

The Greening of Cincinnati: Adolph Strauch's Legacy in Park Design

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In 1852 fate proved permanently beneficial to the making of picturesque landscapes in Cincinnati and to the history of American landscape design. The thirty-two-year-old Prussian landscape gardener, Adolph Strauch (1822-1883) missed his train connection in Cincinnati en route from the Texas frontier to see Niagara Falls. Strauch had not intended to visit the "Metropolis of the West." But temporarily stranded in the strange city, he recalled having met a local resident, Robert Bonner Bowler, whose appreciation for fine picturesque designed landscapes, the *jardin anglais*, Strauch had helped heighten in 1851 while guiding Americans through the London Crystal Palace Exhibition and various notable English gardens. Strauch retrieved Bowler's calling card from his pockets and contacted the civic leader, who greeted him warmly and seized the opportunity not only to welcome the unexpected visitor to Cincinnati but to persuade Strauch to cancel the rest of his travel plans.

Wealthy Cincinnatians immediately recognized Strauch as a world-class designer and were intent on not losing him. Strauch had impressive credentials that suggested large possibilities for application of his talents in Cincinnati. He began his career as protege of Prince Herman von Pückler-Muskau, the great European park reformer, a benevolent aristocrat who transformed his Silesian estate around the town of Muskau into landscaped grounds that later served as "precedents for metropolitan park systems" in Europe and America. Pückler counseled the young Strauch to further his horticultural expertise at the Schöenbrunn and Laxenburg Hapsburg imperial gardens and in England in the great eighteenth-century pastoral gardens.¹

To attach Strauch to Cincinnati, Bowler, his well-placed friends, and other leading citizens, founders of the Cincinnati Horticultural Society who aspired to cultivate a taste for nature, literally and figuratively, gave Strauch private commissions to design the grounds of

their suburban estates in the new "Eden of the Cincinnati aristocracy," the "romantic village" of Clifton on the hills north of their burgeoning city. Strauch designed their estates to create the impression of a large, rambling, single property by eliminating fences and other visible lines and by sculpting sweeping lawns punctuated by carefully placed bosks of trees framing palatial homes and defining distant views. He gave the new suburb a unified pastoral landscape preceded in America only by Cincinnati's own



Glendale (1851), New Jersey's Llewellyn Park (1853), and Lake Forest, Illinois (1857). In 1870 one observer described "the present perfect state" of Clifton's development based on years of labor directed by Strauch to create "the gentle slopes, the gradual rise and fall of the surface. . . . Deep ravines have been filled, elevations cut down, and inequalities reconciled." Strauch also helped his horticulturist

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In 1870 the park commissioners hired Adolph Strauch as Parks Superintendent. Strauch, who had served as landscape gardener and superintendent of Spring Grove Cemetery since the

1850s, continued as the cemetery's superintendent. (Adolph Strauch, CHS Printed Works Collection)

clients assemble "a valuable collection of evergreens, gathered from various countries of the globe" as well as many rare shade and ornamental trees.²

At Bowler's "Mount Storm" property on Lafayette Avenue, Strauch created an English park-like landscape complete with a lake, waterfall, and neoclassical "eyecatcher" copied after the Temple of Love in the Petite Trianon at Versailles. It crowned a hill atop a reservoir that supplied water to the horticulturist's extensive greenhouses and created a fine setting for the 1860 reception of Lord Renfrew, Edward Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, and for Emperor Dom Pedro of Brazil. Strauch also worked on Robert Buchanan's forty-three-acre "Greenhills" (1843), Henry Probasco's thirty-acre "Oakwood" (1859-66), George Krug Schoenberger's forty-seven-acre "Scarlet Oaks" (1867-71), and George W. Neff's "The Windings" (1869). At these estates, reached by winding avenues and drives through the undulating topography, themselves providing "a sequence of carefully designed, gradually unfolding views" for those arriving by carriage, Strauch maximized dramatic distant vistas over the Millcreek Valley with "its varied spectacle of village and farm, cultivated fields and distant forest-covered hill," a panorama to the west which these gentlemen had already preserved by the founding of Spring Grove Cemetery.³

These men were especially anxious to take Strauch to Spring Grove, Cincinnati's "rural" cemetery created in 1845 to rival the nationally famous prototypes of Boston's Mount Auburn (1831) and New York's Green-Wood (1838). As directors of the cemetery, Buchanan and Probasco expected to hear praise for their romantic funerary landscape designed by local architect Howard Daniels. Instead, Strauch gave them perceptive, frank, and incisive criticisms, saying that parts of the cemetery had in less than a decade taken on the cluttered and undesirable "appearance of a marble yard where [monuments] are for sale." Strauch told them that in 1843 the great Scottish landscape theorist John Claudius Loudon had declared that a cemetery "properly designed, laid out, ornamented with mausoleums, tombs, columns, urns, tastefully planted with appropriate trees and shrubs, and the whole properly kept, might become a school of instruction" in elements of landscape design as well as a place of "neatness, order, and high keeping" that elevates public taste and serves as a measure of civilization's quality. Impressed by these ideas, Buchanan and his friends hired Strauch as Spring Grove's landscape gardener in October 1854, and in 1859 appointed him superintendent. Strauch promised to unify the land-

scape aesthetics through "scientific management" and to establish "the aesthetics of the beautiful" as described by the English theorist Edmund Burke.⁴

Strauch called his entirely innovative reform the "landscape lawn plan." There were no exact precedents in terms of aesthetics intended to create a park-like funerary landscape; even Loudon had not been able to create such a pastoral ideal in a cemetery. Strauch aspired to create a synthesis of the "picturesque" and the "beautiful" through a series of regulations as well as design of the grounds. "A rural Cemetery," he believed, "should form the most interesting of all places for contemplative recreation; and everything in it should be tasteful, classical, and poetical."⁵

He transformed swampy areas around the original cemetery core into five acres of spring-fed picturesque lakes. By the 1860s Strauch had made Spring Grove an attractive promenade, a 412 acre "arboretum" adorned by fine sculpture, architecture, and waterfowl, making it not only the largest cemetery in the world but one that attracted international recognition of his landscape "artistry" and horticultural expertise. By 1875 he had expanded the grounds to 594 acres, including large areas of woodland preserve. Spring Grove attracted national attention in subsequent decades as leaders of many existing and new cemeteries accepted his aesthetic reforms for creation and maintenance of a park-like appearance for funerary landscapes. Frederick Law Olmsted proclaimed Spring Grove "the best [cemetery in the United States] from a landscape gardening point of view" shortly after he had discovered the art of landscape design.⁶

Spring Grove was Cincinnati's first park-like open space, run by a nonprofit corporation but open to the public with limited restrictions. Under Strauch, it became a major urban amenity, used by locals and visitors as a "pleasure ground" and touted by boosters as "a beautiful park for the living." By 1860 under Strauch's influence on suburb and cemetery design, one Philadelphia horticulturist judged Cincinnati "a center for correct taste in rural architecture, landscape gardening, and the various arts that are associated with suburban and rural life . . . a long way in advance of Philadelphia, New York, or Boston."⁷

Although Cincinnati was still very young, barely six decades from its urban frontier beginnings, rapid development left little other room for perserving, creating, or cultivating green public open spaces — spaces to reflect what the internationally renowned landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing had recently termed "rural art

and rural taste.” Through his popular magazine *The Horticulturist*, Downing spread the vogue for “picturesque” and “beautiful” landscapes in suburban locations; and he was the first to call for creations of naturalistic public parks of similar design in the middle of the dense urban fabric. Such landscapes were proclaimed important, civilizing forces as antidotes and counterpoints to the crowded and disorderly physical environments characteristic of contemporary urbanization. As in other antebellum cities, urban real estate development had proceeded at a haphazard, unregulated, break-neck pace, leaving little room for the sort of green open spaces that were termed the “lungs” of the city, breathing room for burgeoning populations.⁸

Generally, urban populations relied on their new “rural” cemeteries as antidotes to the crowding, overdevelopment, and pollution of antebellum cities. Indeed, the example of landscape design and popularity of these cemeteries inspired the mid-century public park movement. Downing lobbied in 1849 for the creation of public landscapes aesthetically similar to the naturalistic cemeteries. He wrote President Millard Fillmore about the desirability of turning Washington’s Mall into a picturesque landscape like those of Mount Auburn and Spring Grove: “At the present moment the United States, while they have no public parks, are acknowledged to possess the

finest rural cemeteries in the world.”⁹

Downing’s efforts resulted in funding for a 683 acre Central Park in New York City. Indeed, if Downing had not died at age thirty-six in a steamboat accident on the Hudson River in 1852, he undoubtedly would have designed Central Park along with his architect partner Calvert Vaux. Instead, Vaux asked the writer Frederick Law Olmsted, inexperienced in landscape design but newly appointed to superintend the park construction, to join him in the design competition. Their Greensward Plan (1858) won the competition, followed among the four finalists by the entry of former Cincinnati Howard Daniels, by then experienced in designing a dozen “rural” cemeteries after laying out Spring Grove. The city of Baltimore hired Daniels in 1860 to design its new 600-acre Druid Hill Park, preserving a beautiful old section of woodlands north of the central city.¹⁰

The park-making impulse rapidly spread to other cities in the 1860s as urban boosters proclaimed green open spaces necessary public amenities and civilizing forces. The civic elite also realized that parks increased adjacent real estate values and salvaged parcels of land that might be or become unsightly nuisances. Urbanists like the New York art critic Clarence Cook proselytized for parks, also citing the precedents of “rural” cemeteries. In 1869 Cook wrote, “These cemeteries . . . became famous over



By the 1860s Strauch had made Spring Grove Cemetery an attractive promenade, a 412 acre “arboretum” adorned by fine sculpture, architecture, and waterfowl, and had attracted

international recognition for his landscape artistry and horticulture expertise. (CHS Photograph Collection)

the whole country and thousands of people visited them annually. They were among the chief attractions of the cities to which they belonged. No stranger visited . . . these cities for pleasure or observation who was not taken to the cemeteries . . . [that] were all the rage, and so deeply was the want felt which they supplied, and so truly beautiful were they in themselves, that it was not to be wondered at if people were slow to perceive a certain incongruity between a graveyard and a place of recreation." People were simply "glad to get fresh air, and a sight of grass and trees and flowers with, now and then, a pretty piece of sculpture, to say nothing of the drive to all this beauty, and back again, without considering too deeply whether it might not be better to have it all without the graves." As in other cities, the example of Spring Grove in Cincinnati suggested formation of the first parks, and Strauch applied his landscape skills to the latter as to the former.¹¹

