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The Euclid Heights Allotment: a Palimpsest of the Nineteenth Century Search for Real Estate Value in Cleveland's East End

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THE EUCLID HEIGHTS ALLOTMENT:
A PALIMPSEST OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SEARCH FOR REAL ESTATE
VALUE IN CLEVELAND'S EAST END

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Bachelor of Arts in History

Cleveland State University

June, 1992

submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS OF HISTORY

at the

CLEVELAND STATE UNIVERSITY

August, 1997

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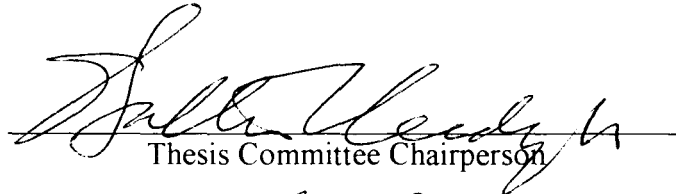
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To my mother
Phrone Keysar Barrow
who waited so long for this

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THE EUCLID HEIGHTS ALLOTMENT:
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WILLIAM C. BARROW

ABSTRACT

The Euclid Heights Allotment was a late nineteenth predecessor to the Van Sweringen brothers' Shaker Heights development, anticipating many of the themes of its more famous successor. Located on the heights overlooking Case Western Reserve University, Euclid Heights was the first elite subdivision to marry new electric streetcar technology with the romantic appeal of Cleveland's heights and provide a sheltered, restricted residential community for the wealthy citizens gradually moving out Euclid Avenue to the University Circle area.

This allotment, in its various phases, was not the first use of the site, either for land speculation or allotments. Borrowing the notion of a "palimpsest," this paper examines the various attempts to create real estate value, ending with the Euclid Heights Allotment, and their relationship to the wider economy of Cleveland and Doan's Corners and to the spreading urban infrastructure of utilities, parks and transportation.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The Euclid Heights Allotment was a planned community created in the 1890s on the heights overlooking Euclid Avenue where it crosses Doan's Brook, today known as the University Circle area. It was designed to be the finest new residential community in Cleveland's burgeoning East End, and attract the social and business elite of Cleveland, then migrating eastward from the central city seeking rural amenities, urban services and secure property values.

The developers of this property were careful to create a modern suburban product that offered clean air and water, splendid vistas, paved streets, and a private country club, all nestled in a protective cocoon of deed restrictions, public parks and private institutions, and connected by fast, new electric streetcars to the central business district. This was Cleveland's finest example of the streetcar suburbs being constructed around America's major cities in the 1890s, and it survives today as a lovely historical neighborhood in the City of Cleveland Heights.

The developers, however, did not fare as well. When the project failed to meet its financial commitments and went bankrupt just before World War I, the principal developer suffered financially. He and his associates suffered other personal misfortunes as well.

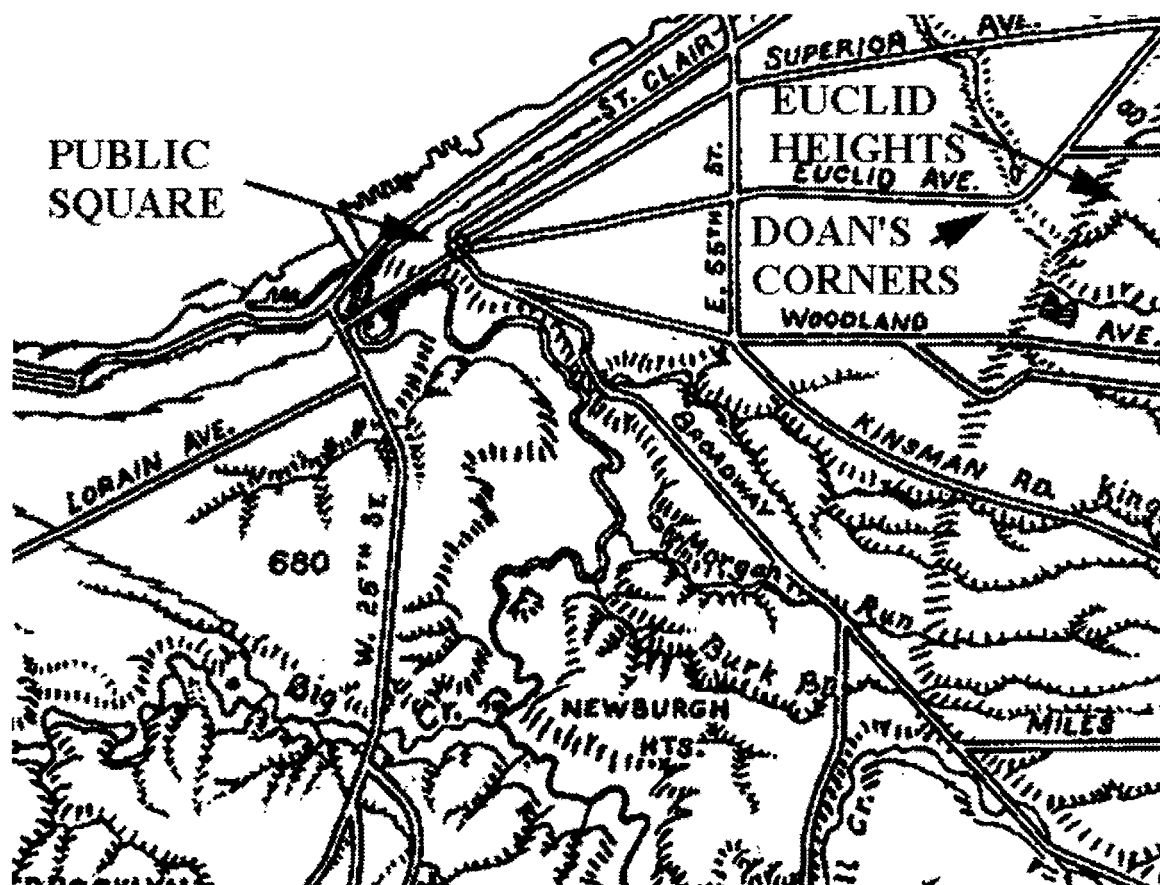


Figure 1 - Showing relative locations of Public Square, Doan's Corners and the Euclid Heights site and the landform features of the area (adapted from James Bier's *Landform map of Cuyahoga County*, 1963).

But Euclid Heights opened the heights for development, and was a harbinger for the nationally renown Shaker Heights community, which successfully employed most of the planning principles instituted locally by the Euclid Heights Allotment.

Just as the real estate history of the heights did not end with the Euclid Heights Allotment, neither did it begin there. Euclid Heights was the successor to a century of land speculation and development on the general site called Euclid Heights and needs to be understood in that context. The history of land development on Euclid Heights is linked to events all during the nineteenth century at Doan's Corners and, ultimately, to the wider pattern of growth in Cleveland and northern Ohio. As the century progressed, the relationship between Cleveland, Doan's Corners and Euclid Heights changed and men attempted to create real estate values and profits from the opportunities presented by these changing relationships.

Palimpsest Definition

This paper will trace the various attempts to create real estate values at Euclid Heights using the notion of a "cartographic palimpsest." The *American Heritage Dictionary* defines a palimpsest as:

A written document, typically on vellum or parchment, that has been written upon several times, often with remnants of earlier, imperfectly erased writing still visible, remnants of this kind being a major source for the recovery of lost literary works of classical antiquity.¹

Here the idea of a palimpsest will be applied to the sequence of maps depicting the property lines and transportation routes in and around Euclid Heights throughout the nineteenth century, in an attempt to "recover" the record of land speculation and development. As Cleveland grew and drew Doan's Corners ever closer into its sphere of economic influence, the cadastral (property ownership) maps of Euclid Heights show

different ownership and land use patterns that reflected the opportunities then perceived to be present on the heights. The maps from each era show that the efforts of previous owners have been partially removed and new patterns applied to the site, cumulating at the end of the century with the Euclid Heights Allotment in its various phases. This layered cartographic record, then, is the "palimpsest" that will be employed to demonstrate how nineteenth century men attempted to build real estate values on Euclid Heights, as well as a way of examining the general history of Cleveland.

Euclid Heights is the westerly edge of the Portage Escarpment of the Appalachian Plateau, which rises along a northeast-southwest line, just east of Doan's Corners. There Euclid Avenue deflects 45 degrees from its eastward course to run parallel with the edge of the plateau for many miles. The ridge is some 120 feet above Euclid Avenue at Doan's Corners and is cut by numerous streams flowing north to the lake.

One of these streams is Doan's Brook, the course of which is now located in a series of lovely parks spilling down from the heights: Shaker, Ambler, Wade, Rockefeller and Gordon. Another stream is Blue Springs Creek, which carved the valley up through which Cedar Glenn Road would run to reach the high ground on the heights. From there, at the crest of Cedar Glenn Road, the site momentarily flattened out before rising another 50 feet to the south and east.

The farmers and land developers during the earlier period of Euclid Heights history found the level portions of the site to be most important. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, developers of the elite Euclid Heights Allotment determined that the prime parcels were those found along ridges. Responding to a demand for scenic views and elevated terrain, they placed an emphasis upon those tracts having the best views of

Cleveland and Lake Erie: those tracts located along the main ridge at the allotment's western edge and at the top of the southeastern rise. These changes in perception of what was valuable land are reflected in the palimpsest.

Like the Western Reserve in general, Euclid Heights was originally heavily forested. Despite reported extensive clearing in its flatter eastern areas, the site still retained stands of trees in several places until the end of the nineteenth century.

Locals referred to the heights overlooking Euclid Avenue by other names than Euclid Heights, including “Turkey Ridge” for the plentiful wild fowls in early days, and “Heathen Ridge,” probably for the periodic encampments of Gypsies in the area. Native Americans undoubtedly traveled the area at one time, but by the nineteenth century played no significant role in the life of the area.²

At the start of the nineteenth century -- stretched a few years here to encompass the founding of Cleveland and the surveying of the Reserve in 1796 -- Euclid Heights was devoid of boundary lines and the only man-made cartographic feature of interest to this study was the route of the overland trail, now Euclid Avenue. The Euclid Heights palimpsest begins here, as the Connecticut Land Company brings the concept of boundary lines to the Reserve.

CHAPTER II: ORIGINAL SURVEYS AND SUBSEQUENT DIVISIONS

The first layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest contains the parcels created by the original surveys of the Western Reserve and the subsequent divisions of these parcels, chiefly for agricultural use, in the seventy-five years following the Revolutionary War. At the end of the eighteenth century, the proprietors of the Connecticut Land Company speculated on the desirability of land in the Reserve and provided the surveys that have formed the basis for all local land titles ever since. In contrast, the first settlers valued the land as a pragmatic means of sustenance rather than speculative gain.

Land Boundaries and Morphological Frames

While speculation and agriculture are markedly different perceptions of land value, these early settlers created boundaries that are relatively simple to visualize. The original surveys provided the general framework of property boundaries while the subsequent splits of these original parcels added a few internal lines. This resulted in a map on which the real estate history of the first half of the nineteenth century is clearly drawn. Little of the old was erased in creating new parcels and the newer parcels nestled neatly inside the framework of the original surveys.

The boundary line of the original surveys could not be obliterated, of course, as the legal description of land titles requires them; but the relevancy of these original lines to the palimpsest can be ignored, cartographically, if they no longer serve as boundaries between contemporary parcels. Until the end of the Civil War, however, they *did* still serve as property boundaries and were depicted as such on maps of the period. They still served as what Michael Conzen has termed "morphological frames" in shaping the subsequent growth of the Euclid Heights area.¹

As the nineteenth century proceeded the outlines of the original boundary lines, while still fully present, were visually obscured by the plethora of new lines being created to divide the large, original parcels into smaller ones. Through sale, gift and devise, the holdings of the original settlers were split up and new parcels created that reflected both the growing population of the Reserve and the increasing diversification of the local economy. This was especially true of the Doan's Corners area, given its location at the fringe of the Cleveland economy.

Relationship: Cleveland, Doan's Corners and Euclid Heights

While the Doan's Corners community was an urban fringe community in Cleveland's borderlands, the Euclid Heights area was in turn on the fringes of the Doan's Corners community. As a symbolical representation of this relationship, consider the maps of the original surveys of the Reserve.

Cleveland was laid out to be a civilized village in the mold of most Connecticut towns: which had a village commons and a clear division between town lots and country lots. In Cleveland's case, the central commons was the Public Square and the plat made a

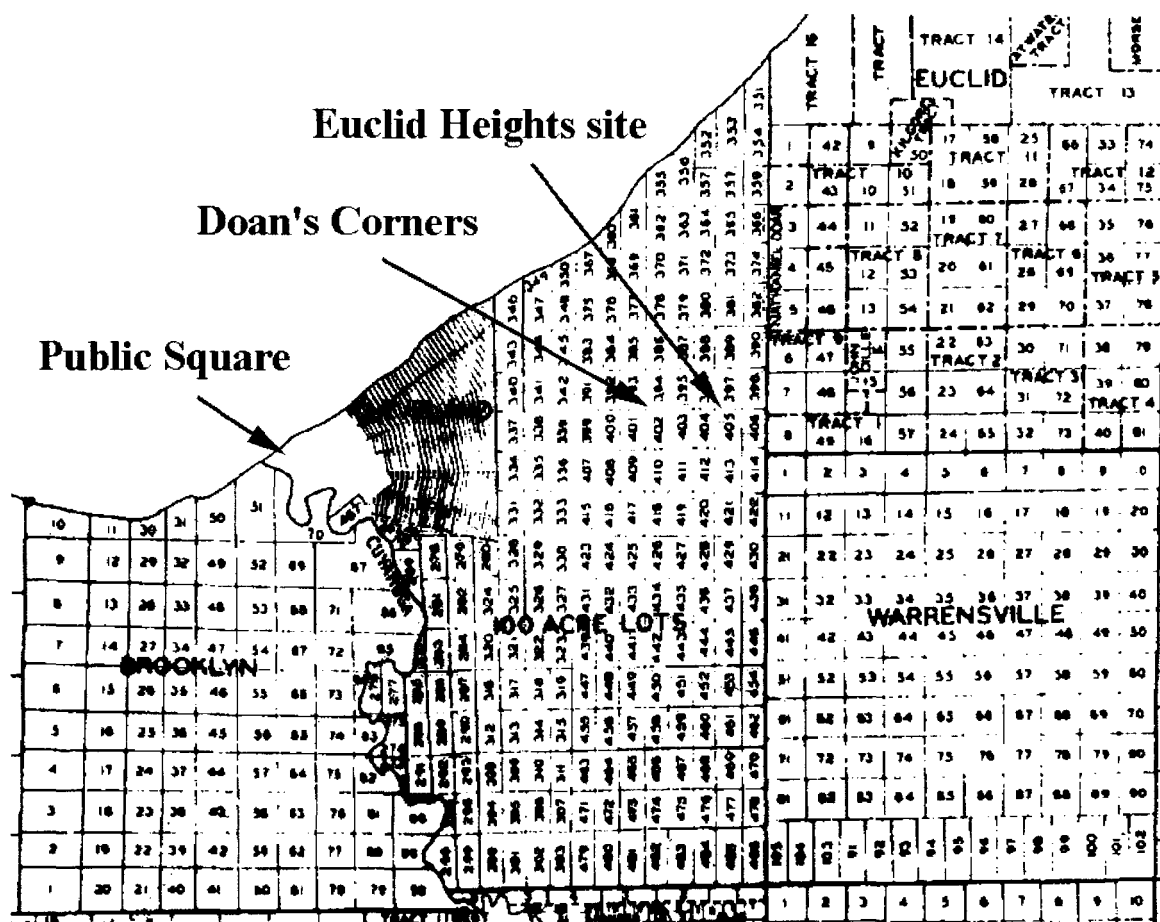


Figure 2 - Map of the Hundred Acre Lots of Cleveland and the sectional subdivisions of surrounding townships. Note that the Two-Acre Lots (white area around Public Square) and the Twenty-Acre Lots (spider-web area immediately east of Two-Acre Lots) are displayed in Figure 5). The Euclid Heights Allotment occupies Hundred Acre Lots 405 and 406, parts of 398 and 404, and western portions of sections 7 and 8 in Warrensville Township. (Detail from Cuyahoga County Engineer John O. McWilliams' *Cuyahoga County, Ohio: Showing Original Township Lots*. 1944.)

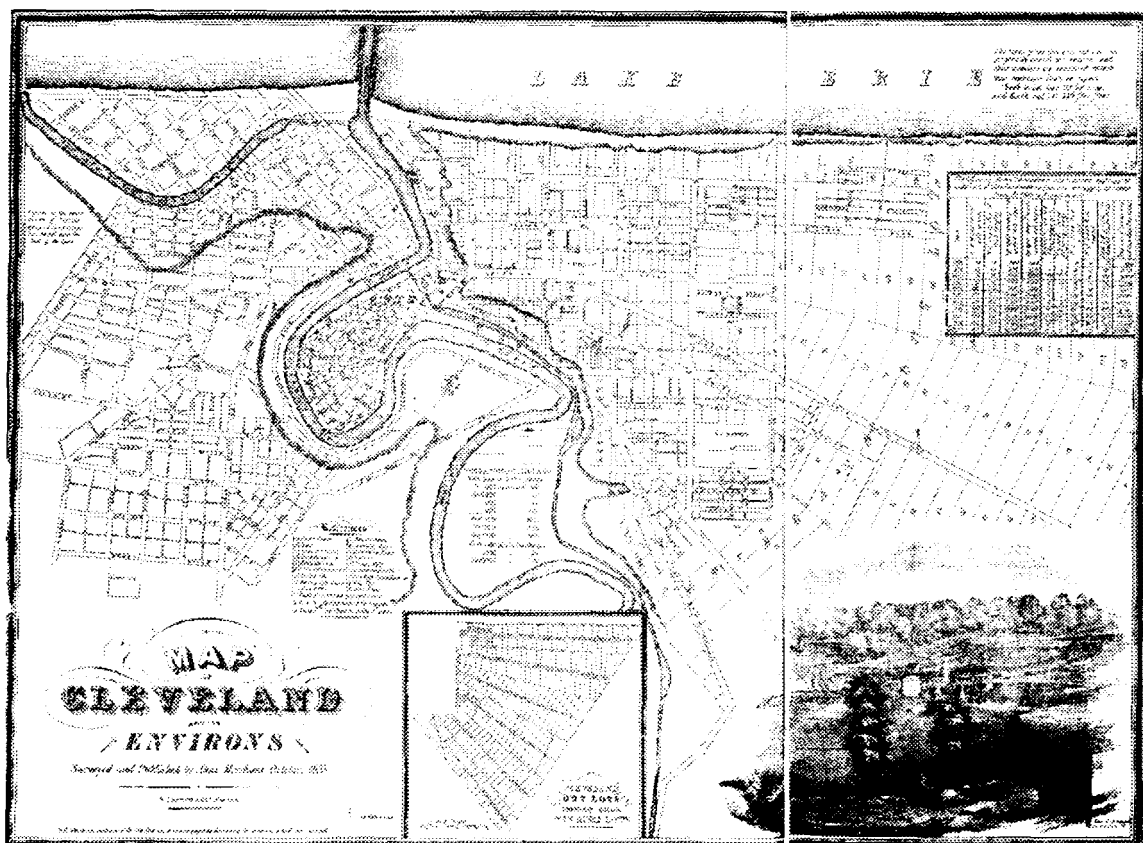


Figure 3 - Ahaz Merchant's 1835 map of Cleveland, the first published map of the city. Note the Two-Acre Lots between the river and the present alignment of East 14th Street (approximately where the prominent crease is on this image), beyond which to the east is the range of Twenty-Acre Lots (also shown in the inset, bottom center). West of the river are the allotments of Ohio City, Cleveland's major rival of the 1830s, which rivalry lead to the "Bridge War" at the Columbus Street Bridge (inset drawing). This map is a clear indication of the economic forces wrestling for control of the local economy. (Map is Figure 14 in Chapman's *Cleveland: Village to Metropolis*. 1964. Page 40-41)

clear distinction between the "In-Lots," or "Two-Acre Lots" closer in and the "Out-Lots," or "Ten-Acre Lots" farther out. The geography of the site was constrained by the limitations of walking speeds, so going east from Public Square, the In-Lots ended at present-day Playhouse Square and the Out-Lots at East 55th Street (Willson Avenue in the nineteenth century). Beyond the Out-Lots was the third category of Cleveland's tripartite plan, the "Hundred Acre Lots," beyond which were the regular townships of the rest of the Western Reserve.⁴

Consequentially, Doan's Corners, lying in the middle of the range of Hundred Acre Lots, was well beyond the eastern border of the Out-lots, the confines of the Cleveland "Walking City." Yet it occupied a position near the center of the belt of lands intended by the layout to be within the village's intended sphere of influence. Euclid Heights, however, was even farther from Cleveland and its legal description encompasses not only lots in the final two ranks of Hundred Acre Lots, but also part of original lots in the neighboring Euclid Township. The Euclid Heights area, therefore, was about as marginally connected to Cleveland as the surveyors in the 1790s planned it to be when they laid out the Cleveland town site.

