


# Nature's Parkway: Landscape and Philanthropy at the Palisades Interstate Park, 1900-1930

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Between the late nineteenth and the mid-twentieth century, the Palisades were transformed from a site of industrial excavation to a motorist's paradise. Driving that transformation was the conservationist vision of John D. Rockefeller Jr. (JDR Jr.). The particular type of conservation being practiced was shaped by JDR Jr.'s attempts to expand access to nature by building automobile roads within parks. Roads, JDR believed, were the best way to experience nature. Through his philanthropy the Palisades Interstate Park was reshaped to accommodate nature-loving American motorist in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

In the nineteenth century, the cliffs were mined for their rock. Development in New Jersey and New York increased demands for cut and crushed stone to build macadam roads, buildings, and skyscrapers, and entrepreneurs blasted into the cliff side to create this needed crushed stone.<sup>1</sup> The Palisades' convenient location and wealth of hard rock made it a perfect site for quarries. But late nineteenth century technological advancements in quarrying equipment made operations noisier and more damaging. In the 1890s, dynamite blasted away large chunks of cliff face to machines waiting below. Steam-operated machines crushed stone and moved soil at the base of the cliffs, breaking big stones into little rocks. These new technologies accelerated excavation and magnified the scale of quarry operations to nearby people.<sup>2</sup> Entrepreneurs, like brothers Aaron and George Carpenter, set-up quarries to blast away the sides of the cliffs using these new tools. The Carpenter Brothers purchased about a half-mile of cliff-side from the town of Englewood, New Jersey and established a rock quarry. They removed up to fifteen hundred cubic yards of stone daily, blasting into the volcanic rock. Like other quarrymen on the Palisades, such as Brown & Fleming, the Treavor Brothers, P. Gallagher, and others, the Carpenter Brothers were businessmen at heart, who took advantage of their natural surroundings to carve out a living in the bustling nineteenth century world.<sup>3</sup>

To JDR Jr., the quarry owners committed daily acts of "vandalism" directed at those concerned with the aesthetics of the cliffs and the awful sounds the quarry blasting produced.<sup>4</sup> Primarily a conflict over class and culture, quarrymen and

conservationists had competing visions for the social utility of the cliffs. Quarrymen charged that the cliffs were an important economic resource and that it did not mar the beauty of the Palisades.<sup>5</sup> Preservationists, New Yorkers inconvenienced by the sounds and sights of the blasting, and other political and social progressives argued that a park at the Palisades would “preserve the scenery along the Hudson River.”<sup>6</sup> However, preservation wasn’t the only motivator of support for the park. Some business that supported bills to create and further the powers of the park, such as Albany Day Line Steamers, the New York Central Railroad and some towns along the Palisades, stood to profit from tourism to the area.<sup>7</sup>

Attempts to disrupt quarry activities were politically impossible until the second-half of the 1890s, when the political and cultural climate changed.<sup>8</sup> Two things happened: the New Jersey’s Women’s Federation became involved in the plight of the cliffs and Theodore Roosevelt became governor of New York. First, in 1896 a new branch of the New Jersey Women’s Federation was created in Englewood, New Jersey – the same town that was home to the Carpenter Brothers’ quarry. When the group hosted their parent organization’s annual meeting for the state in 1897 with a cruise to visit the quarries, one club member asserted that part of women’s duty was to “conserve the beauties of nature.”<sup>9</sup> Protecting the cliffs, she implied, was an extension of women’s protective roles in the family. Between the 1880s and 1920s, women’s clubs were a powerful source of support for the conservation movement.<sup>10</sup> Historian Polly Kaufman argues that women’s interests in creating parks was an extension of their duties as protectors of the home, because both people and wildlife found their home in nature.<sup>11</sup> In New Jersey, women passionately lobbied legislators, wrote to newspapers, conducted public lectures, and encouraged other women to join the fight to preserve the Palisades.

