

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm

other names/site number Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association; Watershed Institute

2. Location

street & number 31 Titus Mill Road not for publication

city or town Hopewell Township vicinity

state New Jersey code NJ County Mercer zip code 08534

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide locally. See continuation sheet for additional comments.

Signature of certifying official/Title _____ Date _____

Deputy SHPO Assistant Commissioner for Community Investment & Economic Revitalization
State or Federal agency and bureau _____

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet for additional comments.

Signature of certifying official/Title _____ Date _____

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:	Signature of the Keeper	Date of Action
<input type="checkbox"/> entered in the National Register. <input type="checkbox"/> See continuation sheet.	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> determined eligible for the National Register. <input type="checkbox"/> See continuation sheet.	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> determined not eligible for the National Register.	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> removed from the National Register.	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> other, (explain:) _____	_____	_____

Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm
Name of Property

Mercer County, NJ
County and State

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
7		buildings
2		sites
1		structures
		objects
10		Total

Name of related multiple property listing

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC – single dwelling
AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE – animal facility
AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE – agricultural outbuilding
AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE - storage

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC – single dwelling
DOMESTIC – secondary structure
RECREATION AND CULTURE – nature center
AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE – horticultural facility
VACANT/NOT IN USE

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions)

Greek Revival
Other: English timber frame barn
No Style

Materials

(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation Stone; concrete; brick
walls Wood-weatherboard
roof Metal-steel; stone-slate; wood-shingle; asphalt
other Chimney-brick

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8 Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
[X] B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
[X] C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
[D] Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria considerations

(mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- [] A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
[] B removed from its original location.
[] C a birthplace or grave.
[] D a cemetery.
[] E a reconstructed building, object or structure.
[] F a commemorative property.
[] G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

(cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- [] preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
[] previously listed in the National Register
[] previously determined eligible by the National Register
[] designated a National Historic Landmark
[] recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey
[] recorded by Historic American Engineering

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

ARCHITECTURE
SOCIAL HISTORY

Period of Significance

c. 1780 - 1971

Significant Dates

c. 1780
c. 1830
1940

Significant Person

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Gardiner, Muriel

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Unknown

10. Geographical Data

Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm

Name of Property

Mercer County, NJ

County and State

Acreage of property 71.06 acres

Latitude / Longitude Coordinates

(Note to Preparers: NJ HPO will complete this portion of the Registration Form for all Preparers, based on the coordinates derived from the Site Map or District Map that HPO produces.)

1. Lat 40.351682 Long -74.776394
2. Lat 40.354277 Long -74.771096
3. Lat 40.354422 Long -74.767867
4. Lat 40.351224 Long -74.765943
5. Lat 40.349428 Long -74.766162

(NJ HPO will place additional coordinates, if needed, on a continuation sheet for Section 10.)

Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet for Section 10.)

Boundary Justification Statement

(Explain, on the section sheet following the Verbal Boundary Description, how the chosen boundaries meet the requirements for boundary selection and are the most appropriate boundaries for the nominated property or district.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Eryn Boyce, Patrick Harshbarger and Richard Hunter

organization Hunter Research, Inc. date July 25, 2022

street & number 120 West State Street telephone 609-695-0122

city or town Trenton state NJ zip code 08608

Additional Documentation

(Submit the additional items with the completed form that are outlined in the "Standard Order of Presentation" that NJ HPO provides. Each page must contain the name of the nominated property or district, and the State and the county in which the property or district is located. Consult with NJ HPO if you have questions.)

Property Owner

(Either provide the name and address of the property owner here or provide the information separately to NJ HPO. Check with NJ HPO for other requirements. All owners' names and addresses must be provided, including public and non-profit owners, but their presence on the form, itself, is not required).

name The Watershed Institute

street & number 31 Titus Mill Road telephone 609-737-3735

city or town Pennington state NJ zip code 08534

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties and to amend existing listings. The proper completion of this form and the related requirements is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.470 *et seq.*)

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

Direct questions regarding the proper completion of this form or questions about related matters to the Registration Section, New Jersey Historic Preservation Office, Mail code 501-04B, PO Box 420, Trenton, NJ 08625-0420.

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Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm
Mercer County, New Jersey

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7. Description

Summary

Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm is located on the north side of Titus Mill Road approximately two miles northeast of the Borough of Pennington in Hopewell Township, Mercer County, New Jersey. Established in the mid-18th-century and occupied for over 150 years by six generations of the Drake family, Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm represents a highly intact and well-preserved example of a successful family farm with buildings exhibiting a strong linear spatial organization, referred to by architectural historians who have studied mid-Atlantic, historic, vernacular farm architecture as a ranged linear-plan farm property type.¹ The farmstead includes a vernacular Greek Revival-style, wood-frame farmhouse erected in two construction episodes of *circa* 1780 and 1830, and six, wood-frame, clapboarded agricultural outbuildings dating from *circa* 1780 to 1950. Situated at the end of a farm lane surrounded by mature trees, the farmstead complex faces south and has a ranged linear plan along an east-west axis anchored at one end by the farmhouse and at the other end by a large hand-hewn timber-frame main barn with its oldest phase dating to *circa* 1780. Ranged between the farmhouse and the main barn are a wellhouse, wagon house/corncrib, small barn, garage and garden shed. The foundation ruins of additional outbuilding sites are located to the east and north of the main barn. Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm occupies 71.06 acres of undeveloped land, which represents a fraction of the approximately 180 acres of land once owned and cultivated by the Drake family.

After the Drake family sold the farm in 1908, the property became known as Brookdale Farm. It was the primary residence of internationally known humanitarian Muriel Gardiner from 1940 to 1971. Gardiner worked to preserve the farm and its land, making very few character-defining changes to the property, while much of the surrounding area was subjected to low-density suburban development. The farmstead stands opposite a late 20th-century business campus, formerly Bristol Myers Squibb, and is surrounded to the east and west by mid- to late 20th-century residential tract housing on Titus Mill Road and Pennington-Rocky Hill Road. In contrast, Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm today anchors a 950-acre conservation area owned and maintained by The Watershed Institute, which was established on land gifted by Gardiner in 1971. The Watershed Institute's conservation area has ensured that Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm's rural setting remains intact. Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm retains its integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.

¹ Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic, Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 223-225.

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Narrative Description

Overview of Contributing Resources. Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm is comprised of ten contributing resources at the end of a farm lane approximately 900 feet north of Titusville Road and overlooking a tributary of Stony Brook (see Site Plan) (Photograph 1). The contributing resources include a farmhouse, a wagon house/corn crib, a main barn, a small barn, a wellhouse, a garage, a garden shed, farm lanes with entry gate posts, and two sites of farm outbuilding ruins. Each of the contributing resources is more fully inventoried and described below.

The farmhouse (*circa* 1780, 1830, 1940) is an impressive two-and-one-half story, five-bay, vernacular, wood-frame, Greek Revival-style building. The house's western main block was constructed *circa* 1830 when it was attached to the west gable end of a smaller two-story, four-bay, wood-frame vernacular farmhouse, constructed *circa* 1780. This spatial pattern of attaching larger 19th-century farmhouses to the gable ends of older, smaller 18th-century houses is common in Hopewell Township and other localities in central New Jersey and southeastern Pennsylvania. The assemblage of farm outbuildings extends eastward from the house in a ranged linear-plan arrangement along a farm lane (see Figure 10 for farm plans). On the north side of the lane from west to east are a garden shed (*circa* 1950), combination wagon house/corn crib (*circa* 1850, 1900, 1950), a small barn (*circa* 1780, 1935), a main barn (*circa* 1780, 1830, 1900) and the site of the ruins of the main barn's dairy barn addition and silo (*circa* 1920). On the south side of the lane are a garage (*circa* 1930) and a wellhouse (*circa* 1880). Another site of outbuilding ruins is located to the north of the main barn.

In a local Hopewell Township context, this is a remarkably complete assemblage of historic farm outbuildings. The outbuildings represent a temporal range of English timber framing techniques, from hand-hewn beams of the pre-industrial period to up-and-down and circular machine sawn beams of the 19th century. Later 19th and early 20th century outbuildings and additions provide opportunities to interpret how a central New Jersey farm adapted buildings to changing agricultural practices, transitioning from a mixed-use farm in the late 18th century to a commercial dairy and grain farm in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and finally to a country retreat in the mid-20th century. Two farm lanes, which intersect at right angles in front of the farmhouse, are integral to the farmstead's ranged linear plan; the main south-to-north entry lane creates a tree-lined formal entrance, and the west-to-east lane forms the axis along which the agricultural outbuildings are linearly ranged to the east of the farmhouse and to the west of the main barn. This linear plan is associated with older farms in Hopewell Township and central New Jersey, and it is believed to have originated with English colonial settlement patterns.² There are no non-contributing resources identified within Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm's boundaries.

² Richard W. Hunter and Richard L. Porter, *Hopewell: A Historical Geography* (Hopewell, NJ: Township of Hopewell Historic Sites Committee, 1992), 51.

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Inventory

1. Farmhouse (*circa* 1780, 1830, 1940) (Photographs 2-11) Contributing Building

Farmhouse Exterior. The south-facing farmhouse consists of three phases of construction of *circa* 1780, 1830 and 1940 (Figure 9, farmhouse floor plan). The central main block of the house dates *circa* 1830 and comprises a two-and-one-half story, five-bay, symmetrical, wood-frame structure in a vernacular Greek Revival style (Photograph 2). It measures 45 feet wide and 36 feet deep. The two-story side wing, which extends from the east elevation of the main block, was constructed *circa* 1780 and comprises a two-story, four-bay, wood-frame vernacular dwelling that measures 35 feet wide and 20 feet deep (Photographs 3, 5). Based on physical evidence, it is believed that the side wing was originally constructed as a two-story, two-bay, single-pile dwelling with a one-story, two-bay, single-pile, kitchen wing. This arrangement of attaching a smaller wing to the gable end of a larger main block was referred to colloquially as a “cow and the calf” plan, i.e., a considerably smaller wing attached to the main living quarters of house, similar to a calf following a mother cow (Figure 7, top). It is a terminology picked up by historians who have studied Hopewell Township architecture, where the pattern is seen over and over again in farmhouses dating from the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century, often no matter the building material of stone, log or timber frame.³ The Drake Farmstead’s eastern side wing appears to have been subsequently expanded with a full second story addition, likely replacing an earlier garret based on chimney and roof ridge details (see below). A two-story porch was attached to the east side of the main block *circa* 1940.

The farmhouse has a moderately pitched, side-gable roof covered by slate tiles. Boxed wood gutters span the front (south) and rear (north) elevations of the main block and the side wing beneath slightly overhanging eaves. Paired interior brick chimneys pierce the roof of the main block on the east elevation, while a single interior brick chimney pierces the west elevation toward the rear (north) slope of the roof. A brick chimney projects from near the center of the roof ridge on the side wing. The slight differences in the ridge’s slope to either side of this latter chimney clearly indicate that the side wing was constructed in two, two-bay sections, adding credence to the hypothesis that the two righthand bays of the second story were added later. The exterior is clad with horizontally laid wood clapboards. The farmhouse rests on a fieldstone foundation with a full basement under the main block and a crawl space under the side wing.

Doors and Porches. The main block’s center-hall entry contains a six-panel wood door with its original Greek Revival-style, three-light sidelights and four-light transom (Photographs 4, 7). A one-story, one-bay, open porch shields the front door. Its flat roof is supported by tapered, square, wood Doric columns with an entablature, dentiled cornice, plain frieze, and molded architrave. The entry porch is accessed via brick steps with non-original wrought-iron railings. The entry porch is not original to the farmhouse and was constructed sometime after the 1930s to replace a one-story, curved entry porch, which based on photographic evidence had paired, round, Doric

³ Philip Aldrich Hayden, “The Cow and the Calf: Evolution of Farmhouses in Hopewell Township, Mercer County, New Jersey, 1720-1820,” Thesis, University of Delaware, May 1992. Hayden attributes the phrase “cow and calf” to William Cobbett, an English pamphleteer, who in 1817 wrote upon a trip to the region that “The houses consist without exception, of a considerably large and very neat house, with sash windows, and of a small house, which seems to have been tacked on to the large one; and, the proportion they bear to each other, ... is as nearly as possible, the proportion in size between a cow and her calf.”

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columns and a wood-picket railing (Figure 4). The first-floor doorway on the rear (north) elevation contains a six-panel wood door and is accessed via brick steps with a non-original wrought-iron railing.

A full-width porch spans the front (south) elevation of the side wing at the first story. The westernmost bay of this porch has been enclosed and houses stone steps to a full-height basement beneath the main block, while the easternmost two bays of the porch have been enclosed and incorporated into the side wing as living space. An entry containing a nine-light, paneled, wood door is recessed beneath the porch and grants access to the interior of the side wing. A secondary entry containing a six-panel wood door, shielded by a one-bay, gable-front, entry porch with decorative exposed rafters and supported by square wood columns, is located on the side wing's east gable end. Two additional secondary entries containing nine-light, paneled, wood doors are located on the side wing's rear (north) elevation.

A two-story, one-bay, side porch extends from the side (west) elevation of the main block of the farmhouse. It is a mid-20th-century addition, but its Colonial Revival-like details harmonize with the main block. The porch measures 13-feet wide and 34-feet deep. It has a flat roof with moderately overhanging eaves and exposed, decorative rafters supported by round, Doric, wood columns. The porch was enclosed prior to 1971 and is clad with clapboards that match the rest of the farmhouse. Windows containing double-hung, six-over-six, wood sash with plain wood surrounds are evenly spaced on all three elevations of the porch, and paneled wood shutters frame the windows on the front (south) and side (west) elevations.

Windows. Windows containing double-hung, six-over-six, wood sash are evenly spaced on the front (south) and rear (north) elevations of the main block and the front (south), side (east) and rear (north) elevations of the side wing at the first and second stories. Analysis of the muntin molding profiles indicates that the sashes are not original and date from the early 20th century. The first- and second-story windows on the main block have molded triangular pediments in the Greek Revival style and are thus believed to be original. A one-story, three-sided, bay window occupies the easternmost bay of the first floor on the rear (north) elevation of the main block (Photograph 6). Likely an early 20th-century addition, the three-sided bay is clad with patterned, painted, wood shingles and has two windows containing double-hung, six-over-six, wood sashes and one window containing double-hung, ten-over-ten, wood sashes. The paired, attic-level windows on the side (east) elevation of the main block retain their original double-hung, six-over-six, wood sashes, while two of the attic-level triple windows on the side (west) elevation of the main block contain replacement double-hung, one-over-one, vinyl sash with faux, six-over-six muntins. The southernmost of these windows has been removed and replaced with a door. Hipped dormers clad with painted wood shingles pierce the roof of the main block on the front and rear (south and north) elevations. The windows on the side wing have plain wood surrounds. Paneled wood shutters frame the first- and second-story windows on the front (south) elevation of the farmhouse.

Main Block Interior. The main block is characterized by a center-hall, double-pile, floor plan that consists of two rooms arranged on either side of a central hallway (Figure 9, Farmhouse Floor Plan). On the first floor, the front and rear doors open onto a central hallway (Room 1), which spans the width of the main block and houses a U-shaped staircase that provides access to the second and third floors (Photographs 7-8). Four, interior, six-panel, wood doors located on each side of the hallway open onto the four rooms that frame it (Photograph 9). On the east side of the hallway, two interior doors open onto a kitchen (Room 2) and a dining room (Room 3). A doorway

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and a non-original pass-through window provide interior communication between the kitchen and a dining room. On the west side of the hallway, two interior doors open onto rooms that currently function as a living room (Room 4) and a home gym (Room 5). An 18-light wood door located at the northwestern corner of the home gym provides access to the first floor of the enclosed porch (Room 6). Two eastern interior chimneys, which are centered on the exterior walls of the kitchen and living room, have been enclosed with plaster walls. A doorway with a flush wood door located immediately south of the enclosed fireplace in the dining room (Room 3) connects the main block of the farmhouse and the side wing. The western interior brick fireplace, centered on the exterior wall of the dining room (Room 4), features an unoriginal, Colonial Revival-style, wood mantle (Photograph 10). The interior of the main block, which currently functions as housing for employees of The Watershed Institute, was remodeled *circa* 2015, which consisted of kitchen upgrades and new floor coverings. Plaster walls and wood trim, including baseboards and crown molding, remain throughout.

The second floor is accessed via a U-shaped staircase located in the north end of the central hallway. The staircase is finished with a contemporary carpet, but it retains the original balustrade composed of turned wood spindle banisters and newel post. Like the first floor, the second floor of the main block contains four rooms arranged in a double-pile plan along the central hallway and accessed via four, four-panel, wood doors. These four bedrooms have plaster walls, cast-iron radiators, and modern carpets and fluorescent lights. A non-original bathroom occupies the space between the southern two bedrooms above the front door and spans the width of the central hallway. The southeastern corner of the bedroom located at the southwestern corner of the main block has been enclosed as a second bathroom, and a door located at the northwestern corner of the bedroom provides access to the second floor of the enclosed porch, which currently functions as a bedroom. In contrast to the first and second floors, the third floor consists of a single rectangular room oriented to, and spanning the length of, the main block of the farmhouse. It has plaster walls, modern carpeting and built-in, knee-high wood cabinets and built-in closets along its northern and southern walls. The third floor functioned as Muriel Gardiner's office during the 1940s to the 1960s.

Side Wing Interior. The side wing is a hall-and-parlor, single-pile, floor plan that consists of two adjoining rooms connected via an interior door. At the first story, the easternmost room, which is believed to have originally been a kitchen wing, has been expanded with the enclosure of the easternmost two bays of the porch. This space was then sub-divided into a front living room (Room 7) and a rear kitchen (Room 8) with a non-original partition wall. It is speculated that this room originally had a cooking hearth in the eastern gable end wall, but the crawl space beneath the side wing is inaccessible and no evidence for a hearth base was observed. The westernmost room, which is believed to have originally functioned as a parlor, retains its original dimensions and currently functions as a bedroom (Room 9). Chamfered wood beams, which are non-original, decorative and stylistically Colonial Revival in taste, span the width of the ceiling on a north-south axis. An original brick fireplace has a plain wood mantel that dominates the bedroom's east interior wall (Photograph 11). A non-original half-bath is in the enclosed, front-porch bay off the bedroom (Room 10). Access to the second story is via enclosed, winder staircases in the northeastern and northwestern corners, both of which have treads covered in modern carpeting. The layout of the side wing's second floor mirrors the first floor and consists of two adjoining bedrooms. The side wing has plaster ceilings and walls, and non-original wood flooring. Interior paneled wood doors and window trim have details characteristic of the first half of the 20th century and add weight to observations that the wing was remodeled with enclosed porches after the Drake family sold the farm in 1908.

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2. Combination Wagon House/Corncrib (*circa* 1850, 1900, 1950) (Photograph 12) Contributing Building

The combination wagon house/corncrib is a one-and-one-half-story, three-bay, gable-front, wood-frame building (Photograph 12). It is on the north side of the farm lane between the farmhouse and the small barn. It has a standing-seam steel roof and slanted sidewalls, characteristic of corncribs. The building is clad with wood clapboards, apart from the integral corncrib located at the southeast corner of the structure, which is enclosed with narrow wood slats to allow for ventilation. The wagon house/corncrib has large doorways on both gable ends, creating a drive through passage for wagons. While the door on the front (east) elevation has been removed, the doorway on the rear (west) elevation retains paired side-hung, board-and-batten, wood barn doors. These doorways are framed by pedestrian entries at the gable ends, which also contain board-and-batten, wood doors. A batten wood door located on the rear (west) elevation accesses a second-story loft. Windows containing double-hung, six-over-six, wood sash are evenly spaced at the first story on the side (south) elevation and at the second story on the rear (west) elevation. The wagon house sits on a mortared, rubble-fieldstone foundation. A one-story, one-bay, shed-roof addition of *circa* 1900 extends from the side (north) elevation. The addition has large doorways on each gable end. The doors have been removed from the entry on the front (east) elevation, but the entry on the rear (west) elevation is enclosed by paired, side-hung, board-and-batten, wood doors. The wagon house and the addition currently serve as storage space.

A one-story, five-bay, gable-roof addition dating from the 1950s extends on a north-south axis from the side (north) elevation of the wagon house. It has a standing-seam steel roof, is clad with painted wood clapboards and features multiple entries containing single and paired French doors and multiple windows containing double-hung, one-over-one, wood sash with faux, six-over-six muntins. A massive, exterior, rubble-fieldstone chimney dominates the side (north) elevation of the addition, which rests on a poured concrete foundation. This addition houses a single large room that currently serves as a meeting space for The Watershed Institute. Its earlier use was as a gathering space for visitors to Gardiner's Brookdale Farm. To its west was a pool, tennis court and garden, also from the Brookdale Farm period, that have since been removed and filled.

3. Main Barn (*circa* 1780, 1830, 1900) (Photographs 13-17) Contributing Building

Main Barn Exterior. The main barn is a gable-roof, timber-frame English barn with a rectangular plan that measures 101-feet long by 31-feet wide and 30½-feet tall (Figures 8a-c: Barn Elevations, Floor Plan and Cross Section).⁴ The building is at the east end of the farm's west-to-east lane on the north side of the lane. The exterior is clad with horizontal, shiplap, wood siding and flat wood trim, which was repainted white in 2019 (sources from the 1930s-50s period indicate red paint). The main barn was constructed, based on evidence of the timber framing materials and workmanship, in two phases of *circa* 1780 and 1830, although it is postulated that the older framing is from an earlier barn that was relocated from elsewhere on the property about 1900 (see Barn Floor Plan). This

⁴ The physical description of the barn is drawn largely from Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute: Large Barn Draft Preservation Plan* (Princeton, NJ: Mills + Schnoering Architects, 2019).

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speaks to the barn being progressively enlarged and modified to house more livestock, equipment and hay/grain. It is a two-story, eight-bay building and consists of three divisions of space: the two western bays are a stable, the three central bays are a threshing floor, and the three eastern bays are a milking room. The stable and threshing floor, comprising the five western bays share a common, structural, timber frame, while the three eastern bays, comprising the milking room, are a separate, structural, timber frame, which has been abutted against what was once the exterior eastern gable end wall of the western section. Evidence for the two periods of construction is in the different character of the timber framing workmanship, as well as a remnant of the western section's exterior, vertical-board-sided, eastern wall, which is now serving as an interior wall.

The main barn's five-bay western section was likely erected in a single building episode *circa* 1830, resulting in a structure measuring 66-feet long and 31-feet wide. Physical evidence in the method of timber framing, including hand-shaping of the timbers, suggests that the three-bay eastern section's timber frame was originally constructed *circa* 1780 as a smaller barn that measured approximately 36-feet long and 24-feet wide. It is quite probable that it was located elsewhere on the property and moved to become a milking room based on evidence of milking stalls, gutters and mangers in the concrete slab floor. The addition of the eastern section around 1900 appears to have led to modification of the roof framing to create one massive hayloft. The barn has a modern standing-seam steel roof, which is moderately pitched with slightly overhanging eaves supported by exposed rafters and surmounted by snow guards. The standing-seam steel roof was installed above an existing cedar shingle roof and half-round steel gutters with round leaders. The barn rests on a rubble-fieldstone foundation. The barn currently functions as storage space.

Doors and Windows. A one-and-one-half-story main entry containing paired, side-hung, board-and-batten, wood doors is found in the fourth bay of the south-facing façade (Photograph 13). This doorway retains its original, plain, wood trim and 11-light, wood transom. It is mirrored on the rear (north) elevation by an entry containing two, board-and-batten, wood, barn doors but no transom (Photograph 14). These doors open onto a threshing floor, which is the only section of the interior not spanned by a loft and thus exposes the barn's full height. Two, fixed, six-light, wood windows frame the main entry. Two additional entries, located within the western two bays of the south façade, contain painted, board-and-batten, wood, Dutch doors with six lights in each of their upper leaves. A double-hung, six-over-six, wood window originally located at the first story on the side (west) elevation of the barn has been removed. It sits adjacent to a secondary entry containing a side-hung, board-and-batten, wood door located beneath a porch that spans the width of a linking shed that provides passage to the small barn (see below). The side (west) elevation of the main barn retains a fixed, four-light window at the attic level.

Two entries containing board-and-batten, wood, Dutch doors pierce the façade of the milking room at the barn's east end. The west door has two lights in the upper leaf, while the east door has six lights in the upper leaf. These entries frame three, double-hung, six-over-six, wood windows, which are evenly spaced at the first story. These windows sit beneath three openings at the second story that provide access to the loft above the first floor of the milking room and are enclosed with side-hung, board-and-batten, wood doors. Additional entries containing board-and-batten, wood, Dutch doors are located at the first story on the side (east) and rear (north) elevations. Paired double-hung, six-over-six, wood windows, and a hinged, wooden panel enclosing an opening to the loft and a replaced, fixed, wood window are located at the second story on the side (east) elevation. They sit beneath an attic-level window that holds double-hung, six-over-six, wood sash. Two windows containing double-hung,

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six-over-six, wood sashes are evenly spaced at the first story on the rear (north) elevation. One of the second-story windows on the rear (north) elevation has been replaced with a fixed, two-light, wood window, while the window located in the easternmost bay retains its double-hung, six-over-six, wood sash. A fixed, six-light, wood window has been inserted into the side-hung, board-and-batten door that provides access to the hay loft on the rear (north) elevation.

Rear Additions. A one-and-one-half-story, one-bay, shed-roof addition measuring 10-feet wide extends from the third bay of the rear (north) elevation of the barn. It has an asphalt-shingle roof with slightly overhanging eaves supported by exposed rafters; paired, side-hung, board-and-batten, wood doors on its north elevation; and a fixed, six-light, wood window on its east elevation. A one-story, three-bay, shed-roof addition measuring 27-feet long by 15-feet wide extends from the westernmost two bays of the rear (north) elevation of the barn. It has an asphalt-shingle roof above half-round steel gutters with round leaders and features a painted, board-and-batten, wood, Dutch door and two, fixed, six-light, wood windows surmounted by transoms on its north elevation. Three windows containing double-hung, six-over-six, wood sashes are present on the west elevation of the rear, one-story, shed-roof addition. The additions have parged masonry or concrete foundations.

Main Barn Interior. At the first floor, a former exterior wall composed of vertical wood planks separates the interior of the threshing floor from the milking room, which has a concrete floor approximately 6 inches below the elevation of the wood-plank threshing floor. The lofts above are open and separated only by their timber frames. The loft is English-framed by heavy log timbers that run on an east-west axis between heavy timber beams that bear on heavy timber posts in the north and south exterior walls (Photograph 15). Roof purlins run east-west across all eight bays of the barn and are supported by timber posts and bracing that extend down to the top plate of the timber-framed trusses. The purlins support pitched rafters that extend down from the heavy timber ridge beam to heavy timber wall plates in the exterior (north and south) walls.