Creation of the Cleveland Town Site

That survey of the Cleveland town site was the centerpiece of the Connecticut Land Company's marketing plan to create saleable lots in the Western Reserve. Moses Cleaveland, General Agent for the company, brought a surveying party to the Reserve in the summer of 1796 to create a mix of parcels that would sell quickly to prospective

settlers back in the East and help raise operating revenue for the company. Leaving part of his surveying party in the eastern portion of the Reserve, to begin surveying the township lines, Cleaveland brought the rest of his party to the eastern banks of the Cuyahoga River to lay out the capital city of the Reserve.³

The site had much to recommend it: it was the physical center of the Reserve, it commanded the critical river, lake and commercial routes and it provided a strategic position between the eastern areas open to settlement and the threat of British and Native American forces to the west, the intervening western portion of the Reserve then being still closed to settlement. To Easterners contemplating the purchase of lots in the Reserve, the location of Cleveland promised military safety and economic prosperity.

The plat of Cleveland also offered the familiar appearance of a civilized village in the frontier wilderness, whose conservative pattern of streets and blocks lent assurances that competent developers were in charge who would be able to produce clear land titles, free of legal ambiguity and financial danger. In the tradition of the New England colonies, the land was being platted prior to sale, which helped prevent ownership ambiguities and, from the investors' perspective, un-saleable lands. On a number of levels, the original survey maps of the Connecticut Land Company were marketing tools to facilitate land sales to settlers and profits to the proprietors.

However, sales of township lots in the eastern portions of the Reserve soon were proceeding faster than were lot sales in Cleveland, partially due to higher prices here. Lots in the Youngstown and Warren areas could be had for \$1-2, while the asking price in Cleveland was \$25-50. Not until after the coming of the Ohio-Erie Canal in 1827 did

Cleveland overcome this relative price disadvantage. It has been observed that the lure of the Trans-Appalachian frontier was not just that there was abundant land, but also that there were manifold opportunities in the new towns being formed. It took Cleveland a few decades to manifest these opportunities.⁴

The settlement of Cleveland was also hampered by the fear of malarial "ague," supposedly caused by miasmatic gasses emanating from the stagnant swamp at the mouth of the Cuyahoga. The actual cause was mosquitoes, but the results were the same: the settlers sought higher elevations farther south and east and caused the community of Newburgh, six miles to the south, to grow faster than Cleveland before the 1830s.

Creation of Doan's Corners

One member of Cleveland's surveying party, Nathaniel Doan, looked for his higher elevations four miles to the east. This location, in Hundred Acre Lot 402, was near where the main trail over the Reserve forded Doan's Brook and area became known as Doan's Corner (now Euclid Avenue between East 105th and East 107th Streets, immediately west of University Circle).⁵

As Doan had been originally sent to the Reserve to provide blacksmith services for Cleveland, his soon-thriving outpost became and remained an important adjunct to the central urban economy. The Hundred Acre Lots surrounding Doan's Corners developed all the agricultural characteristics of the wider Reserve, but they also included a strong measure of economic activities that depended upon a proximity to Cleveland.

This was true when the Corners served as the gateway to Cleveland in the first decades and it was particularly true after the Ohio-Erie Canal brought new prosperity, opportunities and competition to the Cleveland area after 1830. The Corners area witnessed new efforts from "downtown" Cleveland to reinforce and utilize its hinterlands in an attempt to beat back competition from its cross-river rival, Ohio City. Consequentially, this resulted in capital being invested that benefited the Corners as Cleveland's eastern gateway. Euclid Heights experienced some of the effects of this investment in the form of new roads, railroads and land speculation emanating from Cleveland and some trace of this investment is apparent in the palimpsest.

Economic Activity in the Corners

Just some of the economic activity originated in Cleveland, however, for the Corners area developed in great measure due to the efforts of its own residents. Local businessmen took advantage of their proximity to Cleveland and position astride the eastern trade routes to develop a series of small businesses to exploit these opportunities.

In his 1930 reminiscences of Doan's Corners and the stories he heard about the area as a child, Charles Asa Post said that the first manufacturing concern in the area was a saleratus (baking powder) factory founded by Nathaniel Doan. This was followed by a grist mill owned by Samuel Cozad, a tannery by Elias Cozad, the Emery Clock Factory, and a "small laboratory plant" run by a Doctor Palmer to extract oil from cannel coal, all prior to the end of the Civil War.⁶

This is consistent with Henry C. Binford's findings that the Antebellum suburbs of Boston were characterized by "... peripheral residents trying to exploit opportunities available at the city's edge—opportunities in suburban land speculation, small business, and unscheduled transportation." Small businesses, including Doan's smithy and tavern, were clearly an early component of the Corners, but local residents were eager to exploit opportunities in transportation and land speculation as well. Throughout the nineteenth century, the quest for profits in the East End would center on transportation and land speculation, which by the time of Euclid Heights Allotment were inseparably linked.⁷

Early Transportation Links to the Corners

The first transportation links to Cleveland from Doan's Corners were by horseback, by wagon, and mostly by walking. Despite being outside the boundaries of the Cleveland "Walking City," the distances were not so great as to exclude frequent, if not daily, walking trips into town. According to Post, Leonard Case and his secretary use to walk out to the Corners and back to Cleveland, for exercise.⁸

Wagons carrying produce and freight into Cleveland were another early form of transportation passing through the Corners and the creation of the Euclid Plank Road, a toll road, underscores the economic importance of this traffic. The Corners area served as a gateway to Cleveland along this road, providing travelers with food, lodging, and blacksmith services and was the site of one of the tollgates. Mayfield Road, another important commercial artery, was created by "An Act to lay out a State Road from Job Doan's, in Euclid, Cuyahoga County" in 1828.⁹

The first form of public transit arrived in 1818, when weekly stagecoach service was inaugurated between Painesville and Cleveland. The trip took eighteen hours and required an overnight stop in Willoughby, so while it assisted regional travel, it did nothing to support daily commuting to Cleveland for work.¹⁰

During the period from 1834 to 1849, another form of passenger service to Cleveland was in existence: the Quarry Railroad. Formally known as the Cleveland and Newburgh line, it was incorporated on 3 March 1834 by Cleveland's Mayor and a group of civic promoters, at least one of whom, Aaron Barker, was speculating in Corners land. The railroad was designed to haul bluestone ore and timber from a quarry on the Gale Farm up on Cedar Hill down to Cleveland. The trip down Cedar Hill was for freight only and was gravity powered. At today's East 101st Street the cars stopped at the Railroad Hotel, acquired a mule for power and added any passengers for the trip downtown. It ran two to six trips daily and was intended to later be steam powered. The line came into being just before the Panic of 1835, went bankrupt in 1840 and was kept alive until 1849 only because of large subsidies from the Cuyahoga County Commissioners.¹¹

Since the incorporators of the Quarry Railroad included James S. Clarke, the Mayor of Cleveland, perhaps the continued subsidies reflected the power of local politics. In the mid-1830s, Clarke was waging economic warfare with Ohio City speculators for control of the north bound traffic up the Wooster Turnpike and Ohio-Erie Canal, both for the benefit of Cleveland and for the benefit of a personal land development scheme he had near the Columbus Street Bridge. This rivalry cumulated in "The Bridge War" where rival booster groups engaged in hostilities.¹²

The Quarry Railroad, like the Euclid and Mayfield plank roads would support the financial growth of Cleveland by increasing its access to the hinterlands. The Corners area was the gateway to Cleveland's eastern and southern (Newburgh) hinterland in the '30s and '40s, and witnessed a steady improvement in its transportation infrastructure, both from Cleveland investors and from Corners residents.¹³

The next development in transportation was the omnibus service begun by Corners resident Ed Duty, in 1854. The omnibus was a variant on a stagecoach and his operated between downtown and the Croton House in East Cleveland. Later he extended it to Euclid Creek and another line reached Collamer via St. Clair in 1862. While running daily, these omnibus lines charged fares of 10 to 20 cents, far too much for the average city worker to afford on a regular basis.¹⁴

Transportation and small business were two of the three methods that Binford identified in urban fringe economies like the Corners, the other being speculation in large estates. In the Antebellum period the owners of large tracts of land were frequently the leading business and professional men of the area, the symbiotic link between real estate and mass transportation not yet having been forged. Yet, the sale of real estate in the Euclid Heights has been an important part of the economy since the founding of the Western Reserve.

403	404	405	406
411	412	413	414
		421	422

Figure 4 - “Tract 4” of Hundred Acre Lots, drawn by the Canfield group in 1802. The Euclid Heights site includes all of lots 405 and 406, as well as a portion of 404. The Euclid Club’s golf course covered portions of lots 413 and 414 in the early years of the twentieth century, but this was not formally part of the Euclid Heights Allotment. Not shown are Hundred Acre Lot 397 and East Cleveland Township lots 7 and 8, which contained portions of the Euclid Heights Allotment, but were not part of “Tract 4.”

|

Settlement of the Euclid Heights Area

The first groups on the heights were the Connecticut proprietors and settlers. Most of the three million acres of the Reserve were distributed back to the proprietors of the Connecticut Land Company, in proportion to their ownership share in the company, by a complex series of drawings. The settlers could not purchase lots directly from the company, except in the Cleveland town site, but had to seek land from the individual proprietors.

At the drawing, one group of proprietors headed by Judson Canfield drew an entity called "Tract IV," which consisted of an adjoining group of ten Hundred Acre Lots, including lots number 405, and 406 on Euclid Heights. Canfield's group went to court in 1812, seeking a further partitioning of Tract IV amongst themselves.¹⁵

Canfield received Lots 405 and 406 in his award, mortgaged it to John Adams, Jr., and Samuel Forbes that same year, and then in 1817 deeded the property to Samuel Flewelling, a frequent business associate. However, the mortgage went into arrears, perhaps due to the bank panic of this period, and Forbes and Adams' foreclosed. In 1829 their heirs finally obtained a Sheriff's Deed to the property, and started selling off the holdings.¹⁶

Lot 405 they sold to Gordon Fitch and Aaron Barker in 1833 for \$4,000, who mortgaged it with the Ohio Life Insurance Company two years later. Again a bank panic occurred, a mortgage was again in arrears and Ohio Life foreclosed on Fitch and Barker, receiving title to the property in 1842. Richard Wade has remarked on the tendency of land speculation to soak up the available capital in a local economy, leaving

transportation companies starved for adequate financing. Perhaps Barker's involvement in both the Quarry Railroad and land speculation overextended him.¹⁷

With the sale of Lot 405 to Cyrus Ford in 1847, for \$1,853, the cycle of foreclosure ended. Ford held the property until 1855, when he began dividing it up between his three sons: Horace, Horatio and Henry. The Fords were one of the major landowning families of the Corners and leaders in the Euclid Avenue Congregational Church.¹⁸

By similar processes, Hundred Acre Lot 406 and the western half of Original Lot 8 in Euclid Township ended up in the hands of the Andrew W. Duty, a member of another prominent landowning family in Doan's Corners.

The patterns of the holdings of the first settlers were shaped by the lot lines of the original surveys and the subsequent land subdividing of this layer of the palimpsest merely added more lines. The new lots formed tended to be either square lots of ten to twenty acres along Mayfield or Cedar Roads, or they were long, narrow rectangles lying at right angles to the roads. The square parcels may have been level land intended for development (as one was, it will be shown), whereas the elongated parcels may have been intended for agriculture, where the turning of plow teams encouraged such elongated parcels.¹⁹

Conclusion

By 1872, when the second layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest starts to take shape, the first layer is complete in general form. The lines of the original surveys clearly mark boundaries between major parcels owned by the Fords and the Dutys. Within the Hundred Acre Lots, smaller parcels have been created, but reflect patterns of agriculture or general speculation, as no new internal roads have been installed and the parcels are still relatively large in size. New lines have been added, but none of the original survey lines have been obliterated in the process. This is a common pattern of development throughout the Western Reserve at the end of the Civil War.

Meanwhile, like the sounds of Perry's guns a generation earlier, the economic reverberations of the "Bridge War" between the promoters of Ohio City and Cleveland were felt out on the urban fringe, at Euclid Heights and the Corners, as transportation improvements and land speculation were mustered to boost Cleveland's economy. All traces of the Quarry Railroad have been obliterated from the Euclid Heights palimpsest—except perhaps the emphasis on Cedar Glenn as an access route to the heights—but the Mayfield Plank Road alignment remains as testimony to the efforts to link Cleveland to its hinterland.

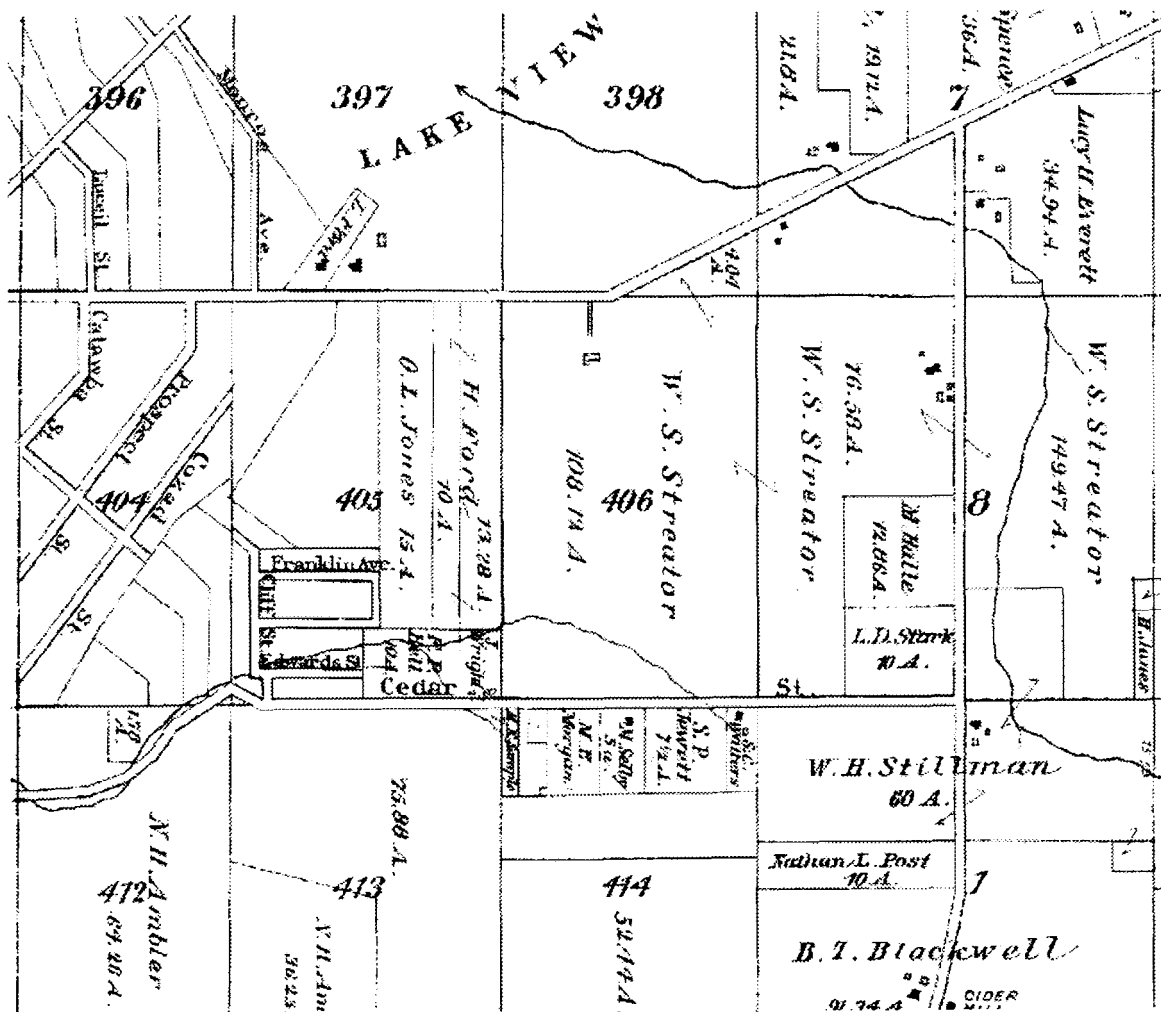
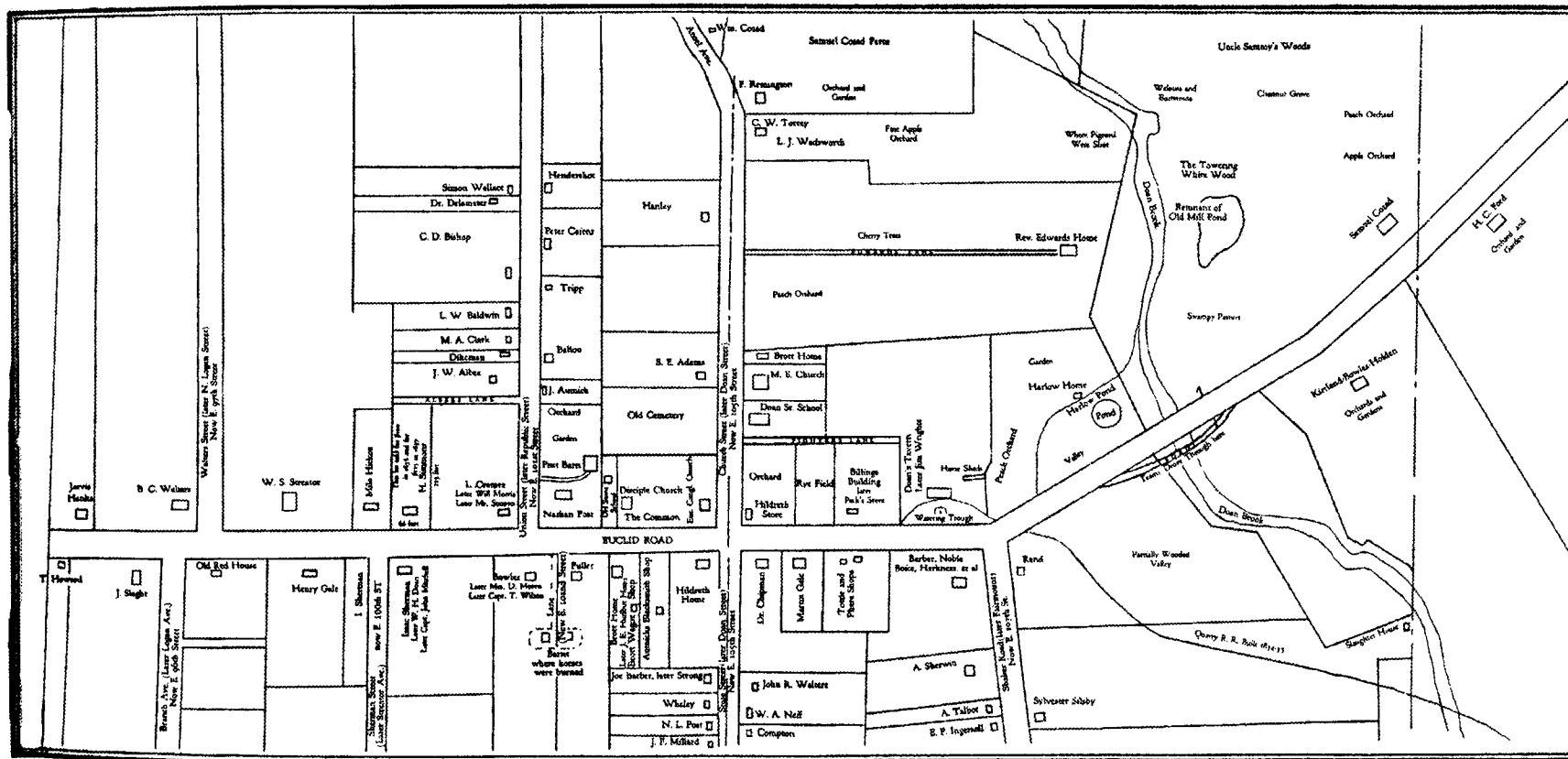


Figure 5 - Detail from Titus Atlas of 1874, showing the subsequent subdivisions of the Hundred Acre Lots comprising the Euclid Heights site. The allotments of JJ Low and of Stackpole and Parker may be seen in the lower right corner of HAL 405. Note also Worthy Streater's holdings in HAL 398 and 406 and in Warrensville Township sections 7 and 8. This is the second layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest.

CHAPTER III: THE 1870s AT DOAN'S CORNERS AND EUCLID HEIGHTS

The second layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest displays the first formal subdivisions to appear here: the modest efforts of small merchant investors to speculate in building lots. In the general prosperity following the Civil War, the growing economic base of the Corners and its proximity to Cleveland attracted more capital. Small businesses grew, public transportation became faster and more regular, and speculators were attracted to the prospects of rising land values. On Euclid Heights this resulted in changes in the 1870s that preserved all the previous property lines, but added a new kind of subdivision: the residential allotment.