After the distraction of the Civil War, the urban public park movement swept the nation. Central Park was completed, and Brooklyn commissioned Vaux and Olmsted to create the 550-acre Prospect Park (1865-1873) on land set aside in the 1850s around a municipal reservoir. Beginning in 1867 Philadelphia laid out Fairmount Park, 2,740 acres of grounds overlooking the Schuylkill River that were preserved from other development that might have imperiled the public water supply. H. W. S. Cleveland laid out Milwaukee's Juneau Park in 1873. Earlier Strauch had traveled to eastern cities and to Europe to inspect and gather information on other cemeteries as well as public parks, zoological gardens, and colleges campuses, models that could be used for future projects. Strauch used his position as Spring Grove Superintendent to advocate creation of other pastoral landscapes in the Cincinnati area.¹²

Cincinnati was in dire need of public parks. In 1860 "an average of 30,000 people lived in each square mile [of the central city], making Cincinnati one of the most densely populated cities in America." By 1875 about a quarter million people crowded the "city proper," a dense population in about twenty-four square miles in the urban basin, hemmed in by an amphitheatre of hills to form "the compactest city in the United States." The decade after the Civil War was an era of immense and intense transition in the once dominant "Metropolis of the West," as new railroads permitted Chicago to usurp its regional dominance as an entrepot.¹³

The Queen City was slower than other cities

to create major public parks for these reasons and because of political wrangling and journalistic criticism of the "park scheme" to be undertaken under public auspices. Cincinnatians, like most urban Americans, were accustomed to benefiting from development of "public" amenities under private auspices. In 1867 some of the civic-minded suggested that the work of turning the Mill Creek bottom into a "pleasure ground" be undertaken by the city itself, a project that would have been unprecedented. Indeed, the Spring Grove Cemetery corporation covered most of the costs for developing a parkway, Spring Grove Avenue, running north from the urban core up the Millcreek Valley to the cemetery. The project involved considerable planting of trees and filling of the banks not only to beautify the approach to the cemetery but to prevent injury to the avenue from flooding. Spring Grove's management also wanted "to convert the rough hillside overlooking the cemetery [and near Trustees' new Clifton homes] into a thing of beauty, utilizing the splendid cascade formed by the wasteway of the Miami Canal," making lakes, water jets, and fountains like those Strauch had added within the cemetery grounds. Spring Grove trustees hoped "to prevent hog-pens, distilleries, starch factories, slaughterhouses, bone-boiling establishments, or stink factories of any kind" from appearing in the parkway strip they fashioned and wanted to preserve as a corridor between the city and their cemetery. They also contributed to the building of roads adjacent to the cemetery by helping in the construction of Mitchell Avenue linking the cemetery to Avondale and Clifton, and Groesbeck Avenue from College Hill to the north, and in the building of the portion of Winton Road along Spring Grove's boundaries.¹⁴

The first successful crusade to create larger public parks in Cincinnati began when a newspaper article in 1870 declared that parks "are economical institutions for any city:"

They serve a multitude of purposes. Their establishment gives a metropolitan character to a place, greatly increasing its importance abroad. They tend to enhance the value of real estate, not only in their immediate vicinity, but everywhere within the corporation limits. This indirectly, and directly too, augments the prosperity of the place, as it gives an impetus to every kind of business, by inviting capitalists, business men, and manufacturers from other places to settle among us and invest their money. . . . They tend to enlarge the ideas of the people to develop within them a broader and higher comprehension of the beauties of

nature, a more refined taste and higher appreciation of art, and, above all, to chasten, purity, and enlarge the moral nature; to render the mind clear, to strengthen and invigorate the body, and, in short, to give, tone, activity, power and beauty to the entire being, moral, spiritual, mental, and physical.

Park proponents kept up the agitation in 1871, declaring, "Parks are among the improvements of all modern cities. They are a part of the great whole which makes a city interesting to its inhabitants, to the strangers who come to it for residence or business. They are thoughtful provisions for the happiness of the people for centuries to come. They promote health and good order of the population, and no city can well neglect them."¹⁵

Through the late 1860s and the early 1870s, Cincinnati newspapers featured articles praising public parks in other major cities, especially in Europe — New York's Central Park, the new Buttes-Chaumont and Montsouris in Paris, the Volksgarten in Vienna. Voices favoring similar ventures in Cincinnati hoped to stir boosterism through competition, to instill a desire for parks like those in other world class cities. Other sites in the metropolitan area had been considered for parks. In 1867 W. F. Hurlbert proposed that the Common Council purchase Judge D. H. Este's property to the north of the city, past Spring Grove Avenue and the junction of the Hamilton and Dayton as well as the Marietta and Cincinnati Railroads. A large omnibus took an entourage of civic officials to Millcreek township to inspect the 579 acres of land with bluffs and "a romantic little ravine through a natural forest." Strauch described to the group how he could design fine drives, lawns, and a lake on the property that had a varied terrain much like that of Spring Grove; and the *Gazette* reported that "the practiced eye of the landscape gardener danced in ecstasy" at the possibilities of the site. Another park was proposed in the hills of Mount Harrison to the west of the city, but it was judged impractical because of difficult if not impossible access up the steep slopes. The City Council Finance Committee, however, refused to allocate money for such a purchase so far from the city and outside of its corporate limits.¹⁶

In 1870 Cincinnati had a few public recreational grounds, located in the urban basin. Predating the large public park movement, they were not particularly grand showplaces for urban pride. The Eighth-Street Park was "simply a fenced-in graveled walk bordered by turf and protected by shade trees" running down the center of the street between Vine and Elm. The so-called City Park was

only "an inclosed green plat ornamented with trees, shrubs, flower beds, and a fountain" on the east front of the city buildings. Water Works Park, the oldest in the city, on Third Street east of Pike, had nice views of the Ohio River to the east of the city but was tiny and largely abandoned. Hopkins Park, part of the old fort in the East End east of Sycamore Street, was simply a "small lawn on Mount Auburn" donated to the city in 1866 by dry goods merchant and real estate developer L. C. Hopkins, who provided that it should "forever be kept free from buildings, and, within two years from the conveyance, should be tastefully laid out and planted with durable trees and shrubbery, and . . . inclosed with a substantial and neat iron rail fence." Lincoln and Washington Parks in the west and northern parts of the city were modest enclaves, little more than green public squares, not pastoral places in the sense of the mid-nineteenth-century parks movement.¹⁷

The eighteen-acre Lincoln Park was more like the green public squares in Philadelphia or New York's Bryant Park; and the city failed to seize an opportunity to enlarge it in the late 1860s. Washington Park, dedicated in 1861, was even smaller with only ten acres, bounded by Race, Elm, Twelfth, and Thirteenth streets, adjacent to the new Exposition Building or Art Hall erected by the Industrial Exposition Commissioners to the west and used by various local associations and societies for festivals, the proceeds going to charity. Between 1855 and 1863, the city obtained this land, formerly occupied by Episcopalian, United Methodist, Evangelical Lutheran, and Presbyterian burials grounds, the city's original and major graveyards and bordered by the old pesthouse.

Although the original proposal for the creation of larger public parks called for the establishment of a twelve-member board of nonpolitical, nondenominational "citizens of wealth . . . above being affected by any pecuniary interest," nine Park Commissioners were appointed in 1870 by the mayor and confirmed by the Common Council with authority to employ superintendents, engineers, clerks, and laborers. The commission consisted of Enoch T. Carson, Jacob Elsas, Truman B. Handy, William Henry Harrison, George Klotter, T. D. Lincoln, Joseph Longworth, and ex-mayor Charles F. Wilstach, with Elliott H. Pendleton, a member of the Cincinnati Horticultural Society, as President. They hired Strauch as Parks' Superintendent in 1870 at a salary of \$1,200 per year, although he continued in his full-time post as Spring Grove's Superintendent. Strauch favored the hiring of Joseph Earnshaw, an English-born surveyor experienced in

work on Spring Grove since its founding, as Parks Engineer; and of W. B. Folger, as Secretary. Strauch provided general landscape plans involving the placement of roads, ponds, structures, and plantings. He appointed foremen to carry on the “scientific” maintenance system first implemented at Spring Grove. Earnshaw oversaw construction.¹⁸



The choice of Park Commissioners premised some difficulties, since some members, representing the interests of urban wards, were generally opposed to undertaking under public auspices large, new projects removed from easy proximity to their constituents. Park Commissioners also often split over allegations of excessive cost, political corruption, special interests that might profit from increased property values, and charges of lazy workers living off the public payroll but loafing on the job. As early as 1870, Wilstach, a “pioneer” in the effort to expand the urban green space of Washington Park, judged it “inexpedient to undertake to provide additional parks” removed from the urban masses. William Henry Harrison thought the city had “too much of this kind of real estate on hand — so much in fact that it was damaging the value

of down-town property.” Jacob Elsas “thought the city was well enough provided with parks already,” after the first acquisition of land for Eden Park. Commission President Elliott Pendleton remained the most vocal and active park proponent.¹⁹

The *Cincinnati Gazette* criticized Mayor S. S. Davis, elected in 1871, for appointing his “political friends alone” to the Park Commission, especially William Stoms to replace Joseph Longworth, making the Park Board “a mere political machine.” Although “most of the people of the suburbs were directly interested in the city” and indeed formed an urban cultural elite intent on creating new institutions, they were considered ineligible for Park Commission service because they had moved beyond municipal boundaries and were no longer “electors of the city.” Urban politicians felt their interests diverged from those who had moved to Clifton and other outlying areas and were not ready to think about urban development in larger metropolitan terms.²⁰

Despite these odds, Cincinnati created its first naturalistic landscape in the manner of the public park movement at the 207 acre (216 acres by 1875) Eden Park. The city had leased with the option to buy the Mount Adams property, the “Garden of Eden,” from Joseph Longworth and others in 1866 for \$850,000 as a site for constructing waterworks. The original proprietor, Nicholas Longworth, had tried to persuade Cincinnati to acquire the land for public purposes as early as 1818 and again in 1846 when the city balked at the price of \$1,400 an acre. By the late 1850s, the property had appreciated to \$10-14,000 an acre. Just as New York chose a site occupied by a municipal reservoir for Central Park and Brooklyn allocated a similar site for Prospect Park, Cincinnati finally decided to devote for park purposes the land surrounding two massive new reservoirs with a capacity of 100 million gallons of water pumped up by an engine. Unlike the cases in New York, Strauch designed the reservoirs to blend into the landscape, to resemble “natural lakes,” concealing sturdy machicolated walls and a system engineered to permit the draining of one while the other remained in operation. That project alone cost \$4.25 million but promised to provide a week’s supply of water for the city, enough to be tapped for emergencies like fires.²¹