Public officials who scoffed at the Women’s Club’s requests (like New Jersey Governor Foster M. Voorhees who once called the plan to save the Palisades “hopeless”), were flummoxed by the election of Theodore Roosevelt as Governor

of New York in 1899 and his conservationist mission.<sup>12</sup> After discussion, the two governors agreed to the creation of a joint commission to survey the best available options for the conservation of the Palisades. The commission suggested that together the states appropriate the 737-acre, 14-mile strip of land between the base of the cliffs and the low-tide mark stretching from Fort Lee, New Jersey to Nyack, New York. This would prevent quarrymen from accessing their land by water and motivate them to sell their property to the state. After a second Palisades study in March of 1900, Gov. Roosevelt passed legislation creating a permanent interstate park commission consisting of five members from each state. Similar legislation would pass in New Jersey, but not without controversy. Landowners and quarry owners feared that the legislation would enable the government to appropriate their land. Advocates for the Palisades knew that this legislation would be essential for creating the park and enabling it to grow, acquiring new land. Then, the Women's club members came to save the Palisades, and their flood of letters to legislators overcame the opposition.<sup>13</sup> With the bill's passage in New Jersey, the Palisades Interstate Park Commission would "provide for the selection, location, appropriation and management of certain land along the Palisades of the Hudson River for an interstate park, and thereby to preserve the scenery."<sup>14</sup> The Palisades Interstate Park Commission formally began its crusade against the quarries along the Hudson, negotiating with quarry owners who had resisted earlier requests to sell their properties. The Carpenter Brothers sold their property in December of 1900 to New York Commission President George Perkins for \$132,500.<sup>15</sup>

Between 1900 and 1915, the commission was busy securing additional land for the park, stopping other active quarries, and acquiring the necessary legal and philanthropic support to sustain the park's development.<sup>16</sup> Perkins recruited the help of a number of wealthy New Yorkers: business contacts, notable philanthropists, and other wealthy progressives he thought would support the cause. His goal was to accumulate \$2.5 million worth private donations that could then be matched with state funds. Five million dollars would be an incredibly useful nest egg for the young park. With it, the commission could

purchase land, build facilities, and construct trails and roads. Perkins enlisted Rockefeller Sr. to support the park with an initial \$500,000 donation. Rockefeller Sr. joined a number of notable philanthropists such as J.P. Morgan and Mrs. E. H. Harriman in their support. By 1910, JDR Jr. had assumed his father's role as point-person for the donation, and over the course of his lifetime proved to be a powerful and dedicated ally of the park. Realizing the political opposition to the park and the enormity of the task at hand, Perkins enlisted the help of JDR Jr. in recruiting donors and passing legislation that would expand the powers of the park commission to acquire land.<sup>17</sup>

However, not everyone was in favor of saving the Palisades, and the Commission struggled against the political power of the quarrymen in their efforts to acquire land in New York. On March 14, 1902, a concerned Nyack Resident wrote to JDR Jr. asking him to do everything he could to save the Palisades. He wrote, "We, on our side of the river, are doing everything in our power, but we are none of us very influential men, and we must call on our friends on the East side to do all in their power to help us." But, he warned JDR Jr. that New York Governor B.B. Odell would not be easily convinced as he favored his stone-crushing constituents in Haverstraw.<sup>18</sup> JDR Jr. wrote letters to Gov. Odell and Lieutenant Gov. Woodruff to convince them to support the Palisades Park Commission's expansion into New York State. Hoping to preserve land north of Nyack, JDR Jr. wrote, "If this bill should go into effect natural beauties of the west bank of the river above Nyack would be likewise preserved, the objectionable blasting and unsightly quarrying prevented and the beautiful scenery at this point of our great American river saved from destruction."<sup>19</sup> He appealed to Gov. Odell's sense of patriotism to protect uniquely "American" vistas. While he was able to garner Lieutenant Gov. Woodruff's full support, Gov. Odell vetoed the bill.