While Cleveland grew rapidly in the decades between the coming of the Ohio-Erie Canal and the start of the Civil War, the rate of growth declined between 1830 and 1860. In the suburban hinterlands the rate declined more slowly, meaning that areas like Doan's Corners grew faster than did the central city. The rate of population growth between 1830 and 1860 fell from nearly 400 percent to just under eleven percent within the borders of the 1830 city, while the rest of Cuyahoga Count fell from 128 percent to just over 72 percent. Leading into the post-war period, the suburbs were the scene of growth and it was reflected in the economic activities springing up there.¹



Copyright 1930 by Charles Asa Post

Doan's Corners and Vicinity about 1857, drawn from memory by Charles Asa Post.

Revised from County Map by C. H. Hutchinson.

Figure 6 - Map of Doan's Corners about 1857 (from Asa Post, *Doan's Corners and the City Four Miles West*).

Continued Small Businesses Growth

The mix of new subdivision activities, public transportation, and entrepreneurial capitalism was growing rapidly on the Corners and new business growth was providing jobs to the area. By 1858, Cleveland's first malleable iron foundry was created north of Carnegie Avenue and Sherman Street (E. 100th Street), a decade before the better-known and more successful Cleveland Malleable Iron Company's creation, but it failed and was succeeded by the Jones Mowing Company. Another part of the former malleable iron foundry was used by a sorghum cane milling business.²

Closer to the heights, "Uncle Sammy" Cozad had a brickyard near present-day Wade Park, and Andrew Duty had one on Mayfield Road, at the base of the hill and across from today's Alta House. Binford identified brick making as best symbolizing the move to local manufacture from agriculture on urban fringes, with farm lands giving way to clay pits and drying yards.³

Improvements in Transportation

The Corners were brought closer to the larger Cleveland economy in the 1860s and 70s as horsecars began operation out into the East End. Henry S. Stevens, operating under the name of the East Cleveland Railway Company, had run an omnibus service with Ed Duty after 1854. In 1859 he obtained a franchise from the City of Cleveland to operate a horse-drawn car on rails in Euclid Avenue, between Public Square and Willson Street. In 1863 he applied to have his franchise extended to Doan's Corners, but was rebuffed by concerns that this would compete with the Euclid Plank Road, so he only received permission to go out to E. 71st Street.

However, by 1871 he was allowed to extend a single track out to the Corners. According to the Titus company atlas of 1874, the East Cleveland tracks in Euclid Avenue had reached Lake View Cemetery where the line would maintain car barns for decades

The horsecar, with a speed of about seven miles an hour, increased the distance a commuter could live from Cleveland by some two or three miles; bringing most of the East End up to Doan's Corners within a half-hour of downtown businesses. Euclid Heights, however, was still too far beyond this distance to enjoy easy commuting and the limited pulling power of horses made the trip up the hill at Cedar Glenn prohibitive.⁵

The public transportation link to Doan's Corner and the Euclid Heights area was strengthened in 1873 when John D. Rockefeller, Stephen Harkness and others created a dummy railroad, the Lakeview and Collamer, to take passengers out to their water-cure resort and park. Harkness, a Standard Oil associate of Rockefeller's, was another who believed that the future of Cleveland laid to the east and had been buying up property beyond Willson Avenue along Euclid. Rockefeller's purchase of his eventually-beloved Forest Hill estate east of Lake View Cemetery, in 1873, was originally a speculative commercial proposition that only after its failure as a resort became the Rockefeller summer home. The Titus atlas of 1874 shows the railroad's tracks leaving East Madison (East 79th Street), running eastward along Lockyear Avenue for a block, then cutting cross private lands, parallel with Superior and finally turning north along Euclid Avenue, just beyond Lake View.⁶

Henry Stevens and Edwin Duty of the East Cleveland Railway Company and most of the members of Rockefeller's dummy railroad board were residents of the Corners. This

supports another of Binford's findings: that residents of urban fringe suburbs had long experience in exploiting their proximity to the city and were eager to establish better transportation links when the technology permitted.⁷

Relationship of Transportation and Value

The appeal of mass transportation technologies, like the horsecar, is that they allowed land speculators to realize gains in value faster than if they had to wait for the gradual population growth of an area to eventually reach their lands: a strategy sometimes called the "Astor Method," after Jacob Astor, who was famous for buying large parcels of country land around New York City during the Panic of 1837 and then waiting for growth to catch up. With public transportation the demand for country land could be rapidly satisfied by opening new lines.⁸

Therefore, an investor could hope to turn his investment into profit much faster by buying lands in the path of new transportation routes, or by acquiring transportation lines and running them out to his country property, as Rockefeller and Harkness did. The revenue from streetcar lines was not the justification for investing in them, but rather their value came from their relationship to opening new areas for real estate development.⁹

The horsecar line and the Rockefeller dummy railroad were the steps taken in the 1870s to bring real estate profits to the East End and Doan's Corners area. And with the extension of these lines to Lake View, Euclid Heights became subject to a new type of subdividing activity that constitutes the second layer of the palimpsest.

Early Real Estate Development on the Heights: J.J. Low's Allotment

Late in 1870 Horatio Ford sold the southwestern 12 acres of Hundred Acre Lot 405 for \$2,500 to Samuel Spangler, a "gentleman" then living on Cedar Avenue in East Cleveland. Spangler died soon thereafter and his executor deeded the property to Henry Weisgerber for \$2,450 in June of 1871. A month later, Weisgerber, a confectioner whose home and shop were on Prospect Street, downtown, transferred title to John J. Low for \$3,500, taking back a mortgage for \$1,500 in the process.¹⁰

In 1872 Low created the first residential subdivision on the heights, "J.J. Low's Allotment," which consisted of a main street running north from Cedar Road, called Cliff Street, two parallel dead-end streets running east from Cliff, named Edwards Street and Parker Street, and several rows of modest rectangular building lots.¹¹

Unlike the long, narrow lots that the Fords had created on the northern half of Hundred Acre Lot 405, fronting on Mayfield Road, Low's parcel in the southwestern portion was much more square in shape. It had its longer side facing Cedar Road and utilized only the level portions of the site for building lots. Someone reaching the crest of Cedar Glenn would be looking through the middle of Low's allotment, along the course now followed by Euclid Heights Boulevard.¹²

Although there was some land lying in Hundred Acre Lot 404, between the lots fronting on the west side of Cliff Street and the ridge, Low did not own any of it. The streets, and therefore the majority of the lots, laid to the east of Cliff Street, and approximated the shape of a large capital "F" on the map. The reason for this configuration—as opposed, say, to one in which Cliff cuts through the middle of the subdivision—is not clear, unless further expansion to the east was envisioned.¹³

More Development: Stackpole and Parker's Allotment

The following year Low's allotment was joined to the north by a similarly-configured subdivision called Stackpole and Parker's Allotment. Cliff Street was extended farther north, a dead-end street named Franklin Street was run eastward and three rows of lots were laid out that were even smaller than Low's modest lots. But for the slight differences in lot sizes, the allotments of J.J. Low and of Stackpole and Parker appear to have been planned together, perhaps because it was cheaper to cross Low's than to circle it on adjoining property that Stackpole and Parker owned to the west. Each of the three residential streets -- Edwards, Parker and Franklin -- ended at the foot of a slight slope in the terrain.¹⁴

Commentary

The intended market for these early subdivisions is unclear. The contemporary subdivisions by Andrew Cozad at Euclid and Mayfield (1873), and a later one (1889) by Edmund Walton, next to Cozad's along Mayfield, eventually grew to be 96% Italian after Joseph Carabelli opened his stone masonry business near Lake View in 1880. These subdivisions were collectively known as Cleveland's "Little Italy," or the "Murray Hill" neighborhood. The modest simplicity of these subdivisions mirrors those of the two up on the ridge, to which they were connected by an extension of Cliff Street.¹⁵

Little Italy's dependence upon the Carabelli works underscores the importance of jobs within walking distance of home for working-class Clevelanders in the 1870s, and these allotments were on the fringes of the Doan's Corners economy. They were convenient to few known sources of employment on the heights, besides the brickyards

of Cozad and Duty, Worthy S. Streator's farm, Martin Gale's quarry, or Lake View Cemetery, which had been installed in 1869 and required some landscape workers.¹⁶

Higher socioeconomic classes of people could live farther from work, because they could afford the streetcar fares, but in the early 1870s streetcars were still a decade away from cresting the heights. The wealthy could also afford the costs of maintaining horse-drawn carriages, but in the 1870s the fashionable addresses were still along lower Euclid Avenue and the few wealthy people who did own residences that far east, William J. Gordon for instance, had estates covering many tens of acres, not humble, seventh-acre lots.¹⁷

Whatever the intended market for these lots, the allotments were undoubtedly hard hit by the Panic of 1873 and "long-wave" depression that waxed and waned until the mid-1890s. In his 1897 history of Cleveland, James Harrison Kennedy said of this period "The real estate market of Cleveland became utterly dead in a single day. Values were reduced, and sales as well as collections on former sales became impossible." If this was the situation city-wide, then poorly-targeted little allotments at the periphery may have suffered the most.¹⁸

Biography: Low, Stackpole & Parker

Perhaps a wealthy individual or corporation could have weathered the economic storm, but there is no indication that Low, Stackpole or Parker were men of means. Little is known about them except what is found in city directories of the period. The first possible mention of Low was an entry in the directory for 1863-64, where a J.J. Low was listed as "Stewart's stove agent" and boarding at "the Water Cure." This J.J. Low, if indeed it was the same person, moved around East Cleveland township, and appeared one

time as a gardener on Crawford Avenue. A *John J. Low* first clearly appeared in Cleveland city directories in 1871, as a partner in the real estate firm of Low, Simpson and Hopkins, and living in the East End, on the corner of Crawford and Hough. By 1874 (the last year examined during this period) Low was on his own in business and boarding at 900 Euclid Avenue.¹⁹

The first directory entry for either of the other two real estate developers appeared in 1867, where a James Parker is listed as a lumberman living on Willson (East 55th Street). Although the directory intermittently listed other James Parkers, including a physician, a puddler, a saloon keeper and a piano tuner; and despite the lumberman being listed as living at one point in the new oil boom town of Titusville, Pennsylvania, the lumberman was listed as still living on Willson in 1872-3 when the allotment was created.²⁰

Thomas Stackpole first appears in the 1871-2 directory and is listed as a real estate man in the directory for the next year. In the 1873-4 directory he is still a real estate man, but his business affiliation is also listed as being J. McDermott and Company, manufacturers of building stone and grindstones. Unlike Low and Parker, Stackpole appears to have lived and worked downtown, and not in the East End.²¹

These three pioneer real estate men on the heights appear to have come to their profession, as many have done in real estate, from other vocations. Low may have been a stove merchant, Stackpole a stone merchant and Parker a lumber merchant before becoming merchants of land. They came from respectable business backgrounds, ventured into the real estate market and generally remained there for some years without achieving much visibility. Compared to a truly successful real estate man like John G.W. Cowles, who represented John D. Rockefeller and Charles F. Brush and whose family

owned a powerful newspaper (the *Leader*), Low, Stackpole and Parker were minor players in the local real estate scene.²²

Following the onset of the depression, some of the lots in these two subdivisions were purchased in batches by investors, or retained by the developers. J.J. Low's widow, Fanny, was still in possession of many of these lots in the 1890s, when she died.²³

Developer Improvements: Clark Street

Hundred-Acre Lot 404 shows the course of a road that connected Euclid Avenue near Mayfield Road with the northern end of Cliff Street up on the heights. Named Clark Street, it is now the route of Cornell up to Murray Hill Avenue and Edgehill Road (approximately) from there to Overlook. It was laid out in 1872 by Horatio Ford and Andrew Cozad and required the permission of several other adjoining land owners to be dedicated for public use. Its apparent function was to connect these owner's properties to the East Cleveland horsecar line on Euclid Avenue.²⁴

The permission that Ford and Cozad needed from the other area landowners—Parker, Stackpole, Dudley A. Cozad, a local undertaker, and Frank Remington, an insurance agent who later became a clergyman in the Corners—was not hard to obtain, both because the road would benefit their properties, and because these men were working together on other speculative real estate ventures nearby. All were undoubtedly betting on the economic prosperity of the Corners, now that the horsecar was in place. The subdivisions they created were connected by Clark Street to the commercial node that would grow up around the intersections of Mayfield and Clark with Euclid, where the toll gate was located.²⁵

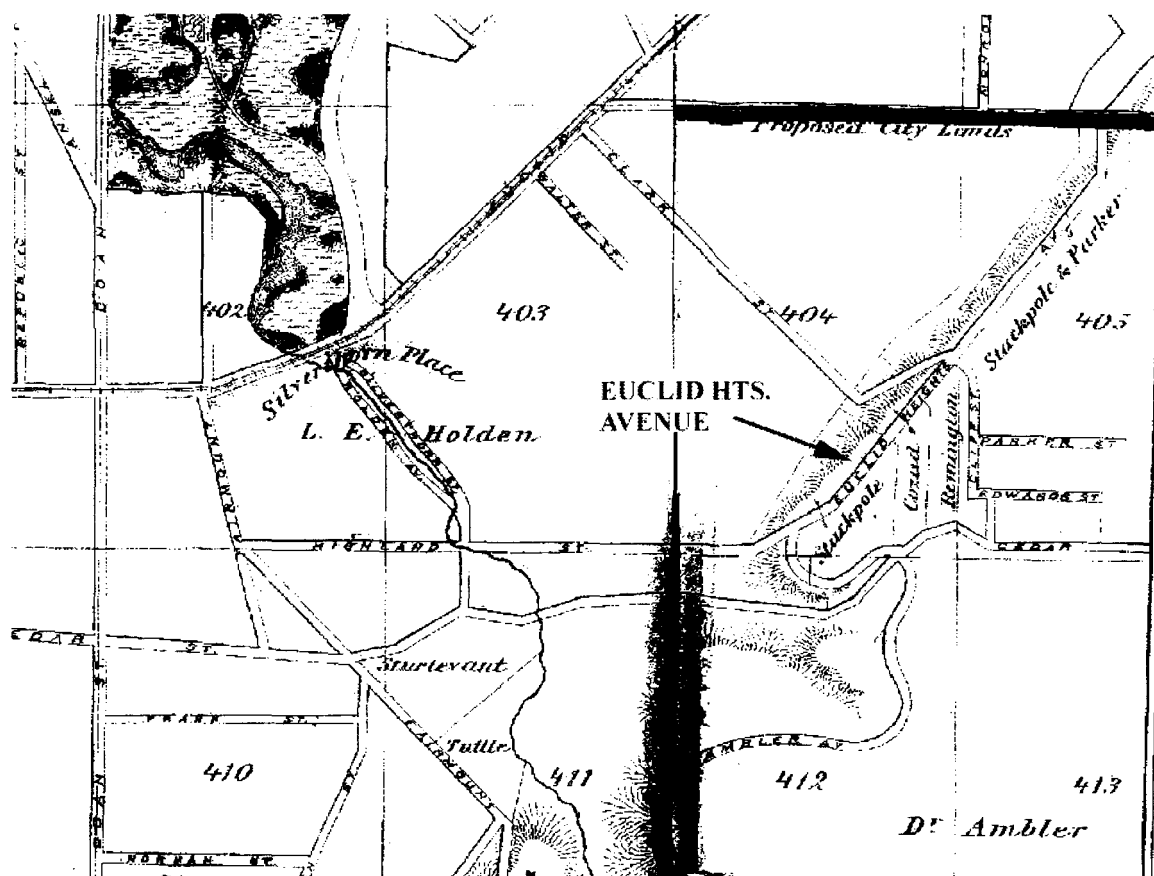


Figure 7 - Detail from one of two maps drawn by Otto Dercum in the 1870s, showing the location of a proposed "Euclid Heights Avenue," to run approximately where Overlook Road is today. No other cartographer has portrayed such a road existing there. As shown, it would have ascended the ridge just north of Cedar Glenn, veered northerly to parallel the ridge, crossing Clark Street at its intersection with Cliff Street, and terminated at Mayfield Road.

Planned Improvement: Euclid Heights Avenue

The second layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest has one final element that should be mentioned, as it demonstrates that the name "Euclid Heights" dates to at least the 1870s. Two maps of this period show a road named Euclid Heights Avenue running along the ridge, starting at an extension of Highland, just north of Cedar Road; going across Clark Street about where Edgehill and Overlook intersect today; and ending at Mayfield Road. Drawn by one Otto Dercum, in 1873 and 1874, and unsupported by any maps not drawn by him, these maps may indicate an intention of Stackpole and Parker, who owned most of the land traversed by this route, to open more of their lands to development. The road was evidently never built, but it foreshadows further developments in the area, once the cycle of economic depression lifted two decades later. That introduces the main subject of this study, the Euclid Heights allotments of the 1890s.²⁶

Summary

The Atlas of Cuyahoga County, published in 1874 (Figure 7), is a good view of the second layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest. It shows that lot 405 had become a complex of property lines and minor streets, reflecting the partitioning work of Cyrus Ford and the allotments of Low, Stackpole and Parker. Lot 406, and much of Lot 8, both to the west, were in the hands of Worthy S. Streator, who used them for his cattle breeding program. This layer contains the new property lines created with the installation of these small, speculative allotments which represent the attempts of local businessmen to profit from the closer economic and transportation connections between Cleveland and Doan's Corners community.²⁷

At this stage of evolution, all of the lines of the first layer of the palimpsest are still present. They framed and shaped the allotments of Low, Stackpole and Parker, which were too minor in scale to erase the earlier lines. But these allotments did herald a change in the basis of land values on the heights, from agriculture and small local businesses to residential suburbs of Cleveland. The changes were made possible by innovations in transportation technology which continued to dominate the economic future of the Corners area and Euclid Heights, as will be seen in the next layers of the palimpsest.

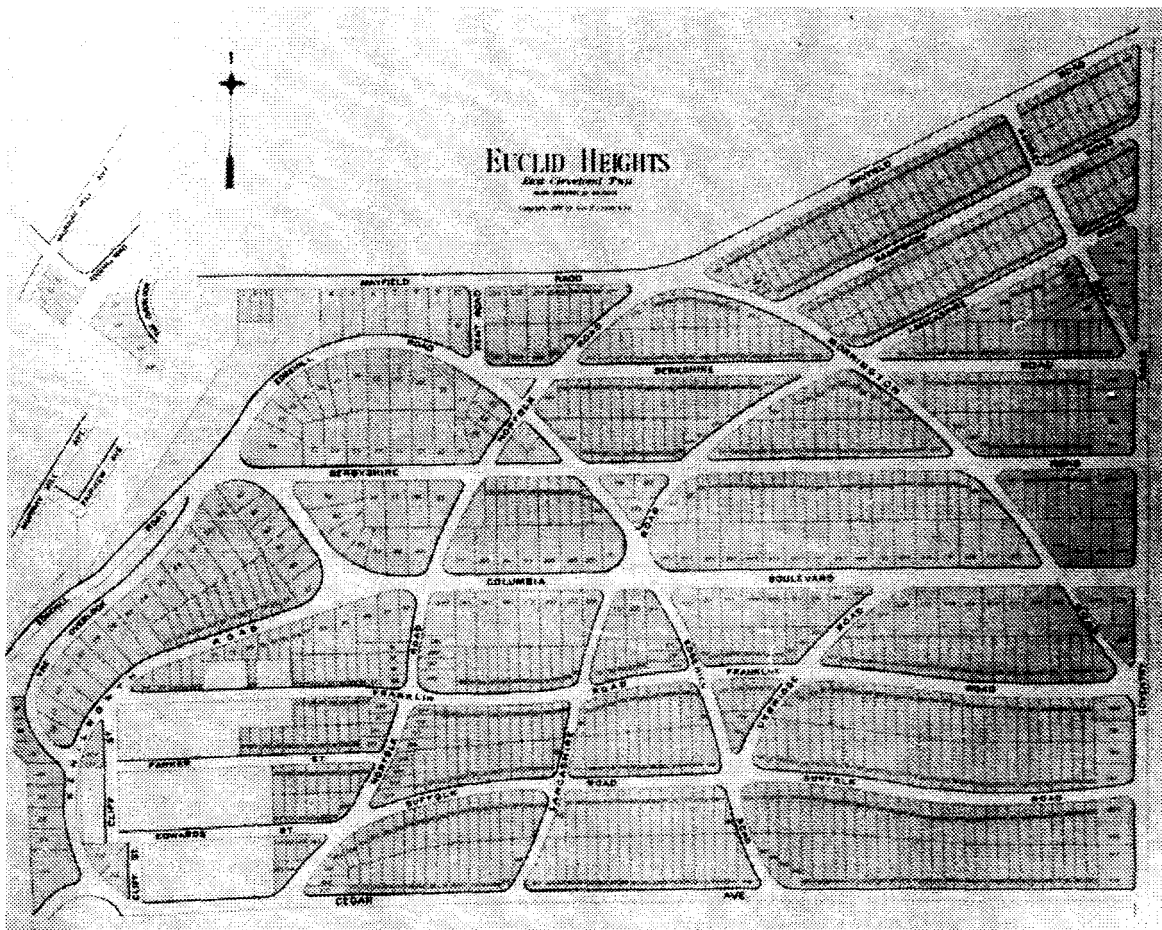


Figure 8 - The Euclid Heights Allotment of 1892, as published in Cram's atlas of that year. The recorded plat omits most of the area south of Columbia Boulevard, and east of the blank area representing the allotments of JJ Low and of Stackpole and Parker, in the lower left corner, so this is the only complete view of what was intended. This is layer 3 of the palimpsest.

