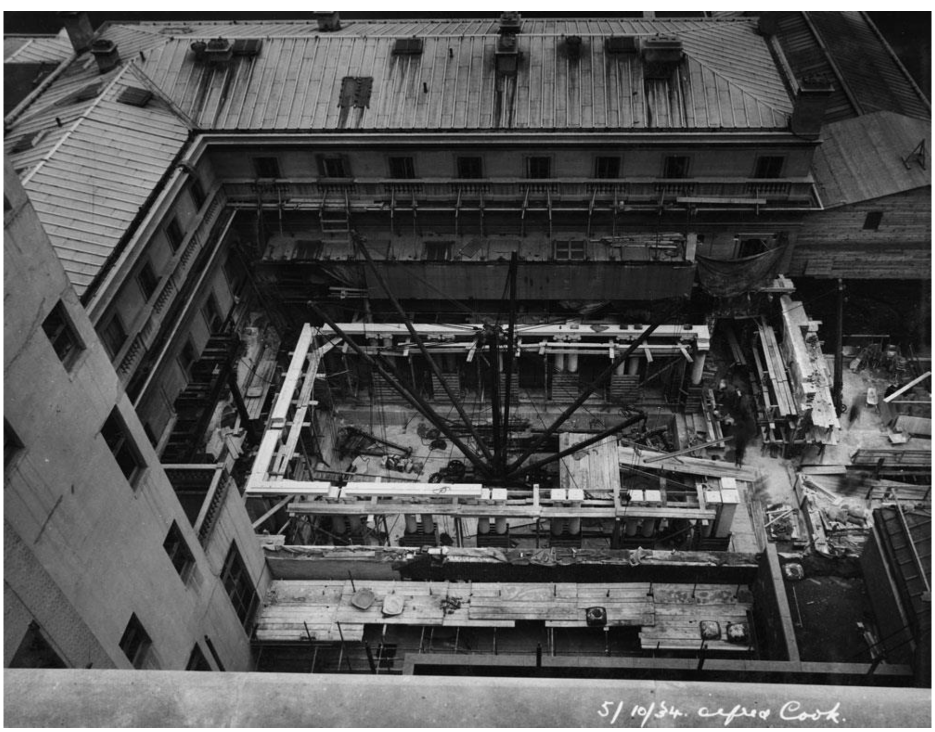
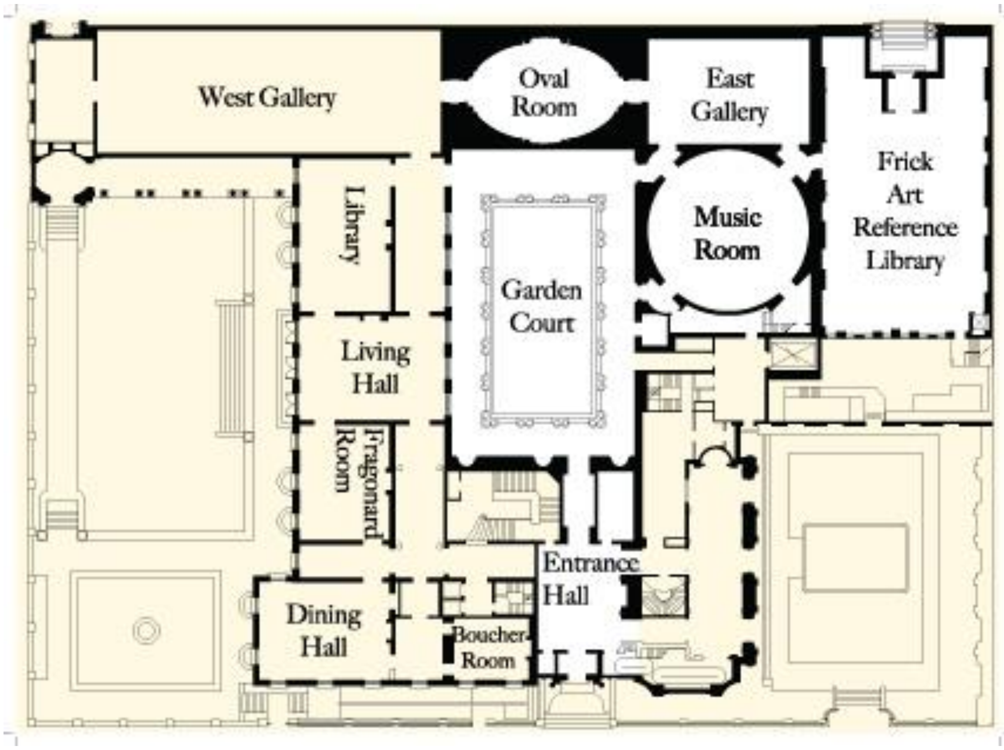


Henry Clay Frick's home at 70th and Madison Avenue, New York City, Bain News Service, December 20 1913. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print.