The first-floor structure of the five western bays consists of a mortared fieldstone foundation and heavy timber sill plates that support heavy log timbers spanning a crawlspace. The timbers in the westernmost three bays span the crawlspace on an east-west axis, while the timbers in the easternmost two bays span the crawlspace on a north-south axis. There is horizontal, wood-plank flooring installed throughout, except for a portion that has collapsed along the north wall. A horizontal wood-plank wall separates the stable in the two westernmost bays from the threshing floor. An interesting feature is a board-and-batten wood door that connects the two rooms and features carved graffiti consisting of initials and dates, the oldest of which reads "1815 Flem Dabney" (Photograph 16).⁵ The interior walls of the threshing floor are unfinished, and the interior of the exterior shiplap siding is visible. A second-story hay loft extends across the westernmost three bays and easternmost bay, leaving only the fourth bay open to the 30½-foot height of the main barn. Heavy timber trusses, also known as swing beams, flank the open

⁵ Consideration was given as to whether this graffiti date of 1815 could be used as a basis for dating the western section of the main barn. The size of the barn and the Drake family history, however, suggests a somewhat later date contemporaneous with the farmhouse's Greek Revival style main block, which can be dated to 1830 based on archival documentation. Given the propensity of barns to incorporate recycled material, it was determined the graffiti was not sufficient evidence to date the western section to earlier than *circa* 1830. It is thought based on the farmstead's history, building types/sizes and timber framing details that the barn's eastern section, as well as the small barn, predate 1815.

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bay and are supported at the perimeter by heavy timber posts. The easternmost bay has been partially reframed with modern lumber. Wood-plank floors have been installed in both lofts.

The milking room in the eastern three bays consists of an earlier timber-frame structure that was enlarged to the south and raised in height around 1900. The structure of the original barn and framing modifications are visible in the second-story loft. Concrete footings and concrete and fieldstone foundations support timber-framed posts at the first story. The milking room has a concrete slab floor that has been installed on grade with concrete manure troughs running east-west (Photograph 17). Large areas of the slab are missing, and most of the rubble masonry foundation walls along the north elevation have collapsed. A storage room is located at the southwest corner of the milking room and is finished with a wood-plank floor and horizontal beadboard for the walls and ceilings. Heavy timber sill plates at the exterior (north and south) walls exhibit signs of decay and damage. A loft extends across all three bays of the milking room and is supported on heavy timber posts and beams that run on a north-south axis. The beams are supported at the first floor by wood columns located along the central east-west axis. Most of the framing of the second-story loft floor is concealed by vertical wood beadboard and plank floors. Two heavy timber beams above the loft floor support the main barn's roof purlins.

4. Small Barn (*circa* 1780, 1935) (Photographs 18-19) Contributing Building

The small barn is a two-story, four-bay, timber-frame, saltbox, English barn constructed *circa* 1780 and modified for use as an apartment *circa* 1935. It is located on the north side of the farm lane between the main barn and the wagon house/corncrib. A linking shed connects the small barn to the east end of the main barn (Figures 8a-c). The small barn has a gable-on-shed roof clad with standing-seam steel panels. The roof has slightly overhanging eaves enclosed by flatwood fasciae and soffits. The exterior is finished with wood clapboards, which were repainted in 2019. The building has a rectangular plan and measures 52 -feet long by 24-feet wide. It stands 22-feet tall at the peak of the roof. A non-original, stuccoed, concrete-block chimney is located on the rear (north) elevation. Double-hung, six-over-six, wood windows have plain wood surrounds and molded wood crowns are located on the front (south), side (west) and rear (north) elevations. Two doorways on the south elevation contain nine-light, paneled, wood doors behind paneled storm doors. The doors have plain wood surrounds and molded wood crowns. Paneled wood shutters frame the paired windows at the second story on the front (south) elevation. The small barn sits on a stuccoed, rubble-masonry foundation. Two, one-story, one bay, gable-roof additions extend from the rear (north) elevation. The additions have standing-seam steel roofs and are clad with wood clapboards. The westernmost addition measures 12-feet long by 8-feet wide, while the easternmost addition measures 7-feet long by 8-feet wide. The small barn was converted into an apartment, likely during the mid-1930s based on documentary evidence, but it currently serves as storage space.

A one-story, two-bay, gable-roof, linking shed extends from the side (east) elevation of the small barn and connects it to the main barn. It has a single-pile rectangular plan and measures 20-feet long and 15-feet wide. On the front (south) elevation of the linking shed, the structure's standing-seam steel roof extends to the front wall surface of the small barn to form a 9-foot-wide porch with a concrete slab floor. The linking shed is clad with wood clapboards on the front (south) elevation and vertical wood beadboard on the rear (north) elevation. The

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linking shed may have originally housed livestock, but the interior has been finished, likely around 1935, and currently serves as storage space.

5. Wellhouse (*circa* 1880) (Photograph 20) Contributing Building

The one-story, one-bay, wood-frame wellhouse was constructed *circa* 1880. It is located on the south side of the lane across from the small barn. It is a visually interesting structure with a late Victorian aesthetic to its steeply pitched, pyramidal, hipped roof with flared eaves. It is clad with wood clapboards. The roof is finished with cedar shingles and is topped by a steel-vaned windmill that powered the pump housed within the building. Power from the windmill is transmitted via a shaft from the vanes to the pumping machinery in the wellhouse. A gabled dormer containing a batten wood door providing access to the windmill mechanism is located on the front (north) elevation. Access to the first floor and the pump is via a six-panel wood door located on the front (north) elevation. Double-hung, six-over-six, wood windows having plain wood surrounds are centered on the side (north and south) elevations. The building rests on a rough-cut, rubble-fieldstone foundation.

6. Garage (*circa* 1930) (Photograph 21) Contributing Building

The one-story, two-bay, wood-frame garage, constructed *circa* 1930, is located on the south side of the farm lane across from the wagon house/corncrib. It has an asphalt-shingle, hip roof with slightly overhanging eaves supported by exposed rafters, which are obscured by a flat wood fascia, and is sheathed with painted wood clapboards. A half-round steel gutter spans the front (north) elevation beneath the roof. Four windows containing double-hung, six-over-six, wood sashes are evenly spaced along both side (east and west) elevations, and a single window containing double-hung, six-over-six, wood sash is centered on the rear (south) elevation. The windows have plain wood surrounds and flat wood crowns. The garage rests on a concrete foundation.

7. Garden Shed (*circa* 1950) (Photograph 22) Contributing Building

The garden shed is located northeast of the farmhouse between the house and the wagon house/corncrib. The one-story, one-bay structure is oriented on an east-west axis. It has an asphalt-shingle hip roof with slightly overhanging eaves, which are enclosed by a flat wood fascia. The shed is clad with painted wood clapboards with plain corner boards. A wide band of plain wood trim runs around the building beneath the roof. Two, board-and-batten, wood doors located on the front (west) and rear (east) elevations provide access to the interior, which is lit by two windows containing fixed, four-light, wood windows centered on the side (north and south) elevations. The garden shed sits on a concrete foundation.

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8. Dairy Barn and Silo Foundations, Well and Cistern (*circa* 1920) (Photographs 23-24) Contributing Site

East and southeast of the main barn, there are clear traces of structures that are no longer standing. The most obvious of these is a circular, concrete base of a silo, roughly 15 feet in diameter (Photograph 23). This structure most likely dates from *circa* 1920, and its construction no doubt correlates with an increased emphasis on dairying at the farm. Concrete surfaces and concrete and fieldstone walls extend for almost 40 feet from the southeast corner of the main barn and are likely to have also been related to other dairying operations (Photograph 24). A feature of potential archeological interest is what appears to be a concrete-capped well head roughly 22 feet south of the southeast corner of the barn, while some 70 feet to the southwest is a concrete cistern, roughly 6 x 7 feet in plan. Elsewhere to the south of the main barn, there are hints of other subsurface features such as topographic depressions and fragments of wall foundations.

9. Foundations to North of Main Barn (*circa* 1890-1950) (Photograph 25) Contributing Site

Approximately 100 to 200 feet north of the main barn, across from an open space that likely served as a barnyard for gathering cows and other livestock, is another set of fieldstone and concrete foundations that offer traces of outbuildings that are no longer standing. At least two rectangular foundations, roughly 15 x 30 feet in plan, are in this area, which is heavily overgrown. The exact purpose and uses of these buildings is unknown, but they have been speculated to be poultry houses or tractor sheds. There is also the possibility that they may have been used as an art studio by Ethel Schwabacher, *circa* 1930-51, based on recollections of Brookdale Farm (see Section 8, supplemental information).

10. Farm Lanes and Gate Posts (*circa* 1780, 1920) (Photographs, 1, 26-29) Contributing Structure

Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm is served by two farm lanes, the first a main south-to-north entry lane from Titus Mill Road and the second a west-to-east farm lane that runs at roughly a right angle to the main entry lane between the main barn and Titus Mill Road (see Site Plan). The main entry lane extends approximately 900 feet in a northerly direction from Titus Mill Road to the farmhouse (Photograph 26). It is significant that this lane aligns with the house's older eastern wing of *circa* 1780, likely indicating that the lane predates the main block of the Greek Revival addition of *circa* 1830 (Photograph 1). Approximately 230 feet north of Titus Mill Road, the asphalt-paved, single-lane entry lane passes over a tributary of Stony Brook on a modern pipe culvert. North from the culvert the entry lane gradually rises and passes through an allée of evenly spaced mature trees. About 250 feet from the farmhouse, the pavement ends, and then the lane continues as a grass-covered path to the front door of the farmhouse's older eastern wing. The northern end of the lane no longer actively carries traffic, which is diverted to one of two modern parking lots for The Watershed Institute on either side of the allée.

The asphalt-paved farm lane extends eastward from the farmhouse approximately 350 feet with the agricultural outbuildings ranged linearly and aligned to either side (Photograph 27). This farm lane also extends approximately 1,200 feet westward from the farmhouse until it intersects with Titus Mill Road (Photograph 28). A section of the

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farm lane immediately west of the farmhouse has been converted to a pedestrian path, providing access from the parking lots to The Watershed Institute's office and nature center, which are outside the boundaries of the historic district. The lane returns to an asphalt-paved vehicular roadway west of the office entry. Four, contributing, concrete gateposts flank the farm lane at its intersection with Titus Mill Road (Photograph 29). The posts, which based on materiality date to *circa* 1920, are approximately 6-feet high and have square pyramidal caps.

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8. Statement of Significance

Summary

Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm is significant as a ranged linear-plan farm composed of a wood-frame, vernacular, Greek Revival-style farmhouse of *circa* 1830, attached to an even earlier “cow and calf” farmhouse of *circa* 1780, and a collection of six, highly intact, vernacular, wood-frame, agricultural outbuildings with farm lanes and associated sites in a preserved rural landscape. Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm is framed at one end by its impressive farmhouse and the other by a massive English-frame barn. A mix of supporting outbuildings, including a small barn, wagon house/corn crib, wellhouse, garage and garden shed, are ranged along the lane between the house and main barn. Although these buildings may lack individual distinction, it is increasingly rare to find them surviving together on the same farm as a distinguishable, ranged, linear-plan entity. Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm is locally significant under Criterion C as an exemplary, architecturally intact example of a distinct farmstead plan historically associated with Hopewell Township and the mid-Atlantic region.

In 1940, Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm became the permanent, full-time home of Muriel Gardiner, a significant American humanitarian in a movement to save political refugees from fascism and dictatorships. In 1940-42, Gardiner was a founding member of the International Rescue Committee (IRC), providing early leadership and generosity to what became America’s best-known, non-sectarian, refugee organization. She was a heroine who personally reached out to refugees with letters of support and money, even arranging and paying for travel, while using her network of friends, including First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and world-renowned physicist Albert Einstein, to influence and support efforts to save refugees’ escaping persecution, prison and war. This was at a time when many Americans resisted letting refugees with suspected socialist, communist, intellectual/artistic or anti-fascists backgrounds from entering the country. During World War II (1940-45) and the first 25 years of the Cold War (1946-1971), Gardiner assisted thousands of refugees reach better, safer lives in the United States from war-torn countries such as Vichy France, East Germany (Berlin), Hungary, Vietnam and Cuba. Her reputation was bolstered by the fact that she had lived and worked undercover by the code name “Mary” as a member of Austria’s anti-fascist resistance in the 1930s, and too had been a refugee, barely escaping the Nazis in 1939. After arriving safely back in the United States at the outset of World War II, Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm served as Gardiner’s principal residence and place of work, as well as a country retreat to host guests and plan humanitarian relief efforts. Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm is locally significant under Criterion B for its association with Gardiner in the area of social history. Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm has a period of significance from *circa* 1780 to 1971, which encompasses the period extending from construction of the oldest extant phases of the Drake Farmstead farmhouse and barns to the year in which Gardiner moved out of the farmhouse and deeded the property to a land conservation organization. No criteria considerations apply to Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm.

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Narrative Statement of Significance – Outline

Part 1 of the following narrative addresses Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm's significance under Criterion C as a significant local property type, specifically an evolved, ranged, linear-plan farmstead of the period *circa* 1780-1940. Part 2 addresses significance under Criterion B for association with Muriel Gardiner during the period she occupied the farmstead from 1940 to 1971. Historical data about the Drake family, Wolfgang and Ethel Schwabacher, Joseph Buttinger, and other occupants of the farmstead are provided as a supplement at the end of Section 8.

1. The Drake Farmstead – Ranged Linear-Plan Farm Property Type, *circa* 1780-1940 (Criterion C)

The Drake Farmstead is locally significant under Criterion C as a well-preserved collection of vernacular farm-related buildings that maintain their historic spatial relationships within an open/wooded setting. Taken together as a distinguishable entity, the farmhouse, main barn, outbuildings, farm lanes, sites and landscape embody the distinctive characteristics of a ranged linear-plan farm. Consisting of an assemblage of seven extant contributing wood-frame buildings, two sites of foundations that mark the locations of additional outbuildings, and a farm lane system, the Drake Farmstead represents a vernacular, architectural manifestation of local agricultural practices and traditions. Of note is the distinctive, two-phase, "cow and calf," farmhouse wing of *circa* 1780 and Greek Revival-style, main farmhouse of *circa* 1830, and an impressive main barn – a sizable timber-frame structure composed of two connected English barns, dating respectively from *circa* 1780 and 1830. The stately Greek Revival-style farmhouse and barn anchor either end of a 500-foot-long farm lane with a small barn, wellhouse, wagon house/corncrib, garage and garden shed ranged between them. The Drake Farmstead, which was cultivated by six generations of the Drake family, is characteristic of a significant local farm property type, and illustrates the adaptability of the ranged linear plan to changing agricultural practices between the late 18th and early 20th centuries.

The Ranged Linear-Plan Farm Property Type – Definition and Characteristics

The ranged linear-plan farm property type refers to a specific farmyard plan in which the spatial arrangement of the farmhouse, barns and outbuildings in relationship to each other and the landscape form a significant architectural assemblage (Figure 10, farm plan schematics). The plan references the overall geometry of the farmstead, which is that the buildings are all arranged along a lane. There is an orderliness to the plan with the domestic dwelling, the center of the farm household's life, at one end, and the main barn, the largest and most active of the agricultural buildings, at the other. The lesser buildings are "ranged" in between, placed where their function is most closely related to the activities they supported. The garden shed, for instance, closest to the house and the garden where tools were needed, the wellhouse half-way between the barn and the house where it could most effectively supply water to both, and the small barn and wagon house/corncrib on the north side of the lane closer to the barn and the fields. Placing the larger buildings on the north side of the lane, as seen at Drake

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Farmstead, also served to create a windbreak against cold northerly winds, making the lane a comfortable place for farmhands and animals in the weak winter sunshine.

Henry Glassie, a distinguished scholar of American architecture and folklore, defines two basic farmyard plan types in the Delaware Valley.⁶ The most common farmyard plan identified by Glassie is the “courtyard plan,” defined by a house facing the road and a barn located to the rear of the house. The space between the rear of the house and the front of the barn creates a court that was used as an open work area. Smaller outbuildings such as stables, granaries, pens, cribs and wellhouses were sometimes located in one or two lines to either side of the courtyard. This is not the spatial plan seen at Drake Farmstead, which is a “linear plan.” Glassie identified the linear plan as an arrangement in which the ridges of the house and barn are aligned. In the classic arrangement as described by Glassie, the house and barn are close to one another and not separated by a long lane.⁷ Later architectural historians, specifically Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, identified a variation in linear-plan farms that they referred to as a “range plan” in which the house and barn are widely separated at either end of a straight lane with the farm buildings ranged along and facing the lane. This “range plan” sub-type is the linear plan found at Drake Farmstead.⁸

Richard W. Hunter and Richard L. Porter, in their detailed study of Hopewell Township, identified the ranged linear plan as a basic farm layout of the township, vying with the courtyard plan for popularity among local farmers. They described the ranged linear plan as “usually characterized by having the farmhouse at one end of a line of buildings” and the barn “anchoring the opposite end of this line,” as found at Drake Farmstead.⁹ Ranged between the house and barn were “various other outbuildings, such as corncribs, wagon houses, small barns and sheds (Figure 2).¹⁰ They noted that there were numerous variations in the patterns reflecting “considerable variety in which the farmstead cores were conceived and organized, but underlying this heterogeneity is a logic that is down-to-earth and functional.”¹¹ The farmhouse is the base of operations for all of those people living and working on a farm, while the barn related to the storage of crops and the housing of livestock. Topography and proximity to water, fields, roads and soils could all factor into the decisions about exactly where to construct farm buildings, not to mention English cultural traditions.¹² Finding a ranged linear-plan assemblage of farm buildings as intact as those at the Drake Farmstead is a significant aspect of the farm’s overall integrity of design. The

⁶ Henry Glassie, “Eighteenth Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building, in Ian Quimby, ed., *Winterthur Portfolio* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1972), 29-57. The Delaware Valley encompasses portions of western New Jersey, southeastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, of which Hopewell Township is culturally a part, although located near its northern extreme on the divide between the Delaware and Raritan River watersheds.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Lanier and Herman, 223-225. Lanier and Herman suggest that the range plan is more common with 19th-century farms than 18th-century farms. This may line-up with a hypothesis about the Drake Farmstead’s main barn that an older barn of *circa* 1780 was moved to the west end of a barn of *circa* 1830 to form up a single massive dairy barn. If the older barn had originally been closer to the house, which seems likely, the farm’s plan could have evolved from a classic linear plan as described by Glassie to a ranged linear plan as described by Lanier and Herman.

⁹ Hunter and Porter, 56.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 57.

¹² Ibid., 55-57.

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Drake Farmstead ranged linear-plan building grouping is outstanding in its completeness among the handful of examples that survive in Hopewell Township.¹³

The buildings at Drake Farmstead are also significant for how they have evolved and grown in size over a lengthy period of time from the late 18th century to the mid-20th century. Farmers such as the Drake family continued to use the buildings that earlier generations had erected rather than replacing them. The barn erected in the 1780s to serve as a place to thresh and store grains for a small number of horses, cows, pigs and sheep, was supplemented in the 1830s with a much larger barn capable of storing the feed and hay that could be produced on fields using new machines and fertilizers that exponentially increased yields. The two older barns were eventually pushed together to create an even larger dairy barn used for a large herd of Jersey milk cows in the 1890s. Additions to the buildings from this perspective are not dramatic alterations that diminish historical integrity, but part of the significant, evolving, farming stories the buildings can tell.¹⁴

Character-Defining Features of the Ranged Linear-Plan Farm Property Type

The scholarly literature indicates that significant character-defining features of the ranged linear-plan farm property type are the following:

- location of buildings on higher ground not far from a source of water. Drake Farmstead is on a rise to the east of a minor tributary of Stony Brook.
- south-facing buildings to take advantage of sunlight and winter and form a break against the cold north winds. Drake Farmstead's farmhouse, main barn and small barn all face south.
- a farmhouse and main barn anchoring either end of a linear plan connected by a service lane. Drake Farmstead has exceptional examples of a prominent farmhouse and massive main barn.
- linear-plan farms have farmhouse and barns with the roof ridge lines aligned. The ridge lines of the Drake Farmstead farmhouse and the barn are close to aligning, even though they are widely separated.
- additional lesser farm outbuildings ranged linearly along a farm lane between the farmhouse and main barn. Notably, all of Drake Farmstead's extant outbuildings fill this space including the small barn, wagon house/corncrib, wellhouse, garage and garden shed. The site of the dairy barn also fits this plan. The only outlier is the outbuilding site to the north of the main barn.
- Buildings, both domestic and agricultural, incorporate multiple phases of construction, usually expanding with new additions arranged linearly from one or more elevations. Drake Farmstead's house, main barn, small barn and wagon house/corncrib all exhibit this type of expansion and evolution.

All of these above defining characteristics are present at the Drake Farmstead and have excellent integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling and association to the period of significance.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Lanier and Herman, 177-180, 217-18.

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The Origins and Spatial Organization of Ranged Linear-Plan Farms

European settlement in Hopewell Township began in the late 17th and early 18th centuries and expanded in mid-18th century as the region's fertile land attracted increasing numbers of farmers to the area. By the early 19th century, Hopewell Township had become a prosperous farming community characterized by family farmsteads scattered across a rolling landscape and linked by a network of roads.¹⁵ Most of the farmsteads contained a variety of terrain, typically stretching "back from creek frontage across a poorly drained floodplain (suitable for meadow) to an area of better-drained lowland soils suitable for cultivation and then extended on to higher, hillier ground that could serve as pasture and woodlots."¹⁶ The farmstead nuclei were carefully sited within this landscape and typically occupied elevated ground above the floodplain with a nearby supply of potable water from either a spring or a well. This is evident at the Drake Farmstead by its location on higher ground about 700 feet to the north of a tributary of Stony Brook, as well as a wellhouse and capped well to the south of the farm lane.

The farmstead nucleus was arranged around the farmhouse, which generally occupied the most prominent position on the landscape and was "invariably" oriented to the south to take advantage of the light and heat provided by the sun.¹⁷ Farmstead nuclei in Hopewell Township typically feature either a rectangular courtyard plan, which often consisted of a rectangular yard enclosed by a farmhouse, a barn and other agricultural outbuildings, or a ranged linear layout, in which the farmhouse stood at the end of a line of agricultural outbuildings. Both the courtyard and ranged linear plans of mixed-use family farms had English antecedents and are found in areas of the mid-Atlantic. They are particularly concentrated in areas of central New Jersey and southeastern Pennsylvania that were subject to English settlement and mixed grain crops and livestock agricultural practices in the late-17th and 18th centuries. The linear farm plans differ from the banked farmhouse and barns of the Pennsylvania Germans of southeastern Pennsylvania or the Dutch colonial farms with their distinctive houses, hayricks and detached barns that were found in northern New Jersey and New York's Hudson Valley.¹⁸ The range linear-plan farm type was "often associated with farmstead nuclei sited adjacent to roads," such as the Drake Farmstead's relationship to Titus Mill Road.¹⁹ The Drake Farmstead is an exemplar of a ranged linear-plan farm with all of the property type's character-defining spatial features intact and represented by an impressive number of outbuildings, which tend to have been ephemeral and were often removed during the 20th century as farming declined and suburban development encroached from the directions of the City of Trenton and Princeton, which are located to the south of Hopewell Township.

¹⁵ The Hopewell Township Historic Preservation Commission, The Hopewell Township Planning Board and Banisch Associates, Inc. *Hopewell Township Historic Preservation Plan Element, Mercer County, New Jersey* (Hopewell, NJ: Hopewell Township Preservation Commission, 2004), <https://www.hopewelltwp.org/DocumentCenter/View/845/Historic-Preservation-Plan-Element-PDF>, 2-4; Wise Preservation Planning, *Historic Sites Survey Report, Hopewell Township, Mercer County, New Jersey*, (Hopewell, NJ: Hopewell Township Historic Preservation Commission, 2003), https://data.hopewell-history.org/hvhist/Hopewell-History/Hw-Books-Historic/2003-Hw-Cultural-Survey-Hw-Twp-NJHPO_111.pdf, 15-16.

¹⁶ Hunter and Porter, 51.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

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Comparative Examples of Ranged Linear-Plan Farms in Hopewell Township

In addition to the Drake Farmstead, comparative examples of ranged linear-plan farmsteads known to have existed in Hopewell Township include the Titus Farmstead on County Route 518 (Lambertville-Hopewell Road), the Drake/Reed Farmstead on Pennington-Rocky Hill Road and the Blackwell Farmstead on Blackwell Road.²⁰ The Titus Farmstead was established in the late 18th or early 19th century and today comprises only a two-story wood-frame dwelling and barn (Figure 6, middle). The other agricultural outbuildings are gone. The Drake/Reed Farmstead was likewise established in the late 18th century and consists of a wood-frame dwelling and barn, oriented to the south and the Pennington-Rocky Hill Road. The Drake/Reed Farmstead was judged to be of poor historical integrity in 1984 (Figure 6, top). The house and barn have since been restored, but the wagon house, poultry house and other outbuildings that still existed in the late 1980s are gone. The Blackwell Farmstead also dates to the late 18th century and originally consisted of a wood-frame dwelling, barn, corncrib, wagon house and outhouse. None of the Blackwell Farmstead's outbuildings are extant in 2022 (Figure 6, bottom). Compared with ranged linear farms identified by prior cultural resources surveys, the Drake Farmstead has a notable level of historical integrity and is exemplary of the property type in a local context.²¹

Wood Materiality in Hopewell Township

Timber was the “most common construction material used throughout the historical period,” especially in the northern parts of Hopewell Township abutting Sourland Mountain, Pennington Mountain, Baldpate Mountain and Rocky Hill, which were geologically composed of a strong diabase bedrock that was difficult to work and, as such, represented undesirable building material.²² In contrast to fieldstone and brick, wood was readily available in Hopewell Township and allowed for the easy and quick construction of buildings. As a result, frame construction predominated in these parts of Hopewell Township, which included the Drake Farmstead, and “examples of almost every farm building type in Hopewell, from the grandest house through a variety of barns to the lowliest privy, were constructed of wood.”²³ Except for fieldstone foundations, the Drake Farmstead's historic materiality is wood. The interior timber framing of the barns, consisting of heavy, hand-hewn logs and beams, and up-and-down sawn joists and planks, is highly intact in its integrity of design and workmanship to specific dates of significance of *circa* 1780 and 1830.

Farmhouse Architecture in Hopewell Township

While historic farmhouses in Hopewell Township feature a range of forms and styles, two section farmhouses consisting of a smaller kitchen wing attached to a main living section predominate and are colloquially referred to as “cow and the calf” houses.²⁴ In two section houses constructed during the 18th and early 19th centuries,

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Heritage Studies Inc., *Hopewell Township Cultural Resources Survey*, (Hopewell, NJ: Hopewell Township Historic Preservation Commission, 1985).

²² Ibid., 52. Diabase is a geologic term for a very hard, fine-grained, intrusive (formed from hardening lava underground), igneous (volcanic) rock.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Hayden, 3-4.