CHAPTER IV: THE EUCLID HEIGHTS ALLOTMENT OF 1892

The third layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest is the earliest of three layers displaying the Euclid Heights Allotment in its various forms, this being the recorded plat of 1892. It represents a strengthening of the relationship between public transportation and land development, and introduces several new elements to local land subdivision: a connection between subdivisions and public utilities, park development and land use controls. It also represents the return of out-of-state investors to the land title record of the Corners. The uncertain national economic recovery of the 1890s and delays in developing the nearby public park system retarded the development of the allotment in this configuration, and led to a re-subdividing of Euclid Heights several years later. Nevertheless, this version of the allotment left a permanent record on the palimpsest, one in which the earlier cadastral boundaries of the area were significantly altered for the first time.

Patrick Calhoun

The story of the Euclid Heights Allotment begins with Patrick Calhoun's purchase of the eastern portion of the site from Worthy Streater in 1891. This is the single largest acquisition of the lands comprising the allotment and Calhoun is the pivotal figure in the development company throughout its twenty year history. His arrival represents the

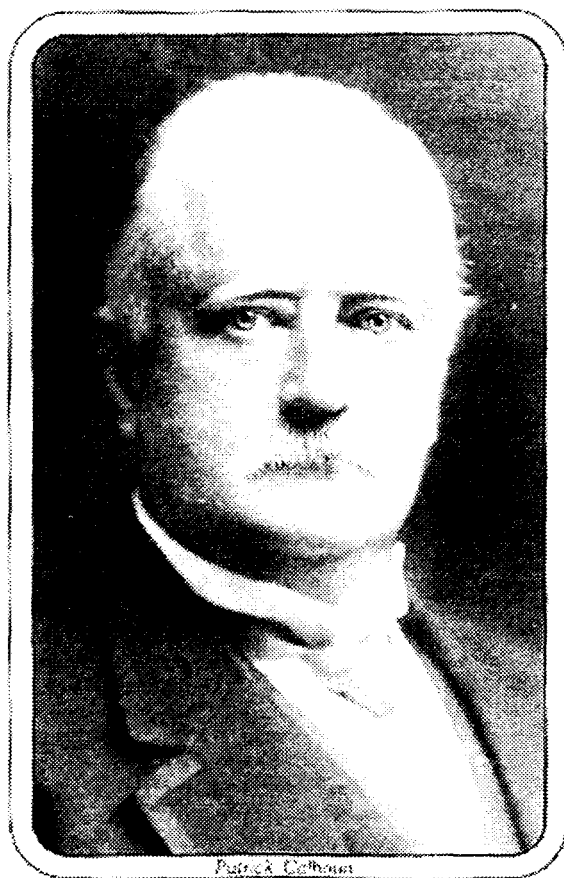


Figure 9 - Patrick Calhoun (from Warren Corning Wick, *My Recollections of Old Cleveland*)

infusion of eastern capital and ideas into the development of the heights, and parallels what was happening in Shaker Heights, with less success, by the predecessors to the Van Sweringen brothers.

The only account of Calhoun's arrival in Cleveland is told by his daughter, Mildred Calhoun Wick, and published decades after the event. She says that her father came to Cleveland in August of 1890, to attend a railroad meeting. Following the meeting he decided to visit the Garfield Monument, on the grounds of the Lake View Cemetery, which his family had helped finance. He was driven out to see the monument in a carriage driven by one John Hartness Brown, traveling out Euclid Avenue and up onto the heights above the monument via Cedar Glenn.¹

Mrs. Wick continues that her father was so impressed by the real estate activity that he witnessed on the drive out, and by the location and natural ambiance of the heights south of Lake View, that he insisted on purchasing the site from Streator that afternoon. He sent Brown to Streator with an offer of \$30,000 and the deal was agreed to that same day. No evidence has been found to prove or disprove this account, beyond the bare fact that Streator sold the property to Calhoun, closing the deal in 1891. However, if Calhoun's arrival in Cleveland attracted little notice, he was gathering much national attention for his work in railroad syndication.²

Patrick Calhoun was a grandson of United States Vice President John C. Calhoun and had been born in 1856 on the family plantation in South Carolina. Moving to Atlanta as a young man, he studied law and came to be senior partner in the law firm of Calhoun, King and Spalding. His specialty was railroad law and his firm was legal counsel for the Richmond Terminal, a Virginia railway holding company, in the 1880s. In 1892, at the

age of 36, he was ousted from the Terminal Company, but was returned two years later as J.P. Morgan's agent. He represented the syndicate that bought the by-then-bankrupt Terminal Company and consolidated its constituent railroads into the Southern Railway System.³

Like his famous grandfather, Pat Calhoun believed that the key to economic growth in the South was the ability of Southern ports, in competition with Philadelphia, New York and Boston, to develop rail links to the Midwestern industrial cities, like Cleveland. One of Calhoun's rivals within the Richmond Terminal machinations was Calvin S. Brice, an Ohio attorney who was a founder of the Nickel Plate Road and who maintained an office in Cleveland. Consequentially, the likelihood of Calhoun needing to come to Cleveland on railroad business at that time is quite high.⁴

East End growth

What is undeniably true is the assertion that Calhoun would have noticed, and been impressed by, Cleveland's growth into its East End. The Cleveland of 1890 was a far larger city than it had been twenty years earlier. The population had grown to 261,353, nearly three times the 1870 total, and five out of six were either first or second generation immigrants. The city encompassed 28 square miles and there were civic boosters calling for the annexation of Brooklyn, West Cleveland, Glenville and Collamer. In 1890 the *Plain Dealer* reported that:

A ride over the street car lines that extend beyond Willson will reveal a building boom going on this season that augurs well for Cleveland.... They are beautiful edifices fit for the wisest, brightest or richest to inhabit, and they would not be common if they stood upon Euclid avenue lots, even in comparison with the mansions there.... All around, workmen are busy every day on new buildings.⁵

In addition to the rapid pace of real estate development in the East End, there were two announcements that Calhoun might have noticed, and been influenced by during his August visit. First was the Board of Trade's call for a boulevard to link Gordon Park to Wade Park, which would have been Calhoun's introduction to the burgeoning issue of park expansion in Doan's Corners.⁶

The other issue was an announcement that the East Cleveland Electric Railway Company was going to extend service from Quincy Avenue up to and along the ridge to the rear of the Garfield Monument. As this would bring more service to the heights, it would be an encouraging sign. The issues of parks and streetcars are central to an understanding of what Calhoun was attempting to do and need to be discussed in greater detail.⁷

Parks and the Rural Ideal

When Euclid Heights was taking shape in the 1890s the ideal location for land was adjacent to parks. For prospective buyers of lots, the proximity to park lands symbolized that the pollution of the inner city was left behind for the healthful and spiritual benefits of suburban living, as envisioned in the Rural Ideal. For developers and investors, the ability to acquire land on the edges of a park -- or to get a park authorized next to land they already owned -- insured the profitability of their speculation.⁸

The value of this close relationship between parks and profits was widely held and practiced by real estate promoters throughout Cleveland's history. Lee Canfield and Sheldon Pease donated Clinton Park to the city in 1835, to be the centerpiece of their

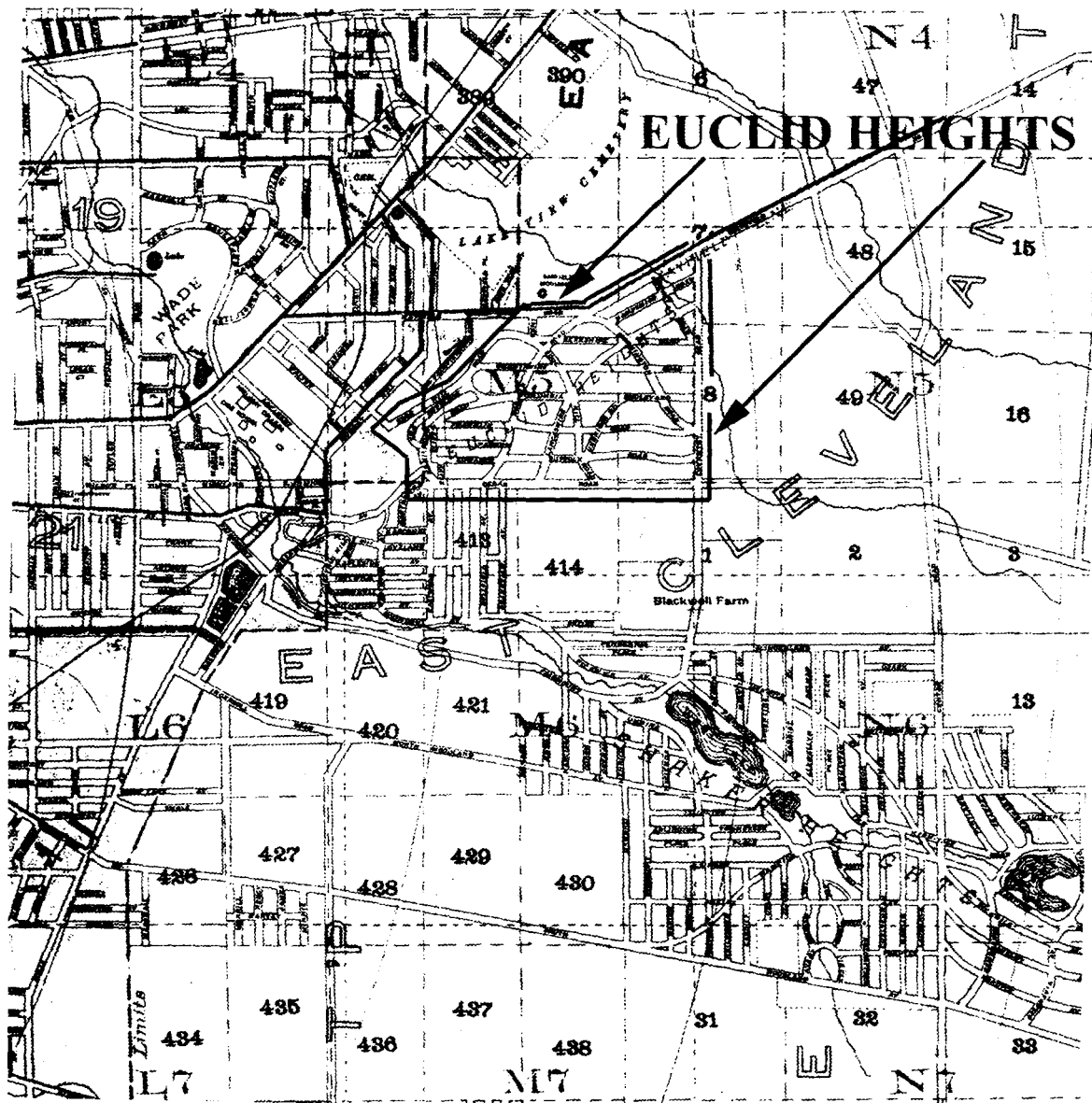


Figure 10 - Map showing location of Euclid Heights Allotment (outline added) in relation to Wade Park, Case School, Western Reserve University, Lake View Cemetery and Shaker Heights. Note Garfield Monument immediately to the left of the upper arrowhead. Notice also that a development is shown on the western half of Hundred Acre Lot 413, which was part of the Euclid Club's golf course until 1898 (adapted from *Stranahan's Map of Cleveland and Vicinity, 1893*).

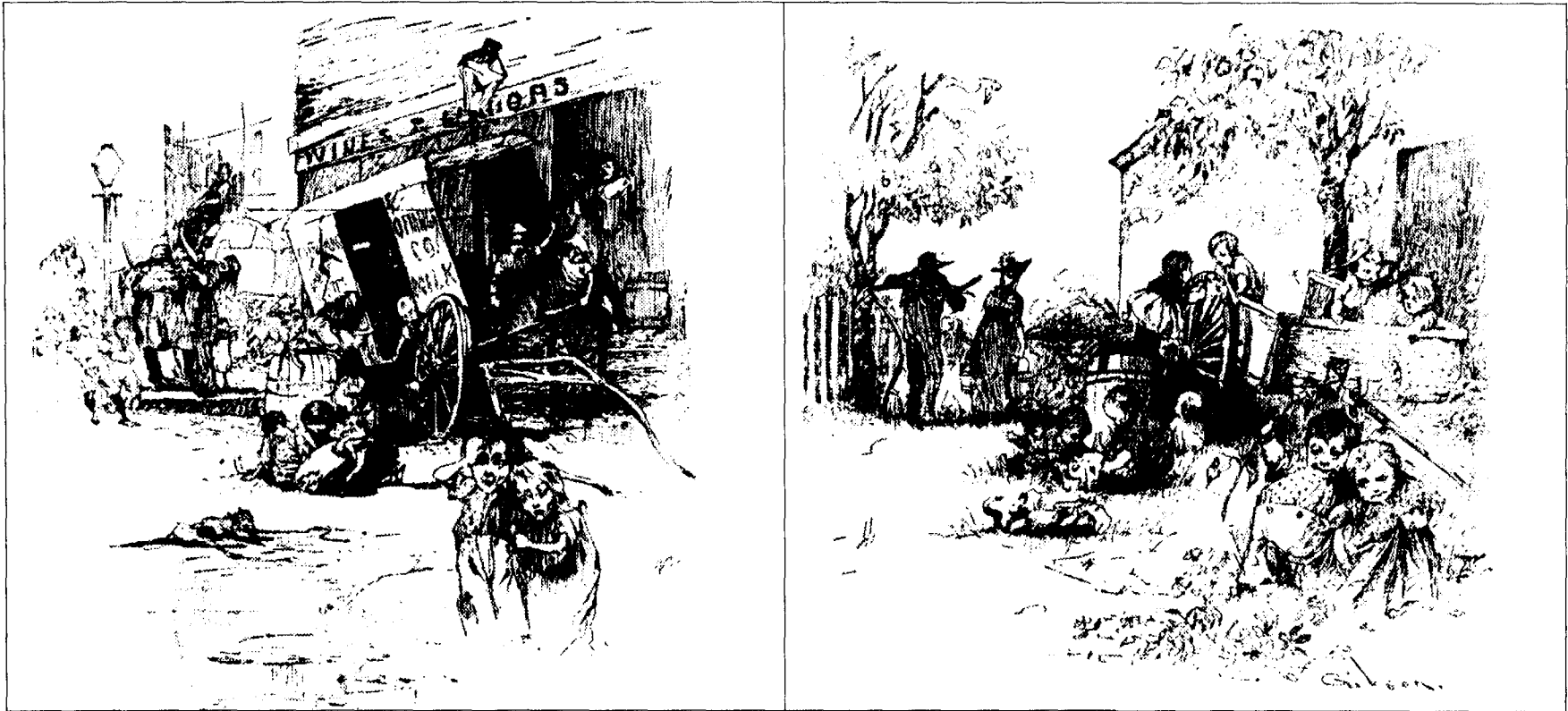


Figure 11 - "A Plea for Fresh Air," showing the assumed benefits of fresh air and suburban living. (from *Town Topics*, 1892)

luxurious Clinton Square development, near Lake Avenue and East Seventeenth Street. Subsequent railroad intrusions into the area, however, doomed the lakeside amenities of their project.⁹

On the near west side, in Ohio City, Richard Lord and Elias Barber platted a subdivision, Barber and Lord's, in 1836. They situated a small greenspace, Franklin Circle, at the head of the main avenue and for many years the area rivaled Euclid Avenue as the prestigious address in Cleveland. In 1851, John G. Jennings created his University Heights Allotment in what is now the Tremont neighborhood on Cleveland's south side, and donated the small Pelton Park (later enlarged into Lincoln Park) to the city.¹⁰

Further to the south and east, a syndicate of Buffalo investors was rumored to be interested in purchasing the former Shaker lands for development and were reportedly quite aware of the relationship between the success of their venture and the work of the park and boulevard commission in Doan's Brook. The *Plain Dealer* reported that "... the promoters of the scheme are very much interested in the boulevard project, and they realize that such an improvement in that vicinity would enhance the value of its realty."¹¹

Thus there was a cozy, symbiotic relationship between real estate developers and the public officials in charge of acquiring park lands. There was little competition for land between these two groups as their needs rarely overlapped and usually complemented each others goals. The developers wanted relatively level, easily-developed lands adjacent to parks for the enhanced values such proximity would bring, and were prepared to donate marginal lands to facilitate the presence of neighboring public parks. The public officials, mindful of the prohibitively high price of suburban lands suitable for real estate development, reluctant to retire property from the tax rolls, and desiring lands that

were more picturesque and natural, were prone to seek more rugged, uneven terrain for parks. Hence the real estate speculators could split off land that they otherwise would have had trouble developing as residential lots and donate it for public parks. The public officials would thereby receive the more picturesque lands as parks without any expenditure of funds for capital acquisition.¹²

The notion of relying upon wealthy benefactors for the acquisition of public park lands was not a new idea: for as far back as 1848 Andrew Jackson Downing had noted the lack of parks in the United States and had advocated the then-revolutionary idea of tax-supported parks for the benefit of all city residents; the land itself coming from the generosity of wealthy men.¹³

Nor was the relationship between private land developers and public park officials unique to Cleveland. Sam Bass Warner observed that in Boston "... the Park Department carefully avoided land which was thought to be suited to private construction, taking instead the marshes and uplands at the edge of areas then building. In effect, the park Department landscaped the margins of private developments." In 1891, Cleveland's soon-to-be parks engineer, Ernest W. Bowditch, drew upon his Boston experiences in stating that:

Although it may not appear self-evident it will be found on investigation that lands most desirable for park purposes are frequently not considered the best for residential uses, as they are apt to be too picturesque to be easily utilized and perhaps more difficult of access. Therefore the acquiring of park lands does not necessarily imply primary expenditures.¹⁴

The heavy dependence upon private benevolence for capital acquisition assured that there would be little conflict and that the work of the public park commissioners in improving the private gifts would serve to "landscape the margins of private

development." Despite the occasional, early complaints that this cozy relationship -- which might today be legitimized as a "public/private partnership" -- only served to benefit the wealthy land owners, the fact is that both parties benefited and needed each other for the realization of their individual ends.¹⁵

Therefore by the 1890s it became standard practice for the developers of luxury subdivisions to donate any surplus, scenic lands to the growing local parks system in the expectation that the donation would be returned in the form of higher property values. Patrick Calhoun, Mrs. Martha B. Ambler of Ambler Heights, and the developers of Shaker Heights would all follow this practice in the East End during the decade.

Streetcars

If the location of the Streater farm, adjacent to the emerging park system, encouraged Calhoun to think of a luxury subdivision, it was nevertheless the circumstances of Cleveland's street railway system that must have impressed him most strongly. When he came to the heights in 1890, he was still primarily a steam railroad man, deeply involved in the affairs of the Richmond Terminal Company. But with his involvement with Euclid Heights, his destiny soon became electric streetcar systems and he went on to head street traction syndicates in St. Louis and San Francisco. Euclid Heights would remain his only known venture into direct investment in real estate development, but the link between streetcar values and land values would keep him in the traction business for decades after leaving steam railroads behind.¹⁶

He may have become aware of the potential of street railways from his work in Richmond, where the first successful streetcar system was instituted in 1888. Frank J. Sprague had been experimenting with electrified streetcars in New York City when

financier Maurice B. Flynn hired him to create an electrified system in Richmond, VA, where Flynn had just won the traction franchise and was creating the Richmond Union Passenger Railway. The terrain was too hilly for horsecars and Sprague experimented with new techniques until he perfected a working traction system and became "the Father of the Electric Trolley." His success was closely followed by investors and promoters, like Calhoun, and was quickly copied in other cities.¹⁷

Cleveland had achieved some fame in the electric traction field before Sprague had begun his work. In 1884, Edward Bentley and Walter H. Knight developed a method of delivering electricity to cars via charged rails in underground conduit and their East Cleveland Railway enjoined considerable publicity for two years as the first electric streetcar line in the U.S. before technical problems forced the closure of these experiments.¹⁸

By the time of Calhoun's arrival, the East Cleveland line was in the second year of operation using the Sprague electric traction system and was busily extending branches all through the East End. Calhoun, then, came from his personal experience of Sprague's successes on hilly terrain to Cleveland, where the East Cleveland line was just announcing plans to run a branch up onto the heights. It was little wonder that Calhoun felt optimistic about the location of Euclid Heights and its potential as a streetcar suburb.¹⁹

Another potential that might have attracted him was the traction franchise for Cleveland. In 1890 Cleveland was just entering a period of consolidation of its many traction franchises and this would have interested an investor like Calhoun. In 1885 two

lines had combined to form the Woodland and West Side Railway Company and in 1889 two others merged into the Cleveland City Cable Company.