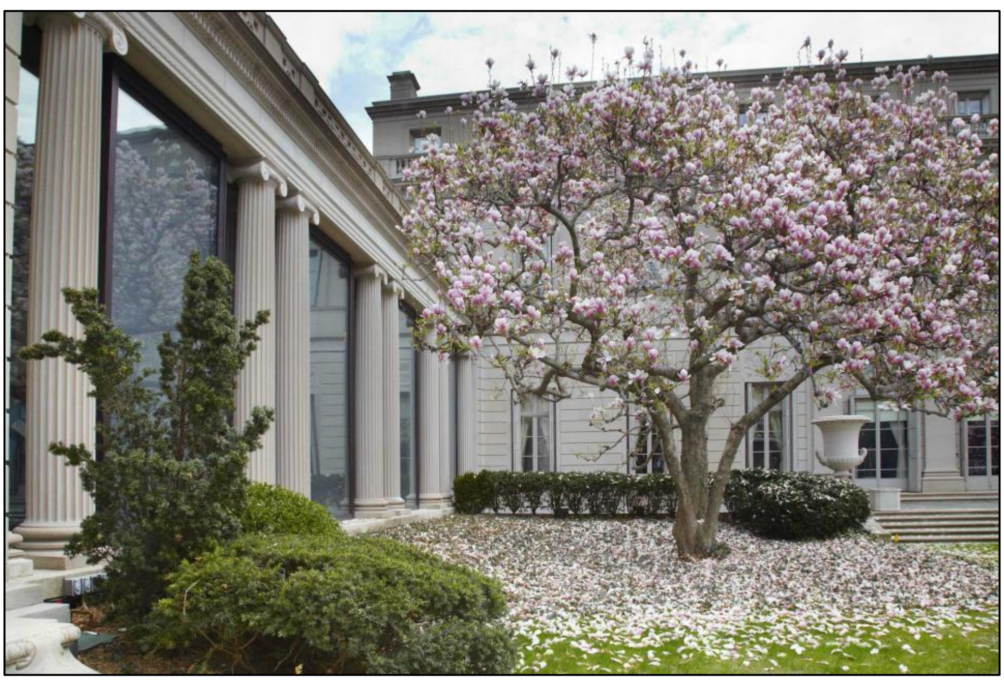
The garden court under construction, 1934. www.frick.org.



Pope additions to the mansion. www.insideinside.org.



The sculpture gallery enclosure. www.frick.org.



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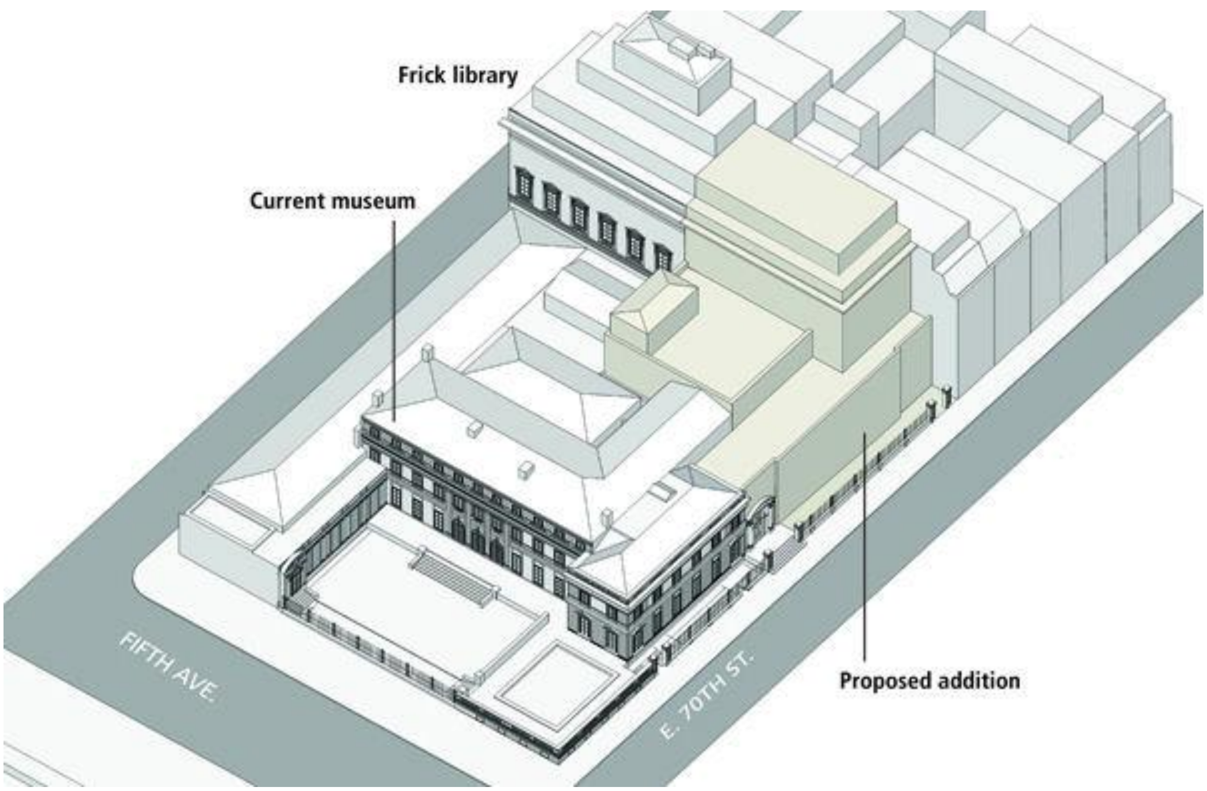

The Russell Page Garden. Michael Bodycomb, *Architectural Digest*, May 21, 2015.

Overhead view of the Russell Page Garden. www.huffingtonpost.com.