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the kitchen wing typically extended from the side elevation of the main living section, as is conjectured in the older western section of the Drake Farmstead farmhouse, which dates to *circa* 1780. One of the earliest known of the “cow and calf” plan houses in Hopewell Township is the True/Stout house, dating to the mid-18th century, which likely has some similarity to the original appearance of the Drake farmhouse’s east wing (Figure 7, top). Beginning in the 19th century, the kitchen wing was often relocated to the rear of the main living section, which gave farmhouses constructed during this period an L-shaped or T-shaped plan, but this was not the case at the Drake farmhouse. It retained the original spatial arrangement of its eastern wing even after the Greek Revival-style main block was built to its west *circa* 1830, in effect creating a new “cow and calf” arrangement. Architectural historian Philip Hayden notes that Hopewell Township’s “cow and calf” farmhouses persisted well into the middle decades of the 19th century, even as new national styles of construction such as the Greek Revival and the Italianate began to influence rural carpenters and builders.²⁵

The majority of farmhouses erected in Hopewell Township prior to the mid-19th century had side gable roofs with the “ridge line running from side to side and a chimney in one or both ends.”²⁶ The design of farmhouses became more formal and architecturally sophisticated beginning in the late 18th and early 19th centuries as mixed-use farming gave way to a market economy based on the production of agricultural goods, particularly grains, vegetables, meats and dairy products for Philadelphia and the surrounding environs. This changing farm economy brought increasing prosperity to farmers in Hopewell Township and greater exposure to architectural influences from Philadelphia and pattern books.²⁷ The Greek Revival style, which became popular in the United States during the 1820s, began to appear and impact the design of residential structures in central New Jersey, including Hopewell Township, in the 1830s and 1840s.

While many farmhouses erected prior to the arrival of the Greek Revival style in Hopewell Township were subsequently updated with Greek Revival ornamentation applied to the original structure, only “a few fine Greek Revival farmhouses” dating to the 1830s and 1840s were constructed “in the Hopewell area.”²⁸ These include the Ichabod Leigh farmhouse (Figure 7, middle) on the Mount Rose-Rocky Hill Road, which was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1975, and the Mershon farmhouse on Pennington-Lawrenceville Road (Figure 7, bottom). Constructed *circa* 1835, the Leigh house is a high-style, two-and-one-half-story, five-bay, symmetrical, center-hall, wood-frame dwelling surmounted by a cupola and distinguished by a pedimented façade set in the gable end. Erected *circa* 1839-1845, the Mershon house also features a five-bay, symmetrical, center-hall plan. It is distinguished by eyebrow windows in the attic level and a flattened hip roof.²⁹ The main block of the Drake farmhouse with its *circa* 1830 or earlier date of construction, which is confirmed by archival documentation, notably predates these comparative examples by at least five years, which makes it one of the earliest examples of the Greek Revival style in Hopewell Township. In choosing the Greek Revival style, the Drake family visually signaled both its prosperity and its knowledge of the latest styles.

²⁵ Hunter and Porter, 57; Hayden, 77-114.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 59-60.

²⁸ Ibid., 69.

²⁹ Ibid., 69-70.

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Farm Outbuildings in Hopewell Township

Barns. In addition to the farmhouse, the “best preserved of Hopewell’s farms . . . contain an often bewildering array of outbuildings.”³⁰ The Drake Farmstead ranks among the best for its outbuildings. The largest and most prominent of these agricultural outbuildings was the main barn. The earliest main barns in Hopewell Township were generally constructed in the 18th century as hay barns and were used for threshing grain and storing straw and hay. Often the largest structure on a farmstead, the size of the hay barn was “directly related to the acreage under cultivation.”³¹ Relatively few of these single-function hay barns survive in Hopewell Township, where they largely fell out of favor during the late 18th and early 19th centuries with the emergence of the basement, or bank, barn, which combined spaces for hay and straw storage, grain threshing and housing for livestock. As found at the Drake Farmstead, extant hay barns in Hopewell Township typically survive as parts of larger main barns and were constructed “mostly in the English style displaying a basic box frame with the main entries in the long sides of the building.”³² Farmers often expanded and enlarged their main barns throughout the late 18th and 19th centuries, with the construction of either another structural element to the gable end and/or the front and rear elevations or the addition of smaller appendages, to provide more space and to accommodate changing agricultural practices.³³ The Drake Farmstead’s large barn and small barn exhibit several enlargements and appendages related to this architectural trend in barn evolution (see Figures 8a-c). A shift to dairy farming in Hopewell Township in the late 19th century precipitated the construction of dairy barns. These dairy barns were “usually fairly long, well-lit, and well-ventilated with milking stalls arranged along both sides of a longitudinal central aisle” and an upper story “used for storing feed and hay for the cattle below.”³⁴ While dairy barns were often constructed as separate structures from the other barn(s) on a farm, they were also appended to the main barn as can be seen from the concrete silo and dairy barn foundation site to the southeast of the main barn at the Drake Farmstead. The Drake Farmstead’s main barn and small barn are notable as well-preserved, increasingly rare examples of evolved multi-period barns in Hopewell Township.

Wagon House/Corncrib. One of the other most common types of agricultural outbuildings found on farms in Hopewell Township is a combination wagon house and corncrib.³⁵ While it can assume a variety of forms, the “most distinctive of these are the one-and-a-half-story, drive-in corncribs composed of two cribs flanking a central wagon bay (used both for unloading corn into the cribs and for vehicle storage), the whole being capped by a loft providing additional crop storage space.”³⁶ As necessitated by their purpose being the storage and natural drying of ears of corn, “corncribs are usually long, narrow structures with sides that slope inward toward the base” and finished with “horizontal or vertical siding consisting of narrow, widely spaced slats.”³⁷ Few of these “old-style

³⁰ Ibid., 71.

³¹ Ibid., 72.

³² Ibid., 73.

³³ Ibid., 75.

³⁴ Ibid., 76.

³⁵ Ibid., 77.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

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frame corncribs” were built after the early 20th century, having been superseded by silos and cylindrical wire bins.³⁸ The Drake Farmstead retains a good example of a contributing combination wagon house/corncrib.

Wellhouse. One of the most remarkable survivals at the Drake Farmstead is its wellhouse with its distinctive steeply pitched, wood-shingled, pyramidal roof. Windmills were set atop or beside wellhouses “to drive the pumps that lifted the water to the surface.”³⁹ Windmills were “especially common in the early part” of the 20th century and typically “took the form of open, braced, steel-frame derricks with blades and a rudder at the peak.”⁴⁰ More elaborate and full-enclosed combined wellhouse and windmill structures were also constructed during this period, yet rarer due to their cost. The wellhouse with windmill perched atop it at the Drake Farmstead is one of only two extant examples of this building type that have been identified in Hopewell Township, the rest having disappeared with the adoption of modern pumphouses and municipal water systems.⁴¹

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., 81.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

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2. Muriel Gardiner – Brookdale Farm, Home to an Individually Significant Humanitarian, 1940-1971 (Criterion B)

Overview

Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm is significant under Criterion B at the local level in social history as the principal home of the humanitarian Muriel Gardiner (b.1901-d.1985) from 1940 to 1971 (Figures 3, 5). Gardiner came from a privileged background, inheriting wealth from two of Chicago's most prominent meatpacking fortunes. As a medical student in Vienna in the 1930s, she used her protected position as an American woman to provide essential services to the political resistance to fascism organized by Austria's Social Democratic Party. She served as a courier, hiding fugitive politicians, activists and vulnerable citizens, smuggling documents across borders and helping refugees to flee the country under the code name "Mary." In 1940, Gardiner retreated to Brookdale Farm after the trauma of barely escaping Vichy France with her life. She found her own "refuge in the Pennington farmhouse [Brookdale Farm]."⁴² Gardiner viewed Brookdale Farm as her "real home," as she termed it in her 1983 memoir.⁴³ Indeed, it was from Brookdale Farm that Gardiner became a shining example of a humanitarian during and after World War II.⁴⁴ She approached her humanitarian work professionally, both as a philanthropist and as a trained psychiatrist interested in the impacts of trauma. Her experiences as a true heroine of the Austrian anti-fascist resistance allowed Gardiner to speak with quiet authority.

Brookdale Farm served as Gardiner's home, a retreat for her to bring together those working on refugee and other human rights' issues, and a place for her humanitarian work and quiet reflection. It had just become Gardiner's residence in 1940 when she was instrumental in establishing the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC), which merged with the International Relief Association in 1942 to become the International Rescue Committee (IRC), "the largest nonsectarian refugee organization in the world."⁴⁵ Gardiner had been attracted to Brookdale Farm, in part, due to its proximity to Princeton University where she had friends active in the refugee movement, including physicist Albert Einstein. Through her efforts on behalf of the ERC/IRC, Gardiner helped to rescue hundreds of refugees from Europe by directly lobbying the federal government for visas during World War II. She paid for refugees' passages to the United States and provided them with financial support and places to live when they arrived in the United States, sent aid packages to 100 families a month in Austria and throughout Europe during and after the war, and remained an active participant in and benefactor of the IRC.⁴⁶ During the Cold War, Gardiner, and her Austrian-born husband Joseph Buttinger,⁴⁷ continued to support the IRC and its efforts to assist

⁴² Sheila Isenberg, *Muriel's War: An American Heiress and the Nazi Resistance* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 153.

⁴³ Muriel Gardiner, *Code Name "Mary"* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 173.

⁴⁴ Günter Bischof, "Busy with Refugee Work: Joseph Buttinger, Muriel Gardiner, and the Saving of Austrian Refugees, 1940-1941," in *Zeithistoriker – Archivar – Aufklärer: Festschrift für Winfried R. Garscha*, ed. Claudia Kuretsidis-Haider and Christine Schindler (Vienna: Auftrag des Dokumentationsarchivs des österreichischen Widerstandes und der Zentralen österreichischen Forschungsstelle Nachkriegsjustiz, 2017), 115.

⁴⁵ Eric Thomas Chester, *Covert Network: Progressives, The International Rescue Committee, and the CIA* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1995), 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 120-125.

⁴⁷ Buttinger had his own distinguished achievements as an Austrian political figure and humanitarian. In the United States, he's perhaps best known for his role in instigating America's embroilment in Vietnam as one of the founders of the American Friends of Vietnam, an organization that lobbied the U.S. government to become more directly involved in the Vietnamese civil war, which

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refugees from behind the Iron Curtain in East Germany and Hungary, as well as the civil wars in Vietnam and Cuba.

Together, these efforts earned Gardiner the quiet reputation as “one of the greatest rescuers” of refugees in the United States.⁴⁸ Gardiner’s humanitarian efforts transformed her into “a figure of considerable glamour, an American heiress who had risked her life defying Nazis” and a muse for the celebrated, and controversial, American author and playwright Lillian Hellman.⁴⁹ Literary critics have identified Gardiner as the inspiration for several characters in Hellman’s oeuvre, most notably the character of “Sarah Muller” in her play *The Watch on the Rhine* and the character of “Julia” in her book *Pentimento*.⁵⁰ Gardiner moved to Brookdale Farm in her late 30s and lived their full-time in the farmhouse as a permanent resident until deeding the property to a conservation organization in 1971.⁵¹ No other properties in the United States better represent Gardiner’s achievements during the period of 1940 to 1971.

Muriel Gardiner, Early Life and Influences from 1901 to 1922 (before Brookdale Farm)

While Gardiner’s achievements as a humanitarian, particularly her impact on thousands of refugees, are best associated with her active career while living and working at Brookdale Farm from 1940 to 1971, there is no doubt that Gardiner’s childhood and young adulthood had a profound impact on her outlook and dedication to the cause. Much of this experience rested on Gardiner’s feelings of empathy for the poor and unwelcome, which manifested at a young age, and then a soul-searching period in Europe that brought her into contact with the leading figures of psychoanalysis in Austria, including Sigmund Freud, and ultimately as an American working undercover in the anti-fascist resistance.

Muriel Gardiner was born Helen Muriel Morris in Chicago, Illinois, on November 23, 1901. As the youngest child of Edward Morris and Helen Swift Morris, Muriel was the offspring of two of America’s wealthiest and

began immediately after World War II. Buttinger’s point of view was informed by his efforts with Gardiner rescuing Vietnamese refugees. During the 1950s, Buttinger was considered one of the country’s foremost experts on Vietnam. Consideration was given whether Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm had Criterion B significance for its association with Buttinger, who resided there with Gardiner. Ultimately, it was determined that untwining his individual significance from Gardiner’s financial and emotional support of him, plus his more peripatetic travels when he was frequently away from the farm made the argument too difficult to make the case for his individual achievements being best and solely associated with the farmstead. A principal factor was that Buttinger had a personal library and office in a townhouse in New York City that could have greater claim than Brookdale Farm. This library was disbanded in 1971 and given to a library in Austria, but the townhouse remains. His collection of publications on Vietnam was considered the most comprehensive in the United States. Gardiner on the other hand worked almost exclusively from the farm, traveled less, and had a close association and emotional attachment with the farm and its land.

⁴⁸ “A True Friend of the Documentation Center of Austrian Resistance: Franz S. Leichter Turns 90,” American Friends of the Documentation Center of Austrian Resistance, published August 19, 2020, <http://www.austrianresistance.org/?m=202008>.

⁴⁹ William Wright, *Lillian Hellman: The Image, The Woman* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1986), 166.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 166-167.

⁵¹ At the same time in 1971 that Gardiner deeded the property to the Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association, she had built a single-story ranch house about 300 feet to the west of the farmhouse. This allowed her and her husband, both of whom were elderly had increasing difficulties with stairs, to remain living on the property until shortly before her death in 1985. The ranch house, which was heavily modified to become offices for the Watershed and then expanded into a nature center in 2015 is not within the boundaries of the nominated Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm property.

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most influential meat-packing empires. Her father, Edward Morris, was the eldest son of Nelson Morris, the founder of Morris and Company, “one of the first and largest meat-processing firms in Chicago.”⁵² Born Moritz Beisinger into a poor Jewish family in Hechingen, a village located in the Black Forest in Germany, Nelson Morris emigrated to the United States at the age of 12 in 1848. His was a classic American “rags to riches” story.⁵³ Gardiner’s mother, Helen Swift Morris, was the daughter of Gustavus Swift, the founder of Swift and Company, “an enterprise that would become an American institution, built on the blood and muscle of slaughtered livestock and an underpaid immigrant labor force.”⁵⁴ A native of West Sandwich, Massachusetts, Gustavus Swift moved to Chicago with his family and established a meatpacking firm at the Union Stock Yards in 1875. Six years after his arrival in Chicago, Swift “altered the meatpacking industry forever by overseeing the creation of the first long-distance refrigerated car.”⁵⁵ In 1902, Morris and Company and Swift and Company merged with their mutual rival, Armour and Company, to form a giant corporation known as the National Packing Company. It controlled approximately one-tenth of meat production in the United States between 1902 and 1912, when the federal government forced it to dissolve for its monopolistic practices.⁵⁶

As the daughter and granddaughter of millionaires, Muriel enjoyed a privileged childhood that featured two palatial homes on the South Side of Chicago, a summer estate in Green Lake, Wisconsin, and a corps of 12 servants, including a housekeeper, a laundress, a cook, a lady’s maid, a valet, a nurse, a gardener, a coachman-chauffeur, two butlers and a couple of maids.⁵⁷ Although her family’s wealth largely shielded Muriel from the harsh economic and social realities of the Gilded Age, she became aware of the inequities between the rich and the poor during her childhood. She credited her early recognition of social injustice to her nurse, Mollie, and her family’s housekeeper, Nellie.⁵⁸ According to Muriel, Mollie and Nellie regularly discussed with her the differences between their own lives and those of Muriel and her family members. Nellie also told Muriel stories about her voyage from Ireland to the United States, describing the cold and hunger experienced by poor passengers in steerage.⁵⁹ These stories made a lasting impression on Muriel, who witnessed the stark differences between first-class passengers and steerage passengers during a trip to Europe in 1910. She later said of the experience, “I just couldn’t get over people being treated so differently just because some of them had money and some of them didn’t.”⁶⁰ A gifted student and a voracious reader, Muriel also educated herself about poverty, war, ethics and her family’s business by reading books such as Ralph Waldo Emerson’s *Essays*, Ella Lyman Cabot’s *Everyday Ethics* and Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle*, the latter a famous portrayal of the harsh conditions in the

⁵² Gardiner, *Code Name “Mary,”* 7; Walter Roth, “Nelson Morris and ‘The Yards,’” *Chicago Jewish History* 32, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 1, 4; Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 7; Mark R. Wilson, Stephen R. Porter and Janice L. Reiff, “Morris (Nelson) & Co.,” The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago, Chicago Historical Society, accessed November 30, 2020,

<http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/2779.html>. After a brief stay with his great uncle, a peddler who changed his name from Moritz Beisinger to Nelson Morris, in New England, Nelson Morris made his way to Chicago and founded Morris & Co., which was one of the first meatpacking companies at the city’s Union Stock Yards, in 1859.

⁵³ Walter Roth, “Nelson Morris and ‘The Yards,’” *Chicago Jewish History* 32, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 1, 4; Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 7.

⁵⁴ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 9.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 13; Mark R. Wilson, Stephen R. Porter and Janice L. Reiff, “National Packing Co.,” The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago, Chicago Historical Society, accessed November 30, 2020, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/2789.html>.

⁵⁷ Gardiner, *Code Name “Mary,”* 8-13; Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 16-21.

⁵⁸ Gardiner, *Code Name “Mary,”* 10.

⁵⁹ Ibid.; Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 20.

⁶⁰ As cited in Ibid., 25.

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meatpacking industry, which she read “hiding in a closet behind the coats since the book was not allowed in her house.”⁶¹ These experiences laid the foundation for Muriel’s lifelong generosity and her ongoing fight against social injustice.⁶²

After years of health problems caused by chronic kidney disease, Muriel’s father, Edward Morris, died at the age of 47 on November 3, 1913. Per the terms of his will, Morris’s \$20 million dollars, which is equivalent to \$450 million dollars in today’s money, was divided between his wife, Helen Swift Morris, and their four children. Muriel inherited approximately \$3 million dollars, which is equivalent to \$67 million dollars in today’s money, thus becoming a millionaire at the age of 12. She received an annual allowance from her inheritance, which was placed in a trust until she reached the age of 35.⁶³ Paradoxically, this inheritance empowered Muriel to reject her family’s conservative values even as it funded the philanthropy that transformed her into a celebrated humanitarian.⁶⁴

After graduating from high school in 1918, Muriel enrolled at Wellesley College. It was here that she was finally able to break free from her family’s conservative values and to develop the liberal political identity that shaped the rest of her life. Already aware of the gap between the rich and the poor, she renounced the luxuries of her childhood, did not wear a watch for two years and found ways to anonymously spend her money on other people.⁶⁵ Muriel also became increasingly interested and active in politics during her time at Wellesley, finding herself increasingly drawn well to the left of the political spectrum and to socialism. She came of age at Wellesley during the height of America’s “First Red Scare” following World War I in 1919-20. During the scare, elected leaders and law enforcement, reacting to concerns raised by the Bolsheviks’ Russian Revolution and labor unrest in America’s mines and factories, sought out and arrested those suspected of holding communist sympathies. Muriel became obsessed with the trial of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Italian immigrants and anarchists who had been involved in strikes, political agitation and anti-war propaganda. Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested and prosecuted by J. Edgar Hoover for the murder of a paymaster and a security guard during an armed robbery in South Braintree, Massachusetts, not far from Wellesley College. Muriel attended every day of their trial in Dedham, Massachusetts in 1921.⁶⁶ She also served as a founding member of the Intercollegiate Liberal League (ILL) with a group of students from other colleges on the East Coast in 1921. The organization, which became known as the National Student Forum, was the first intercollegiate liberal organization in the United States and would later draw comparisons to the national student activist organization, Students for a Democratic Society, of the 1960s. Through this organization and her work as the president of the Student Forum at Wellesley, Muriel became acquainted with some of the 20th century’s most radical political activists and theorists, including Norman Thomas, an antiwar activist, socialist and repeat presidential candidate; Roger Baldwin, a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); Harry Laidlaw, the socialist director of the League for Industrial Democracy; and Scott Nearing, a pacifist and socialist and a founder of the 1960s back-to-the-land movement.⁶⁷ Unsurprisingly,

⁶¹ Ibid., 27.

⁶² Ibid., 35; *The Real Julia: The Muriel Gardiner Story*, produced by Dan Klugherz, narrated by Judy Woodruff (USA: Altana Films, 1987), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ct4tw02mQGI>.

⁶³ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 31.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 35.

⁶⁵ Ibid.; Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 17-18.

⁶⁶ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 36-38.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 38-39; Gardiner, *Muriel’s War*, 19-20.

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these activities and her outspoken support for pacifism and disarmament earned Muriel a reputation as a “Red” and a “Bolshie.”⁶⁸

Early Encounters with Fascism and Psychological Training in Europe, 1922-1934 (before Brookdale Farm)

Muriel graduated from Wellesley in 1922 and subsequently spent eight months living in Italy with her friend Kay Cooke. During her time in Italy, she witnessed King Victor Emmanuel install Benito Mussolini as prime minister in October 1923, which marked the beginning of “Italy’s inexorable march toward entente with Hitler and the Axis in the Second World War.”⁶⁹ That same month, Muriel decided to pursue a bachelor’s degree in literature at the University of Oxford. After her academic advisers rejected her thesis on Mary Shelley, she left Oxford without a degree in 1925 and married her first husband, Harold A. Abramson, an American medical student, in London on November 5.⁷⁰ Although Muriel regretted the marriage almost immediately and later sought to erase Abramson from her life story – she wrote in her autobiography, “I will pass over most of the events and my emotions of the 1920s”⁷¹ – he and their marriage ultimately played a central role in leading her to psychoanalysis and Vienna.⁷²

Facing a failing marriage and blaming their marital problems solely on his wife, Abramson urged Muriel to seek psychoanalysis from Sigmund Freud in Vienna and wrote a letter to the “father of psychoanalysis” requesting an appointment, which Freud declined.⁷³ While Muriel strongly disagreed that her behavior lay behind their troubled marriage – she later described Abramson as “vain, sadistic, impulsive, with paranoid traits” – she believed that psychoanalysis might help cure some neuroses and phobias that she retained from her childhood. She decided to travel to Vienna to obtain an appointment with Freud.⁷⁴ In May 1926, the couple arrived in Vienna, which had become a backdrop to a contest for control of the country between Austria’s two dominant political parties, the Social Democratic Party, characterized as “chiefly working class, with strong intellectual leaders” and concentrated mainly in Vienna, and the Christian Socialist Party, which was “made up largely of Catholic peasants and of conservative landowners, army officers, and big businessmen” with a strong base of support in the Austrian countryside.⁷⁵ Although Freud ultimately denied Muriel’s second request for an appointment, he did refer her to his former student and protégé, Ruth Mack Brunswick. The daughter of Judge Julian Mack, a well-known liberal jurist and philanthropist from Chicago, Brunswick had sought help from Freud to escape a difficult marriage and eventually entered the field of psychoanalysis. She served as a mediator between American analysts in Vienna and Freud’s inner circle of European analysts that comprised the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society.⁷⁶ In 1927,

⁶⁸ Ibid., 20.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 42.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 45. General Register Office, *England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index, 1916-2005*, Volume 1b, 1071 [database on-line]. Gardiner’s biography and memoirs gloss over Abramson. Genealogical materials from Ancestry.com provide limited coverage since most sources are European. The English marriage record does not list Abramson’s occupation. Abramson’s identity as an American medical student is inferred from other related census and passenger ship records.

⁷¹ Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 31.

⁷² Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 46.

⁷³ Ibid., 46.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 34.

⁷⁶ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 48; Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 31.

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Brunswick introduced Muriel to Freud and his family.⁷⁷ Through Brunswick, Muriel also became acquainted with Sergei Pankejeff, perhaps Freud's most famous patient, who was dubbed the "Wolf Man" because of his dreams of wolves. Muriel and Sergei Pankejeff remained in contact throughout his life, and she published two books on him, *The Wolf-Man by the Wolf-Man* and *The Wolf Man's Last Years*, in the 1970s.⁷⁸ Brunswick treated Muriel for three years during this first period of treatment.⁷⁹

Muriel finally divorced Abramson in London in 1929 and returned to Vienna, where she met and married Julian Gardiner, a musician from England, in November 1930. The couple's daughter, and Muriel Gardiner's only child, Constance "Connie" Mary Gardiner, was born in Vienna on March 24, 1931.⁸⁰ The marriage lasted for only one year, and Julian Gardiner, at Muriel's request, divorced in December 1931. The divorce prompted Muriel to reach out to Brunswick for a second period of psychoanalytic treatment. During this treatment, Gardiner, who had become interested in becoming a psychoanalyst, began to study Freudian theory with Robert Waelder, a psychoanalyst closely associated with Sigmund Freud, his daughter Anna Freud and the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. Planning to use her psychoanalytical training as "a psychological foundation for educational work" and recognizing that the practice of psychoanalysis in the United States would require a medical degree, she "reluctantly enrolled in the University of Vienna Medical School in the fall of 1932."⁸¹ She also continued to study Freudian theory, taking private classes with Siegfried Bernfeld and August Aichhorn and, later, joining a group of four American women that met once a week with each of these teachers.⁸²

Muriel Gardiner's medical school entrance and the beginning of her study of Freudian theory occurred against a backdrop of the "Fascist assault on the Social Democrats" and the growing power and popularity of the Nazis in Vienna and Austria between 1932 and 1934.⁸³ During this period, the political competition between the Social Democratic Party and the Christian Socialist Party, which had occasionally turned violent in the 1920s, reached its dramatic conclusion. On March 8, 1933, Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, a Christian Socialist, transformed Austria into a fascist dictatorship when he dissolved parliament, thereby "effectively ending Austrian democracy."⁸⁴ While Chancellor Dollfuss took this radical step, in part, to prevent the Austrian Nazi Party from gaining political power, the *Heimwehr*, the Christian Socialist Party's paramilitary group, openly affiliated itself with the Nazis in the summer of 1933 and began to conduct terrorist raids in Vienna. Fearing the growing German influence in Austria, Dollfuss turned to Italy and Benito Mussolini to guarantee Austria's independence and cracked down on his political opponents. As a result, "Social Democrats were rounded up and sent to detention camps or were murdered."⁸⁵ On February 12, 1934, Dollfuss took the final step in cementing his dictatorship and "declared all labor unions illegal" and "dissolved and outlawed the Social Democratic Party."⁸⁶ In response to

⁷⁷ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 53.

⁷⁸ Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 36; Nellie L. Thompson, "Gardiner, Muriel (1901-1985)," in *International Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*, ed. Alain de Mijolla (Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2002), 664-665.

⁷⁹ Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 41; Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 56.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁸¹ Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 42.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸⁴ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 63.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 67.