By 1892 there were rumors that outside syndicates were interested in the Cleveland market, but that it was still too fragmented to acquire easily. The following year this was partially remedied when the East Cleveland line, the Broadway and Newburgh line, and the Brooklyn and South Side line were merged into the Cleveland Electric Railway Company, the "Big Con," and the Woodland and West Side line and the Cleveland City Cable line were merged into the Cleveland City Railway Company, the "Little Con." These two companies were further consolidated into the "Con-Con" in 1903, but even as early as 1890 the possibilities of consolidation would have been of interest to Calhoun, who subsequently went on to specialize in purchasing consolidated city streetcar lines in rapidly-growing cities.²⁰

There was a real market for streetcars in the 1890s. The marriage of traction technology and urban population growth served to drastically alter the suburban landscape as electric streetcars carried more people further and cheaper than ever before and led to a proliferation of new allotments in the East End of Cleveland and in other U.S. cities.²¹

In the first year of the Euclid Heights Allotment the horsecars were completely shouldered aside by the new electrics and by the city's centennial one writer observed:

Electric Railways, with their 'Broom-stick trains,' have entirely done away with horse-cars within, and for miles without, our city limits. No horse-cars have run since July, 1893, the witches having taken full possession of all the lines, where their red-hot wires and brilliant sparks are often more suggestive of Pluto's regions than of public convenience.²²

The streetcars were a major force in shaping the late-nineteenth century city, but it was a shift towards increasing economic and social stratification. Exclusive, restricted allotments for the business, professional and social elite and the upper-middle classes of managers were installed at distances farther and farther from the immigrants, the poor, the workers and the ethnic minorities. What made the streetcar suburbs so attractive a proposition to speculators like Calhoun was that they were in demand by the more affluent middle-class buyers. Working class suburbs did exist, but were within close, walking distances from a few major employers, and were not the bourgeois "streetcar suburbs" which dominated Cleveland's East End.²³

The Euclid Heights Allotment of 1892 was designed to take maximum advantage of all these elements by presenting a designed community of several classes of building lots, offering electric streetcar service to Cleveland, utility lines in the streets and deed restrictions to insure compatible land uses. The idea, unlike that of the modest little allotments that had existed there in the 1870s, was to engineer an allotment of such high quality that buyers would feel assured that their investments would be protected and purchase lots in Euclid Heights instead of any of several competing subdivisions. Euclid Heights employed a sophisticated marketing mix of tangible and intangible attractions to build real estate value, which is reflected in this layer of the palimpsest.

Euclid Heights: The Site

Real estate value has frequently been characterized as a function of location, and for Euclid Heights location meant two things: its lofty perspective from the ridge overlooking Doan's Corner and its position along the beautiful string of public parks then being planned. Stilgoe has traced the evolving nineteenth century appreciation of

wholesome family living in the "Borderlands" around major industrial cities and identified "Heights" as one of the key elements of that evolving vision of the Rural Ideal. Looking west from their homes along The Overlook, wealthy Euclid Heights residents would not only feel apart of an elevated natural and moral landscape, but would see in the distance the pall of industrial progress from which they had escaped.²⁴

Like moral kings in their towering keep, they not only had the protection of distance and elevation, they were further buttressed by the public improvements which surround Euclid Heights. Across Mayfield to the north stretched the wooded splendor of the Lake View Cemetery, while to the west, below the ridge, was the new campuses of the Western Reserve College and the Case School of Applied Science. South of Cedar was the Ambler Heights allotment, also catering to a elite class of residents

Cedar Glenn, then, led up to an idyllic aerie, beautifully framed by public parks and private institutions, that insured that obnoxious neighboring developments would not spoil the ambiance of Euclid Height. In this piece of inspired site selection, Calhoun was following the model of such national models as Roland Park.²⁵

To the east and south, as will be discussed later, Euclid Heights provided a good measure of buffer of its own: middle class lots and a golf course. The location of smaller lots in most of the northeastern portion of the plat meant that the lower residential values there -- which were, nevertheless, still under the control of Euclid Heights developers -- would shelter the higher values along the ridge and along most of Columbia Boulevard. To the south Calhoun installed a golf course which further buffered his project. Although created several years after the first plat was dedicated in 1892 -- it was hardly necessary as a buffer any earlier—it may have been a part of the planning from the beginning,

particularly as the building lots designed for that portion of the plat where the course was located were never formally recorded.²⁶

CHAPTER V: ASSEMBLING THE PARCELS

To build a residential community of the type envisioned by Calhoun required that the cadastral map of the area be erased and an entirely new set of property boundaries be drawn over the accumulation of a century of prior title transfers and lot subdivisions. This is more than merely taking one simple parcel of vacant land and creating an allotment -- the usual practice -- for two reasons: first the Euclid Heights site covered many such simple parcels and, second, it included two recorded subdivisions, complete with dedicated streets and a tangle of small ownership stakes to purchase. It is this process of un-doing some of the subdividing work of preceding generations and creating a comprehensive new allotment in its place that causes the evolving Euclid Heights cadastral to be here termed a palimpsest by its third layer. The first layer established the cadastral framework and the second layer brought it to what is generally the final form of property development—the recorded subdivision—but the striking out of some of this earlier work to replace it with another, larger subdivision is rare enough to warrant closer examination and the special (if fanciful) terminology of "palimpsest."

The western half of the Euclid Heights site covered most of Hundred Acre Lot 405 and part of eastern lot 404. As purchases were negotiated, titles were conveyed to either John Hartness Brown alone, or to Brown and James Greer Zachry as co-grantees. Given

that Zachry was a resident of New York City, his involvement at this stage might indicate that he was acting on Calhoun's behalf in this portion of the plat as he seems to have been -- through the Railroad and Realty Security Company -- in the eastern part.

The map of Lots 404 and 405 had not substantially changed since the close of the second layer of activity in the mid-1870s (Figure 10). J.J. Low's Allotment and the allotment of Stackpole and Parker were still in existence in the southwestern portion of Lot 405, and the Parker-Stackpole partnership still owned most of the lands north up to Mayfield Road; except for Walton's Allotment in the northwest corner, which was below the ridge. The eastern portion of Lot 405 continued to be held by Fords in the north and by Wright and Edwards in the south, along Cedar Road. In the flat lands along the ridge, to the west of the two allotments, Remington had been bought out by Liberty E. Holden, a major real estate speculator of the period, and the right-of-way for Clark Street down the hill from Cliff Street was now in the name of Charles D. Bishop, who had been Stackpole and Parker's surveyor.¹

In the three months beginning 31 January 1891 all of the important portions of the western part of Lot 405 came into the hands of Brown and Zachry. On that date Martha Wright sold the 4.58 acre parcel in the southeast corner, and fronting on Cedar Road, to Brown and Zachry for \$2,290 (exactly \$500 per acre). Three weeks later, on 23 February, Brown and Zachry took title to Bishop's holding, paying \$5,299.20 for the 3.3 acre parcel (\$1,605.82 per acre). Bishop took back a mortgage for \$3,000 and presumably received the balance in cash. The Wright and Bishop transactions were recorded together on 27 February.²

The April transactions started with Brown receiving title to the square, ten-acre lot between Wright's and J.J. Low's on Cedar, for \$6,500 (\$650 per acre). The owner, Frank P. Belle, took back a \$3,000 mortgage. Two weeks later, on 16 April, Frank P. Stackpole and James Parker each concluded separate transactions with Brown and Zachry, conveying their interests in lands laying mostly outside their subdivision, for \$20,000 each. As this was about 25 acres, the total price received was \$1,600 per acre, with Stackpole taking back an \$11,000 mortgage and Parker one for \$15,000. Finally, on 29 April, Horace Ford conveyed the 40 acre tract in the northeast portion of Lot 405, to Brown for \$40,000 (\$1,000 per acre) and took back a mortgage of \$30,000. Thus, by the end of April, the western portion of the Euclid Heights site had been assembled for a price of \$94,089. However, most of the Low, Parker and Stackpole allotments were not yet part of the Euclid Heights project, perhaps because their many small lots were in too many hands for Brown and Zachry to acquire easily.³

The next phase involved settling title into the proper hands, in preparation for creating the allotment. On 27 May, Brown conveyed the lands, to which he had taken title in his sole right, to Zachry for \$50,000. On 1 July -- perhaps a day that Zachry was in town to sign papers -- Brown and Zachry conveyed an undivided 1/3 interest in the consolidated parcel to William Hiram Brown, who received a 2/12 share; John G.W. Cowles, who received a 1/12 share; and Cowles' real estate partner, Richard N. Parmely, who also received a 1/12 share. Parmely and John Hartness Brown were appointed as trustees for the purpose of:

Allotting, improving and selling said lands with the power in the said trustees to make good and sufficient warranty deeds of all land sold and to use all money received and collected by them as such trustees to pay off the mortgages now on said lands....⁴

Zachry conveyed his 1/3 interest in the trustees that same day and Cowles and William Brown followed suit on November eleventh. When 1891 closed, all of the western portion of Euclid Heights was in the hands of the trustees and, presumably, they were managing the affairs of their portion of the project.

The eastern portion of the project, while larger, was far less complicated to complete, followed a schedule quite similar to the western portion's, and also involved Zachry. The deal struck by Calhoun and Streator in the summer of 1890 was for all of Hundred Acre Lot 406, portions of Hundred Acre Lot 398, and portions of Lots 7 and 8 in the neighboring Warrensville Township. While Zachry, with Brown, was buying the western lands in April, he was also incorporating the Hudson River Realty Company in New Jersey; perhaps evoking the picturesque school of painting, then so popular, for promotional reasons. He was the major stockholder, having eighty percent of the shares outstanding, but these outstanding shares only totaled 100 of an authorized issue of 30,000 shares, each with a par value of \$100.⁵

When Calhoun closed the Streator deal in July, for \$223,000, he used these lands (which were mortgaged for \$193,000) to acquire 2,500 of the outstanding shares of the company in August. Zachry had renamed it the Railroad and Realty Security Company, perhaps to reflect the practical, business-like sound it would have to investors, and so as to avoid the regional constraints of the Hudson River.⁶

By November of 1891, the Euclid Heights parcel -- less the remnants of J.J. Low's and of Stackpole and Parker's -- comprised over 250 acres and was bounded by Cedar Road on the south, the ridge on the west, Mayfield Road on the north and what is now Coventry Road on the east. Ownership of the parcel was vested in Brown and Parmely,

as trustees for the western group, and the Railroad and Realty Security Company for Calhoun in the east. The group obtained a \$60,000 from Myron T. Herrick at the Society for Savings in April of 1892, executing a mortgage as security. The next step was the laying out of the streets, blocks and building lots for sale.⁷

Ernest W. Bowditch

The hiring of Ernest W. Bowditch symbolized the importance of the new park system to the Euclid Heights Allotment. Mrs. Warren Corning Wick, Calhoun's daughter, has claimed for her father the credit for hiring Bowditch to design Euclid Heights, but Calhoun did not have to look very far to find him.⁸

Bowditch was a Boston landscape gardener and civil engineer of some prominence, who had designed that city's park system. Born and educated in Boston, he briefly worked for western railroads and was a topographer and geographer with the federal canal expedition to the Isthmus of Darien. He later went into private practice in Boston, became impressed with landscape gardening and planned the gardens of several large estates. In 1887 he designed the residential community of Tuxedo Park, New York.⁹

Bowditch said that he came to Cleveland in the latter part of 1890 to consult with Warren Corning about landscaping his estate and here developed a good relationship with William Gordon. Bowditch suggested the idea of a boulevard along Doan Brook, linking Gordon's private park to the Wade Park upstream, and to a wider string of parks that would circle Cleveland. Gordon thought the idea too sensible for Cleveland's corrupt city government, but in his unsigned will he directed his executor -- Charles H. Bulkley, Chairman of the Park Commission -- to pursue the idea and designated Bowditch the engineer in charge. In later years Bulkley was given credit for choosing Bowditch after

conducting a search that took him to New York, Philadelphia and Boston numerous times. However Bowditch came to Cleveland, Calhoun needed to do nothing more than hire whomever the park board selected.¹⁰

Euclid Heights: The Plat

However hired, Bowditch was in Cleveland giving advice on how the city park system should be configured in December of 1891, which was during the period when Brown and Zachry were assembling the western parcel for Euclid Heights. The Euclid Heights plat was dedicated in November of 1892 and appears to be the earliest Cleveland allotment designed by Bowditch's firm. His other known projects in Cleveland, besides the park system, were the Clifton Park subdivision at the mouth of the Rocky River (dedicated in 1894), and the Highland Terrace allotment (1895).¹¹

Orth's history of Cleveland states that Bowditch sent native Clevelander Myron Bond Vorce back "to develop Euclid Heights, Clifton Park and do other work of that character," and says that Vorce was a surveyor with "good mechanical skill." Vorce may have been the local person charged with obtaining measurements of the site for Bowditch to work from and other technical matters. Charles Wheeler Pratt and James E. Palmer were other engineers associated with Bowditch in the office he maintained here.¹²

The site that Bowditch and his associates had to work with was generally rectangular, with some diagonal parcels added and subtracted from the northern and western edges to accommodate the terrain. On the south it was bounded by Cedar Road and on the east by the old Streator's Road (also known as the North-South County Road), which would soon become Coventry Road. On the north it was bounded by Mayfield Road, which veered off to the northeast and added portions of Original Lots 398 and 7 to

the site. On the west the presence of the ridge (popularly known locally as "Turkey Ridge," or "Heathen Ridge") caused the site to lose the northwestern corner of Hundred Acre Lot 405, but also to acquire the southeastern corner of Hundred Acre Lot 404. The site covered approximately 300 acres.

From the western ridge the land rises to the southeast, with most of the elevation change (having an average slope here of about 1:25) coming between the center of the site and the southeast corner, along the general southwest-northeast diagonal prevalent in the heights area. The elevation at the corners being 800 feet at the top of Cedar Glenn in the southwest, 820 feet at the top of Mayfield at the northwest, 830 feet at Mayfield and Coventry in the northeast, and 890 feet at Cedar and Coventry in the southeast.¹³

The immediate design problem was the continued existence of the allotments of J.J. Low and of Stackpole and Parker. The problem was not so much the legal existence of the lots, which were incorporated into the legal descriptions of the site. Rather, the streets—Cliff, Edwards, Parker, and Franklin—were dedicated for public use and would have to be vacated. Also, the ownership of the individual lots resided with many people, including Low's widow. The streets were eventually vacated by ordinance and many of the lots purchased, but perhaps not in time to meet the Calhoun group's needs. Consequently, most of the two 1870s subdivisions were left in place and Euclid Heights was designed around them.

As a consequence of the need to avoid the earlier subdivisions and because of the scenic potential of land along the cliff, the Euclid Heights Allotment was extended into the southeast corner of Hundred Acre Lot 404. This permitted a drive, "The Overlook," to be created to provide access from the crest of Cedar Glenn northward along the ridge --

intersecting with and continuing as Edgehill -- to Mayfield, approximately along the course of the phantom Euclid Heights Avenue of the 1870s. Edgehill curved south and east from Mayfield Road, ending at Cedar Road.

Interestingly, this looping configuration is then mirrored to the east by Norfolk and Mornington Roads, creating two bell-shaped streets, reminiscent of roller-coaster tracks in silhouette. These two looping roads, and a parallel, half-loop to the east (Lancashire Road), would have brought carriage and foot traffic through the allotment to Cedar or Mayfield and would thereby function as the north-south collector streets that this plat otherwise lacked. Since the looping roads led to most of the smaller lots, they served the function of the long, straight streets traditionally found in streetcar suburbs—such as the Walton Brothers' Cedar Heights Allotment (1893) across Cedar Road—only here they were aesthetically curved.

As designed, the Euclid Heights plat continued the strong east-west orientation created by Cedar and Mayfield Roads with five internal streets paralleling them: Berkshire, Derbyshire, Franklin, and Suffolk Roads and Columbia Boulevard. In the northern and eastern portion of the plat Norfolk, Lancashire, Hampshire and Uxbridge followed the contour lines and paralleled Mayfield in that quadrant. Kenilworth curved into Columbia, the grand promenade route across the plat, whose large lots were reminiscent of those found along the ridge and clearly signaled that this, too, was intended as an area of elite living.¹⁴

The function of Clark Street in the earlier allotments—connecting the heights to Euclid Avenue via Clark and Cornell—was performed by Edgehill, which upon cresting the hill intersected Derbyshire, an east-west street across the plat. The other streets from

the earlier allotments ended at Norfolk Street, which ran north from Cedar near Low's eastern border. Franklin Street, in Stackpole and Parker's, however, crossed Norfolk and served as an east-west route across the plat.¹⁵

Bowditch platted 933 individual building lots in this subdivision, lots whose size reflected a socioeconomic distinction between the area along the ridge and most of the rest of the plat. In the western portion, along The Overlook, he anticipated the design he would use in Clifton Park, where side lot-lines were always perpendicular to curving streets and rear lines were always parallel to them. Everywhere else in Euclid Heights he laid out the lots to be perpendicular to the straight east-west or diagonal streets and to make no reference to the curving streets like Norfolk, Mornington, Lancashire, or Edgehill. The alignment of the lots suggests that the curving streets were important only near the ridge, but not further east, where the straight streets received the emphasis.¹⁷

Whatever the design emphasis, the curvilinear street patterns were significant. Frederick Law Olmsted explained how such a mixture of curving and straight streets would enhance the suburban amenities:

In the highways, celerity will be of less importance than comfort and convenience of movement, and as the ordinary directness of line in town-streets, with its resultant regularity of plan, would suggest eagerness to press forward, without looking to the right hand or the left, we should recommend the general adoption, in the design of your roads, of gracefully-curved lines, generous spaces, and the absence of sharp corners, the idea being to suggest and imply leisure, contemplativeness and happy tranquility.¹⁷

The eastern lots were not aligned with respect to the topography of the land. Rather, the multitude of narrow, elongated lots were arrayed in uncompromising rows, irrespective of the topography. This suggests two possibilities: either the developers intended buyers to purchase several lots and create customized parcels for larger homes

or apartments, or they anticipated the type of narrow, two-family residences found south of Cedar Road, in the Cedar Heights Allotment. With the coming of the Euclid Club later in the decade, the first scenario was the one actualized in the southeastern portion of the allotment.

Along the ridge, the practice was to construct rear lot-lines parallel with the streets as they, in turn, paralleled terrain features. In this way the tendency was to produce lots of more uniform size and value. The larger lots along the ridge and along Columbia Boulevard may also have reflected the minimum size for building sites in the area, rather than their optimum size. That is, the owners were always free to purchase several contiguous lots to form larger building sites, but as the minimum size of a building site was not regulated by the deed restrictions, then the sizes of the individual lots would serve to establish such minimums in different parts of the plat.

Comparing the sizes of the lots in J.J. Low's and Stackpole and Parker's Allotments with those in Euclid Heights Allotment demonstrates that the average lot size and the diversity of lot sizes both increased between the 1870s and 1890s -- a finding consistent with Sam Bass Warner's observations in Boston. Whatever the intended function of designing lots as Bowditch did, it presented, from a marketing perspective, a mixture of products that allowed the buyers to customize their own sites.¹⁸

Recordation, Reservations and Restrictions

The Euclid Heights Allotment plat was recorded as eight sheets in the Cuyahoga County Recorder's map book: the western three sheets attested by John Hartness Brown and Richard M. Parmely and the eastern five sheets by the Railroad and Realty Security Company. Brown and Parmely had one of their sheets recorded on 3 December 1892,

but the other two were not recorded until a year later, on 14 December 1893. There is no explanation for this lapse. The eastern sheets were all recorded on 15 December 1892, with Richard M. Parmely signing the dedication as agent for the Railroad and Realty Security Company.¹⁹

Curiously, this recorded plat omitted most of the lower half of the intended allotment. As seen from the Cram Company's atlas of 1892 (Figure 8, above), the allotment was designed to cover the entire site (less the two earlier subdivisions), but the plat only recorded the areas west of the earlier subdivisions and the areas north of Columbia Boulevard. Why the hundreds of lots between Columbia Boulevard and Cedar Road, from the earlier subdivisions to Coventry Road, were not recorded in the 1892 plats is unknown. As this area was never entirely recorded in subsequent re-plattings, and as it was the site of the Euclid Club and golf course after 1901, perhaps it was being reserved for the club's use. Patrick Calhoun's mansion also was in this area.

When the allotment was recorded and portions dedicated as public streets, the owners reserved to themselves the exclusive right to build any street railroad on these roads. They also reserved the right to install any sewer, gas, water or electric lines. They evidently did install the utility lines, for Brown later gave the City of Cleveland an easement to bring gas and water mains up to The Overlook from the foot of Edgehill Road and, for example, Allison J. Thompson was subsequently sold a lot with the promise that it would be connected to the sewer, water and gas systems then in place in the westerly part of the allotment.²⁰

The addition of transportation and utility improvements were attempts to increase the value of the building sites by providing all the amenities of high-quality suburban living

and easy access to the business world downtown. Although the Rural Ideal stressed the healthful effects of country living, it was the urban technology of Cleveland's public works systems that made suburban living possible. In 1892 the position of Euclid Heights at the fringes of the city's transportation and utility networks promised the benefits of both the urban benefits of clean water and the rural benefits of clean air.