Opened on July 1, 1870, Eden Park commanded dramatic views over the smokey urban basin and the Kentucky hills across the Ohio River. Located to the east between the urban basin and the suburban East Walnut Hills, bounded by Columbia Avenue on the east

Eighth Street Park, .844 acre of land and donated to the city by the Piatts in 1817, was not formally dedicated until 1868. (CHS Photograph Collection))

and Gilbert Avenue on the west, it was a twenty minute carriage drive from the post office. Strauch's landscape gardening plan preserved most of the trees on the site (primarily elm, maple, larch, beech, and evergreens) and carefully arranged others as single specimens or in clusters to frame and accentuate views. Strauch ordered the grading of some of the most abrupt slopes but retained many deep ravines and steep hills characteristic of the local topography. He constructed "graceful," curving drives "opening up an ever-changing view of the city," the distant Kentucky hills, and the suburbs of Mount Adams, Mount Auburn, and Walnut Hills — "a panorama of great scope and rare beauty." Eden Park featured a small deer park near the entrance closest to the city. Strauch hired James Bain as Assistant Superintendent to carry out his system of "scientific" landscape maintenance at Eden Park. Pendleton praised Strauch's work for transforming "that which was unsightly into a 'thing of beauty.'"²²

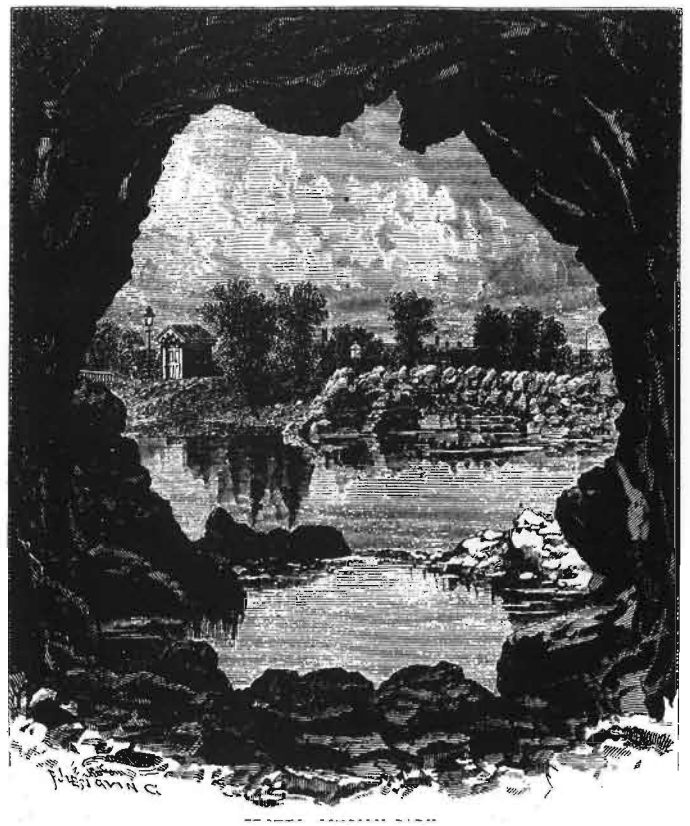
On the highest hill, 420 feet above the river and set in an extensive lawn, Strauch called for a large rough-hewn stone building with expansive porches called the "Casino," "Shelter," or "Weather House" that cost \$14,000. It provided visitors with ice water and toilets; its expansive porches offered an ideal vantage point for views over the panorama and an ornate Victorian Band Pavilion below in the park, surrounded by a concourse large enough to accommodate crowds of carriages that convened for concerts. Other park structures were the Summer House and the preexisting Jake Newforth's wine-house, a sixty-foot-long hall with a second floor balcony and more good views. A large wooden bridge and Park Avenue were under construction in 1875.

As at Spring Grove (and unlike the Vaux and Olmsted plan for Central Park), Strauch refused to create a separate system of paths. He encouraged visitors to walk at will over the grassy greensward he planted up the hillsides and among the groves. The lack of a pedestrian path system annoyed some Cincinnatians. Women, in particular, found paths particularly desirable given the encumbrances of voluminous skirts. Critics of Eden Park found it deficient and difficult of access for women and children "for whose tender lungs the uses of breathing places have been most poetically sung," particularly until the Mount Auburn incline opened in 1876, easing the pedestrian ascent up the hillside.²³

The most controversial Eden Park building was the grand Romanesque archway at the entrance nearest the city designed by the local architect James W.

McLaughlin. The structure of blue ashlar limestone trimmed with Ohio freestone was two stories high, 184 feet long by thirty-five feet wide with an arch twenty-eight feet wide and thirty-five feet high. It had two (25'x55') rooms lighted by windows, used for offices, and water closets for visitors. It spanned the abrupt rise of hills at the entrance and doubled as a bridge with a carriage drive atop, another fine vantage point for distant views. But Park Commissioners complained of defective, stained stone that had to be whitewashed to appear fine; and the *Gazette* judged it "a monument of folly in a stone structure that cuts off not the entrance, but a most beautiful view from the entrance for a space of about 40 rods." Even after Strauch squelched an even more grandiose early archway plan that would have cost \$200,000, many critics thought it "too extravagant a scale" for the site and demanded further size reduction which lowered its cost from \$42,000 to \$26,000. Still, initial park improvements came to \$150,000, with the total for Eden Park's development nearing \$1.5 million by 1872. And it was far from finished.²⁴

In response to criticisms that Eden Park was not easily accessible to Cincinnatians living in urban neighborhoods, Park Commissioners ordered work done on



Strauch improved Lincoln Park by building a miniature lake with a small waterfall, a diminutive island in the middle, and a rustic grotto. (Illustrated Cincinnati, CHS Printed Works Collection)

older parks. Strauch installed improvements in Lincoln Park, making a miniature lake with a small waterfall, a diminutive island in the middle, and a rustic grotto built by its side in 1873 — picturesque elements common in the far more expansive eighteenth-century English gardens. Still, Lincoln Park remained “unexceptionable in every thing except its size.” The overly romanticized engraved view of this part of Lincoln Park and the fanciful description of it as “a scene like fairy land” in one guidebook might lead foreigners to expect something on the scale of England’s famed Stourhead gardens. Strauch, who introduced swans and other “rare foreign aquatic birds” to Spring Grove, made them a feature here too; and he planted Lincoln Park with new trees and beds of geraniums, fuschsia, verbenas, and other flowers in the summer, more like Boston’s Public Garden than New York’s Central Park. Fine residences surrounded it, proof to the more practical-minded that urban parks functioned to raise and maintain real estate values.²⁵

Washington Park also received attention. “Majestic Victorian pillars” were installed to mark the main entrance on Race Street. German children from the Over-the-Rhine area used this accessible urban park adorned simply by “several very fine trees, a fountain, and benches” and the German community held its annual *Schutzenfest* here. Kenny praised such parks for “their beauty in the education of the eye and taste, for relaxation from toil, and . . . for providing an occasional supply of pure oxygen for the lungs so liable to become vitiated by the smoke-laden atmosphere of a great city.” By 1876 plans were underway for construction of a great municipal Music Hall next to the park on Elm Street.²⁶

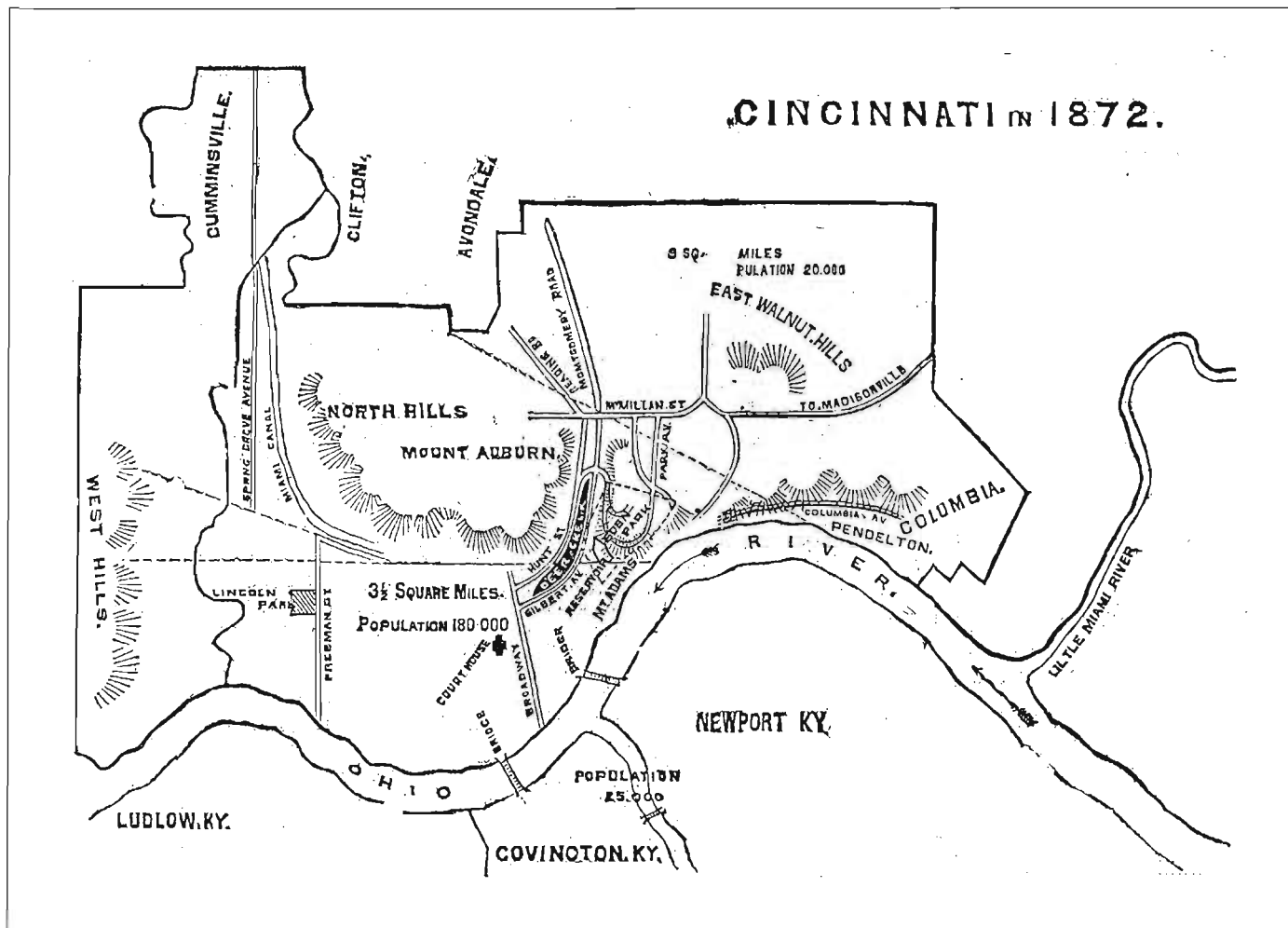
Still, a cacophony of voices resounded in criticism and promotion of park-making. The *Gazette* lambasted Mayor Davis for promoting “monstrous schemes” to purchase Deercreek Valley and Hamar Point for enlarged parks. Stoms called Cincinnati “the poorest for parks of any place in the United States” and quickly became a target of controversy for his outspoken advocacy of acquiring a piece of land dubbed the Roman Nose to round out Eden Park to Gilbert Avenue, a purchase opposed by Longworth. Enoch Carson favored enlarging Lincoln Park in his neighborhood, and Jacob Elsas agreed to vote for it if Carson would back his favorite project, adding Deer Creek to Eden Park, a project in which Pendleton might profit. These examples seemed to violate the principal that no Board member vote on park projects in which he held a personal interest. Conflicts of interest

and petty jealousies created a particularly difficult political environment for the making of new parks in Cincinnati, still champions of the making of pastoral public spaces remained undaunted.²⁷