The quarries north of Nyack operated uninterrupted for another four years. In 1906, legislation that would extend the powers of the Commission to purchase or condemn land was reintroduced into the New York Legislature. This time around, the bill would extend Commission powers to acquire land all the way up to Stony-

Point battlefield, fifteen miles north of the border with New Jersey. It was all hands on deck. Woodruff continued his efforts to encourage legislators to support the Park.<sup>20</sup> Rockefeller staff member Starr J. Murphy relayed the information to JDR Jr. that former Gov. Odell was still fomenting opposition in Rockland County.<sup>21</sup> In a letter to Woodruff, Starr alleged that Odell was supporting rumors that the Rockefellers and the Morgans had pledged to fund the entirety of the 1920 bill before withdrawing their support, forcing his veto.<sup>22</sup> Such allegations created the idea that the Rockefellers and Morgans were petulant and untrustworthy bullies who asked the state to pay for the park when they no longer felt like it. With such mudslinging, it didn't take long for notable individuals and organizations to line up in support of the Rockefellers, the Morgans, and the Commission. The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, the Albany Day Line Steamers, the New York Central Railroad, and Cleveland H. Dodge of Phelps-Dodge (a western mining company) advocated for the protection of the Palisades. Such a response proved to be too much for the opposition in Rockland County. In 1906, the bill extending the Commission's powers was passed and the Commission began making offers to the remaining quarries.<sup>23</sup>

Quarries had left their mark on what was now the park's land. Acquired in 1917, Hook Mountain was the most visible case of quarrying damage. Deep trenches were cut into its side and most of the side facing the Hudson River had been removed. The decision about how best to develop the property was up for debate for years afterward. Should the Commission remove the rest of the mountain to create more fields and picnic areas? Should they leave it as is and develop the area near the shoreline with recreational facilities? At one point, the Commission considered reopening the quarry to sell the rock, remove the mountain, and create level fields in its place. Such plans revealed the tensions between the conservationist ideal of landscapes that look natural, and the practical demands of funding the modification to infrastructure and other improvements to the landscape. Such plans, though they had political support, were expensive and never came to fruition. Eventually, the mountain remained in place and facilities were built at its base.<sup>24</sup>

The Commission knew making the park automobile accessible was crucial for its success. In the first two decades of the park's history, ferries brought most of the park's visitors from across the river. However, the increasing popularity of automobiles convinced park leaders that travelers by car might outnumber those by ferry.<sup>25</sup> In fact, automobile roads had been part of initial visions for the park. Plans from 1909 showed a "proposed Hudson Fulton Boulevard" at the base of the cliffs along the riverfront of the Palisades. The planned boulevard would start in Fort Lee, New Jersey, and extend the entire way up through the new land donated by Mrs. Harriman.<sup>26</sup> In his conversations with Governor Hughes and Mrs. Harriman, Perkins describes a number of intentions for the funding, not the least of which was "constructing a roadway along the palisades."<sup>27</sup> To which the Governor responded, "it is very desirable that a roadway should be built along the Palisades adding to the accessibility and use of this district and also forming a suitable approach to a highland park."<sup>28</sup> The park's creators envisioned a future where enjoying the cliffs by motorcar was possible.

The anticipation of an increase in automobile use at the Palisades illustrated how car ownership was changing American life in the early twentieth century. In the years following the creation of Henry Ford's Model T and the adoption of assembly lines at automobile factories in the early teens, car ownership spread quickly. The number of cars owned by Americans increased by approximately 9 million between 1913 and 1922.<sup>29</sup> In response, the oil industry created more efficient fuel to power the millions of cars racing around the country. Advancements in gasoline production, like cracking and the use of tetraethyl lead, made car engines more reliable by the early 1920s.<sup>30</sup> An explosion in gasoline sales followed. Between 1919 and 1929, gasoline production grew four-fold, increasing from 89 to 382 million barrels per year. Filling stations began appearing across the country, making it easier for Americans to 'fill up.'<sup>31</sup> Gasoline became the dominant automotive fuel in the 1920s, and its use was tied to the freedoms and cultural changes introduced by the automobile. Gasoline fueled automobiles as they explored America's vast landscapes.