Sam Bass Warner has pointed out that the wealthier classes were usually the ones located furthest away from the city, at the ends of the streetcar lines, and thereby were the only ones who could experience the Rural Ideal in its archetypal form. These were the ones best able to afford both the time of the commute to and the cost of developing in these fringe areas. In 1892 the Euclid Heights Allotment was designed to be at the end of all the city's transportation and utility infrastructures, deepest in the rural hinterlands of Cleveland's East End (and up on the heights, an added attraction), and carefully designed to appeal to the discriminating tastes of the social, business and professional leaders of the community.²¹

To protect this ambiance that they were designing, Calhoun and his lieutenants required that the new owners of lots did nothing to destroy the allotment's appeal. Restrictions were placed on the deeds, prohibiting certain land uses and requiring the owners to meet certain minimum standards, which varied with the location of the lot. Stewart H. Chisholm, for example -- a Millionaire's Row resident and steel magnate -- purchased lot 30, in 1895, for \$11,012.50, in a particularly scenic location along Edgehill Road, near John Hartness Brown's own house. As a condition of the sale, Chisholm had to promise that for the next fifty years the lot would only be used for residential purposes, that only one dwelling unit would be erected, that it would cost at least \$10,000, that it

would be set back at least 80 feet from Edgehill Road and that no liquor would be sold on the premises.²²

In 1896, wholesale druggist Ralph L. Cobb purchased lots 56, 65 and 66, creating a large building site between The Overlook and Kenilworth Road, for \$14,800. The conditions of his sale were that for the next fifty years he also would only build one dwelling unit, that it would have a minimum value of \$20,000, that it would be set back at least 90 feet from The Overlook, that no stables would be erected within 25 feet of any street and that no liquor would be sold. He also agreed to maintain the strip of land on the north side of The Overlook, immediately opposite his lot.²³

Allison J. Thompson, on the other hand, purchased a much more modest site and had far fewer restriction. He paid \$4,500 for small lots 867, 868 and 869 along Mayfield Road and agreed only that during the next fifty years he would refrain from liquor sales and immoral uses on his property. As this land was along Mayfield Road, the use of the land for apartments or stores may have been anticipated.²⁴

Missing from these restrictions were any controls over the style of dwelling constructed. This was a staple of the Shaker Heights development of later years, but probably was not used in the 1890s. Nor did the Euclid Heights attempt to establish a business district, akin to the Van Sweringens' Shaker Square district, perhaps believing that business would take care of itself so long as it was kept out of the residential areas. As will be seen, this did eventually occur.

Promotion

The Euclid Heights Allotment was launched in the summer of 1892 with large newspaper ads extolling the amenities of this grand planned community. Advertisements

found in the *Plain Dealer* ran from the middle of the summer into the fall, suggesting a mid-summer date for the beginning of lot sales in the allotment: two years after Calhoun reportedly first saw the area and one year after he closed the land purchase with Dr. Streator.

The promotional campaign stressed several key aspects of the allotment: its location in the path of future city growth, its healthful location above city smoke, its scenic views, its rapid rail connections to downtown, its street layout, its many installed utilities, and its deed restrictions, all designed to make Euclid Heights a profitable investment. Large display advertisements emphasized different aspects of this overall package, but the clear message was one of careful planning on the part of the developers and the bountiful prospects that such a fully-planned community offered the prospective buyer.

Harkening back to the theme sounded in the previously-cited 1890 *Plain Dealer* article on growth in the East End, the ads said that Euclid Heights "is located at such a point that the fine residence portion of Cleveland cannot be extended without taking it in, and it is the very next property that must be used for such purposed." If Calhoun saw that 1890 article during his first visit, he was clearly echoing the theme here.²⁵

To be financially advantageous to the promoters, the location of Euclid Heights had to be promoted as benefiting future buyers as well. Therefore the fact that Euclid Heights "is in the direct path of residential growth " was touted as "a surety of increasing value," and "a rare chance to get an investment which will make money," to the public. The "high-class" nature of the project was a further demonstration of the safety of investing in Euclid Heights lots.²⁶

The promotional campaign was not directed at the prospective buyers of lots in the elite area near the cliff, but rather at those who might purchase lots further east, particularly the smaller lots on the secondary streets. When the advertisement listed the minimum costs of houses required by the deed restrictions, the streets specified did not include The Overlook or Kenilworth. Columbia was listed and carried the highest minimum house value at \$5,000. Houses on Berkshire and Derbyshire had to cost \$4,000, on Franklin \$3,000, and on Mayfield, Hampshire and Lancashire, \$2,000. Perhaps the elite areas, which were the first to witness the construction of large, expensive homes, were handled privately.²⁷

This data also supports the conclusion, arrived at previously from examining relative lot sizes, that Columbia was intended to be a prominent boulevard. Finally, it supports the reasonable assumption that lots in the vicinity of the eventual golf course and clubhouse would be more important than those in the northeastern quarter, where apartment houses later appeared.

As the period covering the third layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest drew to a close in 1893, the allotment had been created and offered to the public. The installation of streets and utilities was begun and some private marketing of the elite lots near the cliff may have started. The alignments of Coventry, Cedar and part of Mayfield marked the location of the first layers of the palimpsest and the allotments of the second layer, J.J. Low's and Stackpole and Parker's, still existed within the borders of Euclid Heights.

The third palimpsest layer, however, eradicated the lines of many of the intervening parcels created by the actions of the Fords, Dutys and several small landowners and the plans were in place to eliminate nearly all remaining traces of earlier cadastral lines

within the plat. The developers were not entirely successful in this goal and the reasons are illuminated in the next (fourth) layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest.²⁸

Summary

The third layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest displays the impact of the first version of the Euclid Heights Allotment on the cartographic record of the area. It epitomized the planning of residential communities at the end of the nineteenth century and erased all of the internal lines of the project site, with the exception of the earlier allotments of Low, Stackpole and Parker. Unlike those modest little allotments, however, Euclid Heights reflects the new method of creating land values by providing the healthful combination of modern urban utilities in a protected rural environment, with rapid electric transportation to the central business district. The scale of this project overshadowed everything that had gone before on the site, which is symbolized by the manner in which it re-writes the palimpsest. Significant refinements in the allotment remain in the near future of the palimpsest, but layer three represents a qualitative change in the economic opportunities in the Corners area and in the nature of land speculation on the heights.

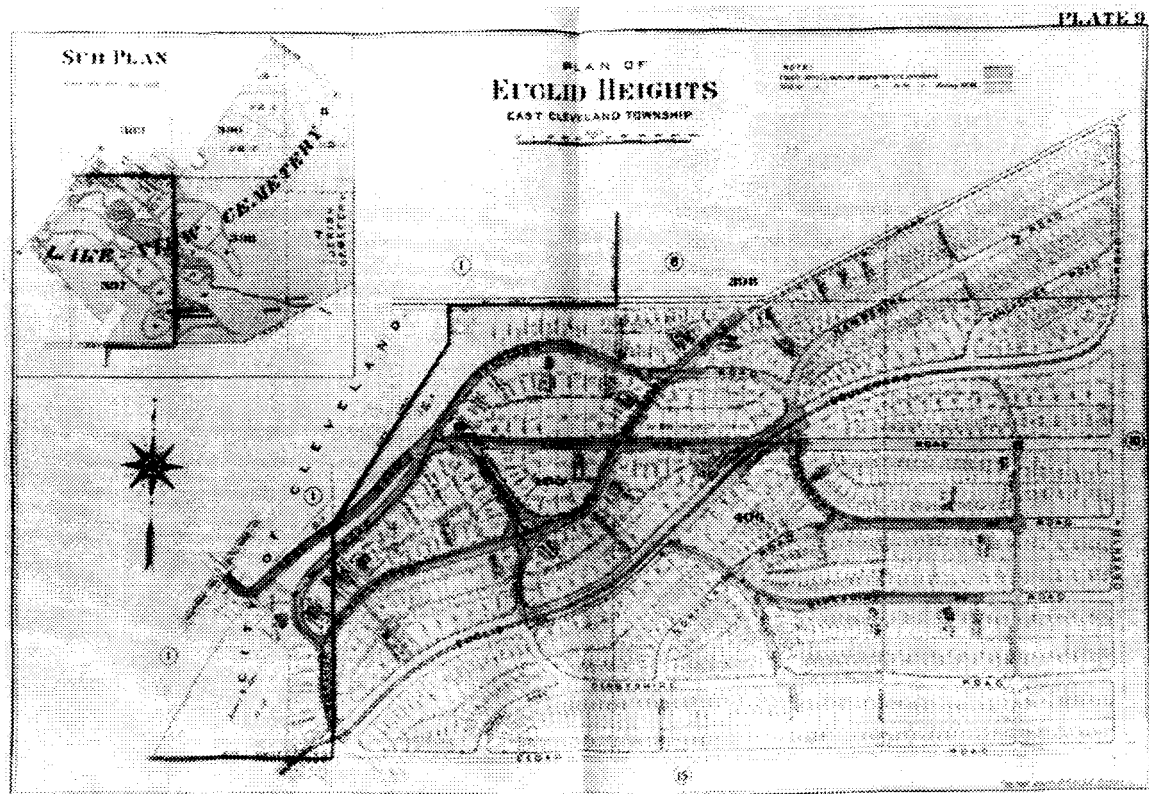


Figure 12 - The Euclid Heights Allotment of 1896, as published in Mueller's atlas of 1898. The allotments of the 1870s have been eliminated here and the installation of Euclid Heights Boulevard has altered the configuration of streets. The recorded plat omits most of the area flanking Derbyshire Road, just north of Cedar Road, which is where the Euclid Club golf course was installed. Note that the published version of this map has color coding, showing the completion dates of different segments of the internal street pattern. This is layer 4 of the Euclid Heights palimpsest.

CHAPTER VI: THE EUCLID HEIGHTS ALLOTMENT PLAT OF 1896

The fourth layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest is the re-platting of part of the allotment in 1897. This re-platting accomplished several things: it removed all traces of the J.J. Low's Allotment and the Stackpole and Parker's Allotment from the contemporary maps and it created the Euclid Heights Boulevard configuration in their place. These actions had a major impact on the plat of 1892 and further underscored the importance of streetcar service to subdivisions. It was during this period that the Euclid Club was created, complete with a golf course spread over both sides of Cedar Road, although this may have been envisioned in the earlier plan. What emerges from this period is the Euclid Heights Allotment in its fully-developed form, substantially like what has survived to this day.

This period also marks a change in management of the Euclid Heights project. Calhoun alone remains from the 1892 group of principals and he is joined by William Lowe Rice who acts in a greater capacity than he has to date. The Railroad and Realty Security Company disappears and is replaced by the Euclid Heights Company and the Euclid Heights Realty Company as the corporate vehicles for managing the allotment in this phase. The actions taken by Calhoun, Rice and their new corporations will eventually lead to the economic collapse of their venture, due to unforeseen economic

and social trends, but this layer must have represented the most optimistic moment for the developers of the allotment. But first the developers had to rescue their earlier version from the events of 1893.

Transition

The Euclid Heights Allotment of 1892 was undoubtedly affected by the Panic of 1893, as it would affect the project's development capital, the confidence and funding of prospective buyers and the financing needed to extend the electric streetcar lines into the allotment.

Some attempt was made to sell lots in the original plat during the intervening period. In August of 1894, for instance -- one year after the initial series of big display ads -- Richard Parmely placed a short classified advertisement in the *Plain Dealer* saying:

For Sale - Lots on Euclid Heights; water, sewer and all street improvements; no smoke, no dust; country air; city improvements; only 30 minutes from the square. 29 Richard M Parmely 140 Arcade.¹

The sale of lots was a slow proposition for several years after the first big promotions of 1892 and the first houses did not begin to appear until 1894, when architect Alfred Hoyt Granger is shown in the city directories as living there. Even the promoters of the project did not erect homes during the early years of the recession, probably due to the time necessary to install the streets and utilities. Brown is first listed as living in Euclid Heights in 1895, and Rice in 1896, formally opening his "Lowe's Ridge" estate the next summer. Calhoun, who had homes in several U.S. cities and two homes at different times in Euclid Heights, was living in town on Genesee Avenue in 1896 and did not officially bring his family to Cleveland until the century's turn.²

By the publication of Mueller's 1898 atlas, only thirty-five property owners were shown on the Euclid Heights map and six of those had not built structures. This group gives an interesting view of the kinds of people initially attracted to lots in Euclid Heights, for it included nine men in business as merchants or managers; seven men in the real estate industry as builders, real estate promoters, or architects; six bankers or insurance men; three attorneys; one "Socialite;" one Teamster(!); two physicians and a physician's widow; and three members of Brown's family or Rice's law firm. Clearly the allotment's appeal was to the upper classes of professional and business men, many of whom were wealthy and socially-prominent.³

The Euclid Heights that these men moved into, however, was not quite the same one that the John Hartness Brown group and the Railroad and Realty Security Company created in 1892. As the park boulevard came into being, linking Gordon and Wade Parks, the Euclid Heights developers re-designed the allotment to serve as a branch of the boulevard, leading buyers into the park allotment they envisioned. Euclid Heights Boulevard is testimony to their vision of a fast urban transportation system wedded to the rural ambiance of the picturesque parks to create a modern suburban residential allotment.⁴

The Park System

The focal point of the park system development in the 1890s was the installation of the "Great Boulevard" to link Gordon Park on the lake front with Wade Park further upstream along Doan's Brook. The Board of Trade had called for such a boulevard in 1890, during the month Calhoun first visited the heights, and the topic monopolized everyone's attention for years thereafter.

Boulevards were popular with developers everywhere in town and new allotments near them were promoted as having excellent prospects for increasing values. A real estate column in the *Plain Dealer* noted in 1894 that "out in Brooklyn the real estate business is booming just now, and the decision of the park and boulevard commission to place a park there has had much to do with enlivening the business." A display ad for this McArthur's Brooklyn Park Allotment included a map which showed that it was a rather ordinary gridiron plat that ran along the southern boundary of the new Brooklyn Park, underscoring the importance of proximity to the park in the marketing of this particular allotment.⁵

In the East End, the creation of the magnificent new park and boulevard system in the 1890s drew real estate development with similar themes. A.G. Frisbee was offering lots in his Parkwood Allotment ("The Great Home Paradise"), pointing out that "the lake, Wade and Gordon parks are within five minute's walk in either direction." Nearby, Daniel R. Taylor, a major Realtor in Cleveland at the time, marketed his Doan Brook Boulevard Allotment on the basis of its proximity to the new boulevard connecting Gordon and Wade parks, and he prophesied that "the Doan Brook boulevard, which cuts off the west end of this allotment, will soon be begun and must advance values."⁶

In Euclid Heights the benefits of park boulevards were so central to the marketing strategy that two major steps were taken to enhance the allotments association with the boulevard system. First was Calhoun's donation of land for the establishment of a formal entrance to the park system, which would double as the gateway to his Euclid Heights property, and second was the decision to re-plat the allotment to include the Euclid Heights Boulevard as a private continuation of the park boulevard.

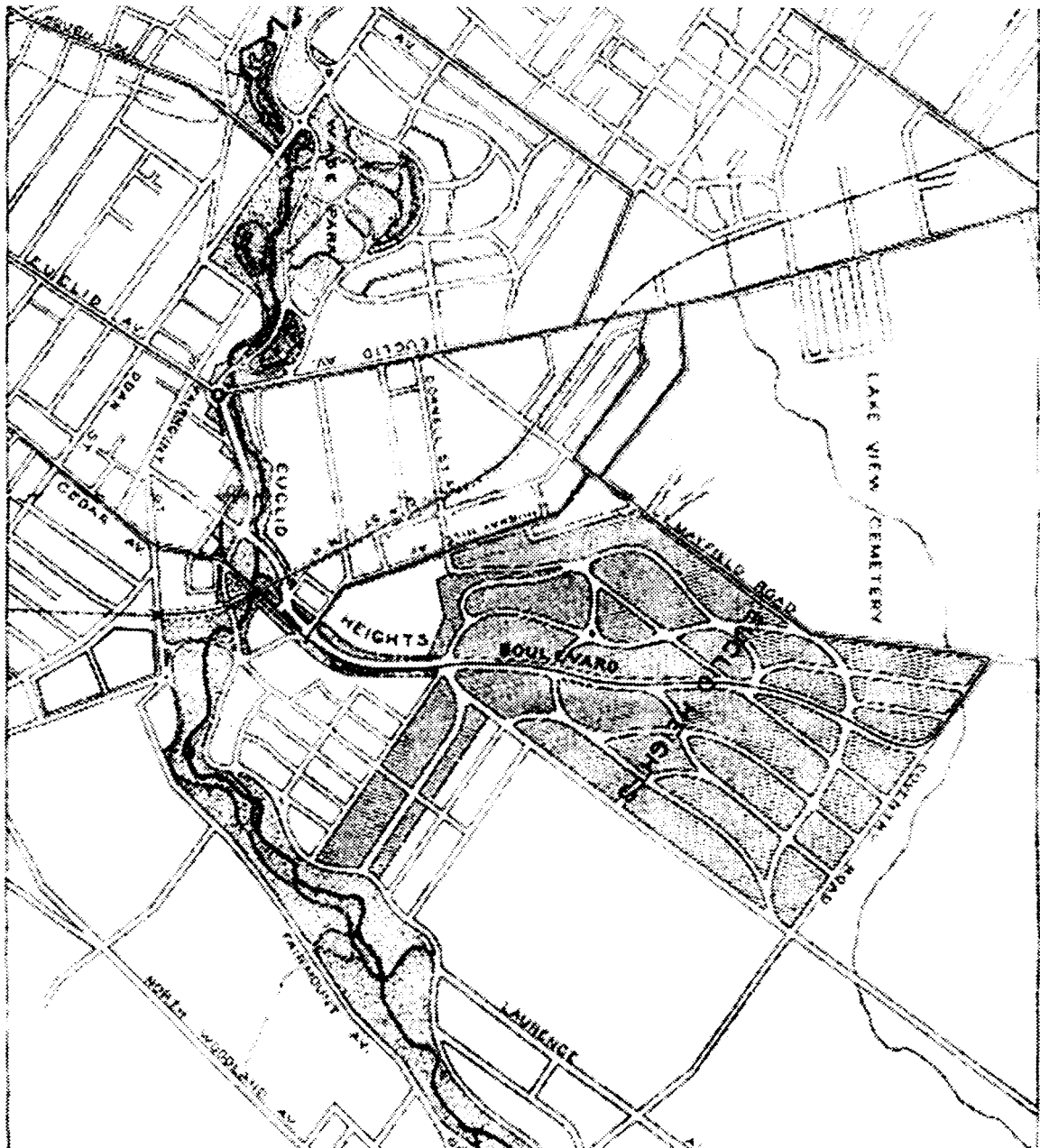


Figure 13 - A detail from E. W. Bowditch's 1896 map of the park system along Doan's Brook, showing how Calhoun's donation of land for the University Circle also provided a parkway entrance to his Euclid Heights Allotment. As this Euclid Heights Boulevard would have a streetcar line running on it, this map shows the intimate relationship between the allotment and the infrastructure of parks and transportation.