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Austrian government forces and the *Heimwehr* attacking the Linz workers' club on February 12, 1934, Vienna's outlawed labor unions declared a general strike. Dollfuss used the strike as an excuse to order Austrian troops to open fire on any members of the *Schutzbunder*, the Social Democratic Party's paramilitary group, and striking workers that they encountered.⁸⁷ Gardiner witnessed the subsequent slaughter from Ruth Mack Brunswick's office⁸⁸ and, as she later wrote in her autobiography, "(I) knew without a shadow of a doubt that I wanted to remain in Vienna doing all I could to keep the spark of democracy alive despite Austria's Fascist dictatorship."⁸⁹

Experiences in the Austrian Underground, 1934-1939 (before Brookdale Farm)

Gardiner became involved with the Austrian underground movement, which was operated by and around the Social Democratic Party, in the spring of 1934. As her "first covert action" in support of the movement, she established her apartment in the Frankgasse⁹⁰ in Vienna as a safe house to hide those being hunted by the fascists.⁹¹ She also held secret meetings of the Funke (Spark) group, which was named after Vladimir Lenin's underground newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark), founded by Leopold and Ilse Kulczar, at her apartment. Discovery of these meetings by the Austrian authorities would have resulted in Gardiner and her contacts being arrested.⁹² The Funke group represented a "cell" of the newly reorganized Revolutionary Socialists, that had been formed as part of the Social Democratic Party's strategy to protect its underground activities.⁹³ Gardiner moved her daughter, Constance, and her daughter's nurse, Gerda, into a new apartment on Rummelhardtgasse and subleased a studio apartment on Lammgasse, which she planned to use for hiding people and "holding clandestine meetings," studying and for trysts with her lover, the English poet Stephen Spender.⁹⁴ Muriel, who went by the code name "Mary," became a member of the Funke Central Committee in the fall of 1934, having previously allowed the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialists to meet at her cottage in Sulz, a small village in the Vienna Woods.⁹⁵ She first met Joseph Buttinger, who went by the code name "Weiser," at a meeting of the Funke at the apartment of Leopold and Ilse Kulczar in September 1934.⁹⁶ Buttinger subsequently traveled to Vienna for meetings of the Funke at Gardiner's apartment on multiple occasions during the fall and winter of 1934. Gardiner's wealth allowed her to essentially bankroll several "safe houses" for the Central Committee's use.⁹⁷

After the Austrian government arrested the leaders of the Social Democratic Party following a meeting in Brno, Czechoslovakia on January 22, 1935, Buttinger fled from his own imminent arrest to the safety of Gardiner's cottage in Sulz.⁹⁸ The two became better acquainted during the ensuing months. Buttinger became the chairman of the Revolutionary Socialists following the arrest of the party's other leaders, and he increasingly used her

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 46.

⁹⁰ "Gasse" in German means a narrow street or alley in a city.

⁹¹ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 69.

⁹² Ibid., 69-70; Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 48.

⁹³ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 73.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 76.

⁹⁵ Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 57; Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 57.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 77, 79; Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 58-65.

⁹⁷ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 79.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 80.

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apartments and cottage as safe houses. When he narrowly avoided arrest for a third time on March 11, 1935, Buttinger decided with Gardiner that it would be safest for him to live only with her at her Lammgasse apartment or at her cottage.⁹⁹ With the goal of keeping Buttinger's location a secret and, thereby, ensuring the long-term safety of the leader of the Revolutionary Socialists, Gardiner ended her involvement with the daily operations of the party in March 1935.

Gardiner continued, however, to work with the Socialist resistance, becoming "the most hidden of all outlaws," in its struggle against fascism.¹⁰⁰ In addition to protecting Buttinger, Gardiner served as the main link between the Revolutionary Socialists in Vienna and in Brno, Czechoslovakia. Between 1935 and 1938, she traveled frequently between Austria and Czechoslovakia, carrying communications, photographs and forged passports and avoiding the suspicion and questions of government authorities under her cover as a wealthy American student.¹⁰¹ Through their resistance work, Buttinger and Gardiner formed a strong emotional and intellectual bond, and they began a romantic relationship on March 13, 1935, which Gardiner noted as the date her "marriage with Joe really began."¹⁰² The romantic relationship brought together two people with a common goal but vastly different backgrounds. In contrast to the wealth and privilege that characterized his future wife's childhood, Buttinger had grown up in abject poverty.

In November 1937, the Austrian government instituted a raid that resulted in the arrest of approximately 40 high-level Revolutionary Socialist party leaders, which convinced Gardiner that "the days of an independent Austria were numbered."¹⁰³ During the first months of 1938, it became increasingly clear to Gardiner that the *Anschluss*, the annexation of Austria by Germany, was imminent, and that most of the members of the Revolutionary Socialist underground "would soon be either on the run or arrested."¹⁰⁴ Gardiner and Buttinger decided to leave Austria, but their first attempt to persuade other Revolutionary Socialist leaders to emigrate failed. Despite their pleas, most of their colleagues decided to remain in Austria. On March 12, 1938, Buttinger, along with Gardiner's daughter Constance and a British friend, escaped to France via Switzerland as the *Anschluss* occurred and an independent Austria ceased to exist.¹⁰⁵ In a show of exceptional bravery, Gardiner remained in Vienna to help Austrian refugees flee the country under the guise of completing her medical degree.

In the months following the *Anschluss*, Gardiner obtained forged passports for the most vulnerable members of Austrian society and the Socialist resistance, smuggling photographs to Czechoslovakia and bringing forged documents into Austria beneath a corset. She also hid people from authorities and escorted refugees across Austria's borders to safety.¹⁰⁶ In addition to these activities, Gardiner helped Austrian refugees, many of whom were Jewish, by providing them with affidavits of support which enabled them to obtain American visas and legally emigrate to the United States. Along with her brother Nelson Morris and friends in the United States, she

⁹⁹ Ibid., 82.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 85.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² As cited in Ibid., 82.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 98.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 109-110; Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 102-105.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 103; Gardiner, *Code Name Mary*, 98.

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secured “hundreds of affidavits and save[d] hundreds of lives.”¹⁰⁷ Gardiner’s efforts to smuggle refugees out of Austria were heroic; following the *Anschluss*, Nazi authorities quickly found and arrested those members of the Austrian underground who had not fled.¹⁰⁸ The Nazis sent many of them to the Dachau concentration camp, which opened in March 1933 and was used initially for political prisoners before becoming from 1937 to 1945 a notorious death camp for tens of thousands of Jews, Roma (gypsies), homosexuals, and others. Many of Gardiner’s associates from the resistance were tortured or murdered at Dachau.¹⁰⁹

Following her graduation from the University of Vienna Medical School, Muriel Gardiner left Vienna on June 25, 1938, to join Buttinger in Paris.¹¹⁰ He proposed to Gardiner shortly after her arrival, and the couple ultimately decided to marry to enable Buttinger to emigrate to the United States.¹¹¹ After encountering a series of bureaucratic hurdles, the couple was finally able to marry in France on August 1, 1939, due to the intervention of France’s former Socialist prime minister Leon Blum.¹¹² During the couple’s time in Paris, Gardiner continued her work helping refugees, “arranging for false passports, obtaining affidavits of support and giving funds to those on the run from the Nazis.”¹¹³ She also briefly returned to Austria in November 1938 to act as a courier between the exiled Socialist leaders in Paris and those who remained in Austria, and to inform them that they were to cease all conspiracy and political resistance activities.¹¹⁴ The French government placed Buttinger, along with all of the German and Austrian refugees that it deemed to be enemy aliens, in an internment camp in September 1938. After Gardiner secured Buttinger’s freedom, the couple left France on the *U.S.S. Manhattan*, on November 7, 1939. It was the last non-military American passenger ship to cross the Atlantic until the end of World War II.¹¹⁵

Muriel Gardiner at Brookdale Farm, 1940-1971

Gardiner was introduced to Brookdale Farm by a close friend, Wolfgang (Wolf) Schwabacher (b.1898-d.1951), a New York attorney, and his wife Ethel Kramer Schwabacher (b.1903-d.1984), an artist. While the Schwabachers had their primary residence on 94th Street in New York City, the couple also maintained a seasonal country residence at Brookdale Farm in Pennington, New Jersey, which the Schwabachers and Wolf’s brother Herman had purchased in the early 1930s.¹¹⁶ They spent holidays and summers there with their daughter Brenda Schwabacher Webster, who was born in 1936, and their son Christopher Schwabacher, who was born in 1941.¹¹⁷ In her memoir *The Last Good Freudian*, which was published in 2000, Webster described the farm as a “big one, two hundred acres set in softly rolling dairy country, surrounded by red barns and grazing cows.”¹¹⁸ After they

¹⁰⁷ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 103.

¹⁰⁸ Strobl, “Thinking Cosmopolitan,” 110.

¹⁰⁹ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 107.

¹¹⁰ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 126.

¹¹¹ Strobl, “Thinking Cosmopolitan,” 111.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 113.

¹¹³ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 134.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 131-134.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 138-143.

¹¹⁶ Webster, *The Last Good Freudian*, 15.

¹¹⁷ Schwabacher, “Christopher Schwabacher,” 161.

¹¹⁸ Webster, *The Last Good Freudian*, 15.

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arrived in the United States shortly before Thanksgiving in 1939, Gardiner and Buttinger rented an apartment in New York City, and then in mid-1940 Gardiner purchased Herman Schwabacher's half share of Brookdale Farm.¹¹⁹ The farm soon became her adult lifetime's favorite and only full-time permanent residence in the United States. She became the property's full owner in 1951 and lived in the farmhouse from 1940 to 1971. After 1971, due to the declining health of her husband, Gardiner moved into a one-story ranch house she had built about 500 feet to the west of the farmhouse. She lived in the ranch house until 1984, a year before her death. This ranch house was later converted into a nature center and is located outside of the historic district boundary.¹²⁰

The State of the Refugee Movement at the Beginning of World War II

While America has a reputation as a refuge for the world's people seeking freedom and opportunity, the realities of finding asylum in the United States had become severely limited in the early decades of the 20th century. The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924 were passed by Congress in part as a reaction to the aftermath of World War I and concerns about keeping out socialists and communists from Europe and the Soviet Union, as well as those considered undesirable by most Americans due to religion, race or lack of education. The strict quotas contributed to difficulties many anti-fascist activists and sympathizers faced gaining entry to the United States as the Axis powers gained increasing control over Europe in the 1930s. The policy reflected American society's prevailing racism and antisemitism, as well as economic hardship at home, and fears of communists, anarchists, socialists and foreign spies. As of 1938, only about 27,000 people born in Germany or Austria could be granted visas to come to the United States each year. In most years, the U.S. State Department issued far fewer visas than the maximum allowed. No exceptions were made for political or intellectual refugees escaping persecution. By the late 1930s, the waiting list for visas had grown to include over 300,000 Germans and Austrians, many of whom would never receive visas and eventually be murdered in Nazi concentration camps. Most were Jews, but many were also politicians, intellectuals, journalists, writers, college professors and artists who were vocal in their opposition to fascism.¹²¹

As the European refugee crisis deepened, Americans could read, see and hear about the news of Nazi persecution, but public opinion against being drawn into foreign conflicts or opening the nation's doors wide to refugees remained steadfast. The U.S. State Department even instituted additional restrictions in 1941, citing national security concerns. The situation became even more dire for refugees when the United States began that year closing its embassies and consulates in Nazi-held territories, leaving no diplomats on the ground to interview visa

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 145-151. Consideration was given to including the nature center in the boundary of the historic farmstead; however, it is so altered as to have no resemblance to its appearance 50 years ago. Major alterations were made in the mid-1980s and in 2015, including additions like a butterfly house, education center, native plantings, etc. It has none of the feeling or character of being part of a historic farmstead.

¹²¹ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *The United States and the Refugee Crisis, 1938-1941*, on-line at <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-united-states-and-the-refugee-crisis-1938-41> [accessed August 2022]; United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Refugee Law and Policy Timeline, 1891-2003*, on-line at www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history [accessed August 2022].

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applicants. As the war crisis deepened, all new visas had to be approved directly by a committee in Washington, D.C., leading to even further delays and loss of life.¹²²

Gardiner, having experienced firsthand the challenges of escaping fascism, was a pivotal figure in the non-governmental movement to create networks for rescuing refugees. She understood the need for contacts, sponsors and advocates who could work on their behalf. As a rare example of an educated American woman of wealth and status who could speak directly to the fear and challenges of escaping the Nazis, she was a persuasive force. Refugees needed assistance navigating the immigration system and completing the required paperwork, and they needed sympathetic individuals or organizations to act as financial sponsors capable of clandestinely purchasing passenger tickets and assisting with housing and employment once they reached the United States. Gardiner participated in the establishment of the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC) in June 1940 recognizing that there were no non-sectarian organizations in the United States helping refugees with anti-fascist political backgrounds. The primary organizations that existed prior to this time were faith-based and included the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), which had been in existence since at least World War I. While these groups were sometimes quite effective, they tended to rely on religious networks rather than political ones. Gardiner participated in the ERC's founding meeting in New York City on June 25, 1940, which brought together more than 200 notable Americans, including journalists, artists and academics. As a private relief organization, they set out initially to rescue anti-Nazi journalists, writers, scholars and artists, many of whom were stranded in Vichy France and likely to be targeted by Nazi Germany. Over the next 13 months, the ERC successfully rescued more than 2,000 individuals. While living at Brookdale Farm, Gardiner played a pivotal role in the effort to place the ERC on sound organizational and financial footing, thus creating the foundation for America's oldest and largest non-sectarian non-governmental organization for assisting international political refugees.¹²³

Significant Achievements Assisting and Saving Refugees of World War II while at Brookdale Farm, 1940-45

After arriving back in the United States in 1939, Gardiner continued to aid refugees in Europe. At the same time, she passed her New York State medical board examinations in February 1940 and began pursuing the courses and certificates that she needed to become an accredited psychiatrist in the United States.¹²⁴ Between May 1940 and October 1942, "she spent dollars, francs, pounds sterling and escudo on behalf of countless men and women" equaling "the equivalent in today's money of more than \$1 million."¹²⁵ Gardiner also extended her financial support to refugees in the United States: "She found people jobs, paid to educate their children, bought them food and other necessities, and, through Ruth [her sister], made certain that they received much-needed medical care." Much of this work was done through the ERC/IRC, as well as on a personal basis through attorneys, foundations, and family and friends, keeping the spotlight off Gardiner, which was her wish.¹²⁶

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Alton Kastner, "A Brief History of the International Rescue Committee (New York, International Rescue Committee, 2001); International Rescue Committee, *History of the International Rescue Committee*, on-line at www.rescue.org/page/history-international-rescue-committee [accessed August 2022].

¹²⁴ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 147.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 151.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 148.

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In addition to her private efforts to help refugees, Gardiner became involved with some of the era's leading American refugee aid organizations.¹²⁷ In the summer of 1940, she joined with other progressive Americans to found the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC).¹²⁸ Under the auspices of the ERC, Gardiner, along with her husband and with the assistance of Joseph Lash, a former antiwar socialist and a friend and protégé of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and the German anti-fascist Karl Frank, successfully approached President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to secure his assistance helping refugees make their way to the United States. With Gardiner's recommendations and assistance, hundreds of immediate emergency visas were issued by special order of the President to help rescue Austrian Socialists and other refugees from Vichy France via Portugal. The ERC sent an American volunteer named Varian Fry, an editor and a journalist, to Marseille, France, in 1940 to help refugees. Over the course of the next year, he and the ERC saved approximately 1,500 people using emergency visitors' visas.¹²⁹ In 1942, the ERC merged with the American branch of the International Relief Association to form the International Relief and Rescue Committee, which eventually shortened its name to the International Rescue Committee (IRC).¹³⁰ Gardiner was an important supporter of the IRC during and immediately after World War II. Gardiner undertook much of her work, largely through correspondence and meeting with invited guests, while living at Brookdale Farm.¹³¹

In addition to the creation of the ERC, the summer of 1940 brought another major change in Gardiner's life at the hands of daughter Connie. A nature lover and unhappy living in New York City, Connie Gardiner convinced her mother that they needed to move full-time to the country. In June 1940, Muriel Gardiner, having learned that half of her friend and lawyer Wolf Schwabacher's country estate, Brookdale Farm, in Pennington, New Jersey, the former Drake Farmstead, was for sale, she purchased the half-share for \$23,000.¹³² After acquiring her share of the property, Gardiner promptly relocated to Brookdale Farm with Connie and husband Joseph Buttinger.¹³³ According to Brenda Schwabacher Webster, the Schwabacher house "nestled against Muriel's much larger one at the end of a dirt drive flanked by overarching maples."¹³⁴ In other words, the Schwabacher family occupied the late 18th-century side wing of the Drake farmhouse, and the Gardiner-Buttinger family lived in the farmhouse's 19th-century Greek Revival-style main block.

Brenda Schwabacher Webster provided a detailed description of the layout of the side wing of the farmhouse during the approximately ten-year period of the 1940s in which the two families cohabitated at Brookdale Farm in her memoir, *The Last Good Freudian*:

¹²⁷ Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 116; Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 149.

¹²⁸ Ibid.; Bruce Lambert, "Joseph A. Buttinger, Nazi Fighter and Vietnam Scholar, Dies at 85," *The New York Times*, March 8, 1992, <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/03/08/nyregion/joseph-a-buttinger-nazi-fighter-and-vietnam-scholar-dies-at-85.html>.

¹²⁹ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 150.

¹³⁰ "History of the International Rescue Committee," International Rescue Committee, accessed December 11, 2020, https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html#cg-website.

¹³¹ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 150-152.

¹³² Webster, *The Last Good Freudian*, 15.

¹³³ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 152.

¹³⁴ Webster, *The Last Good Freudian*, 17.

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Our house at the farm [Brookdale Farm] was under the same roof as Muriel's but with separate entrances. Downstairs was our small living room crammed with the colonial furniture my father loved. The bedrooms were upstairs: mine, a spacious blue room, looked out on the vegetable garden; my parents had the same view but it was painted pink and decorated with delicate Victorian cutouts. Next to their room a double door led to Connie's bedroom in the other house.¹³⁵

This clearly indicates that Webster, slept in the easternmost bedroom on the second floor of the side wing of the farmhouse, and Wolf and Ethel Schwabacher slept in the westernmost bedroom, which connected to Connie Gardiner's bedroom on the second floor of the main block of the dwelling via an interior door. Connie Gardiner famously "stripped her room of furniture" and "filled it with rows of rat cages – except for a fenced-off portion of the floor that was covered with sand for her turtles" and slept in the main barn or in the woods, "where she caught more exotic creatures like skunks, who were kept in fenced off runs off the barn."¹³⁶ It is unclear from Webster's memoir if the Schwabacher residence included a kitchen, though the family did employ a cook.¹³⁷

Gardiner and Schwabacher employed a caretaker named Otis Paul Kerlin, Sr. to oversee the physical maintenance of Brookdale Farm in the 1940s. Born in Clear Ridge, Pennsylvania, on May 5, 1899, Kerlin and his family occupied a cottage on the property that stood adjacent to the main barn, presumably the building currently known as the small barn.¹³⁸ In 1940, the 40-year-old caretaker headed a household that included his wife, Lutisha Thelma Kerlin, aged 35, and their son, Otis Paul Kerlin, Jr., aged 18.¹³⁹ In addition to a cook and a caretaker, the Schwabachers also employed a nurse after the birth of their son, Christopher Schwabacher, in 1941. According to Webster, her parents housed her brother and his nurse in "a nursery room adjoining the caretaker's cottage next to the barn."¹⁴⁰ During the approximately ten-year period in which the Schwabacher family and the Gardiner-Buttinger household occupied Brookdale Farm together, the farm also included a swimming pool, a tennis court and Ethel Schwabacher's studio, which likely stood to the north of the main barn at a site that contains stone and concrete foundations today. The studio was demolished after 1950, and the swimming pool and tennis court were removed by the mid-1980s.¹⁴¹

While the Schwabacher's treated Brookdale Farm as a part-time seasonal country retreat, Gardiner utilized Brookdale Farm as her full-time primary residence. She did, however, retain an apartment in New York City for visits to the city and to house refugees.¹⁴² Gardiner quickly settled into life at Brookdale Farm, which became a sort of refuge from the horrors of World War II, and developed a friendship with her neighbor Albert Einstein, who had taught at Princeton University's Institute for Advanced Studies since 1935. Einstein periodically visited Gardiner at Brookdale Farm, and, in 1941, helped her to free her brother-in-law, Lois (Louis) Buttinger, and his

¹³⁵ Ibid., 19.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 19-20.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 32.

¹³⁸ Local Board No. 2, Mercer County, World War II Draft Registration Card for Otis Paul Kerlin, Sr., February 16, 1942, <https://www.fold3.com/image/675524953?terms=paul,kerlin,otis>; Webster, *The Last Good Freudian*, 17, 21.

¹³⁹ 1940 United States Census, Hopewell, Gloucester County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. "Otis Paul Kerlin," *Ancestry.com*.

¹⁴⁰ Webster, *The Last Good Freudian*, 17.

¹⁴¹ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 161; Webster, *The Last Good Freudian*, 23; "Historic Aerials by NETROnline," Nationwide Environmental Title Research, accessed December 11, 2020, <https://www.historicaerials.com/viewer>.

¹⁴² Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 152, 169.

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family from a Canadian jail, where they had been confined for incomplete immigration papers. The Canadian government released Lois Buttinger and his family from detention within days of receiving an affidavit from Einstein.¹⁴³ Other visitors to Brookdale Farm included Ruth Mack Brunswick, Judge Julian Mack and European refugees, who stayed with Gardiner in the main block of the farmhouse.¹⁴⁴

Gardiner remained committed to helping European refugees through the ERC, later the IRC, and through her own endeavors during World War II. She advocated tirelessly on behalf of refugees stuck in Europe and imprisoned in the French internment camp at Gurs, promising to assume financial responsibility for them and that they would never become a burden on the federal government. Unfortunately, her pleas often met with rejection and many of the individuals whom she tried to help eventually perished in Nazi concentration camps.¹⁴⁵ Frustrated at her inability to help some refugees by working through official channels, Gardiner created the New-Land Foundation in 1941, a philanthropic and humanitarian foundation. Formed with the goal of supporting peace, arms control, civil rights, justice, population control and leadership development, the New-Land Foundation continues to provide grants to individuals and groups whose ideals align with its mission.¹⁴⁶

Throughout World War II, Gardiner also pursued her medical training as a psychoanalyst, working as a psychiatric consultant. She completed a one-year residency in 1942-1943 at the New Jersey State Hospital at Trenton, a short distance from Brookdale Farm, where she witnessed rampant racism and patient abuse, and took an assistant medical director position with the New Jersey Department of Health as a field worker in the Bureau of Venereal Disease.¹⁴⁷ In April 1945, the IRC recruited Gardiner to lead its Paris office, where she supervised the organization's efforts to help people displaced by World War II. Frustrated by bureaucratic red tape and infighting among the IRC's staff, she left this position and Paris approximately five months later in September 1945 and returned to Brookdale Farm.¹⁴⁸ While Gardiner's brief stint working for the IRC in Paris represented her last direct involvement with the organization, she continued to work indirectly through financial support of the organization, as well as that of her husband Joseph Buttinger. Buttinger assumed an integral role in the IRC's humanitarian work after World War II. In the fall of 1945, the IRC sent him overseas as the director of its European operations,¹⁴⁹ where he organized and oversaw relief efforts for refugees and displaced persons in France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Belgium, Holland and Turkey. Gardiner and her daughter Constance remained residents of New Jersey while Buttinger was on overseas assignment. Buttinger's assignment to the IRC ended in the late 1940s.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 152-153, 167; Webster, *The Last Good Freudian*, 20-21.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 20, 31.

¹⁴⁵ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 155-156; Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 117.

¹⁴⁶ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 156; Rene Major and Chantal Talagrand, *Freud: The Unconscious and World Affairs* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2018), n.p.

¹⁴⁷ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 153-157.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 157-161; Erika Schmidt, "Muriel Gardiner and the Wolf Man: Preserving a Legacy," *Psychoanalytic Discourse* 4, no. 1 (May 2019), 38.

¹⁴⁹ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 163.

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Gardiner's Activities and Achievements at Brookdale Farm post-World War II, 1946-1971

In 1950, the U.S. Census of Population listed Gardiner living at Brookdale Farm in Hopewell Township with Buttinger and their daughter Constance. That same census reported Gardiner's occupation as "working" at her "own business," a somewhat vague description of her self-directed work as a humanitarian and practicing psychoanalyst, which likely fit no standard census occupational categories.¹⁵⁰ Gardiner focused her professional efforts during the immediate postwar period on her medical career, beginning a two-year psychiatric residency at the New Jersey State Hospital at Marlboro in 1946, working as a director and psychiatrist at four different clinics in New Jersey after 1948 and establishing a private psychiatric practice in Trenton prior to 1950.

She remained a committed humanitarian, turning the attic of Brookdale Farm into an office for refugee work. Between 1945 and 1950, she sent CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe) packages containing food, clothing and shoes to destitute people in France, Germany and Austria.¹⁵¹ These CARE packages were assembled and shipped by the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, a coalition of 22 relief organizations formed in 1945, and funded by Gardiner. This work earned Gardiner the reputation as a "good fairy" in Austria, and the son of an Austrian friend of hers and Buttinger later recalled the "mythical figures Aunt Muriel and Uncle Joe."¹⁵²

After acquiring complete ownership of the estate in 1951, Gardiner enlarged the pool, resurfaced the tennis court and relocated her psychiatric practice from Trenton to the farmhouse.¹⁵³ During the 1950s and 1960s, Gardiner maintained active as a medical professional humanitarian and philanthropist. Gardiner traveled to Vienna in 1956, where working with Buttinger she is credited with convincing the Austrian government to allow approximately 100,000 Hungarian refugees to enter the country amid the Soviet Army crushing the Hungarian uprising.¹⁵⁴ As she had previously done with refugees during World War II, Gardiner helped Hungarian refugees settle into new lives in the United States and provided them with financial support.¹⁵⁵

After World War II, Gardiner turned her focus on blending her interests in humanitarianism and psychiatry, particularly exploring ways to help refugees and others through psychoanalysis. She worked from home at Brookdale Farm, where she maintained an office and managed through correspondence and phone calls her far-flung humanitarian charities and causes. Her husband remained more directly involved with the IRC, serving in several executive positions. She wrote for the Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis's bulletin, having first become involved with the organization in 1948, and taught classes on psychiatry and social work at Rutgers University in nearby New Brunswick, New Jersey.¹⁵⁶ Dissatisfied with her private psychoanalytic practice, she discontinued it in 1957 and subsequently worked as a psychiatrist in public schools in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, across the Delaware River from New Jersey, a short drive from Brookdale Farm, and in the special

¹⁵⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States, Enumeration District 11-52A, 1950; Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 117.

¹⁵¹ Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 117.

¹⁵² Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 163-164.

¹⁵³ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 167-168.

¹⁵⁴ Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 117-118; Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 169.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Thompson, "Gardiner, Muriel (1901-1985)," 664; Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 171.