Pressure and support from private philanthropists made road building at the Palisades possible. JDR Jr. was particularly interested in road building at the Palisades. His initial \$500,000 donation was contingent on a confirmation of the road building plans. In 1911, his office requested that the Commission confirm they had received the right to condemn land for roadways and parkways from the State of New York before donating the first 40 percent of his \$500,000 gift.<sup>32</sup> From then on, George Perkins kept JDR Jr. informed of road construction projects, like the Henry Hudson Drive.<sup>33</sup> JDR Jr. had developed his interest and experience with regards to road building at Acadia National Park in Maine. As a result of this work, he had developed a specific conservationist philosophy that favored the construction of roads. Between 1913 and 1940, he guided the construction of fifty-seven miles of horse-drawn carriage roads there.<sup>34</sup> Though the roads were built for horses, horse-drawn carriages, and pedestrians, by the 1930s, park authorities knew many people drove automobiles on them. JDR Jr. considered carefully the popularity of automobiles and the growing number of visitors to Acadia, and he chose to personally finance the construction of Acadia's first motorcar road in the early 1920s. He believed roads built for automobiles would democratize park spaces for those unable to hike or ride horses. But, they were controversial and provoked opposition. Regardless, Rockefeller stuck to his ideals. In an interview about the necessity of highways in parks, he asserted, "What are those parks for...? The average American can't afford to go into the secluded areas or to have private trips into the parks. He must travel on such a highway. That's the whole point of the national park system."<sup>35</sup> Rockefeller recognized that for many Americans the most affordable and available mode of transportation was the gas-powered car. And, he fervently believed that building automobile roads in parks would not only facilitate the parks' accessibility for average Americans, but also embodied the ideals of democracy.

JDR Jr.'s focus on building roads in parks reveals a dichotomy between the aesthetic and moral values of different types of landscapes. While criticizing road engineers at Acadia, he commented that they "seem sometimes to forget that their services are only means to the larger end of developing a well-located,



beautiful, attractive road that goes to worthwhile places.”<sup>36</sup> Roads were necessary in parks because they facilitated the movement of people to unique places—ones that were significant enough to warrant saving. Unlike the marshes of nearby Bayonne and Linden, the Palisades cliffs were New York City’s closest grand vista and the impressive heights inspired more awe than the slow, meandering wetlands to the south. Here, Rockefeller expressed a hierarchy of the aesthetic value of natural spaces characteristic of much of the conservationist movement in the early twentieth century.

In 1926, the Commission approached the Laura Spellman Memorial Foundation with a request to fund a significant series of land purchases at an estimate of \$2.67 million dollars. The Foundation had been set-up by John D. Rockefeller Sr. in memory of his wife, and through it the Rockefellers made charitable donations to a number of organizations including the Palisades Interstate Park Commission. When the Memorial donated \$1 million dollars to the Commission in 1916, Perkins remarked, “I have often heard that there was a million dollars in the world, but have always been more or less in doubt about it until the receipt of this check.”<sup>37</sup> In a section blatantly titled “What Mr. Rockefeller Might Do,” the proposal asked the foundation to purchase seventeen specific portions of land near the Harriman section of the park, increasing the size of the park by 70 percent to over 70,000 acres. It suggested that perhaps Rockefeller could purchase the land on his own and then gift it all at once, to lower his tax obligations on the donation.<sup>38</sup>

The proposal gave JDR Jr. an idea. It was clear that funding for land acquisitions was a consistent problem for the park. Rather than just writing them a check, JDR Jr. formulated a more complex plan of action. Between 1928 and 1931, he orchestrated a massive land-buying program. But he did not buy the proposed land in New York, where land could still be purchased at relatively cheap prices. Instead, he presciently chose to focus his efforts on the part of the park that was adjacent to planned construction for the George Washington Bridge.<sup>39</sup> Aware of regional infrastructure plans and of increasing pressure from the population and

the development at the Palisades, JDR Jr. invested his funds in the expensive real estate of Northeastern New Jersey.<sup>40</sup> Construction on the bridge made land in New Jersey's cliff-side towns more valuable and land speculators rushed to gobble up properties for large luxury apartment buildings.<sup>41</sup> This made it impossible for the Commission to consider expanding parkland in New Jersey. It was just too expensive for them. But, it was not too expensive for JDR Jr., and he spent \$21,158,475 dollars accomplishing this task.<sup>42</sup>