Despite intense criticism, improvements progressed as Commissioners managed to start Cincinnati’s second pastoral park, the 170 acre Burnet Woods near Clifton to the north. It was formerly the estate of Judge Jacob Burnet, property about a mile long and over a quarter-mile wide, cut by many ravines and gullies. Joseph Longworth said to leave it as it was, preferring to have the city devote its resources to developing Eden Park, but those advocating a large new park for the northern section of the city won out. In December 1871, the Park Board split six to three in a vote to lease the property for park purposes for \$3,000 per acre or \$360,000 for the entire grounds. Although the Commissioners proposed that the city subdivide and sell a thin 9.5 acre strip of land on the south for the private building of fine houses facing the park, thus recouping \$100,000 to \$150,000 for the Park Fund, the Common Council was reluctant to enter the real estate business and such residential development did not become part of the program.²⁸

Burnet Woods, the only remaining piece of woodland in the city limits, had “a delightful grove of beech trees in the north half, and it is of varied surface alternately lawn and grove for the remainder. Nature has done a great deal to fit it for such. A few paths and roads, or without either, it would be at once ready for the public enjoyment.” The ancient indigenous trees, “forest giants,” were considered “the only ones of any considerable body now left us” and hence worthy of preservation. Few improvements, except perhaps a simple rustic fence around the grounds, were envisioned. Because of “the natural beauty of its scenery,” judged “very remarkable,” Burnet Woods seemed both a perfect “picnic” park with expanses of natural blue grass and a “woodland” park for a respite in nature from city congestion. The adjacent Riddle estate had deep ravines and sharp ridges “comparatively useless for private occupation” but fit for “splendid public grounds” and potential enlargement of the park.²⁹

Strauch and Earnshaw collaborated on the design of Burnet Woods to refine grades, lay out avenues, and maximize views, work estimated at a cost of \$200,000. By 1872 Strauch had started work on an avenue from Riddle Road on Clifton Avenue, winding through the park to Ludlow Avenue on the northeast corner, and leading directly into the suburb of Clifton, creating a drive that the



wealthy estate owners there might either consider a distinct amenity for them or a dangerous conduit easing access to their tranquility for the urban masses.³⁰

Many Clifton residents, especially Henry Probasco and his friends, opposed the Burnet Woods acquisition as threatening to disturb their quiet and “bring out people from the city” — “crowds of people on Sunday” via “a street railroad” line that they anticipated would be built. When acquired, the site was only accessible by carriage ascending Vine Street Hill or Clifton Avenue to Calhoun Street, a half-hour’s drive from the city. The press thought the park served “this class of carriage-robe gentry” rather than the “common people,” “the uncarried multitude” for which Burnet Woods was “almost inaccessible and nearly useless.” Pedestrian access was very difficult. One determined visitor wrote of the difficult trip to get there on foot, first taking the Freeman Street horse-car, then climbing the Bank Street hill, arriv-

ing “pretty well fagged out.”³¹

The demand for “grander public spaces for a new form of public promenading — by carriage” spread through the 1840s and 1850s as carriage ownership became “a defining feature of urban upper-class status.” Carriage ownership was one mark of “Society” membership, according to Nathaniel Willis, elite New York editor of the *Home Journal*; and the question of providing parks for fashionable carriage promenades, in Cincinnati as in other cities, revealed questions of class conflict posed in response to creation of supposedly “public” parks that were not readily accessible to or designed for the mass of the pedestrian population accustomed to the scale of the old walking city.³²

Strauch ordered some grading, filling of deeper ravines, and sodding to improve the existing “green sward” in Burnet Woods, “converted into graceful slopes and rounded hillocks by the hand of man.” He cre-

Using a map of Cincinnati in 1872 which showed the crowded conditions in the lower parts and the thinly populated spaces in the upper parts, a writer to the editor argued that people should have better access to

Eden Park. (Map courtesy B. Linden-Ward)

ated a pond, fed by a creek, where small pleasure boats were for rent; but improvements stalled in 1873 because the city council refused further tax-levy funds, the \$100,000 Strauch needed for planned improvements. Although Strauch urged the making of a large L-shaped section of the southern grounds into a zoological and experimental garden with a design selected from a competition of "experienced landscape artists," the city refused to undertake such projects. The zoo was developed on a site slightly to the north under the auspices of a private voluntary association. Burnet Woods was open to the public at the end of 1873.³³

Cincinnati's public parks were to remain open at all hours; but the Park Commission passed a number of regulations limiting their use. It banned animals — cattle, horses, goats, sheep, swine, geese, and unleashed dogs — in the parks, setting up a pound in Eden Park for trespassing stray animals, where they would be held for five days if not claimed, then sold at public auction. Dogs were admitted to parks only on leash. Other regulations stipulated fines for injuring plants and constructions, for fortune telling and gambling and for bearing firearms, throwing stones, and using fireworks. Music, parades, drills, and flags were forbidden unless authorized. Nothing was to be on sale in the park without explicit permission. No hackney coach or carriage was to be on hire in the parks and could only enter to drop off passengers from outside, thus leaving clients to find their way back on foot. Trucks, wagons, and carts bearing commercial advertisements, even if off duty, were banned, thus eliminating park access by small businessmen who only had such conveyances for their few leisure hours with their families. Carriages could drive no faster than six miles per hour. Yet walking on the lawns was permitted and even encouraged, unless the turf was newly made.³⁴

The work of the Park Commissioners sometimes elicited support, and sometimes opposition. The *Star* welcomed park improvements, limited as they were: "A few years since — about 50 too late in the world's calendar — we waked up to the necessity of preserving a few acres of ground from being covered with houses." It declared that "The one good credible thing we have in Cincinnati to show a stranger is Eden Park." Citing the examples of the 1,000 acres in New York's Central Park, the 3,000 in Philadelphia's Fairmount, and 900 in Baltimore's Druid Hill, the *Star* urged park expansion as well as "cheap and rapid transit" to help the people get to them.³⁵

Park Board President Elliott Pendleton cited

the examples of the fine parks in London, Paris, Dublin, New York, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn as models for Cincinnati to emulate. Pendleton declared, "Each city finds the park useful in bringing the people together for health and pleasure, forming like sentiments, and developing similar tastes, thus becoming a bond of union. Shall not the Queen City, with all its natural advantages, have something which shall not only be enjoyed and admired, but the praises of which shall be sounded wherever its citizens travel?" Pendleton assured the public that park funds had been "economically invested" to promote "health to the body, strength to the mind and feeling to the heart" to benefit each citizen. He emphasized the "sanitary" as well as psychological influences of parks as a way to counteract more practical-minded critics. As a major park proponent, Pendleton asked, "Who can over estimate their value?" — knowing that many voices, particularly those of commercial interests, definitely underrated them, undermining efforts to expand those existing or to create new ones. He countered opponents with the economic argument that property values more than doubled near parks, showing "that park property, well bought, and honestly and economically managed, is a speculation to the city. The money spent is not thrown away, but simply transferred from the pockets of those who can afford it, into the hands of those who 'earn their bread by the sweat of their brows,' while the city reaps her advantage by the increased value and beauty of her property."³⁶

Many other voices, however, questioned the value of "municipal ruralizing." The *Commercial* generally opposed parks as sink-holes for unnecessary public expenditures if not outright objects of bribery and corruption, a reflection of the personal views of its editor, Murat Halstead. It charged that "a grand scheme for plundering the city . . . has been nursed with assiduity for years," "a plot to rob the people of Cincinnati" through park projects, and "a pretense of public demands which do not exist." One article in the paper declared that "it does not make much difference to the mass of voters whether parks are worth what they cost or not." But the "mass of voters" was dominated by relatively prosperous, property-holding men, a fraction of the public made up of women and children, many of the poorer sort, who might actually benefit from the parks if considered as more than picturesque destinations for drives of those who owned fine carriages.³⁷

Commercial interests, fiscal conservatives, and pragmatists opposing new parks claimed they only wanted to achieve municipal solvency, to keep city govern-

ment from expending money on new, unprecedented public projects. It was already an era of skyrocketing taxes and assessments to fund the practical public improvements — street paving, sewers, gas lights — that drastically raised the carrying costs of real estate impacting most of owners of smaller properties. Park proponents tended to be large property holders and those with older money — those whose real estate values would appreciate because of park development and offset increased taxes. Opponents were often small- to medium-sized businessmen, including many of the more prosperous German entrepreneurs — those whose present or future enterprises might be threatened by turning land that might be used for industry, particularly of the dirty sort, into parks and those who would feel increased levies for parks the most. Many predicted an enormous tax increase would result and fall heavily on small businesses. The city debt threatened to reach \$35 million; and some even predicted municipal bankruptcy. Park Commissioner T. D. Lincoln calculated that Cincinnati had “spent ten times as much for park property as New York, Baltimore, and Brooklyn, more than St. Louis or almost any other city.” He judged further projects “extravagant.” “Four-fifth of all the parks in the world have cost the cities owning them little or nothing,” declared another commissioner. Handy noted that many green spaces in other cities, especially in Europe, were “very old parks . . . founded before the city fairly grew up around them.”³⁸