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education division of the New Jersey school system.¹⁵⁷ In 1960, she founded the Center for Advanced Psychoanalytic Studies at Princeton with her friend Samuel Guttman. The group was modeled on Sigmund Freud's Vienna Psychoanalytic Study and consisted of a group of between 15 and 20 analysts, who met a few times a year to discuss clinical and theoretical subjects.¹⁵⁸

The "Julia" Controversy and Later Life at Brookdale Farm, 1971-1985

The early 1970s brought further changes in Gardiner's life. Having decided that "it was time to simplify their lives" and "hoping to turn Brookdale Farm over to the [Stony Brook-Millstone] Watershed Association" for land conservation purposes, Gardiner wanted to vacate the estate and the farmhouse.¹⁵⁹ Her husband Joseph Buttinger, however, was staunchly opposed to the idea. As a result, Gardiner "arranged for them to live in a utilitarian ranch house that she had built on their land, not far from the farmhouse, so they could live more easily on one level but enjoy the swimming pool as well as the adjacent bucolic Brookdale Farm."¹⁶⁰ At the same time, she arranged in 1971 to deed over the core of Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm to the Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association, later renamed The Watershed Institute, as a permanent conservation easement. The ranch house was renovated and heavily remodeled in the mid-1980s to create the Buttinger Nature Center and was subsequently expanded in the early to mid-2010s into the Watershed Center for Environmental Advocacy, Science and Education. This building is located outside of the historic district boundaries and no longer has any of the character of the simple ranch house that Gardiner had built for her and Buttinger in 1970-71.

The Austrian government awarded Buttinger the Golden Order of Merit in 1972, and former Chancellor Bruno Kreisky noted that "Mr. Buttinger was such a hero that if he had returned [to Austria] he would have become Chancellor."¹⁶¹ Buttinger began to suffer from memory loss shortly after the ceremony, and he was diagnosed with Alzheimer's by 1976. Gardiner hired a full-time caregiver for her husband in 1979.¹⁶² The disease ultimately forced her to place her beloved husband in a nursing home in New York City, where he died at the age of 85 on March 4, 1982.¹⁶³ During his lifetime, Buttinger rose from a rural agricultural worker with a sixth grade education to become a "self-made Austrian Socialist leader" and an "American humanitarian and refugee official and respected Vietnam scholar."¹⁶⁴ His scholarly and politically influential work on behalf of South Vietnam in the 1950s is often cited as a major factor in the United States eventually becoming embroiled in the Vietnam War. Gardiner was, in many ways, central to Buttinger's success: "She supported him financially, gave him shelter to protect him from police goons, introduced him to her influential American friends, helped him organize and finance his various humanitarian projects, and organized his escape from Hitler's Europe to build a new life in America."¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 172.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 171.

¹⁵⁹ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 175.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ As cited in Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 92.

¹⁶² Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 179.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 183.

¹⁶⁴ Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 120.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 121.

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Despite the emotional distress caused by her husband's diagnosis, Gardiner continued to enjoy professional success. In 1976, she published her second book, *The Deadly Innocents: Portraits of Children Who Kill*.¹⁶⁶ The book resulted from the 15 years that she spent as a member of various child-study teams working with emotionally disturbed adolescents, and, after its publication, she spent several years as a "volunteer psychiatrist working with inmates."¹⁶⁷ In 1980, she received the Austrian Cross of Honor, First Class, at a ceremony in New York City.¹⁶⁸ It was during this period that she became involved in the controversy that would serve as the coda to her life and secure her historical importance.

In 1973, Lillian Hellman published her book *Pentimento*, a collection of autobiographical essays and stories. The book included a supposedly true story about Lillian Hellman's friend "Julia," "who had been a hero of the Austrian resistance during the 1930s."¹⁶⁹ The story was eventually made into an Academy Award-winning movie entitled *Julia* starring Jane Fonda and Vanessa Redgrave in 1977.¹⁷⁰ Many critics argued that the character "Julia" represented either an invention or a composite based on real people.¹⁷¹ Recognizing the undeniable biographical similarities between Hellman's "Julia" and Gardiner's experiences in the Austrian resistance movement, Gardiner's friends became the first people to alert her via phone calls to the similarities between her pseudonymous "Mary" and the character "Julia."¹⁷² Occupied by Buttinger's mental decline, however, Gardiner was initially unaware of the obvious similarities between "Mary" and "Julia."¹⁷³ Following a string of phone calls from her friends, she reread "Julia" and, noticed that the life of the character eerily mirrored her own. Gardiner concluded that Hellman must have learned about her through their mutual friend and Hellman's lawyer Wolf Schwabacher. Gardiner declined to sue Hellman for what Gardiner's biographer Sheila Isenberg describes as "in its own way, plagiarism of Muriel's life."¹⁷⁴ Gardiner did write a letter to Hellman in October 1976 in which she politely pointed out the striking parallels between herself and "Julia" and inquired as to whether the character might be a composite based on her.¹⁷⁵ Hellman never responded to the letter and, while insisting that "Julia" was a real person, she consistently denied that she was familiar with Gardiner's story.¹⁷⁶ Coincidentally, Gardiner had begun in 1975 to write a memoir about her time in Austria. A few years later it was published in Vienna in German together with Buttinger's memoir as a double autobiography entitled *Damit Wir Nicht Vergessen* (Lest We Forget) in 1978.¹⁷⁷

The controversy around Hellman and "Julia" gained national attention on October 18, 1979, when the writer Mary McCarthy famously criticized Hellman on the *Dick Cavett Show*, stating, "Every word she writes is a lie,

¹⁶⁶ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 178.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 183.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 177.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 179, 181; *Julia*, directed by Frank Zinnemann (USA: 20th Century Fox, 1977); Edwin McDowell, "Publishing: New Memoir Stirs 'Julia' Controversy," *The New York Times*, April 29, 1983, <https://www.nytimes.com/1983/04/29/books/publishing-new-memoir-stirs-julia-controversy.html>.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 179.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 180.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 181-182; McDowell, "Publishing."

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.; Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 182.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 183.

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including ‘and’ and ‘the.’”¹⁷⁸ In response, Hellman filed a defamation lawsuit against McCarthy, who began to systematically document the author’s lies. According to Isenberg, these efforts eventually revealed that Hellman had modeled the main characters Sara and Kurt Muller in her play 1941 *Watch on the Rhine* on Gardiner and Buttinger, and a woman named “Alice” in her 1969 memoir *An Unfinished Woman* on Gardiner.¹⁷⁹ Although Gardiner never became directly involved in the legal battle between Hellman and McCarthy, the controversy surrounding “Julia” and her real identity helped to make her bravery in the face of fascist and Nazi aggression far more widely known.

In 1983, Gardiner decided to write a second memoir about her time in the Austrian resistance, much of it written while spending out her last years at Brookdale Farm.¹⁸⁰ Entitled *Code Name “Mary,”* the memoir was published in English by Yale University Press and featured a foreword written by her friend Anna Freud, the daughter of Sigmund Freud.¹⁸¹ Gardiner never publicly claimed to be Lillian Hellman’s “Julia,”¹⁸² but *Code Name “Mary”* directly refers to the character and *Pentimento* and explicitly states that Dr. Herbert Steiner, director of the Documentation Archives of the National Resistance in Vienna, and former Austrian resistance workers knew of only one American woman who had been deeply involved with the anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi underground movement: “Only Mary.”¹⁸³ While Gardiner reported that she had planned and attempted to write her autobiography prior to the publication of *Pentimento* and the “Julia” controversy,¹⁸⁴ her decision to publish *Code Name “Mary”* clearly stemmed, at least in part, from a desire to correct the record.

Gardiner remained committed to philanthropic activities during the final years of her life. Beginning in 1965, she donated large parcels of land to The Watershed Institute, which was originally known as the Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association. By 1984, Gardiner had donated hundreds of thousands of dollars and 535 acres of land in Hopewell Township to the organization, having expanded Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm through the acquisition of neighboring farms.¹⁸⁵ After the death of Anna Freud in 1982, Gardiner and her New-Land Foundation worked to establish the Freud Museum in the house at 20 Maresfield Gardens in the Hampstead section of London that Anna had occupied with her father.¹⁸⁶ This represented the natural conclusion to Gardiner’s lifelong efforts to secure the celebrated psychoanalyst’s legacy, most notably by funding the Sigmund Freud Archives at the Library of Congress and searching for and acquiring items from Freud’s correspondence for the collection.¹⁸⁷ The New-Land Foundation continues to support the Freud Museum with an annual grant of £90,000.¹⁸⁸ Gardiner left Brookdale Farm, which she referred to in *Code Name “Mary”* as her “real home,”¹⁸⁹ in

¹⁷⁸ As cited in *Ibid.*, 182.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 180, 182.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁸¹ Gardiner, *Code Name “Mary.”*

¹⁸² Muriel Freeman, “Gardiner Tells Her Own Story of Heroic Intrigue,” *The Courier-News*, July 16, 1983.

¹⁸³ Gardiner, *Code Name “Mary,”* xvi.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 173.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 189; Burt A. Folkart, “Dr. Muriel Gardiner Dies; Helped Anti-Fascists Flee Austria,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 8, 1985, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1985-02-08-mn-4906-story.html>.

¹⁸⁷ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 188.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 189.

¹⁸⁹ Gardiner, *Code Name “Mary,”* 173.

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December 1984, when she moved into the Meadow Lakes retirement home in Hightstown, New Jersey.¹⁹⁰ She subsequently transferred the one-story ranch dwelling she had inhabited since 1971 to The Watershed Institute. Gardiner died of lung cancer less than two months later at the age of 83 on February 6, 1985, at the Princeton Medical Center.¹⁹¹ In her will, she left a sizeable bequest to The Watershed Institute to protect Brookdale Farm and the 535 acres of land she had gifted to this organization.¹⁹²

Other Properties Associated with Gardiner during Her Productive Years in America, 1940-1971

There are no better properties than Brookdale Farm to represent Gardiner's achievements during and immediately after the World War II years of 1940 to 1971. Gardiner rented apartments in various locations in New York City but her farm in Hopewell Township, New Jersey, was always considered the permanent residence. Gardiner and Buttinger eventually had a Modernist-style townhouse built on the Upper East Side at 10 East 87th Street.¹⁹³ The townhouse is a contributing resource to the locally designated Expanded Carnegie Hill Historic District.¹⁹⁴ Buttinger spent more time at the townhouse than Gardiner and used it as an office and library. It was built, according to Gardiner, when their apartment in the city ran out of space for Buttinger's book collection. The townhouse's second floor held Buttinger's personal library of books on Austria, Germany and Vietnam, which he opened to researchers until donating the collection to the University of Klagenfurt in Austria in 1971. Otto Bauer was hired by the Gardiner and Buttinger to be the "permanent" librarian and lived in the townhouse fulltime with his family.¹⁹⁵ Gardiner spent little time at the townhouse, and her achievements and emotional attachments were far more strongly attached to Brookdale Farm.

Brookdale Farm retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling and association to the time Gardiner lived there from 1940 to 1971. She made few major improvements to the exterior of the farmhouse or its outbuildings and maintained the fields, woods and open spaces surrounding the farm. The prior owners, Wolfgang and Ethel Schwabacher, had previously converted the small barn into a caretaker's cottage, and Gardiner continued to employ a caretaker and farm the land. She added a new wing with a large rustic chimney to the rear of the wagon house/corncrib. She built an in-ground swimming pool to the rear of the farmhouse. The swimming pool was removed, and the ground returned to level after Gardiner's death in 1985.

Coda: Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm and The Watershed Institute, 1971-present

Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm's owner since 1971, the Watershed Institute, was founded as the Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association by Kathleen Anderson Peyton, David Hunter McAlpin and a group of citizens

¹⁹⁰ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 190.

¹⁹¹ Folkart, "Dr. Muriel Gardiner Dies"; Joseph Berger, "Muriel Gardiner, Who Helped Hundreds Escape Nazis, Dies," *The New York Times*, February 7, 1985, <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/02/07/nyregion/muriel-gardiner-who-helped-hundreds-escape-nazis-dies.html>; Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 192.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 191.

¹⁹³ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 169-170.

¹⁹⁴ New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *Expanded Carnegie Hill Historic District* (New York, NY: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1993), 129.

¹⁹⁵ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 170; Gardiner, *Code Name "Mary,"* 166-167.

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concerned about agricultural runoff, soil erosion and stream sedimentation in 1949.¹⁹⁶ Its creation post-dated the Brandywine Valley Association of Chester County, Pennsylvania, which is widely recognized as the first watershed association in the United States, by only four years.¹⁹⁷ The Pennington-based group represented the first watershed organization in New Jersey.¹⁹⁸ Officially incorporated as a private non-profit entity with 21 board members in 1951,¹⁹⁹ the Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association was one of several watershed organizations that appeared in the region during the mid-20th century.²⁰⁰ These include the Connecticut River Watershed Council, which first met in 1952, the Wissahickon Valley Watershed, which formed in Ambler, Pennsylvania in 1955, the Neshaminy Valley Watershed Association, which was established in Doylestown, Pennsylvania, in 1957, and the Charles River Watershed Association in Newton, Massachusetts, which was founded in 1965.²⁰¹ Within New Jersey, The Watershed Institute was joined by the Upper Raritan Watershed Association and the South Branch Watershed Association in 1959.²⁰² While The Watershed Institute, like most watershed associations and citizens' action organizations, was originally founded to combat a local problem in the Pennington area, specifically the soil erosion and stream sedimentation caused by the region "moving from agriculture to urbanization,"²⁰³ it eventually "embraced a broader clean water mission"²⁰⁴ that involved the preservation of "tracts of open space" in the 1950s and 1960s.²⁰⁵

Gardiner became associated with the Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association within a few years of its formation in 1951. Her name appeared on the organization's first membership list in 1952, and the association's records mentioned her a few years later as the "Mrs. B" who had agreed to donate hundreds of acres of land over the next couple of decades.²⁰⁶ Gardiner began to donate parcels of her land in Hopewell Township to The Watershed Institute in 1965. In 1971, she deeded the core of Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm to The Watershed Institute.²⁰⁷ This coincided with her decision in 1970 to move from the farmhouse into a one-story ranch dwelling that she erected nearby and to turn the farmhouse over to The Watershed Institute.²⁰⁸ The organization moved its headquarters into the farmhouse in 1971 and converted one of the rooms into a nature center.²⁰⁹ The farmhouse continued to house The Watershed Institute's nature center until 1984, when Gardiner donated her one-story ranch

¹⁹⁶ "70 Years of Conservation, Advocacy, Science & Education," *Wellspring* 65, no. 4 (Winter 2019), 4; "Looking Back: 60 Years of Conservation," New Jersey Conservation Foundation, published June 18, 2020, <https://www.njconservation.org/looking-back-60-years-of-conservation/>.

¹⁹⁷ Lauren Steele, *History of Pennypack Trust, 1970-2010: From Watershed Association to Land Trust* (Huntingdon Valley, PA: Pennypack Ecological Trust, 2010), i.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*; "Looking Back."

¹⁹⁹ "70 Years of Conservation," 4.

²⁰⁰ Steele, *History of Pennypack Trust*, i.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² "Looking Back."

²⁰³ Steele, *History of Pennypack Trust*, i.

²⁰⁴ "Looking Back."

²⁰⁵ Steele, *History of Pennypack*, i.

²⁰⁶ Michele Alperin, "The Not So Secret Story of the Woman Behind the Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association," *U.S.I. Princeton Info*, January 26, 2011, <https://princetoninfo.com/the-not-so-secret-story-of-the-woman-behind-the-stony-brook-millstone-watershed-association/>.

²⁰⁷ Joseph and Muriel M. Buttinger to Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association, December 10, 1971, Deed Book 1897, Page 796, Mercer County Clerk's Office, Trenton, New Jersey; Mills + Schnoering, *The Watershed Institute*, II-5.

²⁰⁸ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 175.

²⁰⁹ "70 Years of Conservation," 5; Alperin, "The Not So Secret Story."

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house to the organization, which subsequently transformed it into the Buttinger Nature Center after her death on February 6, 1985.²¹⁰

As noted above, Gardiner donated the first tract of land, which encompassed 174 acres, from her property in Hopewell Township to The Watershed Institute for the purpose of ensuring its eternal protection as a nature reserve in 1965.²¹¹ During the ensuing decades, she donated additional land to the organization to expand the nature reserve. This included the core of Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm, which consisted of the farmhouse and the associated agricultural outbuildings, in 1971, and the Wargo Farm, which was located northeast of Brookdale Farm on the east side of Wargo Road, in 1982. The Watershed Institute leased the Wargo Farm to the Honey Brook Organic Farm, considered one of the largest organic farms operating under the CSA (community supported agriculture) model, for over 30 years until the end of 2020.²¹²

By 1984, Gardiner had completed her planned donation of 535 acres of land.²¹³ While she served as The Watershed Institute's original primary benefactor,²¹⁴ land donations from other individuals and the acquisition of private property by the organization gradually expanded the nature reserve to its current size of 950 acres between 1985 and 2017.²¹⁵ The organization also renovated the farmhouse, which had housed its offices since 1971, to serve as housing for staff members *circa* 2015.²¹⁶ In 2018, the organization officially changed its name from the Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association to The Watershed Institute.²¹⁷ Today, The Watershed Institute continues to fulfill its mission to "protect and restore" water and the natural environment in Central New Jersey through "conservation, advocacy, science and education."²¹⁸ Its nature reserve on Titus Mill Road, which encompasses Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm, represents, according to Gardiner's biographer Sheila Isenberg, the "largest piece of permanently protected land" in central New Jersey.²¹⁹

²¹⁰ Ibid.; "70 Years of Conservation," 5.

²¹¹ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 173; "70 Years of Conservation," 5.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid., 4.

²¹⁴ "About Us," The Watershed Institute, accessed September 10, 2020, <https://thewatershed.org/about/>.

²¹⁵ "70 Years of Conservation," 4-5.

²¹⁶ Matthew Thompson, conversation with the author, September 17, 2020.

²¹⁷ "70 Years of Conservation," 5.

²¹⁸ "About Us."

²¹⁹ Isenberg, *Muriel's War*, 173; *Wellspring*, The Quarterly Newsletter of the Stony Brook-Millstone Watershed Association 46, no. 3 (Fall 1999).

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SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

OTHER OCCUPANTS OF THE DRAKE FARMSTEAD/BROOKDALE FARM, CIRCA 1749-1980

The Drake Family in Early Colonial New Jersey

According to local tradition, the history of the Drake family in the United States extends back to the late 16th century and the seafaring exploits of the famous Elizabethan privateer, naval officer and explorer Sir Francis Drake. Captain Francis Drake, a like-named descendant of Sir Francis Drake, had settled in the Piscataqua region of New Hampshire by the mid-17th century. He subsequently relocated to the Raritan Valley in New Jersey, where he became one of the founders of the town of Piscataway in 1667. His son, Reverend John Drake, became a prominent Baptist minister and a founding member and the first pastor of the First Baptist Church of Piscataway in 1689.²²⁰ He preached both locally in Piscataway and at locations as far away as Essex County and the province of East Jersey.²²¹ Reverend Drake married Rebecca Trotter in 1677, and the couple had 13 children. Among these children was Benjamin Drake, who became the progenitor of the Drake family in Hopewell Township.²²²

Born in 1683 in Piscataway, Benjamin Drake moved *circa* 1710 as a pioneer settler to Hopewell Township, where he acquired a tract of land on the west side of the present-day Rocky Hill-Pennington Road to the north of Titus Mill Road. Like his father, Benjamin Drake was a devout Baptist. In 1715, he founded the First Baptist Church of Hopewell with Jonathan and Ann Stout, Joseph and Ruth Stout, Thomas and Alise Curtis and four other individuals.²²³ Benjamin Drake and his first wife, Mary Dunn, had seven sons and one daughter. Their son, John Drake (I), presumably named for his grandfather and possibly the couple's eldest child, established a farmstead adjacent to his father's property sometime during the second quarter of the 18th century. Located on the north side of Titus Mill Road, John Drake's property extended west from his father's land to Stony Brook and comprised the modern-day core of The Watershed Institute's landholdings and the Drake Farmstead.²²⁴

John Drake (I) and Rachel Morgan Drake (farm occupants pre-1750)

Born *circa* 1705, presumably in Piscataway, John Drake (I) married Rachel Morgan and the couple had three sons and three daughters. As previously noted, John Drake (I) settled with his family on a farm next to his father's property that included the Drake Farmstead sometime during the second quarter of the 18th century. The precise date on which the Drake family acquired and settled on the Drake Farmstead remains somewhat uncertain, but John Drake (I) purchased the property, which contained 197 acres of land on the north side of Titus Mill Road to

²²⁰ J.F. Brown, *History of the First Baptist Church of Piscataway* (Stelton, NJ: Committee on Publication, 1889), 20.

²²¹ David Blackwell, Designation of Historic Landmarks and Historic Districts in the Township of Hopewell, Mercer County, New Jersey, Documentation for Individual Property as Historic Landmark – Andrew Drake Farmstead, 2010, Hopewell Township Historic Preservation Commission, Hopewell, New Jersey, 4; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-1.

²²² Oliver B. Leonard, "Outline Sketches of the Pioneer Progenitors of the Piscataway Planters, 1666-1716," in *History of the First Baptist Church of Piscataway* (Stelton, NJ: Committee on Publication, 1889), 111-112; Blackwell, Designation of Historic Landmarks, 4; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-1.

²²³ David Blackwell, "Hopewell: 270 Years of History, 125 Years as a Borough," in *Celebrating Our 125th Anniversary – Hopewell Borough – 1891-2016* (2016), <https://data.hopewell-history.org/hvhist/Hopewell-History/Hw-Books-Historic/2016-Blackwell-HwBoro-History-125th-Anniv-RDW.pdf>, 7.

²²⁴ Blackwell, Designation of Historic Landmarks, 4; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-2.

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the east of Stony Brook, from the Coxe family on August 1, 1749.²²⁵ This transaction may represent John Drake (I) obtaining a clear title to land that he and his family had occupied for years prior to 1749, but whose ownership had been challenged by the Coxe family.²²⁶

In 1731, Colonel Daniel Coxe filed a series of ejectment lawsuits in the New Jersey Supreme Court against individuals who had purchased land in Hopewell Township from the West Jersey Society. The West Jersey Society had acquired the approximately 30,000-acre tract of land that comprised Hopewell Township from Daniel Coxe, Colonel Daniel Coxe's father, between 1691 and 1694 but never formalized the agreement through the execution of a formalized deed. Recognizing the increasing value that the fertile land within Hopewell Township had assumed during the first decades of the 18th century, Colonel Daniel Coxe argued that he, not the West Jersey Society, owned all the land and insisted that all property owners with deeds from the West Jersey Society purchase "proper" titles from him via quitclaim deeds or else they would be removed and have their properties confiscated. With his political connections, Colonel Daniel Coxe ensured that they had to purchase title to their properties for a second time, as John Drake (I) may have done in 1749, rather than accept removal or continue to resist.²²⁷

John Drake (I) constructed a dwelling on the Drake Farmstead after he settled on the property sometime during the second quarter of the 18th century, but its location and precise date of construction remain unknown. The presence of an earlier dwelling on the property is confirmed by John Drake (I)'s will, in which he stipulated that his wife, Rachel Drake, "shall have the New end of the House I now dwell in" after their son, John Drake, reached the age of 21 and inherited the property on which the dwelling stood.²²⁸ It is possible that a section this dwelling survives as part of the 18th-century side wing of the Drake farmhouse, but this would be difficult to confirm without dendrochronological and/or archaeological investigations. An inventory of John Drake (I)'s estate indicates that the dwelling was comfortably furnished with four beds, two oval tables, two looking glasses, a cupboard, various chairs, books, punch bowls and tea dishes, a deck of cards, three spinning wheels, a pewter rack and bottle case and other common household implements, including earthenware dishes, tin and brass vessels and iron pots.²²⁹

Like most 18th-century residents of Hopewell Township, John Drake (I) practiced mixed subsistence farming. In addition to cultivating a variety of crops, including Indian corn, wheat, turnips, oat, hay, buckwheat, flax and rye, he also raised livestock. According to an inventory of his estate, John Drake (I) owned six horses, nine cows, 14 sheep, several hogs and poultry at the time of his death in 1750. While John Drake (I) certainly farmed the property with the help of his wife and children, he also obtained additional free labor from a black man that he enslaved.²³⁰ This was fairly common in Hopewell Township during the 18th century, where many farmers held one or two enslaved people.²³¹ Reflecting the mixed subsistence farming that he practiced, John Drake (I)'s farm housed, in

²²⁵ Andrew and Hannah Drake to Henry Wickham Blachley, May 1, 1831, Mortgage Book 13, Page 434, Hunterdon County Clerk's Office, Flemington, NJ.

²²⁶ Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-2.

²²⁷ Hunter and Porter, *Hopewell: A Historical Geography*, 26-28; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-2.

²²⁸ John Drake Will and Inventory, July 21, 1750, Department of State, Secretary of State's Office, Wills and Inventories ca. 1670-1900, Hunterdon County Will and Inventory 280J, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Hunter and Porter, *Hopewell*, 46.

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addition to his dwelling, a corn crib, a wagon house, a barn and a beehive. The location of these buildings relative to one another remains unknown, but they may have followed the linear east-to-west arrangement that currently characterizes the Drake Farmstead. John Drake (I)'s farm likely also included additional outbuildings, but these are hard to discern in the written record.²³²

John Drake (I) retained ownership of the Drake Farmstead for less than a year after he purchased the property from John Coxe, the son and executor of Colonel Daniel Coxe's estate. Listed in Hopewell Township records as an overseer of roads in 1743 and as a township constable in 1749, John Drake (I) evidently became gravely ill during the first half of 1750. He wrote his will on July 21, 1750 and died approximately three months later. In his will, which was proved on October 25, 1750, John Drake (I) devised his farm, which he described as "that tract or parcel of Land whereon I now dwell which I received of my Father together with . . . Land which I bought of John Coxe," to his son, John Drake, who went by the name John Drake, Sr.²³³ An inventory of John Drake (I)'s estate taken on October 29, 1750, valued it at £222.18s.11d and noted that it included an enslaved man valued at £55, a beehive, a gun and a sword.²³⁴ Rachel Morgan Drake survived her husband by less than two years. She died intestate in February 1752, leaving an estate valued at £152.18s.3d., which included clothing, furniture, livestock, various farming implements, a gold ring with a silver buckle, a girdle and a mix of wheat, oats, flax and Indian corn.²³⁵

John Drake, Sr. and Jemima Johnson Drake (owned the farm from 1750 to 1817)

Born *circa* 1730 in Hopewell Township, John Drake, Sr. married Jemima Johnson, the daughter of John Johnson and the granddaughter of Rutger Janse of Princeton Township. The couple settled on the farm that John Drake, Sr. had inherited from his father, John Drake (I), upon his death in 1750. It is thought that he constructed the side wing of the Drake farmhouse during the late 18th century,²³⁶ with a *circa* 1780 date of construction having been posited,²³⁷ though a section of this wing, as noted above, may date to John Drake (I)'s occupation of the property during the second quarter of the 18th century. Physical evidence indicates that the structure was erected in two phases, each of which was two stories tall, two bays wide and one-room deep (see Photograph 3).