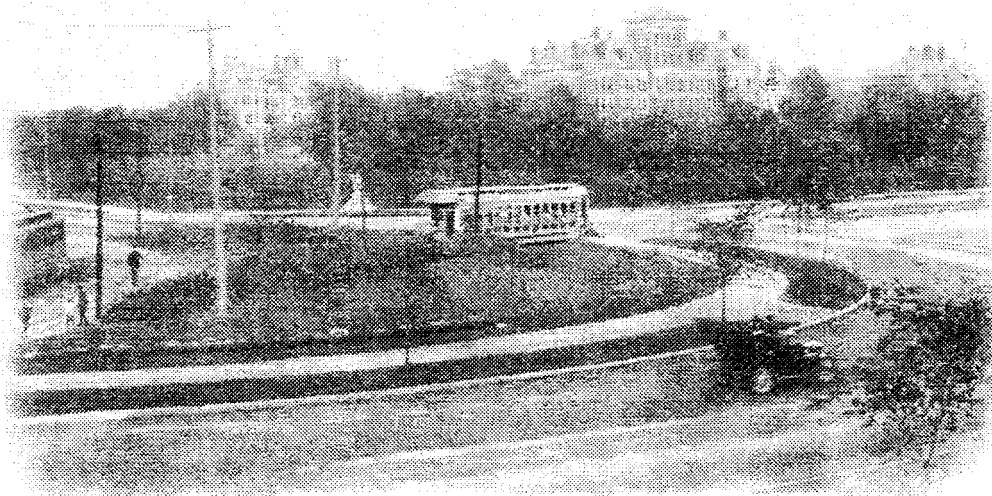
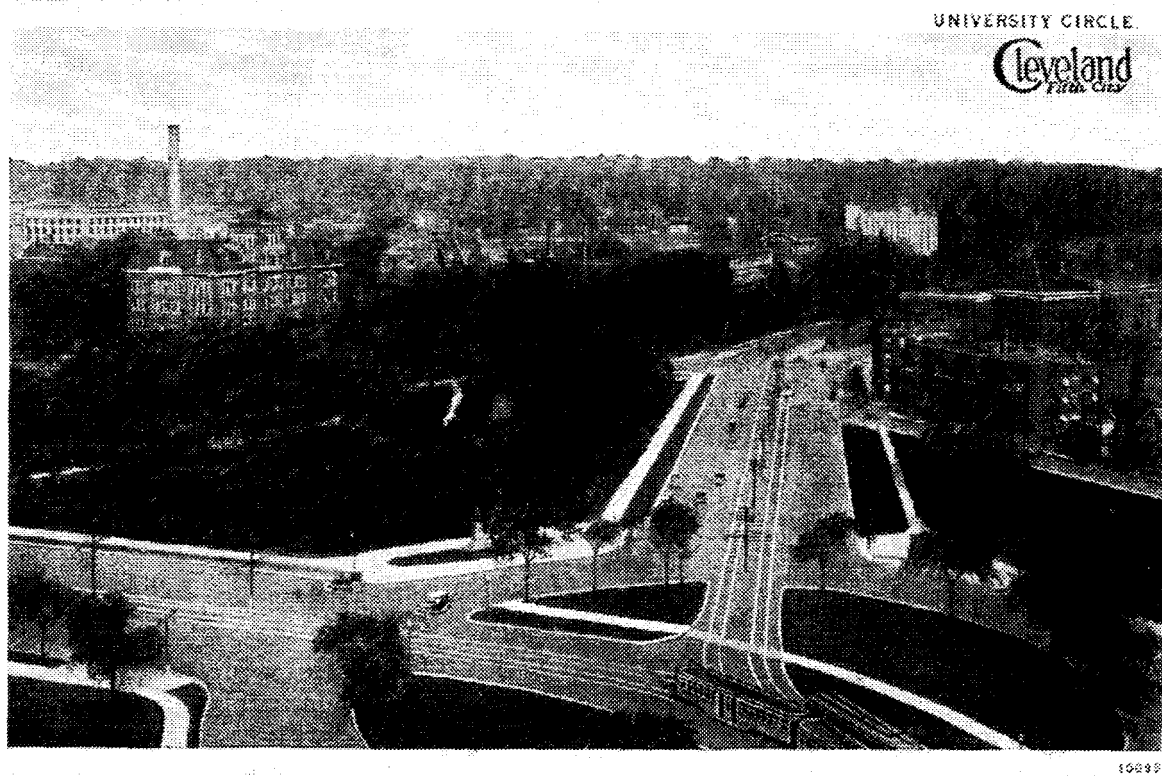


Figure 14 - Two postcard images showing University Circle. In the upper image, note the course of the road going up (south) from the circle, which is the alignment of the parkway made possible by Calhoun's gift. The lower image, from the 1920s, shows the relationship between University Circle and the campuses of Western Reserve University and the Case School of Applied Science (now CWRU). (From the author's collection)

On 5 August 1896 Calhoun gave the city the much of the land necessary to provide the park system with a formal entrance for traffic. It included four hundred feet of frontage on Euclid and ran out to Cedar avenue and along Doan valley through Cedar Glenn. John Hartness Brown and Richard Parmely had been assembling the parcels for six months previously and the gift was valued at \$160-170,000.⁷

The gift, with lands from Rockefeller and the Case School, resulted in the creation of the University Circle which Calhoun intended to double as the entrance to Euclid Heights. He reserved the right to run streetcar tracks on a twenty-foot strip, which permitted the Cleveland Electric Railroad Company (the "Big Con") to extend its Euclid Avenue streetcar line across Deering, Stearns and Fairchild Streets, up onto the heights, and out along Euclid Heights Boulevard. The traction company received a franchise for this route on 5 October 1896.⁸

Calhoun's donation followed shortly after John D. Rockefeller's major gift of land and money for the linking park boulevard (Liberty Boulevard, now Martin Luther King, Jr., Drive), and no doubt was intended to share some of the positive acclaim that Rockefeller received for his gift. The announcement of Rockefeller's gift had been made during the city's centennial celebration, where his agent, John G.W. Cowles, interrupted the proceedings to make the announcement to the applause of the crowd.⁹

Calhoun's gift, however, while no doubt sincerely appreciated, was a cause of minor aggravation for both the city and Calhoun. For the city, the necessity of allowing streetcar traffic across Deering, Stearns and Fairchild Streets, south of the Circle, gave the Cleveland Electric Railroad Company an opportunity to attempt to abandon its Murray Hill Avenue line without performing some required street paving.¹⁰

For Calhoun, it raised insinuations that he was only doing it to increase the value of his Euclid Heights property. Instead of receiving the sort of delegation of community leaders (which he had joined) that had visited Rockefeller after his gift, Calhoun had to send his attorney, William Rice, to defend to the park board the philanthropic nature of Calhoun's gift, saying:

I feel that the fact that Mr. Calhoun is interested in a large body of land, as you know, which lies to the east of Cedar Glenn, and that he will undoubtedly derive a benefit by the enhanced value of that property should not in any way detract from the credit which is due to him for this gift to the city, because while he would share in the increased value, the owners of the property lying on the south of Cedar road and the property which you recall adjoins Mr. Calhoun's holdings on the east, will all be equally benefited. This plan, you will recall, was not Mr. Calhoun's, but was a plan for the opening of your park system originally designed by your Mr. Bowditch, and when Mr. Calhoun came to Cleveland, about four or five months ago, he was advised by some members of the board... that the city was not in a position now to have this magnificent opening to the general park system, owing to the fact that the funds which you had on hand were more than required in the improvement of the lands which you had already acquired....¹¹

The net results of Calhoun's gift, however, was to firmly connect Euclid Heights to the surrounding park lands which so beautifully framed it. The *Plain Dealer* remarked on the network of linked parks and Euclid Height's intimate association with them when it wrote that:

The shape of the new system, embracing Gordon and Wade parks and Mr. Rockefeller's recent gift to the city, can be likened to the human arm, slightly bent at the elbow. The southern end, or Shaker lakes, might represent the hand, and Gordon Park the shoulder, with the elbow at a point where the boulevard, leading to the magnificent Euclid Heights property, enters the park system....¹²

Euclid Heights Boulevard

Some sort of grand promenade across the Euclid Heights plat had always been in the plans, but the linkage to the park system appears to have developed later. The 1892 plat of Euclid Heights had called for Columbia Boulevard to begin at the intersection of

Edgehill Road and The Overlook (at John Hartness Brown's house), angle southeast to meet Kenilworth Road and then run due west across the plat to Coventry Road. While this boulevard would have been wider than the other roads running east and west, and while it would have been flanked by large, prominent lots for grand mansions, it lacked the graceful curves, median, and extra width of a true park boulevard. And it also lacked the streetcars running down the center that Euclid Heights Boulevard was subsequently given.

During the period that Calhoun and his agents were assembling his gift of land for University Circle, they were also busy assembling the parcels necessary to remove the vestiges of the former J.J. Low's and Stackpole and Parker's Allotments from the top of Cedar Hill, where the lots blocked the proposed route of Euclid Heights Boulevard. All during 1896 and 1897 Calhoun was acquiring outstanding lots and passing the titles on to the Euclid Heights Realty Company.¹³

The resulting transformation of the allotment can best be seen in the 1898 atlas of A. H. Mueller, wherein the construction of Euclid Heights Boulevard and other streets is color-coded to indicate which were already installed and which were under construction. Worthy Streater reportedly had cleared large sections of the eastern portion of the plat for his breeding farm (selling the wood for the Mayfield Plank Road), but western parts of the boulevard clearly had to be cut through groves of trees, as can be seen in contemporary photographs showing the construction of Euclid Heights Boulevard.¹⁴

The Euclid Heights Boulevard was a gently curving, divided parkway, with streetcar tracks running down the center. Later the line would be extended to Mayfield Road, via Coventry, giving rise to the Coventry shopping district. The boulevard, narrowed, would

be extended through M. M. Brown's Mayfield Heights Allotment and out to Taylor Road opposite John L. Severance's palatial "Longwood" estate (later Severance Center Shopping Center). Brown (no known relation to John Hartness Brown) was so impressed by Euclid Heights Boulevard, and Calhoun's allotment generally, that his promotions traded greatly upon Mayfield Height's proximity to Euclid Height's amenities. In a half-page advertisement in 1896 he wrote:

This allotment [Mayfield Heights] adjoins Euclid Heights on the east and the iron is now on the ground to bring the Euclid avenue cars past our land for one fare. A magnificent boulevard 100 feet wide, with graceful winding curves, has been laid out through Cedar Glenn and across Euclid Heights. The street cars will occupy 40 feet in the center of this boulevard, which will be a beautiful grass plot, decorated with flowers, and a paved park roadway 30 feet wide on each side with round curbing, making a drive unsurpassed for beauty and durability in this city. To all clear sighted people it is evident that Euclid Heights will in the near future be the finest residence portion of Cleveland, containing as it now does, the finest pavements and best improvements in the city. Mayfield Heights is separated from this unusual tract of land only by a street and its improvements will undoubtedly be extended to our land.¹⁵

Brown's ad even reproduced testimonial letters that Calhoun had solicited and printed in the Euclid Heights promotional pamphlet.

The Euclid Heights developers also flirted briefly with another form of transportation, one that would accelerate and reshape the suburban migration in coming decades: the automobile. In November of 1895 the *Cleveland Press* reported that Euclid Heights residents would soon be able to travel from the allotment to the center of town on horseless carriages designed by O. Rogers of Paris. Patrick Calhoun and his brother held the U.S. patents for the Rogers vehicle and envisioned a fleet of six such carriages carrying ten to fourteen people each at speeds up to 16 miles per hour. The scheme was dependant upon Rogers being able to install sufficient hill-climbing power in these gasoline-powered vehicles, else the enterprise would be abandoned. Evidently such

power was not developed, for nothing more was heard of this scheme. However, coming only a year after the first automobile appeared on local streets, the notion of a private fleet of busses climbing hills and carrying commuters to the city center was a novel idea.¹⁶

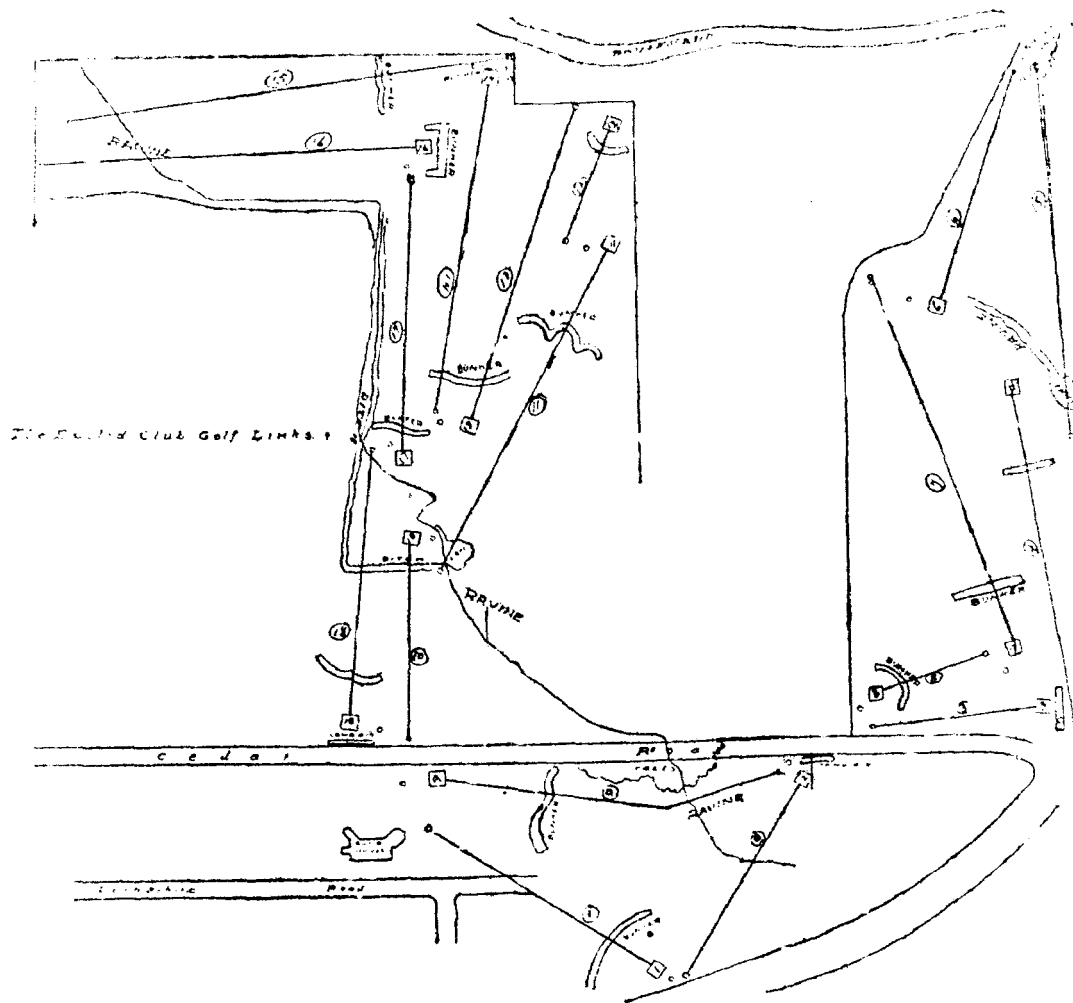
The Euclid Club

The palimpsest of Euclid Heights contains a curious feature in all of its successive platting, and that is the failure to dedicate the streets and building lots south of Berkshire Road, which nevertheless show up on the commercial maps of the period. Instead, the developers installed the Euclid Club, an elite country club on the grounds fronting on Cedar Road and built a club house on top a rise overlooking the entire allotment and the East End of Cleveland beyond. Whether this was in the original plans for the allotment -- and Bowditch had developed the Tuxedo Park allotment in New York with a county club prominent in the plans, before coming to Cleveland -- the Euclid Club was not formally created until after the first two allotment plats had been recorded.

The club was opened in July of 1901 and was limited to a membership of 400, reportedly with a long waiting list. It boasted Cleveland's second golf course, an eighteen hole course that began at the clubhouse, looped south and west across Cedar through lands that would later become the Wade Realty Company's Cedar Hill Allotment, then back to the clubhouse and continued south and east on lands acquired from Rockefeller, which are now the various Euclid Golf Allotments. The Tudor-styled clubhouse was designed by Meade and Garfield, the same firm that Granger had worked for before moving to Chicago.¹⁷



Figure 15 - The clubhouse of the Euclid Club, fronting on Cedar Road. (from the Detroit Free Press Collection, on the Library of Congress' "American Memory" Home Page)



THE GOLF COURSE AT THE EUCLID CLUB.

Figure 16 - Looking south from Euclid Club clubhouse, across Cedar Road, towards the two halves of the golf links. The left hand branch today is the route of Fairmount Road and the various Euclid Golf Allotments, while the right hand branch became Wade Realty's Cedar Hill Allotment in 1915 (map from *Plain Dealer* newspaper article).

Financing

The Euclid Heights Allotment was a large project for its day and required a considerable amount of capital to finance the preparation of the land for sales of lots. Bowditch's designs were undoubtedly expensive, surveys of the land had to be bought, and the installation of the infrastructure of graded and paved streets, street railway tracks, and utilities lines would have probably been the biggest cost to the developers. Sources cite \$5,000,000 as the value of the improvements Calhoun was adding to the site, and one-fifth of that sum was reported borrowed from John D. Rockefeller, according to Calhoun's son-in-law.¹⁸

Nothing approaching the \$5 million dollar figure has been found in loans recorded with the County -- not necessarily the only authority -- but some funding can be documented. Certainly the acquisition of land, as discussed above, was usually done with the sellers agreeing to take back mortgages for the majority of the purchase price in most cases. This is a common method of preserving developmental capital, the mortgages being of short term and paid with funds from regular bank financing and the sales of lots.

The Society for Savings had received a \$60,000 mortgage from Brown and Parmely, as Trustees, in 1892, which was released in 1893. The Garfield Savings Bank had received one for only \$6,000 from the Railroad and Realty Security Company, also in 1892. The larger loan may have been to finance the initial design and survey work, although its use was not specified in the mortgage documents.¹⁹

The primary funding found for the allotment, however, was a bond issues with Rice's law partner, Edwin J. Blandin, who was acting as Trustee for potential buyers of the

bonds. Secured by mortgages totaling \$238,334, in 1894, the bonds were paid in full in 1897.²⁰

Funding for the payment of these bonds came from the largest recorded mortgage of all: one for \$1,100,000 to the Cleveland Trust Company in 1897, which secured a bond issue of the Euclid Heights Realty Company. Under the terms of the issue, the realty company issued 1,000 bonds of \$1,000 each, payable at the rate of 6% per annum and due on 1 September 1907.²¹

President of Cleveland Trust in 1897 was John G. W. Cowles. His ties to Rockefeller may suggest some validity to the story that Rockefeller loaned Calhoun a million dollars, although the Rockefeller name is not mentioned in the recorded instruments. Cowles had participated in the creation of Euclid Heights six years earlier, built a home in the allotment in 1896, and upon assuming the bank's presidency in 1894 would have been interested in seeing the project succeed.²²

As it turned out, this loan proved to be the downfall of the Euclid Heights Realty Company, for the company's inability to meet the terms of the mortgage caused the bank to foreclose in 1914. Cowles had moved up to the chairmanship of the bank in 1903 and died in San Diego on the year of the foreclosure. It is not known what his role was in any of the bank's actions between 1897 and 1914, while Euclid Heights stagnated for lack of sales and slid into bankruptcy.²³

Summary

The fourth layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest was created in 1897, showing the maturing vision that the developers had for the allotment in the era of public parks and electric streetcars. The installation of the Euclid Heights Boulevard radically changed the center of the 1892 plat, but tied the allotment closer to the growing suburban network of streetcar and park systems.

The new plat erased the earlier allotments of Low, Stackpole and Parker from most maps, but not entirely from the underlying legal descriptions of the area. The Euclid Club was created in the area along Cedar Road, but the palimpsest retained the earlier, pre-1890 legal descriptions. These submerged, but official boundaries re-emerged in the next layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest.

CHAPTER VII: BANKRUPTCY AND RE-SUBDIVISIONS AFTER 1896

The fifth and final layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest displays the primary push to sell lots following the creation of Euclid Heights Boulevard and includes another recording of the plat, in 1907. This layer is an important view of Euclid Heights for it represents the outcome of the search for real estate values here in the decades following the creation of the allotment. Included in this layer are the foreclosure and Sheriff's sale of the allotment; the re-emergence of Edwards Street and lots from the earlier allotment of J.J. Low; the re-subdivision of portions of the Euclid Heights Allotment; the conversion of Euclid Heights' golf course to building sites; and the creation of commercial and apartment districts at two transportation hubs. This is the record of the marketplace imposing changes on the theoretical plans of Calhoun's development and offers suggestions that might not have been lost on the Van Sweringen brothers in their contemporary development of the Shaker Heights community.

With the start of a new century and the opening of the Euclid Club, life in Euclid Heights was finally set for an anticipated splendid future. Gone were the lengthy delays caused by the slow installation of the park system and the economic collapse of 1893. There was a brief recession in 1901, but nothing noteworthy. John Hartness Brown had

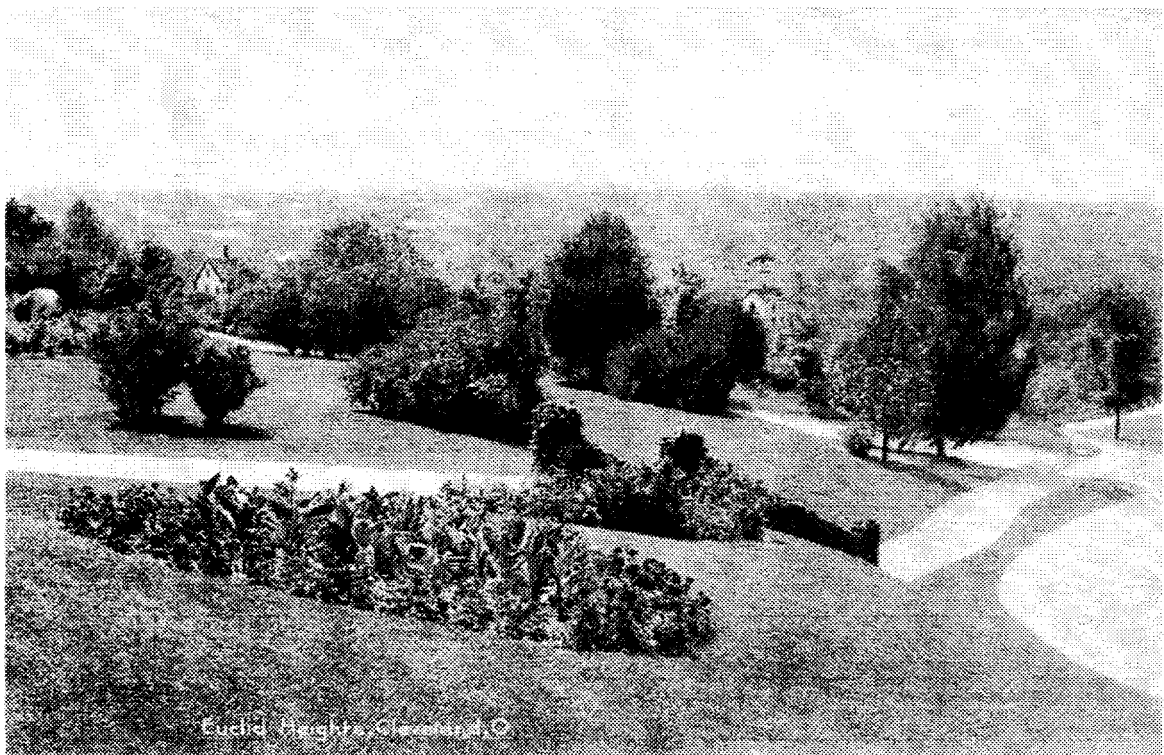


Figure 17 - Two postcard images showing street scenes in Euclid Heights. John Hartness Brown's home is visible behind the carriage at bottom. (From the author's collection)

sold his interests in Euclid Heights and was busy developing an innovative office building downtown. William Rice had had his gala housewarming party for "Lowe's Ridge" and was running the Euclid Heights Realty Company. The long wait on the park system was over, Euclid Heights Boulevard was installed, the Euclid Club was open and important people were moving into homes along Overlook, Edgehill and Kenilworth.