Such heated debate over “Progress versus Parks” raged in many American cities. In Washington, Congressmen wrangled over proposals for taking over a central section of the Mall, designed as a picturesque park by Downing, to make room for a railroad terminal. Factional voices were even more intense in Cincinnati given the limits of local topography for easy expansion of development and the growing frustrations of the business sector after the Civil War as the city struggled to keep up with the more rapidly rising fortunes of other midwestern cities. As early as 1877, proposals appeared for the conversion of Lincoln Park into a depot site for the Southern Railway.³⁹ Articles in the *Commercial*, reflecting the opinions of editor Murat Halsted, painted excessively negatives pictures of the parks. Critics picked apart every detail of park design and use. One hostile observer scoffed at the “fine display of natural rock” resembling “grinning skeletons” unearthed in Eden Park: “In a word, the Park . . . is an abortion. Though nature has been lavish in her gifts . . . , the ruthless hand of man, in the name of desecrated art, has

robbed it of many of its beauties, and . . . will still further denude it, if the present vandalism is allowed to proceed.” This untutored eye ignored the fact that Central Park was famed for its rock outcroppings, indeed considered desirable to augment a picturesque landscape. Lincoln Park was full of “street dirt, kitchen bones, horse litter, and dead cats.” Eden Park attracted “improper women”; and the park-making project itself was characterized as “an infirmary or refuge for broken-down bummers, political mendicants, or others incapable of doing a fair day’s labor.” The *Commercial* contended that “In our opinion [parks] are not of much account. They have been used to run cities in debt on false pretenses.” Halsted envisioned Cincinnati as specializing in “national conventions,” becoming “the social center and musical metropolis of America.” For him, somehow, parks were not central to that agenda.⁴⁰

Defenders of Cincinnati’s park design quickly responded in defense of Strauch’s familiarity with European landscapes and Central Park, emphasizing the genius and the conventionality of his “rural” design taste put to work on Cincinnati parks. Still, some park critics complained that Eden Park and Burnet Woods had no formal design competition, as had been the case in New York’s Central Park, and that designs and topographical surveys of the land were not put on public display. Strauch, although largely responsible for park improvements in the 1870s, had encouraged such competitions but realized that the city was not committed enough to park development to formalize the process in such a way, that many local interests wanted to keep the work of park-making purely local and under their control.⁴¹

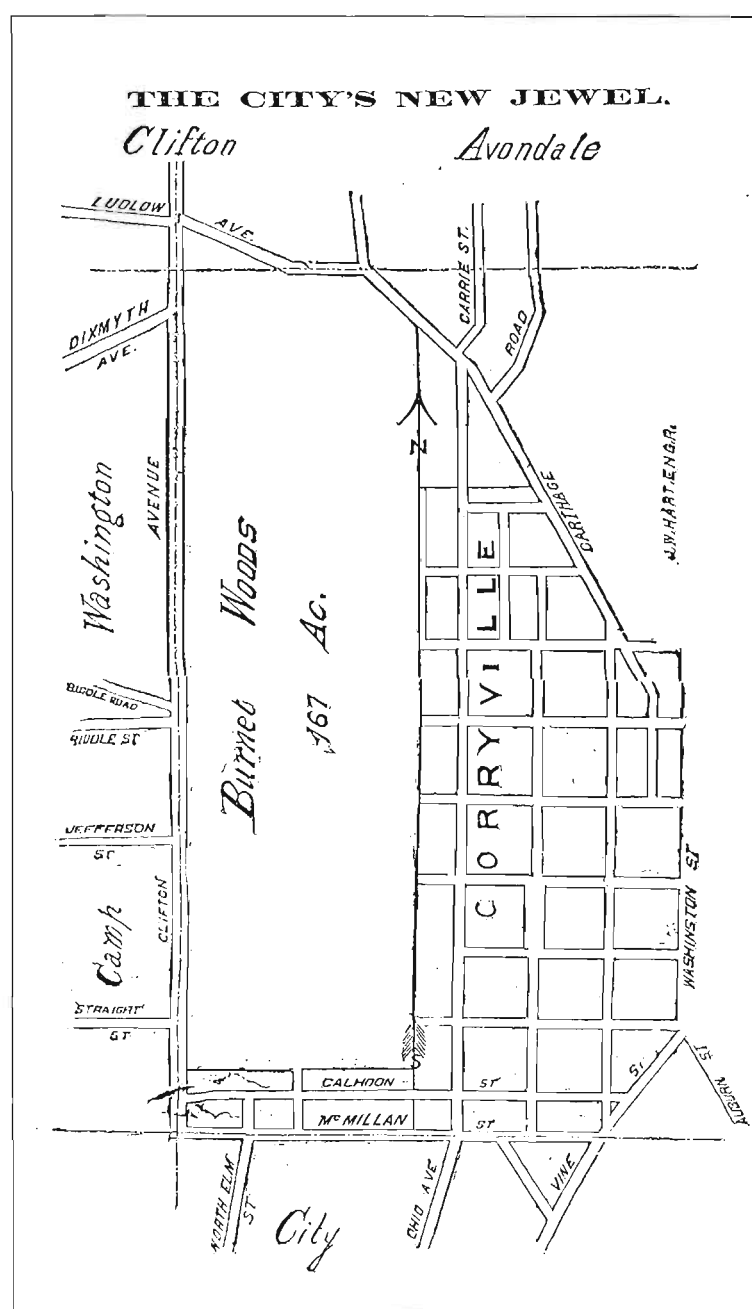
Other voices echoed arguments of park advocacy often heard in other cities. Cincinnati was to have “parks for the people,” equally accessible to the poor and the less than genteel. Joseph Longworth, expelled from the Park Commission after just one year’s service, continued to speak out in 1872: “The only hope we have of reclaiming the vicious part of the community is by permitting them to use the innocent things God gave for all men. I should like to see our parks infested at night with the poor foot-loose population that have got no place to sleep.” Longworth went further than most of the moralists elsewhere who simply postulated that parks would elevate the “dangerous classes,” and his opinions ran counter to many more vocal Cincinnatians who repeatedly called for more stringent restrictions of behavior and park use to be enforced by watchmen and police.⁴²

Pendleton faced intense opposition within

the Park Commission itself, particularly from William Stoms, a "poetic and gushing old gentleman" who held a commission seat from 1871. In 1872 Stoms proposed selling a part of Eden Park known as the Roman Nose. In 1874 he issued a resolution that no more monies not already under contract should be expended on parks, particularly on Burnet Woods and Eden Park. Stoms also harassed Strauch's Assistant Superintendent James Bain at Eden Park both personally and in the press with allegations of tyrannical control over workers, prompting Bain's resignation in 1875. Strauch likewise resigned that year, although he volunteered to continue providing his design services and advice free of charge.⁴³

The persistence of these disagreements and factors beyond local control intervened to curtail Cincinnati's park-making. The Panic of 1873, a secondary postwar economic depression, a relatively minor economic glitch nationally when Congress suspended the coining of silver, but which nevertheless lasted into 1879, fed increased fiscal conservatism on the local level; and it precipitated an era of municipal fiscal retrenchment across the nation. Cincinnati felt particularly squeezed by economic decline as Chicago usurped its antebellum role as entrepot for the midwest and west. Many wealthy Cincinnatians, "pillars" of the community, experienced devastating financial reversals in the last decades of the century. Commercial interests, never enthusiastic about park development, became even more reluctant to allocate public monies for such purposes. Although the Cincinnati Park Commission could have provided work for many of the unemployed as some local manufacturing fell upon hard times, the pre-existing controversy over park-making in the commercial sector spelled an end to the first era of park development.⁴⁴

Through the 1870s, many Park Commissioners remained reluctant to expand the young park system. As early as 1872 some declared that "we have all the parks we require and all that the city in its present condition can afford. . . . We must remember that we have very wide streets in Cincinnati and seven or eight market places that will be taken away and converted into parks some day — into such parks as the one of Eighth Street. We have already three times as much park property as New York in relation to our population and taxable property." Even Stoms predicted that Seventh Street "will be a park by itself some of these days." Opposition to additional park-making stemmed from sensitivity to the cost of leasing or buying more land to form new parks or to expand existing ones, especially in the business portion



of the city; but projects for parks more distant from the city met with even quicker rejection. With little discussion, commissioners rejected the proposal of Robert Mitchell of Avondale that they purchase 1700 acres of outlying territory beyond Spring Grove for park purposes at a cost ranging from \$1,000 to \$3,000 per acre, questioning whether it would only serve those with fine horses and clothes versus the "toiling thousands" who would have to pay a week's wages to get to it.⁴⁵

In 1871 the city acquired Burnet Woods, a long parallelogram, slightly irregular on the northern end, bounded on the north by Ludlow Avenue, the west by Clifton Avenue, the south by

Calhoun Street, and on the east by a row of lots fronting on McMillan Street. The *Commercial* called the new park, "The City's New Jewel" and a "West End Complement to our East End

Eden." (Map courtesy B. Linden-Ward)

Similarly, most Park Commissioners turned a deaf ear to the urging by the Cincinnati Academy of Medicine in 1872 that the Mill Creek Valley, a “fever breeder,” be taken for park purposes for the general “sanitary benefit,” to improve the city’s air purity by preventing winds from the west from picking up noxious effluvia from slaughter-house refuse and sewerage there. Reclamation would involve a strip of marshy bottom lands, one-half to three-quarters of a mile wide, with the southern end near Dayton Street. The proposed park would have McLean Avenue along its eastern boundary, judged a fine site for a horse railroad that would connect with other lines in the West End and those on Third and Seventh streets, making the park accessible to those at opposite ends of the city. Strauch proposed making a lake and a waterfall capable of running mills on the site, referring to the damming of the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia to create the waterworks and mills next to Fairmount Park.⁴⁶

Opponents of Millcreek park development charged that advocates of the land reclamation had personal financial interest in the project — “a fraud,” “a most flagrant humbug,” and a “puerile” proposal. The *Commercial* declared that “The purveyors of pig-pens for park purposes are rampant.” Opponents predicted that the swamps and inherently impure subsoil would continue to breed fevers even if filled, although public health advocates noted that infill would serve not only as a deodorizer but to eliminate the primary problem, stagnant water. The *Commercial* estimated that the cost of converting the Mill Creek into park land would cost \$2 million and involve unnecessary straightening of the stream to establish “a puddle there for pleasure boats.” It suspected “public robbery where there is the pretense of public improvement.” Referring to the costs for Eden Park, the newspaper predicted formation of a “sink hole for millions in either end of the city.”⁴⁷