John Drake, Sr. served in the Hunterdon County militia during the Revolutionary War, and he eventually rose to the rank of lieutenant. During the tumultuous days preceding the Battles of Trenton and Princeton in December 1776, John Drake, Sr. helped his father-in-law's household move from Princeton to the relative safety of another

²³² John Drake Will.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ A. Van Doren Honeyman, ed., *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, Administrations, Etc.*, vol. 2, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey* (Somerville, NJ: Unionist-Gazette Association, 1918), 151; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-2.

²³⁵ Rachel Drake Inventory, February 27, 1752, Department of State, Secretary of State's Office, Wills and Inventories ca. 1670-1900, Hunterdon County Will and Inventory 308J, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ; A. Van Doren Honeyman, ed., *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, Administrations, Etc.*, vol. 3, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey* (Somerville, NJ: Unionist-Gazette Association, 1924), 98.

²³⁶ Blackwell, Designation of Historic Landmarks,3; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-2.

²³⁷ Frederic Spar, Preliminary Application Questionnaire – Andrew Drake Farmstead, 2018, New Jersey Historic Preservation Office, Trenton, NJ, 1.

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family member's house in Amwell Township, using his farm in Hopewell Township as a staging point for the secret move. William Churchill Houston, a prominent lawyer and politician who was employed as a tutor by the Johnson family in 1776, narrated the Johnson household's narrow escape from the British and John Drake, Sr.'s role in it.²³⁸

John Drake, Sr. served at least three years of active duty in the Hunterdon County militia during the Revolutionary War. In March 1777, he and a group of other troopers from Captain John Hunt's company scouted for signs of British forces in the Millstone Valley and in northern New Jersey around Morristown and Pompton. At the time, the Continental Army was waiting for the British Army to march on Philadelphia from New Brunswick across central New Jersey. More than one year later, John Drake, Sr. continued to conduct reconnaissance patrols. On June 3, 1778, he and 18-year-old Jesse Christopher, both of whom belonged to Israel Carle's company, were ordered to cross the Delaware River to scout British movements around Philadelphia. The British captured both men and briefly detained them in Philadelphia. While the British eventually released Drake and Christopher, they confiscated the men's horses and equipment. In a claim for his losses submitted to the Continental Congress, John Drake, Sr. valued his belongings at £321, with his horse representing the greatest loss with a value of over £200. It appears that he was a skilled horseman because he continued to serve in mounted militia units in the Delaware and Raritan valleys through at least 1780. In September 1779, he delivered intelligence and orders for General Nathaniel Heard as an express rider from Israel Carle's troop of light horse. John Drake, Sr. was commissioned as a second lieutenant sometime in 1779 or 1780, and he had risen to the rank of first lieutenant by the end of 1780.²³⁹

John Drake, Sr. continued to cultivate his farm during the Revolutionary War. His service in the Hunterdon County militia allowed for periods of time during which he could return to Hopewell Township to attend to his farming obligations. He evidently relied upon the members of his family for farm labor, for there is no evidence that he held enslaved people. Like his father, he engaged in mixed subsistence farming. A series of tax ratable assessments compiled for Hopewell Township between 1778 and 1802 provide useful information about the farm and its operations during and immediately following the Revolutionary War. Between 1778 and 1785, the farm contained 180 acres of land and housed between three and seven horses, six and ten cattle and one and 13 hogs. The farm had apparently shrunk to 100 acres by 1802, though this likely reflects either a recording error or, as indicated by the tax ratable assessment, a reduction in the number of acres of the property under cultivation (see below).²⁴⁰ While the tax ratable assessments for Hopewell Township do not provide any information about crop production on the farm, an inventory of John Drake, Sr.'s estate taken in December 1831 – more than 14 years after his death – indicates that the Drake family grew flax, buckwheat, wheat, hay, corn and potatoes. At the time, the property housed, in addition to the farmhouse, a barn, a windmill, a cow house, a corn crib and two beehives.²⁴¹ The exact location of these buildings remains unknown, but they almost certainly followed the linear east-to-west

²³⁸ Thomas Allen Glenn, *William Churchill Houston* (Norristown, PA: Privately Printed, 1903), 22-23.

²³⁹ William L. Kidder, *A People Harassed and Exhausted: The Story of a New Jersey Regiment in the American Revolution* (Ewing, NJ: Privately published, 2013), 232, 290, 314, 345; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, III-3.

²⁴⁰ Hopewell Township Ratables, 1778-1802, New Jersey General Assembly, Tax Ratables (Duplicates) 1768-1846, microfilm, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ, reel 12; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-3.

²⁴¹ John Drake, Sr. Inventory, December 9, 1831, Department of State, Secretary of State's Office, Wills and Inventories ca. 1670-1900, Hunterdon County Will and Inventory 2869J, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ.

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alignment that currently characterizes the Drake Farmstead and included several of the outbuildings that are still extant.

It appears that John Drake, Sr. supplemented his income from farming by breeding horses and standing his stallion at stud. An advertisement placed in the *Trenton Federalist* in 1815 by John Drake, Sr. on April 4, 1815, notified the public that his stallion, First Consul, was available to “stand for Mares the ensuing season, at the stable of Timothy Horner, in Cranbury, Middlesex county, N. Jersey” at the price of \$6.00 for “the season” and \$8.00 “to ensure a mare with foal.”²⁴² John Drake, Sr. had evidently relocated his stud operation to his farm within two years. According to an advertisement that he placed in the *Trenton Federalist* on April 24, 1817, First Consul was available at stud “at the stable of the subscriber in Hopewell, about two miles from Pennington, Hunterdon county [sic], New-Jersey, at Eight Dollars to ensure a mare with foal.”²⁴³

John Drake, Sr. retained ownership of the Drake Farmstead until his death in September 1817. In his will, which was written on November 19, 1808, and probated on October 31, 1817, he devised “this plantation I now live on” to his son Andrew Drake.²⁴⁴ He stipulated, however, that his wife, Jemima Drake, his daughters, Caty Vankirk and Rebeckah Drake, and his granddaughter, Rhoda Vankirk, have the use of “the two west rooms in the dwelling I now live in” and the kitchen “to wash, bake and cook in” as long as they remained single.²⁴⁵ Presumably, this provision of John Drake, Sr.’s will refers to the westernmost half of the side wing of the Drake farmhouse. The reference to a kitchen also suggests that the dwelling featured a separate, probably adjoining, kitchen wing or kitchen building at the time of John Drake, Sr.’s death in 1817. Interestingly, the inventory of John Drake, Sr.’s estate was not taken until December 1831, more than 14 years after his death. The inventory, which also notably post-dates the construction of the farmhouse’s Greek Revival-style main block, reveals that John Drake, Sr. was a prosperous farmer and indicates that the farmhouse contained a kitchen, a dining room, a parlor, an attic and at least a couple of bedrooms. The farmhouse was also comfortably furnished with a stove, kitchen chairs and a kitchen table, a dining table, several Windsor chairs, a carpet, a clock, numerous candlesticks and andirons, an armchair, a mirror, four beds and bedsteads and a couple of books.²⁴⁶ It is unknown when John Drake, Sr.’s widow, Jemima Drake, died, but her death may have precipitated the inventory of her husband’s estate undertaken in 1831.

Andrew Drake and Hannah Blackwell Drake (owned the farm 1817 to 1850)

Born in 1778 in Hopewell Township, Andrew Drake was most likely named after his maternal uncle, Andrew Johnson. He married Hannah Blackwell in 1801, and the couple had ten children, seven sons and three daughters, between 1803 and 1825.²⁴⁷ The rapidly growing family occupied the Drake Farmstead with John Drake, Sr. and Jemima Drake, presumably residing together in the side wing of the farmhouse. After his father’s death in 1817,

²⁴² “The elegant high-bred horse, First Consul,” *Trenton Federalist*, May 8, 1815, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

²⁴³ “The elegant high-bred horse, First Consul,” *Trenton Federalist*, May 5, 1817, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

²⁴⁴ John Drake, Sr. Will, November 19, 1809, Department of State, Secretary of State’s Office, Wills and Inventories ca. 1670-1900, Hunterdon County Will and Inventory 2869J, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ John Drake, Sr. Inventory.

²⁴⁷ Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-3.

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Andrew Drake's household would have included his mother, two of his sisters and one of his nieces.²⁴⁸ It has generally been assumed that Andrew and Hannah Drake's growing family prompted the family to enlarge John Drake, Sr.'s farmhouse with a two-story, five-bay, Greek Revival-style addition to the west elevation.²⁴⁹ While a *circa* 1835 date of construction has previously been identified for the main block of the farmhouse,²⁵⁰ Andrew Drake constructed the addition, which dwarfed his father's 18th-century dwelling in size and scale, five years earlier, *circa* 1830. A notice dated December 24, 1830, placed by Andrew Drake in the *Emporium and True American* to advertise his property for sale confirms that the main block of the farmhouse stood by December 1830. The advertisement described Andrew Drake's property as "an EXCELLENT FARM, containing one hundred and eighty acres of good land . . . pleasantly situated in the township of Hopewell, about two miles from Pennington" and noted that it contained "a good Dwelling house, with 4 rooms on a floor, and Kitchen adjoining, with a room back."²⁵¹ This description matches the interior configuration of the main block of the farmhouse and indicates that the 18th-century side wing by this time functioned as the kitchen. In addition to the farmhouse, the Drake Farmstead also encompassed "about 75 acres of excellent timber, and a large proportion of good Bottom Meadow," an orchard with cherry, peach and pear trees, a frame barn, a wagon house and a cow house.²⁵²

Andrew Drake retained ownership of the Drake Farmstead for approximately 33 years. During this period, he engaged in mixed farming like his father and grandfather. An inventory of his estate reveals that Andrew Drake kept bees and beehives, grew different types of grain and raised livestock, including horses, cattle, sheep, pigs and fowl.²⁵³ The farm was evidently prosperous, for when Andrew Drake died of heart disease at the age of 71 on May 27, 1850,²⁵⁴ he left a personal estate valued at \$2,091.55.²⁵⁵ In his will, which was written on May 6, 1850, and proved on June 21, 1850, Andrew Drake directed the executors of his estate to dispose of his property at their discretion and appointed his sons Noah Drake and Benjamin Drake as his executors.²⁵⁶ Despite this provision of Andrew Drake's will, Noah Drake and Benjamin Drake decided to retain their father's property for his descendants. It appears that ownership of the Drake Farmstead passed to Noah Drake, for the agricultural census undertaken by the federal government in 1850 identified him as the owner of the property.²⁵⁷

²⁴⁸ John Drake, Sr. Will.

²⁴⁹ Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-3.

²⁵⁰ Spar, Preliminary Application Questionnaire, 3.

²⁵¹ "A Farm for Sale," *Emporium and True American*, January 2, 1831, <https://www.newspapers.com>.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Andrew Drake Inventory, June 11, 1850, Department of State, Secretary of State's Office, Wills and Inventories ca. 1670-1900, Mercer County Will and Inventory 577K, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ.

²⁵⁴ 1850 United States Census Mortality Schedule, Hopewell, Mercer County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. "Andrew Drake," *Ancestry.com*; Scott Balyer, "Andrew Drake," Find A Grave, ed. Joseph R. Klett, accessed November 5, 2020, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/96473773/andrew-drake>.

²⁵⁵ Andrew Drake Inventory.

²⁵⁶ Andrew Drake Will, May 6, 1850, Department of State, Secretary of State's Office, Wills and Inventories ca. 1670-1900, Mercer County Will and Inventory 577K, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ.

²⁵⁷ 1850 United States Census Agricultural Schedule, Hopewell, Mercer County, New Jersey, United States Census Bureau 1850 Federal Census for New Jersey, microfilm, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ, reel 26.

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Noah Drake (owned the farm 1850 to 1860)

Born on his family's farm in 1808, Noah Drake was the fourth child of Andrew and Hannah Blackwell Drake. As noted above, ownership of the Drake Farmstead apparently passed to Noah after his father's death on May 27, 1850. While the federal population census schedule of 1850 for Hopewell Township recorded Hannah Drake, aged 68, as the head of the Drake household, the federal agricultural census schedule of 1850 and the *Map of the Vicinity of Philadelphia and Trenton* published by D.J. Lake and S.N. Beers in 1860 identified Noah Drake as the proprietor of the family farm.²⁵⁸ In addition to Hannah and Noah, aged 39, the Drake household in 1850 also included four of Noah Drake's siblings: Ann M[ariah] Drake, aged 36, Jemima Drake, aged 33, Wilson Drake, aged 26,²⁵⁹ and Andrew Johnson Drake, aged 23. Noah Drake operated the Drake Farmstead with the help of his two younger brothers, and all three of the male Drake siblings gave their occupation as "farmer" in 1850.²⁶⁰

Like their predecessors, Noah Drake, Wilson Drake and Andrew Johnson Drake engaged in mixed agriculture. They planted a variety of crops, including wheat, rye, Indian corn, oats, Irish potatoes, buckwheat and raised horses, cows, sheep and pigs on the farmstead, which encompassed 130 acres of improved land and 50 acres of unimproved land and possessed a cash value of \$5,000 in 1850. The \$5,000 cash value of the Drake Farmstead greatly exceeded that of neighboring farms in Hopewell Township, which clearly illustrates the fertility of its farmland and the wealth of the Drake family.²⁶¹ Like many of their neighbors in Hopewell Township, the Drake family also produced dairy products for commercial sale, presumably in Philadelphia and New York City. In 1850, the eight milk cows owned by Noah Drake produced 650 pounds of butter. This stood well within the range of butter produced by neighboring farms in Hopewell Township, which typically produced between 200 and 1,000 pounds of butter in 1850.²⁶²

Noah Drake never married, and he died of palsy at the age of 52 on January 26, 1860, leaving no direct descendants.²⁶³ After his death, his brother Wilson B. Drake apparently inherited both the farm and responsibility for all farming operations.²⁶⁴

Wilson B. Drake and Hannah Ann Hart Drake (owned the farm 1860 to 1887)

Born on the Drake Farmstead in 1820, Wilson Bray Drake was the eighth child of Andrew and Hannah Drake. The death of his younger brother, Andrew Johnson Drake, at the age of 35 on May 13, 1860, left Wilson B. Drake

²⁵⁸ Ibid.; D.J. Lake and S.N. Beers, *Map of the Vicinity of Philadelphia and Trenton* (Philadelphia, PA: C.K. Stone & A. Pomeroy, 1860).

²⁵⁹ The age given for Wilson B. Drake in the 1850 census likely represents a mistake on the part of the census taker. The 1860, 1870 and 1880 censuses show that Wilson B. Drake was born *circa* 1820, and 1820 is listed as the year of his birth on his gravestone.

²⁶⁰ 1850 United States Census, Hopewell, Gloucester County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. "Hannah Drake," *Ancestry.com*; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-3.

²⁶¹ Ibid., II-6.

²⁶² 1850 United States Census Agricultural Schedule.

²⁶³ 1860 United States Census Mortality Schedule, Hopewell, Mercer County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. "Noah Drake," *Ancestry.com*; Anne Kirk, "Noah Drake," Find A Grave, added October 9, 2008, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/30434662/noah-drake>.

²⁶⁴ Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-3.

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as the last of the male Drake siblings in residence at the farm and the head of the Drake household.²⁶⁵ Like his predecessors, Wilson B. Drake occupied the Drake farmhouse with his mother, Hannah Drake, aged 77, and his older sister, Ann Mariah Drake, aged 40. With the deaths of his brothers, Wilson B. Drake had to hire outside help to operate the farm. As such, his household in 1860 included a 15-year-old apprentice, Lewis Bogart, two male farm hands, David Cox, aged 25, and James Welsh, aged 18, and one female hand, Agarta Beak, aged 17.²⁶⁶

Wilson B. Drake's household experienced several major changes during the ensuing decade. Hannah Blackwell Drake died a wealthy widow at the age of 79 on December 20, 1861.²⁶⁷ An inventory of her estate taken on April 5, 1862, valued it at \$1,276.56 and noted that her belongings included a dining table, a looking glass, multiple rush bottom chairs and Windsor chairs, table cloths, a ten-plate stove, carpets, various pots and pans and tin and earthenware dishes and a dozen silver teaspoons.²⁶⁸ Wilson B. Drake married Hannah Ann Hart at the home of Charles Hart, who was presumably Hannah Ann Hart's father, on May 28, 1862.²⁶⁹ After their marriage, the couple occupied the farmhouse, and their only child, Andrew Johnson Drake, was born in 1864.²⁷⁰ In 1870, the 49-year-old Wilson B. Drake headed a household that included his older sister, Ann Mariah Drake, aged 53, his wife, Hannah Ann Hart Drake, aged 41, their son, Andrew Johnson Drake, aged five, two single men, Charles Williamson, aged 22, and Smith Servis, aged 23, and a 13-year-old girl named Elley Randal, all of whom presumably worked for the Drake family as farm hands.²⁷¹

With the help of hired hands, Wilson B. Drake continued to engage in mixed agriculture during his tenure as the owner of the Drake Farmstead. Between 1860 and 1880, he cultivated a variety of crops, including wheat, rye, oats, Indian corn, Irish potatoes, buckwheat and hay, on the farm, which encompassed between 160 and 162 acres of improved land and 35 and 36 acres of unimproved land. He also raised horses, cattle, pigs and sheep, with the population of each group never exceeding the double digits. It appears that Wilson B. Drake raised cattle and sheep for the milk and wool that they produced, for federal agricultural census records noted that the Drake Farmstead produced between 300 and 800 pounds of butter and between 21 and 65 pounds of wool between 1860 and 1880. By 1880, Wilson B. Drake had begun to raise chickens, which produced 400 eggs that year. He also planted a five-acre apple orchard containing 100 apple trees on the property sometime between 1870 and 1880, when it yielded 200 bushels of apples. Presumably, Wilson B. Drake, like his neighbors, sold the butter, wool,

²⁶⁵ 1860 United States Census Mortality Schedule, Hopewell, Mercer County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. "Andrew Johnson Drake," *Ancestry.com*; Anne Kirk, "Andrew Johnson Drake," Find A Grave, added October 9, 2008, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/30434728/andrew-johnson-drake>.

²⁶⁶ 1860 United States Census, Hopewell, Gloucester County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. "Wilson B. Drake," *Ancestry.com*; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-3, II-4.

²⁶⁷ Anne Kirk, "Hannah Blackwell Drake," Find A Grave, added October 9, 2008, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/30434791/hannah-drake>.

²⁶⁸ Hannah Drake Inventory, April 5, 1862, Department of State, Secretary of State's Office, Wills and Inventories ca. 1670-1900, Mercer County Will and Inventory 1356K, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ.

²⁶⁹ Phyllis B. D'Autrechy, *An Historical and Genealogical Record of the First United Methodist Church of Pennington, 1774-1974*, Pennington, New Jersey (Trenton, NJ: The Trenton Printing, Co., 1974), 48.

²⁷⁰ Wane Irons, "Andrew Johnson Drake," Find A Grave, added May 20, 2010, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/52636933/andrew-johnson-drake>; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-4.

²⁷¹ 1870 United States Census Mortality Schedule, Hopewell, Mercer County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. "Wilson B. Drake," *Ancestry.com*; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-4.

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eggs and apples that his farm produced in the local and regional commercial markets surrounding Hopewell Township. Although the cash value of the farm during Wilson B. Drake's ownership ranged from \$19,600 in 1860 to \$11,000 in 1880, it consistently exceeded the value of the neighboring farms in Hopewell Township by a wide margin.²⁷²

By 1880, Andrew Johnson Drake had begun to help his father in running the family farm. Wilson B. Drake, however, continued to hire laborers to supplement his agricultural work force. In 1880, the 59-year-old farmer headed a household that included his wife, aged 50, his son, aged 16, his older sister, Ann Mariah Drake, aged 64, and two laborers, Charles Lawyer, aged 30, and Simpson Whitehead, aged 25.²⁷³ Wilson B. Drake died at the age of 66 on April 21, 1887, and ownership of the Drake Farmstead passed to his son, Andrew Johnson Drake, who typically went by his middle name of Johnson.²⁷⁴

(Andrew) Johnson Drake and Elizabeth Sked Drake (owned the farm 1887 to 1908)

Born on the Drake Farmstead in December 1864, Johnson Drake was the only child of Wilson Bray and Hannah Ann Hart Drake. He married Elizabeth M. Sked *circa* 1885, and the couple settled into the farmhouse with his parents. The farm, as illustrated by the Everts and Stewart *Combination Atlas Map of Mercer County, New Jersey* published in 1875, appears much as it does today with the farmhouse reached by a lane extending north from Titus Mill Road (Figure 1). Johnson and Elizabeth Sked Drake's only child, Wilson B. Drake, was born in April 1887 within days or weeks of the death of his grandfather and namesake. After his father's death in 1887, Johnson Drake continued to operate the family farm into the early 20th century. In 1900, the 35-year-old farmer headed a household that included his wife, Lizzie M. Drake, aged 35, his son, Wilson B. Drake, aged 13, and his mother, Hannah Ann Hart Drake, aged 71. A second household also occupied the farmhouse and paid rent to Johnson Drake. Headed by a 33-year-old farmer named Enoch S. Drake, possibly a cousin of Johnson Drake, the household included his wife, Kate Drake, aged 29, his son, Abraham R. Drake, aged 8, his mother-in-law, Carilone [Caroline?] Larue, aged 60, and a 21-year-old farm laborer named Charles Davis.²⁷⁵ Johnson Drake retained ownership of the Drake Farmstead for only 11 years. He sold the property, which reportedly contained between 197 and 200 acres of land, to Mary and Walter Starr of New York City in April 1908.²⁷⁶ The Drake

²⁷² 1860 United States Census Agricultural Schedule, Hopewell, Mercer County, New Jersey, United States Census Bureau 1860 Federal Census for New Jersey, microfilm, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ, reel 26; 1870 United States Census Agricultural Schedule, Hopewell, Mercer County, New Jersey, United States Census Bureau 1870 Federal Census for New Jersey, microfilm, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ, reel 26; 1880 United States Census Agricultural Schedule, Hopewell, Mercer County, New Jersey, United States Census Bureau 1880 Federal Census for New Jersey, microfilm, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ, reel 26; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-5, II-6.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, II-4; 1880 United States Census, Hopewell, Gloucester County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. "Wilson B. Drake," *Ancestry.com*.

²⁷⁴ Anne Kirk, "Wilson B. Drake," Find A Grave, added October 9, 2008, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/30435495/wilson-b-drake>; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-4.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*; 1900 United States Census, Hopewell, Gloucester County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. "Andrew J. Drake," *Ancestry.com*.

²⁷⁶ "Several Farms Change Hands," *Trenton Evening Times*, April 15, 1908, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 5; "Pennington," *Trenton Evening Times*, April 17, 1908, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 5; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-4.

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family subsequently moved to Pennington, where they occupied a house on Franklin Avenue, with Johnson Drake and Wilson B. Drake both becoming involved in business affairs in the village.²⁷⁷

Other Owners (1908-c1930)

After Wilson Drake sold the Drake Farmstead in 1908, it entered an approximately 30-year period during which it changed hands several times. Throughout this period, however, the property continued to function as a farm. Following their acquisition of the property in 1908, the Starr family briefly operated the Drake family farm on Titus Mill Road. According to the federal population census schedule of 1910 for Hopewell Township, Walter D. Starr, aged 50, identified himself as the proprietor of a general farm. He headed a household that included his wife, Mary J. Starr, aged 47, his sons Walter K.B. Starr, aged 17, and Leopold Starr, aged 14, and a 22-year-old companion named Agnes V. Williams. Walter D. Starr also employed two farm laborers named William F. Morrison, aged 27, and James Curley, aged 25, to help him on the farm, both of whom resided with the Starr household in the Drake farmhouse.²⁷⁸ Although the available documentation provides little concrete information about the physical evolution of the Drake Farmstead and its farming operations during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the property had been transformed into a dairy farm by 1910, presumably by either Johnson Drake or the Starr family. In a notice placed by Walter D. Starr in *The Hopewell Herald* in December 1910 to advertise the Drake Farmstead as available for lease, he described the 200-acre property as a dairy and grain farm and the “most complete dairy farm” in the Pennington region, whose buildings were “up-to-date in every way.”²⁷⁹ Dairy farming became common within the surrounding area during the first half of the 20th century, as Hopewell Township and central New Jersey became one of the primary suppliers of milk to the Philadelphia and New York metropolitan areas.²⁸⁰

As evidenced by the advertisement he placed in *The Hopewell Herald* in December 1910, Walter D. Starr apparently decided to cease his farming operations at the Drake Farmstead and to lease the property to another farmer within two years of acquiring the property. It appears that the Walter D. Starr quickly found a tenant, for he had relocated with his family to a house on Wiggins Street in Princeton by 1911, where he worked as a real estate agent.²⁸¹ It is unknown who first leased the Drake Farmstead from the Starr family, but Walter S. Force and his wife briefly leased the property between 1913 and 1914.²⁸² By 1913, the Drake Farmstead on Titus Mill Road had become known as Brookdale Farm.²⁸³ Born in 1858 to Ephraim and Sarah J. Whitehead Force, Walter S. Force grew up in Brooklyn, where he worked as the senior partner in the wholesale firm of W.S. Force & Company. He resided in Brooklyn until he and his second wife, Lillian Virginia Gamble Force, relocated to New

²⁷⁷ Ibid.; 1910 United States Census, Hopewell, Gloucester County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. “Andrew J. Drake,” *Ancestry.com*.

²⁷⁸ 1910 United States Census, Hopewell, Gloucester County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. “Walter D. Starr,” *Ancestry.com*; Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-4.

²⁷⁹ “Farm to Lease,” *The Hopewell Herald*, December 21, 1910, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 1.

²⁸⁰ Hunter and Porter, *Hopewell: A Historical Geography*, 48-49.

²⁸¹ William L. Ulyat, *The Princeton Directory* (Princeton, NJ: William L. Ulyat, 1911), 123.

²⁸² “Little Girl Feeds Pigs from Bottle,” *Trenton Evening Times*, August 16, 1913, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 9; *Farm and Business Directory of Mercer and Middlesex Counties, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, PA: Wilmer Atkinson Company, 1914), 42.

²⁸³ “Little Girl Feeds Pigs.”