JDR Jr. chose to keep his land buying a secret from the Commission and the press. If buyers found out that a rich philanthropist wanted their land, prices would skyrocket.<sup>43</sup> In order to maximize his purchasing power, Rockefeller smartly kept his name out of the buying agreements. Real Estate specialist Charles O. Heydt and real estate broker John A. Osborne led Rockefeller's buying program. They created a dozen different real estate holding companies to purchase various properties. In 1928, the Ashton Realty Corporation and the Boyar Realty Corporation were incorporated in New Jersey with John A. Osborne as Director. Between 1929 and 1930, nine more realty corporations were created with the purpose of purchasing various properties and keeping prices relatively low, all while keeping the true buyer a secret.<sup>44</sup> The *New York Sun* reported that a ten-mile strip of land in the Palisades was purchased, and though they suspected conservation as the motive, the purchaser was unknown. The article profiled Osborne as the ringleader, though *Sun* reporters were unable to get any further details out of him.<sup>45</sup>

Rockefeller was determined to construct a large motor road at the Palisades. His directions to his proxy land buyers were clear. Their purchases should consider that "a broad motor road should be laid out along the property, safely back from the edge of the cliffs, so as not to destroy the beauty thereof."<sup>46</sup> Road building was his endgame. Additionally, the Regional Plan Association's 1929 (RPA) plan for the region's infrastructure development inspired JDR Jr.'s commitment to aiding in the construction of the parkway at the Palisades. The RPA's 1929 proposal included an extension of Route 9, an existing highway near the cliffs,

called Route 9B that would be a part scenic boulevard and part parkway and would service passenger traffic. The RPA envisioned the route extending from Weehawken in New Jersey along to Hudson River to Haverstraw, New York. The plan charged, “The Palisades parkway can be designed so that it would be one of the most striking and attractive parkways in the Region.”<sup>47</sup> The RPA even called for the expansion of the Park’s holdings on top of the Palisades, and they feared that development around the proposed 178<sup>th</sup> street bridge (what would become the George Washington Bridge) could destroy the “great natural beauty of the Palisades,” mar the summit with construction, and decrease land values in the area because of the obliteration of the Palisades.<sup>48</sup> Rockefeller’s plans were influenced by these ideas, but expanded on the Regional Plan Association’s suggestions by insisting on a multi-lane parkway.<sup>49</sup>

JDR Jr.’s land purchases and donation made the Palisades Interstate Parkway possible. In July 1933, JDR Jr. announced his intention to donate the land to the Commission. “My primary purpose in acquiring this property,” he wrote in his donation letter to the Commission, “was to preserve the land lying along the top of the Palisades from any use inconsistent with your ownership and protection of the Palisades.” Ultimately, JDR Jr. hoped to increase the size of the park and protect its scenic landscape, yet he defined that type of protection as including new development. “It has also been my hope,” he wrote, “that a strip of this land of adequate width might ultimately be developed as a parkway along the general lines recommended by the Regional Plan Association, Inc.”<sup>50</sup> He knew the Commission had plans for constructing the parkway and acquired approximately 32 percent of the land needed. His land added another 40 percent.<sup>51</sup> JDR Jr. had hoped that his donation and its alignment with the Regional Plan Association’s road building goals would make the parkway a good candidate for federal funds as part of the New Deal’s National Industry Recovery Act.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, the parkway did not receive the funding and the Commission was unable to immediately raise the funds on its own. Even so, JDR Jr. decided to donate the 652 acres of land to the Commission in 1935.<sup>53</sup> His two conditions were that the land be used solely for park purposes and that a parkway be built.<sup>54</sup>