Debate also developed around the proposed purchase of Harmer Square, or the “Flat-Iron,” for \$85,000 from a family based in Philadelphia and for extension of Lincoln Park and purchase of Deer Creek as an addition to Eden Park. Those pushing the addition of twenty-seven acres to Lincoln Park as a “public necessity” noted the heavy use of that “beautiful oasis in the desert of bricks” by a class of Cincinnatians who needed recreational grounds in easy walking distance from their homes — 20,000 pedestrians crowded onto insufficient benches one July evening in 1872. Folks from that urban neighborhood could not afford the time nor the transportation costs to

get to Eden Park or Burnet Woods; but the *Commercial* discouraged expansion, noting that Commissioner Enoch Carson stood to profit personally from the venture and bartered his support for other commissioners’ pet projects in exchange for their votes for his.⁴⁸

Proponents of adding forty-five acres of the Deer Creek along Gilbert Avenue to Eden Park argued that their project would eliminate a “nuisance” by abolishing slaughter houses there and rehabilitating another “unwholesome Valley.” Opponents pointed out that such businesses were already moving to the Millcreek Valley west of the city. Stoms led a petition campaign for the project that collected 5,000 signatures. Strauch proposed creating a succession of lakes and ponds in the area, including one at the entrance to Eden Park.⁴⁹



Opponents of the Deer Creek addition noted that “the gulch” would need so much infill that it would cost over a million dollars, bringing the cost of the expanded Eden Park alone to \$3.5 million. The project, some charged, would benefit those who wanted to extend a railroad line through that parcel of land and would take the right-of-way once the city improved it. The “gentry” disliked the addition that would put Eden Park in more “convenient reach of the people who go there on foot.” In late 1872 the Board voted five to four against the project.⁵⁰

Reacting particularly to the Mill Creek and

The development of the incline planes in Cincinnati brought easy access to the hilltops and Eden Park and Burnet Woods for Cincinnatians who lived in the crowded basin of the

city. (CHS Photograph Collection)

Deer Creek proposals, the *Commercial* noted that removal of businesses from those areas for "absolutely unproductive" parks "would ruin the city." The Deer Creek was "a great and dirty job . . . linked with a chain of jobs extending all around the city. To follow the example of the Tammany thieves and put out 'improvement bonds' would surely add 'ten millions . . . to our city debt.'" The *Commercial* preferred still-houses and slaughterhouses as "institutions that are of some value to Cincinnati," unlike parks made by "the confiscation of the city" of potentially productive property only "for the benefit of the twin sciences of civil engineering and landscape gardening." The *Commercial* again accused Park Board members of "rascality," "chicanery," and having monetary interests served by their "schemes to rob the City Treasury."⁵¹

By 1872 even the *Gazette*, which supported of the Deer Creek addition to Eden Park, was willing to air other arguments by printing an opponent's letter which concluded that "There is a wild and ignorant notion that parks pay a money profit, which men use as a cover for the most absurdly extravagant schemes . . . Parks are a dead investment of all their cost, in pleasure . . . The richest citizen in Cincinnati would scoff at the idea of paying \$50,000 an acre for buying and filling land in Millcreek and Deercreek valleys for his pleasure grounds." The *Gazette* countered that the project would increase adjacent property taxes and lessen those in older parts of the city. The paper favored the Deer Creek addition as a way to open Eden Park to those who could only reach it on foot, especially the poor on the west side of the creek in German neighborhoods.⁵²

Opponents of park-making and expansion raised issues of geographic equity, knowing that a new park on one end of the city would incite demands by those in other sections. Extension of Eden Park would, opponents argued, "create a demand in the West End for a park of similar dimensions and that would involve the city in another large and unnecessary expenditure." Enoch Carson added, "the people suffered more from crowded houses than from want of parks." A substantial faction of frugile Park Commissioners declared, "Each of these Park jobs contains the germ of another. . . . Why not, in the name of common sense and reasonable economy, kill off the whole brood of jobs of this kind and have done with them?" Despite a citizen initiative through the Common Council in favor of the Deer Creek project, the Park Board recommended against it.⁵³

Diverse and conflicting interests shaped

much of the criticism of new parks. Opponents pointed out that most members of the working masses, the "coachless thousands," could not escape the confines of the "walking city" in the basin in their rare leisure hours on Sundays. Eden Park was "too far off for the poor" of the city. Newspaper accounts depicting music concerts in Eden Park as elite social events may have discouraged some of the working class that might have been ambitious enough to scale the heights to Eden Park on foot. One described the fine society convening for "the grand review" at concerts in landaus, phaetons, barouches, tandems, chariots, buggies, and Irish jaunting-cars, with Pendleton arriving with his brother-in-law, the Reverend Schenck of Brooklyn, "in his elegant four-in-hand with footmen behind." The upper class used the park "to escape the din, the sooty smoke, and heat of a busy city." So great was the crush of carriages of the elite around the bandstand that the surrounding concourse had to be expanded in 1872.⁵⁴

Only Lincoln Park was judged "a favorite play ground for the children of the neighborhood." About a dozen rental boats plied the waters of its small lake, and the park became "the resort of thousands" on summer evenings. Evening concerts there and in Washington Park attracted crowds of ordinary Cincinnatians, most on foot. In winter throngs of iceskaters packed the frozen waters, enjoying a genteel sport of recent vogue. Like other parks designed by Strauch's generation, however, even those with more extensive terrain provided only for passive recreation, not for active play like baseball (although it was permitted on the lawns), despite the growing popularity and even professionalization of that game in the city.⁵⁵

Contentiousness over design, expansion, and uses of pastoral landscapes never arose in the cases of "rural" or garden cemeteries like Spring Grove, which were in fact only quasi-public, most founded and funded by non-profit corporations and voluntary associations of the urban cultural elite. Although precedents and prototypes of the landscapes of many mid-nineteenth-century public parks, garden cemeteries were formed under entirely different auspices that did not require public monies or debate over just how public "public" space should be. Through the squabbling over the parks, Adolph Strauch staunchly maintained an impeccable reputation, not only for the high quality of his local and increasingly national landscape design projects but for his insistence on remaining above the political fray, for doing his public service at the end even without pay. Even the most rabid, partisan, journalistic critics of public parks had kind words for

Strauch's accomplishments. In 1871 the *Commercial* praised "his rugged sledge-hammer and incorruptible honesty" and in 1873 called him "honest and capable and unimcumbered by political allegiance to any ring or party and therefore [able to] stand between political jack alls and their coveted and accustomed plunder." Journalists ravaged the work of the architect, the engineer, and the Eden Park foreman; but they could not fault the simple taste and public spiritedness of Strauch.⁵⁶

Pro-park voices were drowned out by antagonists who managed to reduce park funding. Pendleton was not as successful in his arguments as his more pinch-penny commercial opponents in discouraging further work. The tax levy was reduced from \$60,131 in 1871 to \$43,750 in 1872, a sum inadequate for regular maintenance, estimated at \$125,000 annually, let alone for completing planned improvements. By the end of 1873, Pendleton judged "the smallness of the levy for the use of the Board in the past year amounted to almost a prohibition of any new improvment in any of the parks," a phenomenon "to the very great embarrassment of the park service." In 1874 the Park Fund amounted to only \$36,392 or .20 mills out of a total of 16.00 mills for public projects and services. Pendleton continued his crusade: "A driving park without drives, walks, trees lakes, grottos, etc. fails to meet the object for which it was commenced and the reasonable expections of the public." He continued to protest that "Pleasure grounds must be established for the young, where suitable and proper means of recreation may be afforded, thus giving to the youth of the city an inducement to indulge in harmless amusements and to take exercise in the open air, thereby adding strength to their moral and physical character."⁵⁷

Still, booster publications praising the developing park system in the 1870s reveal none of the acrimony that raged over park design and expansion and generally exaggerated in boasting of the city's eight parks. D. J. Kenny's *Illustrated Cincinnati* (1875) recommended the "Grand Drive" through Avondale, the Zoological Garden, Burnet Woods, Clifton, and Spring Grove, returning to the city via the boulevard through the Mill Creek Valley. He deemed Clifton "one of the garden-spots of America," with "hill, dale, lawn, ravine, field, and forest, interspersed with bright evergreens and shrubbery, blossom with shady nooks and sunny glades, in which nestle the roomy, cool verandas and graveled walks of the fine homes of Clifton." But Clifton was a private, elite suburban landscape; and only the wealthiest could afford horse-drawn vehicles, let

alone spare the five hours estimated for the "Grand Drive."⁵⁸

Burnet Woods and Eden Parks remained Cincinnati's major contributions of the era of the large public park mania. Kenny waxed particularly poetic in praise of the city's Eden: "With all the emerald verdure of the turf at his feet, with the green foliage of the trees all around him, and the sheen of the water, lit up by the setting sun, the traveler, as he wanders through these lovely walks, . . . And then, as again and again, clearly and distinctly, the sweet church bells ring out above the busy city, with its restless, swarming thousands, how easily might he fancy himself in some great temple of nature." Kenny revealed one of the last gasps of romantic idealism that had informed the building of the first picturesque parks across the nation, an ideology and a cultural perspective that was becoming rapidly anachronistic in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and that had never commanded a large constituency in Cincinnati, especially among those with authority for park building.⁵⁹

Kenny's rhetoric contrasted markedly with rancorous contemporaneous assessments of the parks in the local press based on economic pragmatism. Like most booster literature in other cities about the fine, new green spaces as urban amenities, Kenny painted too much of a fictionalized, rosy picture, implying consensus that simply did not exist in the arduous, contentious task of public park-making. Until recently, the story of the intense factional debates that raged in the making of America's first and unprecedented urban "pleasure grounds" touted as for the people simply has been ignored. The extensive contemporaneous booster and historical literature on park design has focused on landscape aesthetics and the heroic vision designers in the process of professionalization. It has skirted local stories of contentiousness, squabbles played out in public meetings and the local press, and questions about how truly "public" these picturesque enclaves would be. It has ignored particularly local problems of demographics and economics, especially in an age when the status and fortunes of individual cities were so dependent on their rise or fall in the great "urban sweepstakes," the index of vicissitudes in local prosperity. In Cincinnati, the relatively declining fortunes of the city compared to other booming metropolises underlay some of the reluctance to build extensive new parks in the 1870s.⁶⁰