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Jersey sometime prior to leasing the Drake Farmstead in 1913. He died at the age of 77 at his home in Lincroft, New Jersey, in 1936.²⁸⁴

The Starr family retained ownership of the Drake Farmstead for fewer than seven years but it was during this time that the farm began being called Brookdale Farm. Hopewell Township tax maps show that Stephen L. Harter had acquired the 197-acre farm by 1915.²⁸⁵ Born on October 5, 1863, to Michael and Abigail Tool Harter in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, Reverend Stephen Lincoln Harter served as the minister of the Brookdale Baptist Church in Bloomfield, New Jersey, from 1894 to 1896, as the minister of the Upper Freehold Baptist Church from 1896 to 1904 and as the district superintendent for the New Jersey Children's Home Society in the 1910s.²⁸⁶ At the time Reverend Stephen L. Harter acquired Brookdale Farm *circa* 1915, he was a resident of Trenton, New Jersey, where he resided with his family at 610 Brunswick Avenue and 728 Riverside Avenue through 1921.²⁸⁷

Like the Starr family, Reverend Stephen L. Harter leased Brookdale Farm to a tenant farmer. Beginning in 1917, William H. Alsip, a farmer from Illinois, rented and occupied the property, which continued to go by the name of Brookdale Farm, with his family.²⁸⁸ It appears that William H. Alsip continued to operate the property primarily as a dairy farm while also engaging in some general farming, for an advertisement for a farm laborer that he placed in the *Trenton Evening Times* in April 1917 specified that he "must have some knowledge of stock and general farming."²⁸⁹ William H. Alsip continued to lease, farm and reside at the farm through at least 1920. In 1920, the 30-year-old farmer headed a household that included his wife, Beatrice Alsip, aged 24, his son, William H. Alsip, aged 2, a 75-year-old Irish cook named Winifred McGrory and a 24-year-old German farm laborer named John W. Rinkus that occupied a rented general farm on Titus Mill Road.²⁹⁰ Reverend Stephen L. Harter presumably terminated William H. Alsip's lease sometime between 1921 and 1922, when it is believed that he and his family relocated from Trenton to Brookdale Farm.

Reverend Stephen L. Harter and his family occupied Brookdale Farm for approximately eight years. In 1930, the 66-year-old Baptist clergyman headed a household that included his wife, Anna Case Harter, aged 60, his two adult sons, Robert E. Harter, aged 32, and Leslie Lincoln Harter, aged 29, and a 62-year-old farm laborer named Barton McCrohan. While Reverend Stephen L. Harter identified himself as a clergyman in the federal population census schedule of 1930 for Hopewell Township, he may also have supplemented his income as a

²⁸⁴ Kenneth J. Gruschow, "Walter Sylvester Force," Find A Grave, added November 4, 2001, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/5930244/walter-s.-force>; "Walter S. Force Dies at His Lincroft Home," *Asbury Park Press*, March 9, 1936, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 1.

²⁸⁵ Mills + Schnoering Architects, *The Watershed Institute*, II-4.

²⁸⁶ Thomas S. Griffiths, *A History of Baptists in New Jersey* (Hightstown, NJ: Barr Press Publishing Company, 1904), 213, 424; "Mrs. Harter Dies at Advanced Age," *Trenton Evening News*, May 28, 1908, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 3; "Splendid Reports for Home Society," *Trenton Evening Times*, June 11, 1915, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 7; "Imlaystown," *Allentown Messenger*, May 15, 1930, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 7; Rob Granberry, "Rev. Stephen Lincoln Harter," Find A Grave, created November 24, 2012, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/101232143/stephen-lincoln-harter>.

²⁸⁷ The Fitzgerald Directory Company, *Fitzgerald's Trenton and Mercer County Directory* (Trenton, NJ: The Fitzgerald Company, 1919), 93; The Fitzgerald Directory Company, *Fitzgerald's Trenton and Mercer County Directory* (Trenton, NJ: The Fitzgerald Directory Company, 1921), 457.

²⁸⁸ "Wanted," *The Hopewell Herald*, March 14, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 5.

²⁸⁹ "Man and Wife Wanted," *Trenton Evening Times*, April 27, 1917, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 16.

²⁹⁰ 1920 United States Census, Hopewell, Gloucester County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. "William H. Alsip," *Ancestry.com*.

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minister by farming. Both of his sons listed farming as their professions – Robert E. Harter identified himself as a farm laborer and Leslie Lincoln Harter identified himself as a poultryman – which indicates that they assisted their father on the farm and strongly suggests that the Harter family engaged in poultry farming, in addition to dairy farming.²⁹¹ Reverend Stephen L. Harter retained ownership of Brookdale Farm until his death at the age of 66 on May 9, 1930.²⁹² His heirs apparently sold off the property within a couple of years of his death, for Wolfgang Schwabacher had acquired the property with his brother, Herman Schwabacher, prior to meeting and marrying Ethel Kremer Schwabacher between 1934 and 1935.²⁹³

Wolf and Ethel Schwabacher (c.1930-1951)

Wolf Schwabacher and his brother Herman purchased the farm in the early 1930s and used it as a country retreat from New York City. Born in 1898 as the second son of David and Anna Schwabacher, Wolfgang (Wolf) Simon Schwabacher grew up in Newark, New Jersey.²⁹⁴ He attended Newark Academy and graduated from Princeton University with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1918. After service in World War I, he attended law school at Harvard University, from which he graduated in 1921. He subsequently joined the law firm of Hays, Hershfield & Wolf, one of the oldest in New York City, becoming a partner in 1925. During his approximately 30-year career, Schwabacher became a “prominent entertainment lawyer.”²⁹⁵ He famously defended the authors and producers of the Pulitzer Prize-winning musical *Of Thee I Sing* and the provocative novel *God’s Little Acre* by Erskine Caldwell against obscenity charges in 1932 and 1933, respectively. His clients included the author, playwright and screenwriter Lillian Hellman, who gained a controversial reputation towards the end of her life in the 1970s.²⁹⁶ Much of the controversy was a result of Hellman’s use of Gardiner’s life story in her publications, by way of the Schwabacher connection. He continued to work as a trial lawyer and a specialist in corporate law at the firm of Hays, Wolf, Schwabacher, Sklar & Epstein, the successor to Hays, Hershfield & Wolf, until his death in 1951.²⁹⁷

Wolf Schwabacher married Ethel Kremer Schwabacher (1903-1984) in 1935. Born in New York City in 1903, Kremer was the daughter of Eugene Kremer, a wealthy Jewish lawyer from Alabama, and Agnes Oppenheimer Kremer, a wealthy Jewish socialite from New York City. She enjoyed a privileged upbringing that enabled her to pursue an interest and a career in art. As a student at New York City’s exclusive Horace Mann School, she enrolled at the Art Students League and studied sculpture with George Bridgeman and Robert Laurent. She also studied at the National Academy of Design from 1920 to 1921. A series of family tragedies, including the death of her father and the hospitalization of her brother for mental health issues, prompted Kremer to turn from sculpture to painting and to seek psychoanalytic treatment in 1927. After a six-year stay in Europe, where she underwent

²⁹¹ 1930 United States Census, Hopewell, Gloucester County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. “Stephen L. Harter,” *Ancestry.com*.

²⁹² “Imlaystown.”

²⁹³ Brenda Webster, *The Last Good Freudian* (New York, NY: Holmes & Meier, 2000), 13; Christopher Schwabacher, “Christopher Schwabacher, Son of Ethel Schwabacher,” in *Artists’ Estates: Reputations in Trust*, ed. Magda Salvesen and Diane Cousineau (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 161.

²⁹⁴ 1910 United States Census, Newark, Essex County, New Jersey, digital image s.v. “Wolfgang S. Schwabacher,” *Ancestry.com*.

²⁹⁵ Webster, *The Last Good Freudian*, 1.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ “W.S. Schwabacher, Attorney, Is Dead,” *The New York Times*, August 30, 1951, <https://www.ancestry.com>; “W. Schwabacher, Prominent Lawyer,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, August 30, 1951, <https://www.newspapers.com>, 13.

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psychoanalysis with Helene Deutsch and studied painting in southern France, she returned to New York City in 1934. She subsequently met and married Wolf Schwabacher and renewed her friendship with the painter Arshile Gorky, with whom she studied informally for two years. Today, Gorky is widely regarded as a master of Abstract Expressionism and Surrealism and one of the most influential American artists of the 20th century. After their marriage in 1935, the Schwabachers maintained a close friendship with Gorky, providing him with financial support and purchasing and donating one of his paintings to the Museum of Modern Art in 1941. Wolf Schwabacher also served as his lawyer.²⁹⁸ Like her mentor, Ethel Schwabacher became a celebrated Abstract Expressionist painter, exhibiting her paintings at the well-known Betty Parsons Gallery in the 1950s and 1960s. She also became Gorky's first biographer in 1957, when she published a book on his life approximately nine years after his suicide.²⁹⁹ Although Ethel Schwabacher never became as famous in her lifetime as her mentor and his male contemporaries, her paintings can be found in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Whitney Museum of American Art, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, the Jewish Museum, the Brooklyn Museum of Art, Rockefeller University and the Miskin Gallery.³⁰⁰

Joseph Buttinger (1940-c.1980)

Early Life and Political Activities in Austria, 1906-1939. Joseph Buttinger was born on April 30, 1906, in Austro-Hungary into a family of poor laborers. His father, Anton Buttinger, was one of twelve children from a poor rural farming family from the village of Lohnsburg in the Austrian state of Upper Austria. Anton Buttinger was forced to leave home as an adult because the practice of primogeniture meant that only his eldest brother was entitled to inherit their father's farm. He worked as an agricultural servant before obtaining employment as a laborer in road construction in Bavaria, where he met and married his wife in 1905. Joseph Buttinger's childhood was marked by poverty and instability, as Anton Buttinger's efforts to find better employment forced the family to relocate multiple times during this period. After Anton Buttinger was drafted and forced to join the Austrian army in 1915 to fight in World War I, the Buttinger family returned to Lohnsburg in Upper Austria, where they occupied a one-room apartment. Anton Buttinger died at a military asylum in Linz in March 1917 after he was wounded on the Italian front in 1916. After their father's death, Joseph Buttinger and his siblings resorted to begging to support themselves and their family.³⁰¹ Joseph Buttinger later traced the roots of his political activism to the desperate conditions his family endured during World War I; he noted that he came to recognize that "for poor people the fatherland often is the real enemy."³⁰²

In 1919, at the age of 13, having been forced to leave school, Joseph Buttinger began to work as an agricultural servant. This experience inflicted additional hardship – corporal punishment was widespread and acceptable for agricultural servants in rural Austria – and brought him into contact with the Social Democratic Party, which sought to expand its political influence among agricultural workers in rural Austria after World War I. The

²⁹⁸ Judith E. Johnson, Jayne L. Walker and Brenda S. Webster, "Ethel Schwabacher: The Lyric/Epic and the Personal," *Woman's Art Journal* 10, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1989): 3-9, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1358123?read-now=1&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

²⁹⁹ Naomi Blumberg, "Ethel Schwabacher," Encyclopaedia Britannica, last modified November 21, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ethel-Schwabacher>.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.; "Ethel Schwabacher," Anita Shapolsky Gallery, accessed November 29, 2020, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150419080033/http://www.anitashapolskygallery.com/schwabacher.htm>.

³⁰¹ Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 94-96.

³⁰² As cited in Ibid., 96.

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Buttinger family moved to the industrial town of Schneegattern in 1921, where Buttinger and his half-brother, Anton Buttinger, obtained jobs in a glass factory. The new living situation enabled Joseph Buttinger to educate himself, leading to his formally joining the Social Democratic Party.³⁰³

Buttinger's political career in Austria's Social Democratic Party began in 1926, when he moved to the city of Wels and became, at the age of 20, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party for the Wels political district. This brought him into contact with party leaders and socialist intellectuals, who supported and guided his efforts to further his education. He subsequently worked as the manager and educator of a Social Democratic youth center in Carinthia in southern Austria from September 1926 to 1930. In 1930, he became the secretary of the Social Democratic Party in the district of St. Veit/Glan.³⁰⁴

Austrian democracy became increasingly precarious during the 1930s as the ripple effects of the Great Depression and a global economic downturn devastated the country's economy. As Austria's conservative Christian Socialist government increasingly implemented anti-democratic measures to retain its power, opposition political parties, including the Nazi party, gained increasing support from voters. Ultimately, however, this did not matter. In March 1933, Austrian Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss dissolved parliament, thereby effectively dismantling the Austrian republic. Between 1933 and 1934, the government under Chancellor Dollfuss transformed Austria into a Fascist one-party state and all opposition political parties, including the Social Party, became illegal.³⁰⁵

Recognizing the danger represented by the growing power of Nazism in German and Austria and the "expected illegality" of the Social Democratic Party, Buttinger organized an underground Social Democratic network in the St. Veit/Glan district and began to print and distribute anti-government and anti-fascist materials.³⁰⁶ These activities eventually led to his arrest by the Austrian government in May 1934. After his release from prison in August that year, Buttinger moved to Vienna, where he quickly became one of the leading figures in the Social Democratic Party's underground network.³⁰⁷

In 1935, Buttinger became one of the national leaders of the Social Democratic Party after a wave of arrests "eliminated nearly the whole managerial level" of the party, which was known as the *Zentralkomitee*.³⁰⁸ Joseph Buttinger and his colleagues reorganized the Democratic Socialist Party, which became known as the Revolutionary Socialists of Austria, and broke with the Austrian Communist Party. The Revolutionary Socialists continued their anti-government/anti-fascist activities, which included the publication of magazines, articles, brochures and pamphlets, and sought to keep the workers that formed the party's constituency politically mobilized, which proved to be difficult. Buttinger met, moved in with and began a romantic relationship with Muriel Gardiner during this period.³⁰⁹

³⁰³ Ibid., 96-98.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 100-101.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 103.

³⁰⁶ As cited in Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 104-105.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 105.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 105-108.

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After the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss by the Nazis on July 25, 1934, the Nazi party gradually gained power and popularity in Austria. As a result, Chancellor Kurt von Schusschnigg, the successor to Dollfuss, began to make “appeasement overtures to Hitler,” and the Austrian Nazi party “moved from being an illegal party to becoming almost legal and generally accepted by most of their countrymen and women.”³¹⁰ The Austrian government continued its crackdown on the party and “rounded up leftists and members of the resistance daily,” while Austrian courts “handed out outrageous sentences, such as five years’ hard labor for circulating an illegal newspaper with allegedly treasonable content.”³¹¹ Despite the danger, Buttinger and Gardiner continued their work with the Austrian resistance until deciding in early 1938 that the risks were too high to stay in Austria any longer.³¹²

After Joseph Buttinger arrived in France in early 1938, he was elected the chairman of the Foreign Board of the Austrian Socialists and served as one of the editors of its magazine *Der Sozialistische Kampf* (The Socialistic Struggle). He quickly became disillusioned, however, with the emigree Austrian Socialist movement, which was characterized by constant infighting, and decided to leave it and Europe behind.³¹³ Buttinger proposed to Gardiner shortly after her arrival in Paris in June 1938, and the couple ultimately decided to marry to enable Buttinger to emigrate to the United States. Buttinger’s arrest and imprisonment as an “enemy alien” in September 1938 put the wedding on hold, but Gardiner worked diligently for his release. The couple were finally able to marry in August 1939 and three months later boarded an ocean liner bound for the United States.³¹⁴

Work with the International Rescue Committee and the American Friends of Vietnam, 1940-65. Buttinger, like Gardiner, was a founding member of the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC) in 1940, which became the International Rescue Committee (IRC) in 1942. He continued to play an integral role in the committee’s humanitarian work after World War II. In the fall of 1945, the IRC sent him overseas as the director of its European operations,³¹⁵ where he organized and oversaw relief efforts for refugees and displaced persons in France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Belgium, Holland and Turkey while Gardiner remained at Brookdale Farm.³¹⁶ After returning to the United States in 1949, he wrote his first book, *In the Twilight of Socialism*, which covered Austrian political theory and was published in 1953.³¹⁷ He continued his career with the IRC, which took him to Vietnam in 1954 and Europe again between 1956 and 1957 to coordinate aid for refugees from the Hungarian Revolution.

Buttinger’s time in Vietnam with the IRC in 1954, where he built up a relief agency for refugees from the Communist regime in North Vietnam, proved to be incredibly influential for his later career. During his time in Vietnam, he immersed himself in the country’s history, culture and politics; he eventually authored four books on the country, publishing his first, *The Smaller Dragon: A Political History of Vietnam*, in 1958, which made

³¹⁰ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 93.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Strobl, “Thinking Cosmopolitan,” 110-111.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 138-143.

³¹⁵ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 163.

³¹⁶ Strobl, “Thinking Cosmopolitan,” 117.

³¹⁷ Isenberg, *Muriel’s War*, 165.

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him one of the earliest American experts on Vietnam.³¹⁸ He also became a friend, mentor and early supporter of Ngo Dinh Diem, who served as the prime minister and president of the Republic of Vietnam, which was also known as South Vietnam.³¹⁹ Buttinger amassed a huge library on Austrian and Vietnamese history and current events, which prompted Gardiner to build Buttinger a townhouse at East 87th Street in New York City. From 1955 to 1971, this served as Buttinger's place of work when he was not at Brookdale Farm or traveling. With Buttinger's health failing, the collection was donated to the University of Kagenfurt in Austria in 1971.

In 1955, he co-founded the American Friends of Vietnam (AFV) with Leo Cherne, who served as chairman of the IRC, Christopher Emmet, General John W. O'Daniel, Wesley Fishel, William Henderson, Harold Oram, Gilbert Jonas and others.³²⁰ The AFV constituted one of the strongest supporters of the Vietnam War and one of the earliest, if not the first, of the private foundations associated with Vietnam established during the 1950s and 1960s.³²¹ The organization effectively functioned as a lobbying group and sought to convince the federal government and the American public that South Vietnam needed the support and help of the United States to "help save South Vietnam from Communist rule" through conferences, relief efforts, articles, debates, radio and television interviews, and contact with government officials.³²² Buttinger was central to these efforts and became a prominent public spokesperson for the AFV. In addition to his efforts to secure political support for Ngo Dinh Diem and South Vietnam in the United States, he and his wife also provided direct financial aid to Vietnamese institutions. The most ambitious of these projects involved supporting a new university established at Hue by securing books and supplies for the institution. Buttinger and the AFV continued this work until the 1960s.³²³

The AFV and Buttinger became the target of opponents of the Vietnam War as the conflict and the controversy that surrounded it intensified during the 1960s. Robert Scheer and Warren Hinkle labeled it the "Vietnam Lobby" and asserted that it had "maneuvered the Eisenhower administration and the American press into supporting the rootless, unpopular and hopeless regime of a despot" in an article published in *Ramparts* in 1965.³²⁴ Historians disagree about the power that the AFV held over Ngo Dinh Diem's rise to power in South Vietnam and its influence over the American public and federal policy.³²⁵ According to the historian Joseph R. Morgan's book *The Vietnam Lobby: The American Friends of Vietnam, 1955-1975*, the organization did enjoy some early successes, most notably in sharing its views with federal officials and politicians, and counted five senators and 32 members of Congress, including Congressman John F. Kennedy and Senator Mike Mansfield, among its membership.³²⁶ He argued, however, that the AFV "exerted, at the most, a marginal influence over America's Vietnam policy" because the federal government had already committed itself to ensuring an anti-communist

³¹⁸ Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 118; Lambert, "Joseph A. Buttinger."

³¹⁹ Strobl, "Thinking Cosmopolitan," 118.

³²⁰ Joseph G. Morgan, *The Vietnam Lobby: The American Friends of Vietnam, 1955-1975* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 7-8.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

³²² Buttinger as cited in *Ibid.*, 10.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 81-82.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 8-10.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

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government in the 1950s and internal conflict within the AFV over support for Ngo Dinh Diem largely paralyzed the group in the 1960s.³²⁷

Buttinger was directly involved in these internal disputes. He became the head of the organization's executive committee in 1958, but, having reportedly lost faith in Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963, he resigned in July 1965 in protest of the decision of President Lyndon Johnson's administration to bomb North Vietnam in February 1965 and increasing American involvement in South Vietnam.³²⁸ Echoing Robert Scheer and Warren Hinkle, historian Seth Jacobs, however, asserts in his book *America's Miracle Man in Vietnam*, that the AFV, and Buttinger, did influence the federal government's support for Ngo Dinh Diem: "Although the AFV did not generate single-handedly the anticommunist imperative of the early cold war years, it did influence which anticommunist surrogate the United States elected to underwrite in South Vietnam, and it played a crucial role in ensuring that the Diem experiment lasted as long as it did."³²⁹ While these differing interpretations make it difficult to independently assess the historical importance of the AFV, these accounts indisputably prove Buttinger's expertise on Vietnam and his intimate involvement with the Vietnam War.

After 1965, Buttinger's activities were increasingly limited due to failing memory and health. He received the Austrian Golden Order of Merit in 1972 and the IRC's Freedom Award in 1978. Unable to care for him at the ranch house at Brookdale Farm, Gardiner committed him to a New York City nursing home in 1979 where he died in 1982.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid., 155-156.

³²⁹ Seth Jacobs, *America's Miracle Man in Vietnam: Ngo Dinh Diem, Religion, Race, and U.S. Intervention in Southeast Asia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 230.

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10. Geographical Data

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

Referring to the attached USGS Location Map, the boundary begins at the northwest corner of the property on the north side of the intersection of Titus Mill Road and the farm lane (1. Latitude 40.351682 Longitude -74.776394). The boundary proceeds clockwise beginning eastward following the north edge of the farm lane a distance of 1,194 feet to a point southwest of the Drake farmhouse. It then turns northerly passing west of the farmhouse following the line of Hopewell Township Tax Block 37, Lot 26 and crossing into Tax Block 37, Lot 42 a distance of 385 feet. The boundary then turns eastward a distance of 363 feet following the northern edge of a tree line to the western edge of a large meadow in the northeast corner of the property. The property boundary then turns north and follows the western edge of the meadow a distance of 322 feet to the tree line at the northeast corner of the meadow (2. Latitude 40.354277 Longitude -74.771096). The boundary then turns eastward a distance of 907 feet along the tree line that forms the northern edge of the meadow to the northeast corner of the meadow (3. Latitude 40.354422 Longitude -74.767867). The boundary then turns southward for a distance of 1,166 feet following the eastern line of Tax Block Lot 37, Lot 26 and passing along the eastern edge of two meadows and an intervening wood lot to a corner in the tax block/lot. The boundary then turns eastward following the tax block/lot boundary a distance of 446 feet along a line between two meadows to a point on Wargo Road (4. Latitude 40.351224 Longitude -74.765943). The boundary turns south a distance of 650 feet following the western edge of Wargo Road to the northwest corner of the intersection with Titus Mill Road (5. Latitude 40.349428, Longitude -74.766162). The boundary then turns westward a distance of 2,413 feet following the northern edge of Titus Mill Road and passing the entrance to Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm entry lane to a bend in Titus Mill Road. From the bend in the road, the boundary turns northwest a distance of 813 feet and follows the northeastern edge of Titus Mill Road to the point of beginning. The boundary encompasses 71.06 acres.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundary includes the farmhouse, outbuildings, sites and lanes that have historically been part of Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm and that maintain historic integrity. The size of the farm varied over time, usually between 150 and 300 acres, and that portion of the farm that has been conserved as a nature preserve and subdivided from the two tax lots that now encompass all of the contributing farm buildings, structures and sites have been excluded. The property consists of the entirety of Block 37, Lot 26 and part of Block 37, Lot 42 and is composed of approximately 71.06 acres of the original Drake Farmstead encompassing all ten contributing resources historically associated the property. It also includes the associated stream, topography, meadows, wood lots and farm lanes and roadways to which the farmstead was historically oriented and had direct sight lines from contributing resources. Specifically, the farmstead's nucleus was set on high ground to the north of a tributary of Stony Brook and oriented to the south and Titus Mill Road. The boundary encompasses the meadow and wood spaces between the nucleus and the roads and wood lines as part of the significant setting. Titus Mill Road forms the property's southerly boundary. The boundary excludes The Watershed Institute complex constructed in 2015 to the west of the Drake farmhouse and the majority of the institute's nature reserve to the

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west of the complex, which is no longer kept in meadows or wood lots that conform to historic land use patterns and sight lines.

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Photograph Log

Name of Property: Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm

City or Vicinity: Hopewell Township

County: Mercer State: New Jersey

Photographer: Eryn Boyce

Date Photographed: November 3, 2020

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

Photograph 1: View of Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm showing the farmhouse, looking north through the allée of the farm entry lane [20043_D2_036].

Photograph 2: Oblique view of the farmhouse showing the façade and side (west) elevations, looking northeast [20043_D2_25].

Photograph 3: View of the façade of the side wing of the farmhouse, looking north [20043_D2_28].

Photograph 4: View of the front entry porch on the main block of the farmhouse, looking north [20043_D2_27].

Photograph 5: Oblique view of the side (east) elevation of the side wing of the farmhouse showing the entry porch, looking southwest [20043_D2_1].

Photograph 6: View of the rear (north) elevation of the farmhouse, looking south [20043_D2_2].

Photograph 7: Interior view of the front entry to the main block of the farmhouse, looking south [20043_D2_19].

Photograph 8: Interior view of the first-floor hallway in the main block of the farmhouse, looking northeast [20043_D2_17].

Photograph 9: View of one of the interior doors, looking west [20043_D2_20].

Photograph 10: View of the fireplace in the dining room, looking northwest [20043_D2_18].

Photograph 11: View of the fireplace in the first-floor bedroom in the side wing of the farmhouse, looking east [20043_D2_22].

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Photograph 12: Oblique view of the combination wagon house and corn crib showing the façade and side (south) elevation, looking northwest [20043_D2_11].

Photograph 13: Oblique view of the main barn showing the south façade and the side (west) elevation, looking northeast [20043_D2_29].

Photograph 14: Oblique view of the main barn showing the rear (north) and side (east) elevations, looking southwest [20043_D2_4].

Photograph 15: Interior view of the timber framing in the loft of the main barn, looking west [20043_D2_16].

Photograph 16: Interior view of the graffiti on door between the stables and the threshing floor on the first floor of the main barn, looking east [20043_D2-23].

Photograph 17: Interior view of the first floor of the milking room in the east end of the main barn, looking northwest [20043_D2_13].

Photograph 18: Oblique view of the small barn showing the façade and side (west) elevation, looking northeast [20043_D2_30].

Photograph 19: Oblique view of the small barn and the linking shed showing the rear (north) elevations, looking southwest [20043_D2_6].

Photograph 20: Oblique view of the wellhouse and windmill showing the façade and side (west) elevation, looking southeast [20043_D2_9].

Photograph 21: Oblique view of the garage showing the façade and side (west) elevation, looking southwest [20043_D2_7].

Photograph 22: Oblique view of the garden shed, looking northeast [20043_D2_31].

Photograph 23: View facing northeast showing the concrete silo base [19033_D1_009].

Photograph 24: View facing southwest showing the segmented concrete pad and foundations to the southeast of the main barn [19033_D1_011].

Photograph 25: View facing west showing masonry foundations in the wooded area to the north of the main barn [20043_D3_02].

Photograph 26: View facing north on the main entry lane looking through the allée to the farmhouse [20043_D3_06].

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Photograph 27: The eastern end of the farm lane where it terminates at the main barn [19033_D1_01].

Photograph 28: View facing east looking along the former farm lane that has been converted to a pedestrian path. The farmhouse is in the background [20043_D2_40].

Photograph 29: View facing east showing concrete gateposts at east end of farm lane and Titus Mill Road.

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Figure 1. Everts & Stewart. Hopewell Township, Combination Atlas Map of Mercer County, New Jersey. 1875. Location of Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm indicated.