Automobile technology profoundly altered American’s relationship with nature in the early twentieth century, and Rockefeller was dedicated to including their construction in park planning and development.<sup>55</sup> His message fit with prevailing sentiments about the benefits of accessing nature by car as a regional parkway movement grew out of both Americans’ increasing appreciation for conservation and their obsession with the automobile.<sup>56</sup> In 1933, a writer from the *New York Times* dreamily wrote, “For the motorist, the promised parkway, like the present highway, will perhaps be the most beloved as a means of getting somewhere. It is the quickest route out of the city, so quick that the magic of that sudden leap from town to countryside, without a single gas tank or garbage dump to mar the going, still takes the breathe away.”<sup>57</sup> The writer’s sentiments epitomized the optimism the automobile inspired. Rockefeller’s goal of building the parkway was both a means of transportation away from increasingly congested cities, and also a way to experience nature. The Palisades Parkway, completed in 1960, is a symbol of this early dream – that parkways could be places of nature.

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<sup>1</sup> Laurance S. Rockefeller, “Palisades Interstate Park,” May 8, 1957, Folder 1118, Box 126, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>2</sup> David P. Harper, *Roadside Geology of New Jersey*, (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 2013), 136–137.

<sup>3</sup> Robert O. Binnewies, *Palisades: 100,000 Acres in 100 Years*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2001), 1, 7-11. & 31.

<sup>4</sup> John D. Rockefeller Jr. to Lieutenant Governor T.L. Woodruff, March 18, 1902 in Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E,

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Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>5</sup> Starr J. Murphy to Timothy L. Woodruff, February 24, 1906, in Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>6</sup> James P. McQuaide to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., March 3, 1902, in Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>7</sup> Starr J. Murphy to Lieutenant Governor M. Linn Bruce, April 5, 1906 in Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>8</sup> Binnewies, *Palisades*, 7–11.

<sup>9</sup> Binnewies, *Palisades*, 12.

<sup>10</sup> Susan Schrepfer and Douglas Cazaux Sackman “Gender” in Douglas Cazaux Sackman, ed., *A Companion to American Environmental History* (John Wiley and Sons, 2010), 125–126.

<sup>11</sup> Polly Kaufman, *National Parks and the Women’s Voice*, Revd. Ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> As President of the United States, Roosevelt made conservation a priority by expanding the national park system and creating the first federal wilderness preserve. Theodore Steinberg, *Down to Earth : Nature’s Role in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 136–139.

<sup>13</sup> Binnewies, *Palisades*, 11–17.

<sup>14</sup> The two groups were collectively known as the Commissioners of the Palisades Interstate Park until they were merged in 1937 into one governing body, the Palisades Interstate Park Commission. The fight with the quarries, though largely over by the end of 1910, continued with several other quarries until 1920 when the Commission was able to buy the last property holding out. “Background of the Palisades Interstate Park Commission” May 8, 1957, Folder 1153, Box 129, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>15</sup> Binnewies, *Palisades*, 19.

<sup>16</sup> “Correspondence between Gov. Hughes, Mrs. E. H. Harriman and Mr. Geo. W. Perkins, President of the New York Palisades Park Commission with Regard to Plans for Preserving the West Bank of the Hudson River and Establishing a State Park,” Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>17</sup> Correspondence between John D. Rockefeller Jr. and George Perkins, 1914, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center; Binnewies, *Palisades*, 28.

<sup>18</sup> James P. McQuaide to John D. Rockefeller Jr., March 14, 1902, “Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission, 1943–1958,” Folder 1118, Box 126, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center; Binnewies, *Palisades*, 28.

<sup>19</sup> John D. Rockefeller Jr. to Gov. B. B. Odell, March 31, 1902, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902–1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>20</sup> Binnewies, *Palisades*, 31.