Also, the original mechanism for park creation was experimental and flawed in procedural terms, representative of the political chaos that characterized

municipal governments struggling to provide unprecedented municipal services. The Board of Park Commissioners was divided internally from its inception. The city council could not act on park matters until the Park Board recommended specific projects for a vote; and after the fall of 1872, the council voted no more appropriations for parks, leaving the commissioners bankrupt and forced to discharge many workers. The council and the Board of Improvements also repeatedly infringed on Park Commissioners' authority by selling, renting, or granting privileges for park use, decisions often ruled by arbitrary favoritism. The much publicized contentiousness within the Park Commission prompted calls for the abolition of the board as early as 1872. The board itself seemed to be put on trial in 1874 in public hearings in the city council investigating alleged corruption in the acquisition of Burnet Woods. Although none was found, the proceedings sounded a death knell for the board which issued its last report on January 1, 1875.⁶¹

An act of the Ohio legislature abolished the Park Commissioners formally on March 17, 1876, placing Cincinnati parks under the authority of a Board of Public Works, five commissioners, freeholders of the city to be elected to serve five-year terms each, with one seat changing every year. The legislature mandated a Board of Public Works for all cities with populations over 150,000, not just for Cincinnati, to replace Trustees of Waterworks, the Board of Improvement, Commissioners of Sewers, the Platting Commission, and the Park Commissioners. Each new commissioner received an annual salary of \$3,500, had to "devote their entire time and attention to the duties of their office," had to post a \$50,000 personal bond, and could be removed for malfeasance, inefficiency, or incompetency. All contracts for work or materials for parks had to be advertised publicly for ten days and then awarded by the city to the lowest bidder. The reform reflected a general attempt evident across the nation to formalize and make more efficient centralization the development and delivery of new public services.⁶²

Creation of the Board of Public Works met with mixed reviews, depending on existing attitudes about park development. The *Gazette* had long criticized "the way the control of our municipal legislation by a sectional minority, through an unequal system of wards, has given schemes for private gain the advantage over considerations of public welfare," a system that often squelched the park-making it advocated. The *Enquirer* criticized the new arrangement as a product of the Hayes legislature "in

humble imitation of the law under which Tweed brought New York to the verge of bankruptcy." It demanded that the new board restore Strauch to the superintendency of parks because of "his qualifications, integrity, and the unfortunate causes attending his resignation," with harsh words for his successor Earnshaw.⁶³

The Board of Public Works, its jurisdiction scattered over so many public services, did little to improve existing parks let alone to create new ones. As early as 1880, Henry Probasco observed that Burnet Woods was "already beginning to show evidence of neglect." Existing plantings suffered from "depredations," and few new trees or shrubs had been added. Probasco called for a private endowment to remedy the public deficiencies, knowing that additional city monies would not be forthcoming; but those local philanthropists still able to contribute to the public good turned their attention to other new cultural institutions.⁶⁴

Through the 1880s and 1890s, the furor hortensis, the mania for making pastoral landscapes, abated. In 1882, twenty acres of Eden Park were taken for the Art Museum Association which opened its neoclassical building in 1886. In 1888 Horticultural Hall was built in Washington Park for Cincinnati's Centennial Exposition, occupying a major part of that small green open space. In 1889 and 1895, the University of Cincinnati moved to sites in Burnet Woods, eventually taking about a half of the original park. One rare new embellishment to the parks appeared in 1894 when the 172 foot Norman Gothic Water Tower was added to Eden Park, remaining a popular vantage point until closed to public access in 1912. Nonetheless, by the turn of the century one booster estimated that Cincinnati averaged an acre of parks for every 770 people, almost twice the public green space of some other large American cities. By 1900 there was "little call for [additional] improvement upon the pristine attractions of Burnet Woods or Eden Park, the largest of the public pleasantries of the city."⁶⁵

Still, Cincinnati, unlike in many other metropolitan areas, did not have a park system, the extensive network of parks and tree-lined parkways or boulevards that made green public open spaces part of the expanding urban complex, preserved from haphazard development and providing access to these amenities to larger portions of the city's growing population. Indeed, arguments used against new parks indicated a reluctance to undertake projects that were being demanded on a dispersed metropolitan scale. In contrast, Chicago had planned a park system

totalling 1,900 acres, including six parks averaging 250 acres each, many linked to the urban core by parkways from 200 to 250 feet wide. In 1871 Buffalo started a comprehensive development plan including a 300 acre suburban park approached by a parkway from the center city — a total of 530 acres. The influential landscape architect H. W. S. Cleveland advocated a park system for Minneapolis-St. Paul in 1872. By the mid-1870s, St. Louis boasted 2,100 acres of land set aside for development for public recreation, including of parcel of 1,350 acres; and it had already completed the 277 acre Tower Grove Park and begun construction of a twelve-mile-long parkway. San Francisco reserved 1,100 acres of grounds, with over 1,000 acres in

Golden Gate Park overlooking the Pacific Ocean from a three-mile-long shore drive.⁶⁶

Not until 1906 did the Cincinnati City Council issue a \$15,000 bond to commission a comprehensive study for an urban park system from noted Kansas City landscape architect George E. Kessler, inaugurating a new era in Cincinnati's park making. Kessler made recommendations that Strauch and the first generation of Cincinnati park proponents had long advocated — further development of the dramatic natural hillside and hilltop topography surrounding the city in a systematic way, providing parks in various sectors of the metropolitan area linked by treelined boulevards. Unfortunately, Strauch and his col-



Many Clifton residents opposed the acquisition of Burnet Woods fearing "crowds of people" would disturb their quiet. (CHS Photograph Collection)

leagues were unable to achieve as much as they wished because of political and economic problems particular to the character and declining fortunes of the city in the 1870s. But through development of various notable private and public landscapes, they laid the foundation for the greening of Cincinnati.

1. Roger B. Martin, "Metropolitan Open Spaces," in William H. Tischler, ed. *American Landscape Architecture: Designers and Places* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 165.
2. Sidney Maxwell, *The Suburbs of Cincinnati* (New York, 1870), quoted in John Clubbe, *Cincinnati Observed: Architecture and History* (Columbus, Ohio, 1992), 304. Vaux and Olmsted did not produce the much touted design for Riverside, Illinois until 1868-70.
3. Clubbe, 311-13. Robert Buchanan founded the Cincinnati Horticultural Society in 1843 and under those auspices, led in founding Spring Grove Cemetery in 1845. Peter and William Neff headed a committee of horticulturists that chose the original 166 acre site, the old Garrard farm about four miles north of the city. It cost \$88 per acre, bringing the initial investment to \$15,000. Spring Grove was expanded by 40 acres in 1847. Bowler's estate became Mt. Storm Park in 1911 when acquired by the City of Cincinnati.
4. John Claudius Loudon, *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries; and on the Improvement of Churchyards* (London, 1843), quoted in Adolph Strauch, *Spring Grove Cemetery: Its History and Improvements* (Cincinnati, 1869), 9-10, 28. For a history of the aesthetic origins of the American "rural" cemetery movement in the *jardin anglais*, see Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus, Ohio, 1989).
5. Strauch, *Spring Grove*, 4-5. For an analysis of Strauch's work, see Linden-Ward and Alan Ward, "Spring Grove: The Role of the Rural Cemetery in American Landscape Design." *Landscape Architecture* 75:5 (Sept/Oct. 1985), 126-31, 140. The "picturesque" had irregular lines, abrupt and broken surfaces, and more natural, wild plant growth, with ruins or rustic buildings as "embellishments." The "beautiful" was characterized by wider, more easily flowing curves and soft surfaces in the form of expansive lawns framed by luxuriant but more carefully tended vegetation, with decorative structures often of neoclassical architecture.
6. Strauch's extensive correspondence included letters of recognition from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (1862); the Commissioners of New York's Central Park (1865); the Zoological Society of London (1865); the Board of Managers of Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield, Illinois (1877) where President Abraham Lincoln was buried; the Societe Royale d'Agriculture et de Botanique in Paris (1878), inviting him to be a judge on the 10th Exposition Internationale d'Horticulture; Chicago's Forest Home Cemetery (1880); the Land Department of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad (1881); the landscape architect J.P.F. Kuhlman of San Francisco (1882); and Abney Park Cemetery, London (1883). Strauch, *Spring Grove* 6, 7-8; Frederick Law Olmsted to Strauch, March 12, 1875, Olmsted Associates papers, Library of Congress, microfilm edition, reel 14.
7. Philadelphia horticulturist quoted in Clubbe, 304; J.D. Kenny, *Illustrated Cincinnati: A Pictorial Handbook of the Queen City* (Cincinnati, 1875), 319. In 1874 Spring Grove had an estimated 150,000 recreational visitors, not counting those attending funerals.
8. Catherine H. Howett, "Andrew Jackson Downing," in Tischler, ed., 30, 33.
9. Andrew Jackson Downing, "Improving the Park Ground of the City of Washington," letter to President Millard Fillmore, Winterthur Document (N.D. 1851?), no .4838, 6-7, quoted in Walter L. Creese, *The Crowning of the American Landscape* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1985), 207. Downing provided a picturesque design for the Washington Mall in 1851.
10. Daniels was the only one of the four finalists who did not have personal political connections to the New York Board of Park Commissioners judging the competition.
11. Clarence Cook, *A Description of the New York Central Park* (New York, 1869), 15. Cook was the son of a founding trustee of Mount Auburn.
12. Strauch's traveling companion was Charles L. Flint of the Massachusetts State Board of Agriculture.
13. Kenny, 42-43, 12; Daniel Hurley, *Cincinnati: the Queen City* (Cincinnati, 1982), 76. Out of this large population, there were only 53,814 voters in 1875.
14. L. M., "Letter to the Editor," *Cincinnati Commercial* c. 1867, 2 [hereafter cited as CC]. Robert Hosea, "Letter to the Editor: The City of the Dead," CC February 15, c. 1872; both in the newspaper clipping file of the Adolph Strauch in the collection of Blanche Linden-Ward. Other citations not fully identified in this article are from this collection in which many clippings were not fully labeled.
15. "Parks and Park Commissioners — A Suggestion." unidentified clipping c. 1870; "New Park Project," CC December 13, 1871. As cities across the nation expanded beyond older corporate limits during this period, the term "metropolitan" came increasingly into common parlance to suggest the entirety of the urban environment including new suburbs and peripheral towns included in the expanding life of the city. "Metropolitan" also bore positive connotations for boosters who used it to imply the expansive, prosperous, cosmopolitan character of their cities and to develop them further into competition with others in the East and in Europe.
16. "Our New Park," CC, Strauch newspaper clipping file. The site was 150 yards from the junction of Winton Road and Spring Grove Avenue with the Millcreek running along its southern border. The cost was then \$260 per acre. About a fourth of the grounds were natural forest, and the remaining three-quarters were being farmed, primarily by blacks. In 1872 the idea of using the Este farm was again raised along with the argument that it was accessible to urbanites via railroad, but nothing came of the revived proposal. "Deercreek Dear: The Board Sickening of Burnet Woods," CC December 11, 1872.
17. Kenny, 129-30; Maxwell, *Suburbs of Cincinnati* (1870), quoted in Clubbe, 288.
18. *Ibid.* The mayor submitted fifteen names to the city council from which nine were chosen. This procedure was also used for the Water-Works Trustees, Sewage Commissioners, Platting Commissioners, the Board of Improvements, the City Civil Engineer, and the Street Commissioner. Henry Probasco, W.S. Groesbeck, Joseph Longworth, William Resor, and Larz Anderson publicly expressed their interest in serving on the commission. Probasco and Resor were rejected by the city council because they were not residents of the city itself. A new law passed in 1871 authorizing three members living outside the city was called "logrolling" by the Clifton "aristocracy" by council members of urban wards (especially the fifth and fourteenth). In 1873 George Crawford, Alfred Gaither, Kramer, James H. Laws, and Nierney became commissioners. Wilstach, Elsas, and Harding were Republicans; Conrad Schultz, Jones, Nierney, and Fitzgerald, Democrats. Nierney, a professional landscape gardener, was nominated by Strauch and had worked at Spring Grove. "The Park Board," *Cincinnati Gazette* [hereafter cited as CG]. Earnshaw had worked with Howard Daniels in laying out Spring Grove's original landscape in 1845. Strauch appointed assistant superintendents or foremen: Bain for Eden Park and Gleason for Lincoln Park.
19. Letter to the Editor, CC December 31, 1870. The *Commercial*