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Figure 2. The Moore Farmstead on Van Dyke Road in Hopewell Township was another ranged linear-plan farm with the main barn (left) and farmhouse (right). The Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm would appear very similar today if a wood lot did not intervene between it and Titus Mill Road. Note the striking similarity of the range of small barn, wagon house and wellhouse with windmill between the main barn and the house. wagon house, wellhouse with windmill and other buildings with a striking similarity. The Moore Farmstead survives but in a highly altered condition and loss of most of the outbuildings seen here (photograph, circa 1900). Source: Hunter and Porter (1992), 72. Reproduced by permission.

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Figure 3. Muriel Gardiner, 1930s. Source: Isenberg 2010.

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Figure 4. The Drake farmhouse, post-1940s. This photograph, looking northwest, shows the rounded porch on the Greek Revival west wing of *circa* 1830. It was later replaced with a square porch.
Source: Isenberg 2010.

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Figure 5. Muriel Gardiner, 1970s. This photograph is believed to be in one of the rooms in the farmhouse at Brookdale Farm based on the similarity of the door in the background. Source: Connie Harvey/Freud Museum/BBC.

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Figure 6. Other ranged linear-plan farms in Hopewell Township have not fared nearly as well as the Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm. These photographs are from an architectural survey undertaken in the late 1980s. Top: Drake/Reed farmhouse (mid-18th century, since restored with loss of all outbuildings except the barn). Middle: Titus farmhouse (c.1800, no outbuildings other than barn survive, not shown). Bottom: Blackwell farmstead barn (c.1850, it and all related buildings since demolished). Source: Hunter and Porter (1992), 66-67, 77.

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Figure 7. Other Hopewell Township farmhouses with similarities to the Drake farmhouse from a cultural resources survey of the late 1980s. These houses were confirmed extant in 2022. Top: The True/Stout house (c.1750) illustrates an early “cow and calf” farmhouse. The Drake farmhouse’s east wing is conjectured to have had similar proportions with a one-story kitchen before adding a second floor. The Drake house is of timber frame not of log construction as shown here. Middle: Leigh House (c.1835), a Greek Revival-style house of the same period as the Drake farmhouse’s west wing; Bottom: Mershon farmhouse, (c.1839-45), another Greek Revival-style house of the same period as the Drake farmhouse’s west wing. Source: Hunter and Porter (1992), 64, 69.

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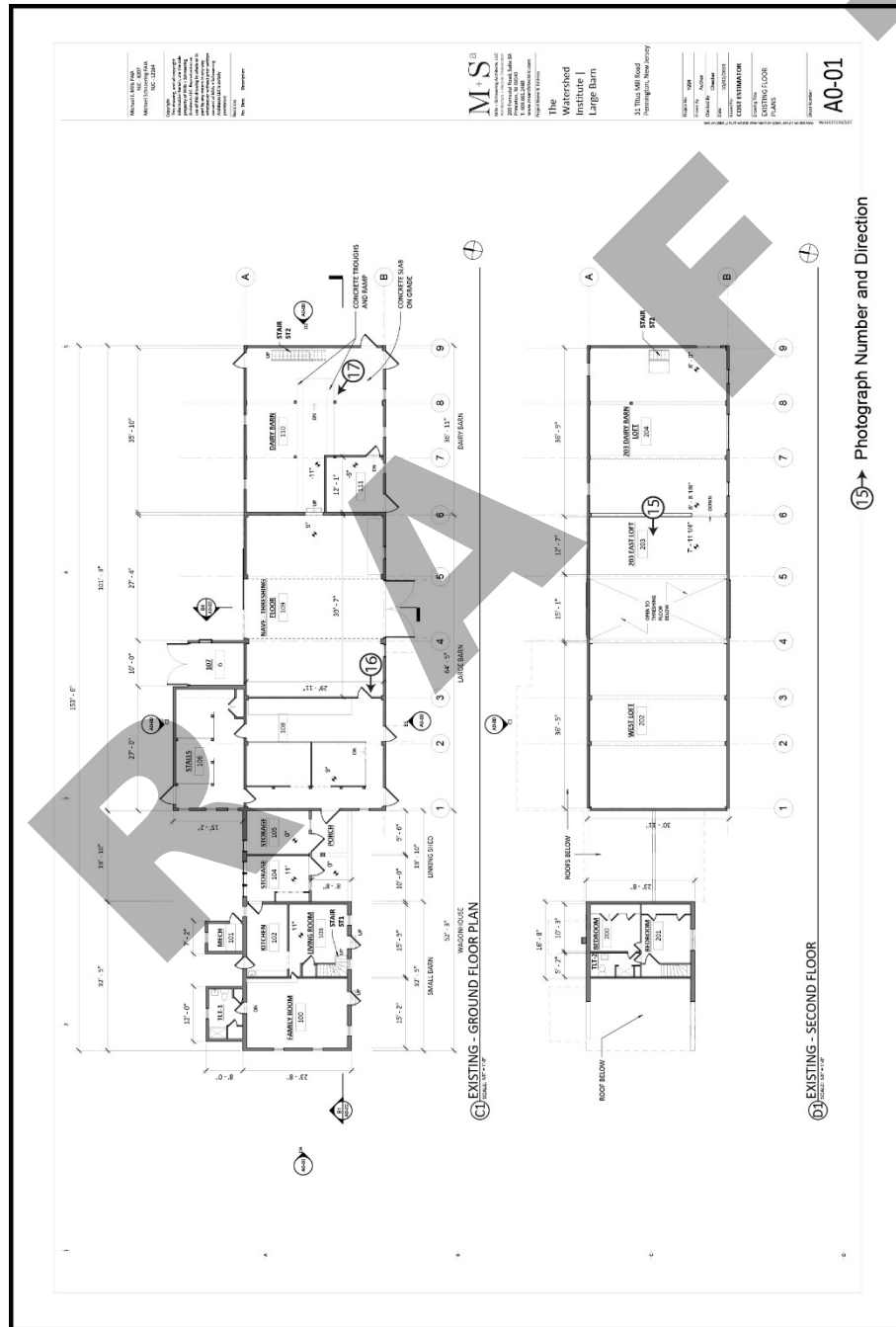


Figure 8b. Main Barn and Small Barn Floor Plans, Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Fam. Source: Mills +Schnoering 2019.

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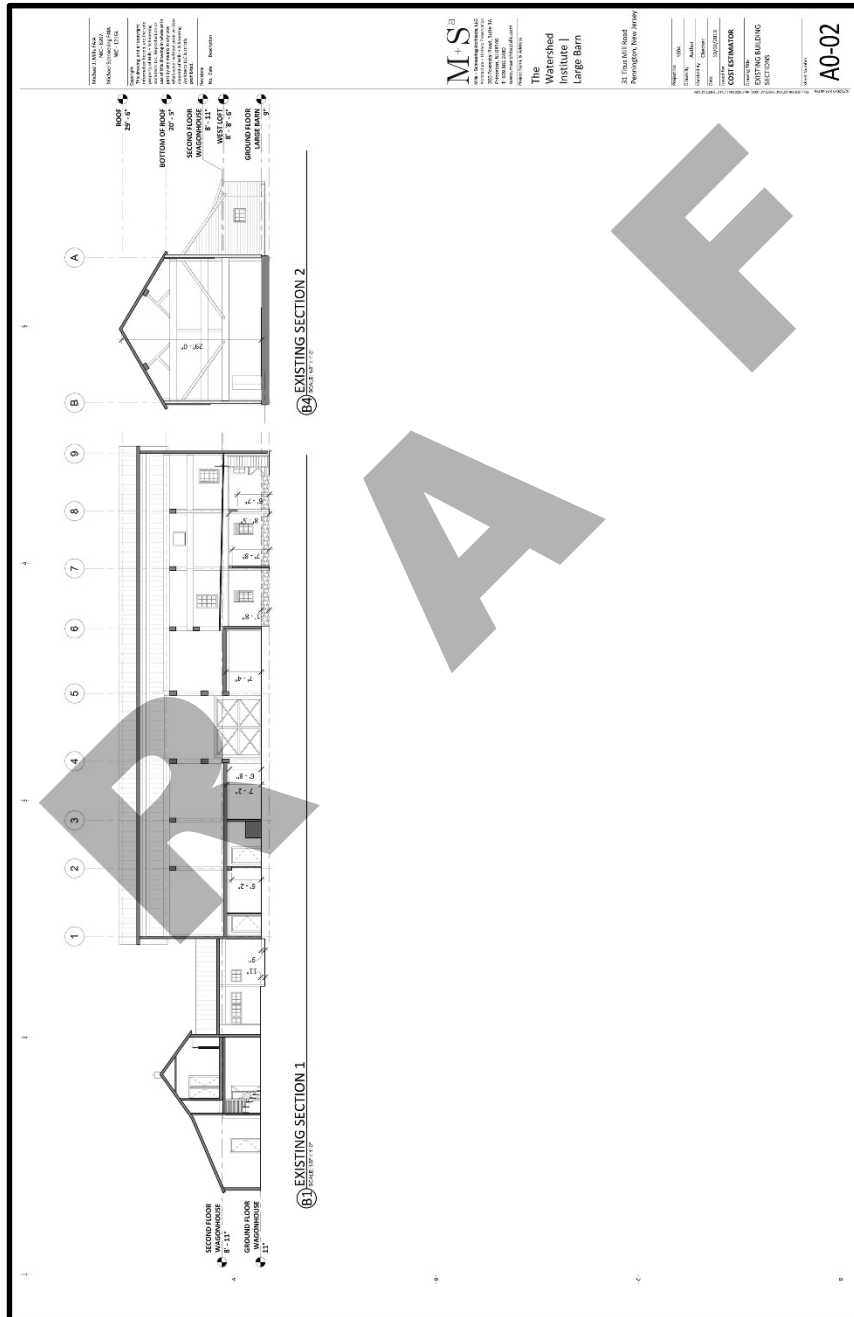


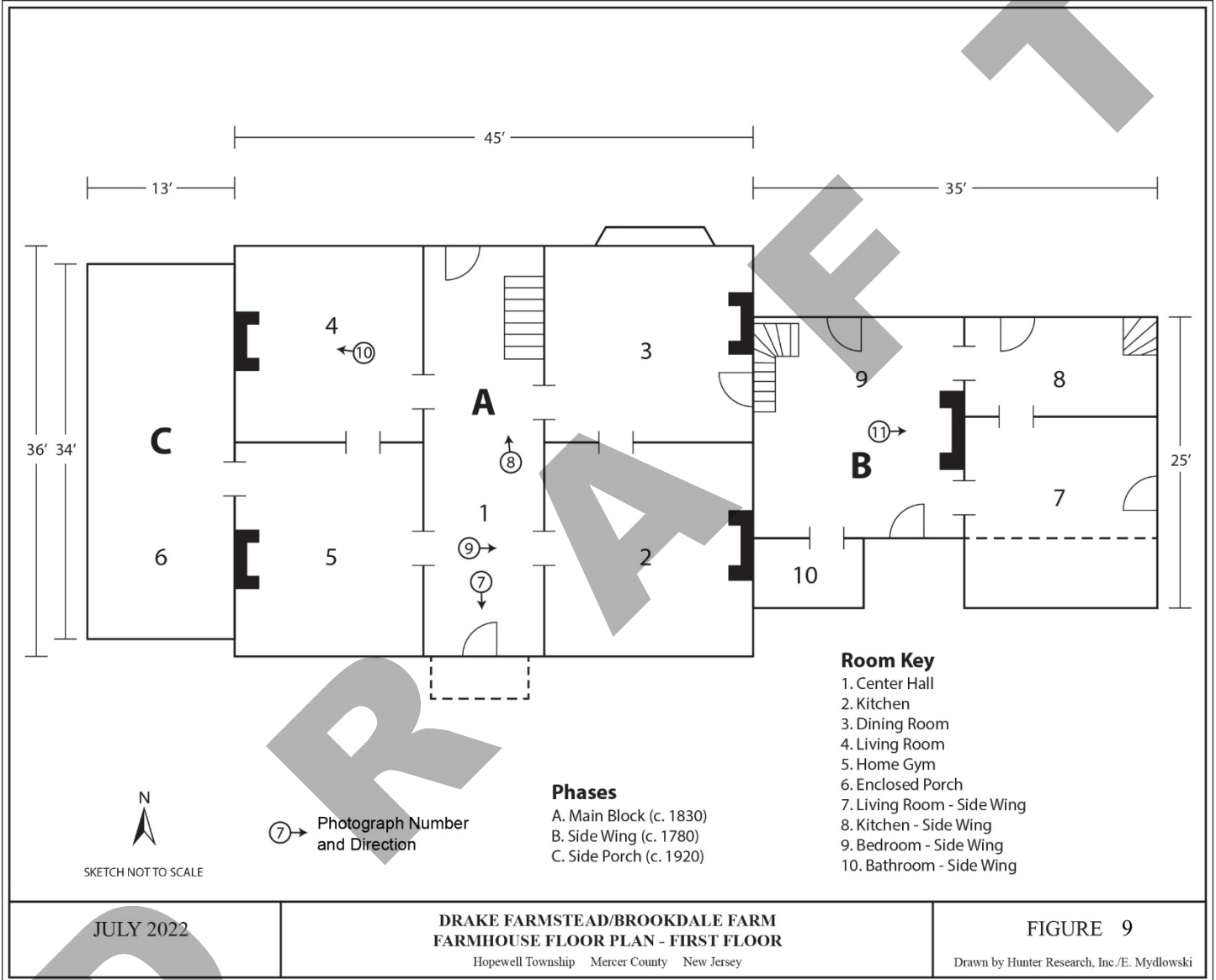
Figure 8c. Main Ban and Small Barn Cross Sections, Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm. Source: Mills +Schnoering 2019.

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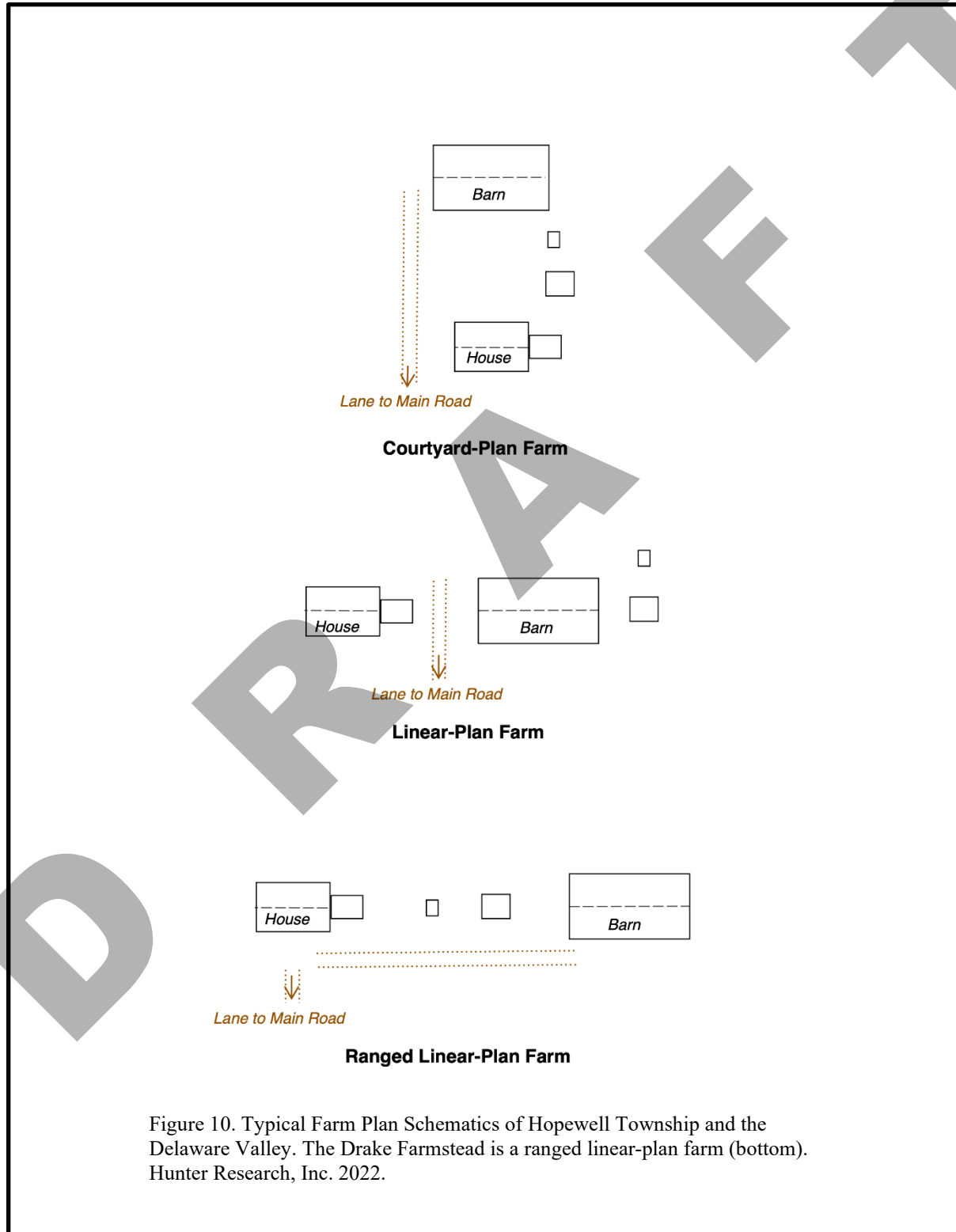


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Drake Farmstead/Brookdale Farm
 New Jersey and National Registers Nomination
 Pennington Borough,
 Mercer County,
 New Jersey

Boundary and tax map



Datum: NAD 1983 State Plane New Jersey

Legend

-  District boundary
-  Coordinates
-  Tax Parcels

71.06 Acres



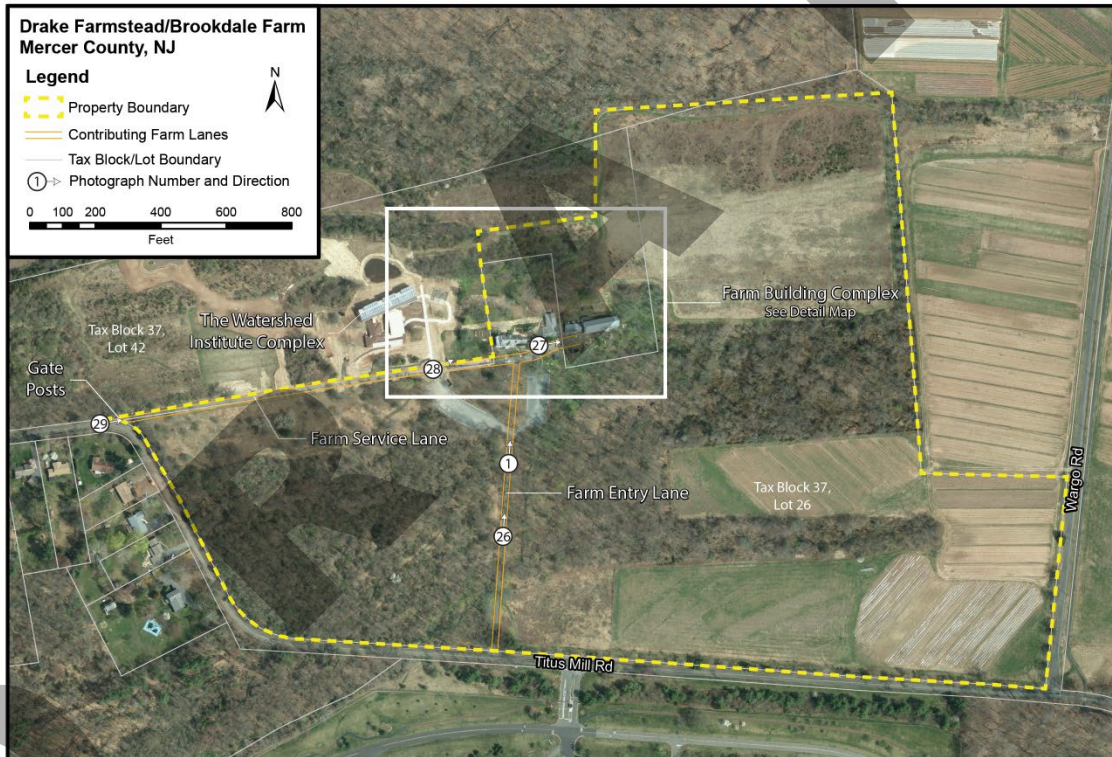
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July 2022

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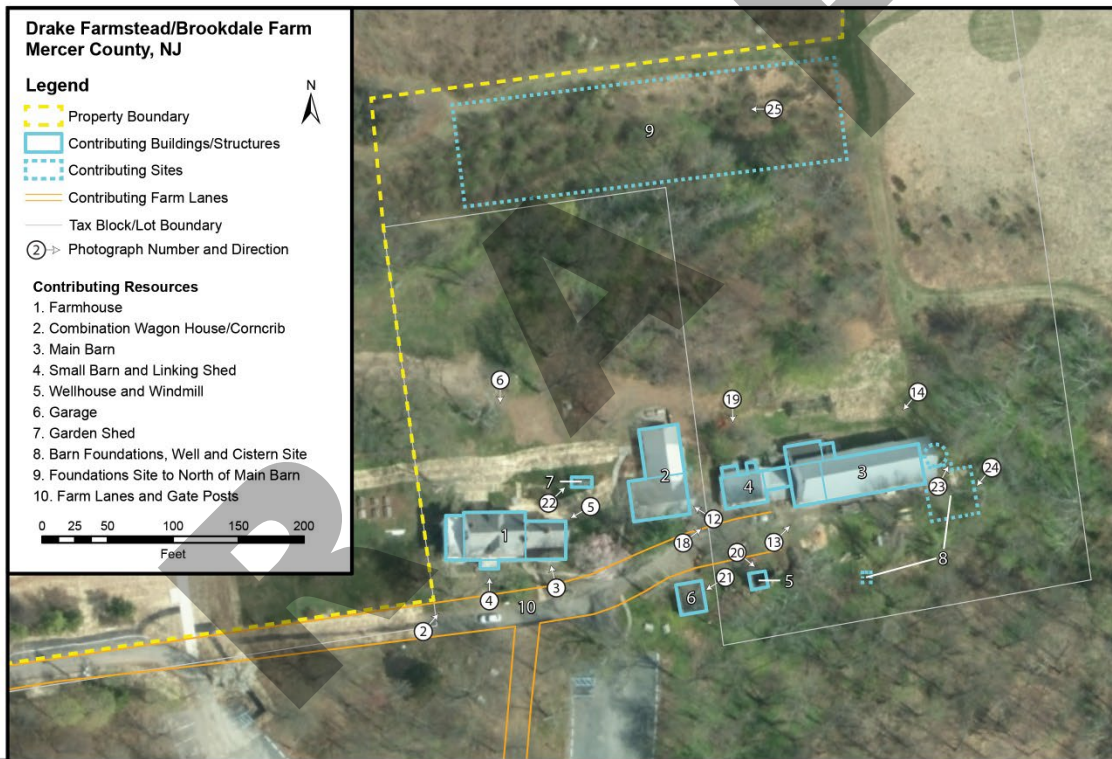


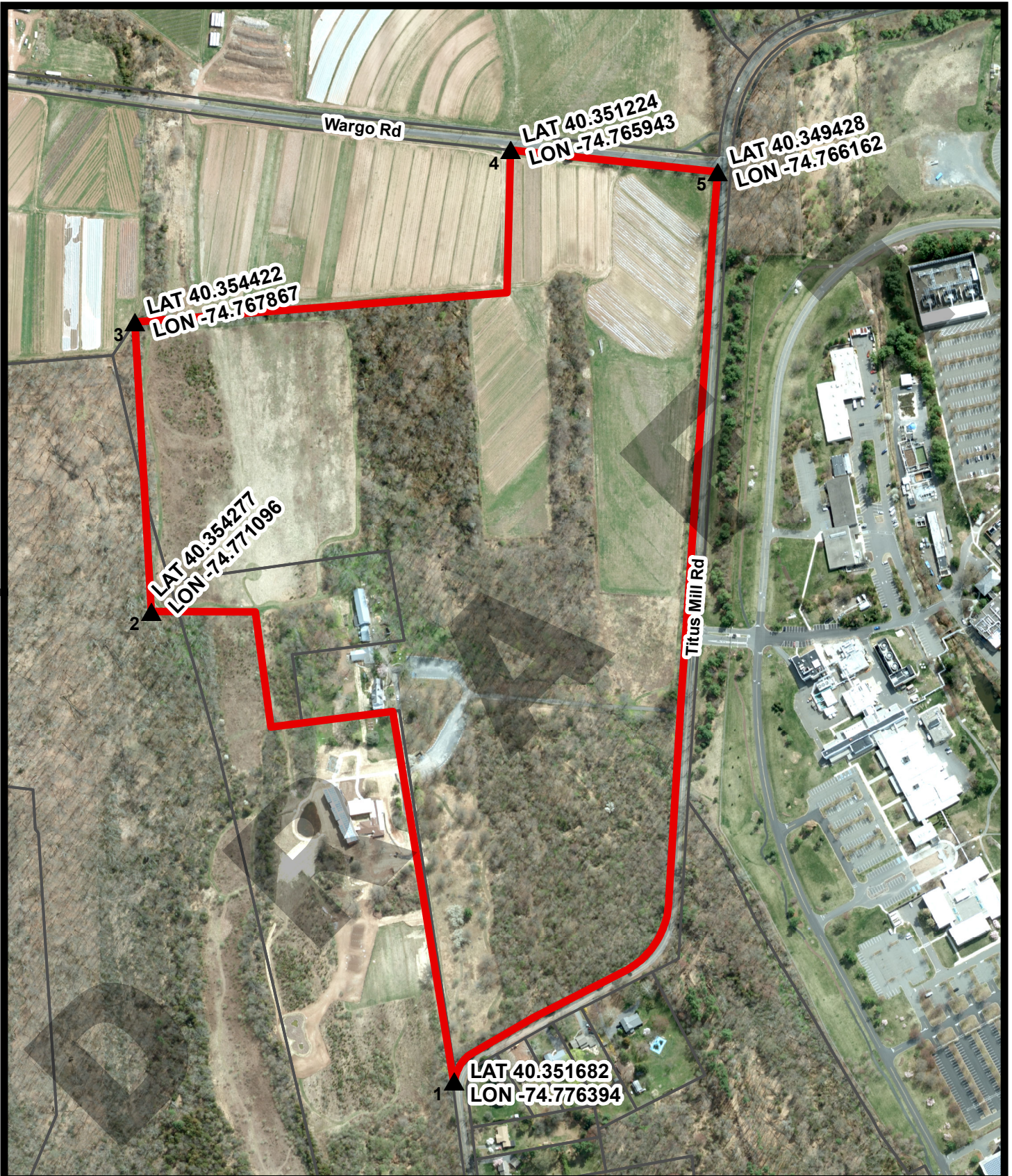
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New Jersey and National Registers Nomination
Hopewell Township,
Mercer County,
New Jersey

Boundary and tax map



Datum: NAD 1983 State Plane New Jersey

Legend

-  District boundary
-  Coordinates
-  Tax Parcels

71.06 Acres



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