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- <sup>21</sup> Starr J. Murphy to John D. Rockefeller Jr., March 22, 1906, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902-1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>22</sup> Timothy Woodruff to Starr J. Murphy, March 17, 1906, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902-1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>23</sup> The Palisades Commission was also able to combat the argument that the quarries were necessary for stone to build state roads. The engineer of the Commission worked with the State engineer to find a solution to the problem by purchasing stone from the north, west and away from the river. Copy of letter from the Engineer for the Palisades Interstate Park Commission, March 20, 1906, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902-1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center; Binnewies, *Palisades*, 31-33.
- <sup>24</sup> Binnewies, *Palisades*, 152-153, & 174.
- <sup>25</sup> By 1960, the Commission's annual report marked that automobile usage had greatly outpaced other forms of transportation including railroad and ferries. "Palisades Interstate Park Commission: Composite Annual Report for the Year 1959: New Jersey-New York" in "Palisades Interstate Park - Palisades Interstate Park Commission - Reports and Printed Material, 1940-1960," Folder 1178, Box 133, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center; "Palisades Interstate Park Parkway Completion Story August 28, 1958," in "Palisades Interstate Park - Palisades Interstate Park Commission - Reports and Printed Material, 1940-1960," Folder 1178, Box 133, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>26</sup> Map of "Palisades Park with Proposed Extensions Accompanying the Message of Hon. Charles E. Hughes, Governor," December 28, 1909, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center; "Palisades Interstate Park Parkway Completion Story August 28, 1958," in "Palisades Interstate Park - Palisades Interstate Park Commission - Reports and Printed Material, 1940-1960," Folder 1178, Box 133, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>27</sup> Letter from George Perkins to Gov. Hughes, Nov. 22, 1909, "Correspondence between Gov. Hughes, Mrs. E. H. Harriman and Mr. Geo. W. Perkins, President of the New York Palisades Park Commission with Regard to Plans for Preserving the West Bank of the Hudson River and Establishing a State Park," Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>28</sup> Letter from Gov. Hughes to George W. Perkins, November 23, 1909, "Correspondence between Gov. Hughes, Mrs. E. H. Harriman and Mr. Geo. W. Perkins, President of the New York Palisades Park Commission with Regard to Plans for Preserving the West Bank of the Hudson River and Establishing a State Park," Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>29</sup> Paul Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 24.
- <sup>30</sup> Gerald E. Markowitz and David Rosner, *Deceit and Denial: The Deadly Politics of Industrial Pollution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 12–35; Christian Warren, *Brush with Death: A Social History of Lead Poisoning* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 116-133.



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- <sup>31</sup> Christopher W. Wells, *Car Country an Environmental History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 175.
- <sup>32</sup> Starr J. Murphy to George Perkins, December 6, 1909, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902-1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>33</sup> George Perkins to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., November 9, 1912, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902-1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>34</sup> Ann Rockefeller Roberts, *Mr. Rockefeller's Roads: The Untold Story of Acadia's Carriage Roads & Their Creator* (Camden, ME: Down East Books, 1990), 2.
- <sup>35</sup> Roberts, *Mr. Rockefeller's Roads*, 92.
- <sup>36</sup> Joseph W. Ernst, *Worthwhile Places: Correspondence of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and Horace M. Albright*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1991), 5.
- <sup>37</sup> George Perkins to John D. Rockefeller Jr., February 19, 1916, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902-1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>38</sup> “Palisades Interstate Park: Land Acquisitions Proposal” January 1926, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902-1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>39</sup> Loula D. Lasker, “Those Private Palisades” *Survey Graphic XIII*, No. 3 (June 1928), 265-269.
- <sup>40</sup> JDR Jr. may have known about the Regional Plan Association's plans for parks and parkways before the report was printed in 1929. J. DuPratt White, a long-serving Palisades Park Commissioner, was on the committee for parks and parkways in the Regional Plan Association. “Methods of Studying Suburban Real Estate: A Report to John A. Osborne, New York City” by Morton C. Tuttle Company Engineers Boston, Massachusetts. September 7, 1932 in Palisades Interstate Park - Palisades Interstate Park Commission – Development Studies 1946-1961, Folder 1177, Box 133, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center; Thomas Adams, Harold M. Lewis, and Theodore T. McCrosky, *Regional Plan of New York and its Environs*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: WM.F. Fell Co. Printers, 1929); Program of Work for the Association, September 11, 1930 in Regional Plan Association – Reports 1920-1931, Folder 333, Box 39, Series 3: Early Office Files, FA015, Russell Sage Foundation Records, Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>41</sup> “Background of the Palisades Interstate Park Commission,” Palisades Interstate Park - Palisades Interstate Park Commission - Laurance S. Rockefeller, 1939-1945, Folder 1153, Box 129, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>42</sup> Memo to John D. Rockefeller from George C. Williams, Palisades Interstate Park - 1933 Offer, 1931-1949, Folder 1131, Box 127, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.
- <sup>43</sup> Charles O. Heydt to John D. Rockefeller Jr., February 14, 1930, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902-1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center; Binnewies, *Palisades*, 189-191.
- <sup>44</sup> “Report RE Palisades Property of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.” September 16, 1946, Palisades Interstate Park – 1933 Gift – Miscellaneous Memoranda, 1931-1949, Folder