supported foreman Bain, accused of abusive labor relations in the building of Eden Park. The Wilstach quote is in an unidentified clipping in the Strauch file; "New Park Project," CC December 13, 1871. Commissioners agreed on only a few issues, as in 1870 when Truman Hardy recommended adding gaslights to the parks.

20. "The Park Board," CG May 26, 1871. William S. Groesbeck had been particularly interested in the park making efforts and offered his services as Park Commissioner.

21. "Eden Park," *Cincinnati Enquirer* May 19, 1872 [hereafter cited as CE]; Kenny, 124; Clubbe, 343. Rent for Eden Park went to the Longworth estate and to John Bates, Joseph Whittaker, and Washington McLean.

22. Pendleton, "Report" 1873.

23. Pleb, Letter to the Editor, "The Narrow Gauge in Our Eden," CC May 17, 1874.

24. Clear Water, "Garden of Eden — A Time to Build Up, and A Time to Tear Down," CC January 17, 1871; "Our Breeders of Pestilence," CG October 21, 1872; Pendleton, "Report" 1873 Note: Projected estimates of park costs for land development, at Burnet Woods and elsewhere, varied widely in many press accounts, largely dependent on whether the newspaper was for or against the project.

25. "Our City Parks," *Cincinnati Star* September 4, 1872, [hereafter cited as CS]; Kenny, 126-27. John Torrence had led the movement to convert the former burial grounds into a park.

26. Kenny 127-28; Clubbe, 230, 257. The bodies were reinterred at Spring Grove.

27. "The Park Commissioners To-Day," CC September 10, 1872; "The Park Commission," CC October 17, 1872, 2. Stoms like Truman Handy was a former Alderman.

28. "New Park Project," CC December 13, 1871. The lease was consummated in October 1872. Perhaps the proposal was prompted by the example of New York's Central Park where adjacent real estate was being developed for large elite apartment buildings.

29. "The Parks," CC September 10, 1872; "The Parks," *Times and Chronicle* September 30, 1871; Kenny, 125; Pendleton, "Report" 1873; "Our Breed of Pestilence," CG October 21, 1872. The city rejected the idea of naming the place Clifton Park because of the resistance of the adjacent suburb to annexation.

30. "Burnet Woods," May 11, 1872; "The Burnet Woods Ring," CS October 7, 1872; "Our New Champs Elysees: Burnet Woods the Coming Pleasure Ground of the People," n.p.30:284 Sunday a.m., October 20, 1872, 1.

31. "Burnet Woods: A Visit to the Sylvan Shade: Progress and Prospects in Cincinnati's Great Pleasure Ground," CC May 11, 1872; CC October 16, 1872; "Burnet Woods Investigation," CC February 27, 1874, 2.

32. Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca, New York, 1992), 27-28. Also see Allen Churchill, *The Upper Crust: An Informal History of New York's Highest Society* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1970), 45.

33. Strauch, "Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioners," (December 31, 1878). reprinted in "Zoological Gardens... Hints from a Celebrated Landscape Artist," CC November 3, 1878; "Deercreek Dead: The Board Sickening of Burnet Woods," CC December 11, 1872. In 1873 a maximum work force of 600 men were employed in the construction of the 66-acre Zoological Gardens at Carthage Road — grading hills, moving trees, building bridges, and forming 2 2/3 acres of lakes in wetlands without any charge to the taxpayer and at an initial cost of \$200,000 before acquisition of animals.

34. "Board of Park Commissioners," CE September 18, 1872. To bail an animal out, the owner paid \$2 plus the expense of keeping, ranging from 20 to 50 cents per day depending on the animal. Geese could be reclaimed for 25 cents. Proceeds went to the park fund. The

idea of the "town pound" originated in colonial New England to control stray animals. Cincinnati borrowed many of its prescriptive rules governing park access and use from New York's Central Park, except for the rule to "keep off the grass,"

35. "Our City Parks," CS September 4, 1872, 2.

36. Elliott H. Pendleton, "Report of the Park Commissioners," CC January 1, 1873; Pleb, "The Narrow Gauge in Our Eden," CC May 17, 1874.

37. "The Mill Creek Muddle," CC October 20, 1872; "Contemplated Park Swindles," CC September 6, 1872. Likewise in New York, the *Journal of Commerce*, organ of "fiscally conservative downtown Democratic merchants, led the opposition" to parks. Rosenzweig and Blackmar, 39.

38. The Park Commission," CC October 17, 1872, 2; CC October 16, 1872. German businessmen also tended to oppose park development in New York City.

39. The proposal was not acted upon until 1933 when the park was destroyed for construction for Union Terminal, replacing five separate railroad depots.

40. A Foot Passenger, "One of Our Gorgeous Improvement," CC June 17, 1872; "About Utilizing the Parks," CC October 8, 1877; Unidentified clippings, c.1872-73 from the Strauch newspaper file in the author's collection.

41. Justice, "Eden Park and Its Critics" CC June 21, 1872. Even in the case of Central Park, the concept of an objective design competition remained dubious. Three of the four finalists in the competition (with the exception of the former Cincinnati Howard Daniels, the original designer of Spring Grove) had personal ties to the Board of Park Commissioners.

42. "The Parks," CC September 10, 1872.

43. "The Park Commissioners," CC September 11, 1872, 2; "The Park Board," CE April 10, 1874.

44. Henry Probasco lost most of his estate and was forced to sell his fine art collection in 1887 and his library in 1890, Clubbe, 309.

45. "The Park Commission, CC October 17, 1872, 2; H. Columbia, "Columbia Park: A Park As Is A Park," [sic] *Times and Chronicle* August 28, 1871. Mitchell's proposed site in Columbia Township extended from Bloody Run to Spring Grove Cemetery.

46. "City Parks" CC January 13, 1872.

47. "The Curvature of the Mill Creek and the Canal Connections," CC October 17, 1872, 2; "The Mill Creek Muddle," CC October 20, 1872; "Our Breeders of Pestilence," CG October 21, 1872.

48. "The Parks," CC September 10, 1872; "The Park Commission," CC October 17, 1872, 2; "The Bustle at Lincoln Park Last Evening," CE July 21, 1872; "The Style of Our Improvement," CC August 25, 1872. Estimates for acquisition of Harmer Square ran as high as \$140,000.

49. "The Parks Commissioners," CC September 11, 1872; "Contemplated Park Swindles," CC September 6, 1872; "The Park Commission," CC October 17, 1872, 2. Stoms and Handy led the drive to acquire Deer Creek. Joseph Longworth, although no longer a commissioner, opposed it.

50. "The Burnet Woods Ring," CS October 7, 1872. The Deer Creek parcel was 4,000 feet long and ranged from 500 to 600 feet in width. The Commercial estimated that 2,550,000 cubic yards of infill would be necessary for the site.

51. "The Style of Our Improvements," CC August 25, 1872; "Deer Creek," CC September 3, 1872; "Contemplated Park Swindles," CC September 7, 1872.

52. "The Park Lunacy," CG September 15, 1872.

53. Pendleton, "Report of the Park Commissioners," CC January 1, 1873.

54. "The Harmonies of Eden," CE July 21, 1872; Neville, "Grand



Gala-Day at Eden Park," CE August 17, 1872; "The Style of Our Improvements," CC August 25, 1872; "Deercreek Dead: The Board Sickening of Burnet woods," CC December 11, 1872.

55. Kenny, 126-27.

56. "Park Expenditures," CC March 1871, July 18, 1873.

57. "Eden Park and Its Critics," CG June 25, 1872; "Slow Strangulation of the Park Projects," CC May n.d., 1872; Pendleton "Annual Report," December 31, 1873; Kenny, *Illustrated Cincinnati* 45.

58. Kenny, 306.

59. Kenny, 124-27, 332-33.

60. The study to break the pattern of ignoring local political problems over the founding of the parks is Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *The Park and the People*.

61. "Groesbeck's Mistake," CE February 27, 1874, 8; "Burnet Woods Investigation...." CC February 27, 1874, 2.

62. "Cincinnati Board of Public Works," CG March 14, 1876. The first Board of Public Works included Louis G. Bernard, T. M. Stoms, William B. Folger, and Tom Davis.

63. "Columbia Avenue," CG n.d., Strauch newspaper clipping file; "The Spring Races for Office," CE April 9, 1874, 8.

64. "Cemetery of Spring Grove," CG May 20, 1880.

65. George W. Englehardt, *Cincinnati, The Queen City* (Cincinnati, 1901), 25. In 1899 the \$45,000 park budget went primarily for salaries of maintenance workers. Englehardt's book reflects the late nineteenth century priorities of developing commerce and industry, the private rather than the public sector as a measure of urban worth.

66. "Mayor's Annual Message," Annual Reports of the City Departments...1893 (Cincinnati, 1894), xxiii, quoted in Zane L. Miller, *Box Cox's Cincinnati: Urban Politics in the Progressive Era* (New York, 1968).

The band pavilion in Eden Park was surrounded by a concourse large enough to accommodate crowds of carriages that convened for concerts. (CHS Photograph Collection)