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1131, Box 127, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>45</sup> “Ten Mile Palisades Strip Bought” *New York Sun*, October 23, 1931, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902-1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>46</sup> John D. Rockefeller Jr. to Charles Heydt, December 31, 1930, Palisades Interstate Park – Palisades Park Commission 1902-1931, Folder 1116, Box 125, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>47</sup> *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs: The Graphic Regional Plan, Atlas and Description* 1 (New York: Regional Plan Association, 1929), 277-278; Robert M. Hallet, “The City They Plan” *The Christian Science Monitor Weekly*, Magazine Section, (Sept. 13, 1941), 9; Lawrence M. Orton, “The Plan for the New York Region” *Planning and Civic Comment* 4, no. 1 (January-March 1938), 1-4.

<sup>48</sup> Regional Plan Association, “A Report of Four Years’ Progress on the Regional Development of New York and Its Environs, with a Program of Present Needs and Opportunities; From plan to Reality,” (New York: Regional Plan Association, 1933), 128; Thomas Adams, Harold M. Lewis, and Theodore T. McCrosky, *Regional Plan of New York and its Environs*, Vol. 1 (Philadelphia: WM.F. Fell Co. Printers, 1929), 136.

<sup>49</sup> “Palisades Board Acts on Gift Today: Commission Expected to Lay Plans...” *New York Times*, July 13, 1933, pg. 9, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

<sup>50</sup> John D. Rockefeller Jr. to the Commissioners of the Palisades Interstate Park, July 7, 1933, Palisades Interstate Park - 1933 Gift, 1933-1937, Folder 1126, Box 126, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>51</sup> John D. Rockefeller Jr. to the Commissioners of the Palisades Interstate Park, July 7, 1933, Palisades Interstate Park - 1933 Gift, 1933-1937, Folder 1126, Box 126, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>52</sup> John D. Rockefeller Jr. to the Commissioners of the Palisades Interstate Park, July 7, 1933, Palisades Interstate Park - 1933 Gift, 1933-1937, Folder 1126, Box 126, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center; Ernst, *Worthwhile Places*, 13.

<sup>53</sup> Report RE Palisades Property of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., September 16, 1946, Palisades Interstate Park – 1933 Gift – Miscellaneous Memoranda, 1931-1949, Folder 1131, Box 127, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>54</sup> Thomas M. Debevoise to the Commissioners of the Palisades Interstate Park, June 10, 1935, Palisades Interstate Park – 1933 Gift – Letter of Gift, 1935-1936, Folder 1128, Box 126, Series E, Cultural Interests, FA314, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records (OMR), Rockefeller Archive Center.

<sup>55</sup> Sutter, *Driven Wild*, 19–53; Roberts, *Mr. Rockefeller’s Roads*, 79-108.

<sup>56</sup> Wells, *Car Country*, 218-219.

<sup>57</sup> Mildred Adams, “Magic Backdrop of the City: Again the Question Arises of Developing the Palisades, Playground of the People,” *New York Times*, October 1, 1933. Sec. New York Time Magazine.