Patrick Calhoun, ever busy with projects around the country, was in St Louis in 1899 at the head of a syndicate buying that city's traction company. He had moved his family to Euclid Heights from Atlanta in 1896, but judging from his business activities, he must have spent a great deal of the time away from home.¹

Obligations from 1897 Mortgage

When the Euclid Heights Realty Company executed its mortgage to the Cleveland Trust Company, in 1897, it incurred certain obligations which carried over into the twentieth century. It was the realty company's inability to meet these obligations that led to its eventual downfall.

The Euclid Heights Realty Company had issued 1,100 negotiable coupon bonds, worth \$1,000 each, and bearing an interest rate of six percent per annum, payable twice yearly, in March and September. Cleveland Trust was the trustee and received a deed of trust to a large portion of the Euclid Heights Allotment as security for these bonds. The bonds were due and payable on 1 September 1907.²

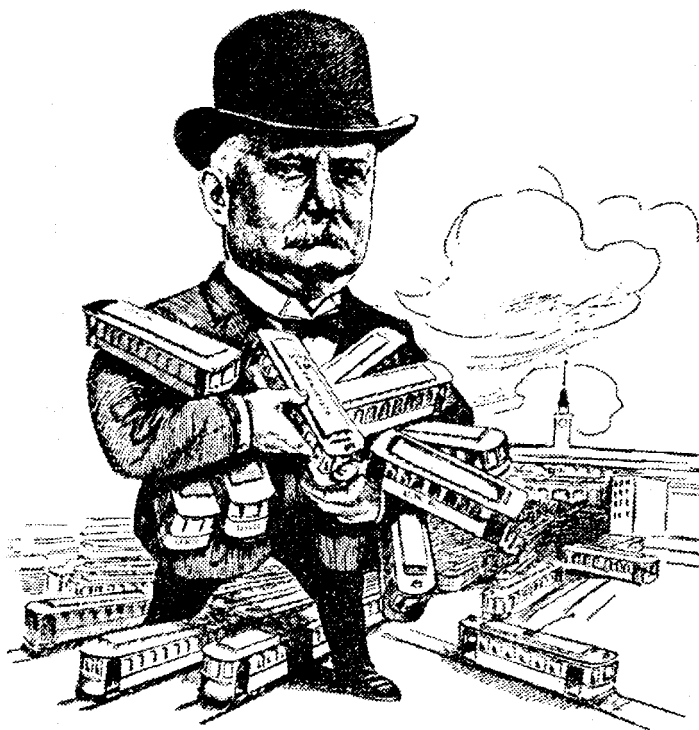
A similar mortgage and deed of trust was given to the American Trust Company (later named Citizens Savings and Trust) in 1898 to secure a \$120,000 bond issue, due and payable two years from the issue date of 1 January 1898. The lots used to secure the latter trust deed were many of the same lots used to secure the earlier trust deed to

Cleveland Trust, meaning that the latter mortgage was a second mortgage lien and any forced sale would be used to pay Cleveland Trust before American Trust received any reimbursement.³

The first inkling of problems is found in 1904 when the Fourth Street National Bank of Philadelphia was awarded a judgment in federal court against the Euclid Heights Realty Company. This judgment was levied against the company and assigned to Cleveland Trust as trustees.⁴

On 17 May 1907 the Euclid Heights Realty Company recorded another version of the Euclid Heights Allotment plat, under the terms of the 1897 trust deed to Cleveland Trust. The plat changed little, but still left blank the territory south of Derbyshire, between Euclid Heights Boulevard and Coventry Road. This area was evidently being reserved for use by the Euclid Club, its golf course, and Patrick Calhoun's mansion.⁵

However, the Euclid Heights Realty Company did not perform on the most important condition of the trust deed, the payment of the outstanding bonds when they came due several months later, on 1 September 1907. Three weeks later the Cleveland Trust Company declared the Euclid Heights Realty Company in default under the terms of the trust deed and assumed control of the allotment.⁶



PATRICK CALHOUN

A drawing from Men Who Made San Francisco.

Figure 18 - Patrick Calhoun in San Francisco

It appears that Cleveland Trust retained control for a period of three years, collecting rents and incomes and made sales, until a supplemental agreement was reached with Euclid Heights Realty Company on 31 October 1910. As a result, the realty company made some payments to Cleveland Trust, which retired 115 of the outstanding 1,000 bonds and restored control of the allotment to the realty company.⁷

The Principals

The years preceding this supplemental agreement were tumultuous ones for the principles of the Euclid Heights Realty Company and may partially account for the problems that the allotment was undergoing. In 1906, one month after the San Francisco earthquake, Patrick Calhoun was awarded that city's traction franchise. He was the president of United Railroads, a large syndication, and rumor had it that the awarding was the result of payments made to the county supervisors. A major strike of streetcar workers occupied Calhoun's attention the following year and soon thereafter his local manager went on trial for the alleged bribery. Although the manager was acquitted, the prosecutors then went after Calhoun himself. Few felt that anything could be proven and the trial dragged on for the entire first half of 1909 before Calhoun, too, was acquitted. Prosecutors' appeals subsequently kept him busy until August of 1911.⁸

During most of this time, William L. Rice was President of the Euclid Heights Realty Company and in charge of local affairs. However, on the evening of 5 August 1910 he was murdered while walking home from the Euclid Club. The sensational inquest that followed turned up many theories, but the case was never solved. One noteworthy suspect was John Hartness Brown, who happened onto the scene moments after the murder and behaved strangely in the early hours thereafter. He also had a

motive in that Rice had recently assumed control of the innovative office building that bore Brown's name, but Brown was found to have an unassailable alibi.⁹

Bankruptcy

The combination of Calhoun's trial and Rice's murder undoubtedly played a role in the diminishing fortunes of the allotment, even if the main reasons were economic. The agreement reached with Cleveland Trust on 31 October 1910 was soon in arrears as the realty company missed the scheduled tax payment for 1910. It also failed to make subsequent payments of taxes or interest and on 2 January 1912 Cleveland Trust declared the entire principal of the bonds due and payable and also paid the back taxes to protect its collateral from a forced tax sale. Two days later, on 4 January, it petitioned the courts for money foreclosure and relief from the Euclid Heights Realty Company and a list that grew to 123 other named individuals and corporations possibly having interests in the Euclid Heights Allotment. This was the beginning of the end for the realty company and for Calhoun's involvement in the allotment.¹⁰

The defendants represented everybody who had any claims upon land in the allotment, which claims might affect Cleveland Trust's position as first lien holder. Included in this group were the current owners of Euclid Heights lots, banks holding judgments against the realty company and such institutions as the Euclid Club and St. Albans Church. Even the Village of Cleveland Heights was named.¹¹

The case continued throughout 1912, and on 7 August it established the amounts owed the various parties by the realty company, ordered the sale of the property and set the terms of the sale. The Cuyahoga County Sheriff was ordered to hold the sale at the corner of Edge Hill Road and Euclid Heights Boulevard and was told that he did not need

to advertise it in any German-language newspapers. The property was to be sold, if possible, in its entirety or, failing in that, as 85 separate parcels. The selling price of each lot was to be no less than two-thirds the appraised value. The Cleveland Trust Company was adjudged the first and best lien holder and was to receive the first cut of the net proceeds. Matters concerning the rights of other parties to other lands was continued to another date.¹²

With so many defendants, many more side motions were heard and matters resolved until 6 February 1914 when the court returned to the central issues. Here 34 defendants, including John Hartness Brown, were dismissed from the suit as having no interests in that portion of the Euclid Heights property affected by the lawsuit. Seventy-seven other defendants were found to have interests in the affected property: interests, however, which were secure from the claims of the Cleveland Trust Company.¹³

Sixty-three of the latter group agreed to a uniform expiration date of 1 January 1934 for their deed restrictions: nineteen years sooner than most of them were originally scheduled to expire, but thirteen to eighteen years later than were some of the others. It is neither surprising that fifty property owners would be willing to shorten the dates of their deed restrictions, nor that the nine who refused the uniform date had restrictions scheduled to end earlier than 1934 -- owners are traditionally loathe to be constrained in the use of their property -- but it is surprising that 16 owners did agree to increase the lengths of their restrictions.¹⁴

The Sheriff was again directed to hold the sale previously ordered, but now there were 175 parcels to be sold all at once or individually. Patrick Calhoun had obtained a side agreement to exempt from sale the undedicated portions of Derbyshire Road,

Norfolk Road, Surrey Road, Mornington Lane and Overlook Lane, and these streets were legally established here by the court.¹⁵

On the same day that this action was filed, the realty company gave a lease to the Euclid Club that was retroactive to the first day of October 1910 -- about two months after Rice's murder and one month before Cleveland Trust began foreclosure proceedings—and to run until the start of 1916. However the lands surrounding the club, excepting the newly dedicated roads and Calhoun's estate, was included in the 175 parcels subject to sale.¹⁶

Re-emergence of Earlier Lines

In the western portion of these unrecorded lands lying along Cedar Road, two elements of this layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest emerged. In the corner of Cedar Road and Euclid Heights Boulevard, defendant Maud Stager Eells was deemed to own lands that were legally described in terms of the old J.J. Low's Allotment, the realty company never having established a new description for this area, and thereby returned to the current maps most of Edwards Street and the lots on its southern side.¹⁷

This re-emergence of Edwards can be noted in the business atlases of the day, such as those produced by the Sanborn Map Company and the G. M.. Hopkins Company. In editions published before 1912, the entire intended Euclid Heights plat is shown, complete with numbered building lots where the Euclid Club's golf course then covered. The 1912 edition of the Hopkins plat book maps, however, shows the Edwards Street area as a pattern of dotted lines overlaying the Euclid Heights lots, and by 1914 the Edwards Street area is the only configuration shown. This recapitulates what was

happening in the courtroom at the time, as Edwards Street was re-established as the legal description for the area.¹⁸

The other palimpsest element established by these proceedings was something called "Plat A," which bordered the Edwards Street area to the east. This was apparently a legal device employed by the court to clarify the dedications of Derbyshire, Norfolk and Surrey in this area and is entered on the business atlases bearing the citation for this case in place of the usual allotment recordation information.¹⁹

The Sheriff's Sale

The sale date was finally set for 14 May 1914 at the Euclid Heights "Office Stop" at Edgehill and Euclid Heights Boulevard. Patrick Calhoun, who had reportedly been cruising in the Mediterranean before discovering the realty company's state of affairs, attended the entire two day sale, sitting in front of the auctioneer's stand checking off the lots sold on his map.²⁰

The auction did not obtain a bid on the entire 175 lots as one tract, and only sold 111 lots individually. This raised only \$600,000 of the \$1.6 million owed. Major purchasers of lots included Baruch Mahler, bond dealer; Henry W. S. Wood, President of Equity Savings and Loan Company; George R. Canfield, President of Canfield Oil Company; Samuel Scovil, President of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company; Harry L. Vail, former Cuyahoga County Commissioner; and two women, Mrs. Joseph DeRico, and Mrs. M.E. Delehanty, whose purchases were headlined the day following the conclusion of the sale. The 64 unsold lots were retained by the Cleveland Trust Company which contemplated selling them privately at a later time.²¹

Outcome

The Euclid Club did not survive the sale. Although its lease was due to run to 1916, it was merged with a successful rival, the Mayfield Country Club in 1914. Its demise opened the lands formerly occupied by its golf course and they were developed as the Abeyton Realty Company's Euclid Golf Allotment (1913), and the Wade Realty's Cedar Hill Allotment (1915).²²

After Rice's murder, John Hartness Brown moved to New York, was rumored to have later moved to London and was last known to be living in New York City during the 1940s. Calhoun spent some time trying to salvage his other investments around the country, but suffer a series of setbacks before finally recovering his financial health brokering an oil lease outside of Los Angeles in the 1930s. He was killed in 1943 by a speeding car in Pasadena, California. Brown's home still stands on Overlook in Euclid Heights, but Calhoun's Cedar Road mansion has been replaced by a church and Rice's "Lowe's Ridge" mansion was re-platted in the 1950s as the Kenilworth Estates subdivision.²³

Subsequent pattern of growth in Euclid Heights

The decline in the fortunes of the Euclid Heights Realty Company, its principals and its allotment came while the automobile was entering a period of explosive growth. In 1901 the new Cleveland Automobile Club announced that there were at least 150 cars in use in Cleveland, but fifteen years later the registration of automobiles was ten times larger; an average annual growth of 17 percent. From 1916 to 1920 this growth

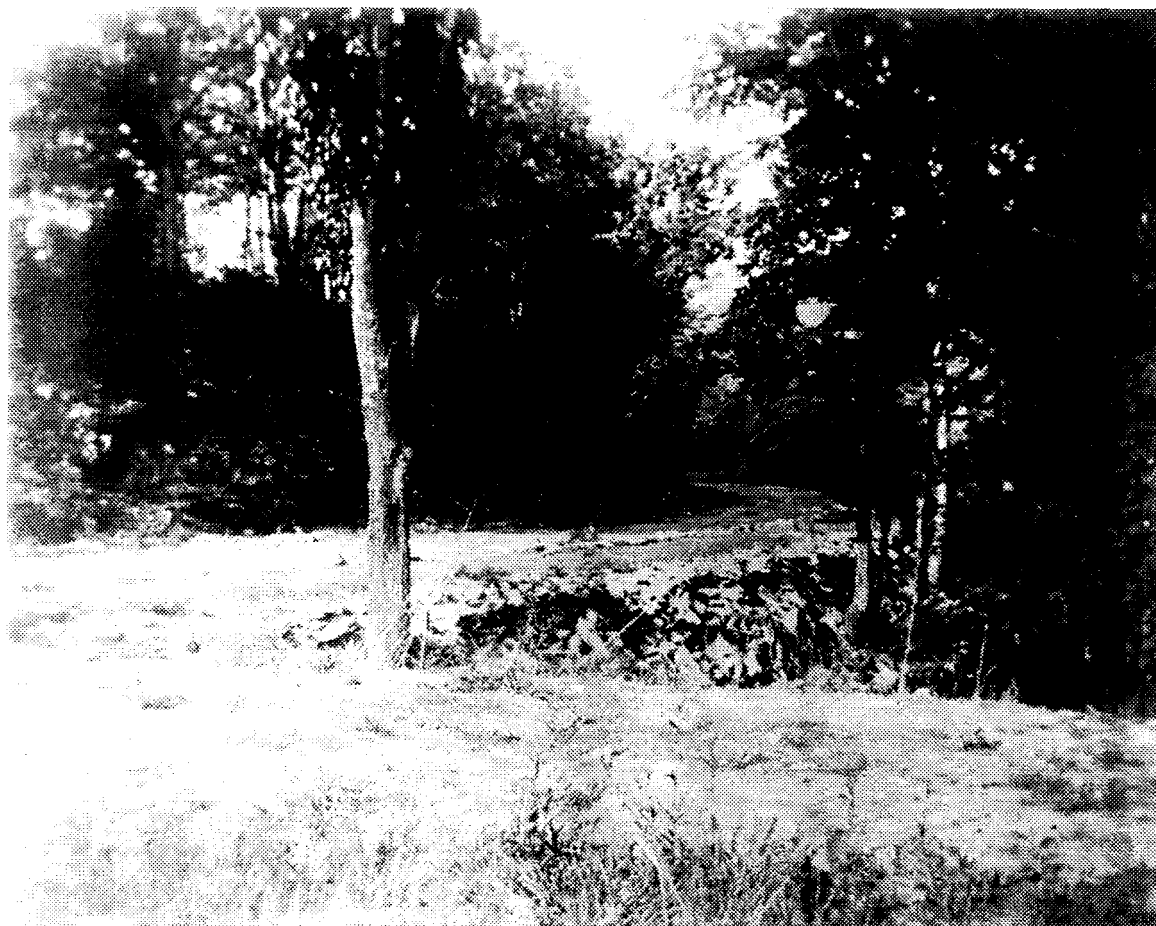


Figure 19 - The top of Cedar Glenn, about 1890. (Photograph courtesy of *The Plain Dealer*).



Figure 20 - The top of Cedar Glenn in the 1920s. (from the Cleveland Press Collection, Cleveland State University Library)

accelerated to an annual rate of 176 percent, with 92,600 vehicles registered by the end of the period. By 1926 the number of cars registered topped 211,000, for a six-year average growth of 14 percent and a twenty-five year average of 33.6 percent per year.²⁴

In 1890, the speed and power of the new electric streetcar had made commuting from Euclid Heights a feasible proposition for wealthier citizens. Here, near the end of the streetcar line, there was little prospect of arterial traffic passing through in objectionable quantities and the amount of land under the protective control of the developers was usually less than Euclid Heights' 300 acres.

After 1920, however, the automobile changed the size and nature of residential real estate developments. Commute to work times could encompass more extensive territories and the heights could be opened up to many more people. Now the crest of Cedar Glenn was less a frontier line than a emerging gateway for traffic through Euclid Heights to the myriad of new allotments reached via Mayfield Road, Euclid Heights Boulevard, Cedar Road, and Fairmount Boulevard. By 1927 the top of Cedar Hill was called "perhaps the most congested highway on the East Side," a drastic change from 1893.²⁵

Also, the critical-mass of land necessary for a fully protected high-class community had expanded to allow for the geographic realities of automotive travel. The Van Sweringens' Shaker Heights community, which opened for sales in 1916, covered many times the area of Euclid Heights, with protective deed restrictions and a carefully planned network of curving streets and large lots. Perhaps only because the city's rapidly growth leveled off in subsequent years was Shaker Heights not overrun in the manner that Clinton Square and Euclid Heights, in turn, had been in their days.

The fifth layer of the palimpsest may even display an acknowledgment of the changing influence of these two luxury communities. In 1922, part of the Euclid Heights Allotment at the corner of Coventry and Cedar was re-platted as the P. J. O'Donnell Allotment. Being quite close to the Van Sweringens' Fairmount Boulevard development, this symbolized the changing focus of fashionable living from Euclid Heights to Shaker Heights.²⁶

In some ways, the Van Sweringens took the community planning conventions of the previous decades -- as epitomized by Euclid Heights -- increased their scope to allow for a mixed automobile and rail application and created Shaker Heights at the new commute-to-work frontier. They had been paperboys in the heights during the start up of Euclid Heights and bicycle shop owners during the concurrent wheeling craze and had undoubtedly learned valuable marketing lessons about land use planning and transportation on the heights.

One lesson that they surely learned was the necessity to plan for commercial uses near their residential areas. Due to the secluded, rural nature of Euclid Heights, no formal provisions were made for commercial land uses, such as apartment houses and retail stores. Along Mayfield Road the deed restrictions prohibited only the operation of saloons, so other commercial uses were evidently permitted, but this as a passive approach that may have had unforeseen consequences.

As traffic increased into the heights, especially after the Euclid Club folded in 1916, commercial establishments began appearing along the southwest and the northeast borders of the allotment. This was not only due to automobile traffic, but also to the fact that these locations were the transfer points for streetcar passengers. In the northeast

corner, the Euclid Heights and Mayfield lines intersected and allowed passengers an easy transfer after 1907. Near the former Euclid Club, Fairmount Boulevard was installed and the transfer point created there caused another commercial node to develop in the 1920s. Therefore, the growth of commercial centers in these two locations were a function of their roles as rail nodes.²⁷

How this influenced subsequent growth, after the failure of the Euclid Heights Realty Company, can be seen from an analysis of tax assessments during the 1920s. Examining the group of allotments immediately south of Cedar and the Euclid Heights Allotment -- which are quite similar in composition -- it can be shown that, between 1920 and 1924, the rates of growth of *residential* real estate values (as appraised by the County Assessor) were statistically the same in both areas, while the growth of *commercial* values were significantly greater. That is, the significant growth rate difference was not between residential lots in Euclid Heights and those in other allotments, but rather were between commercial lots and residential lots in Euclid Heights.²⁸

Thomas Adams observed in 1934 that the failure to make provisions for necessary commercial services will often tend to result in such services springing up in undesirable places. The commercial pressures on Euclid Heights, as it became a gateway to areas further into the heights, resulted in the growth of apartment houses, retail stores, and other service establishments, often to the detriment of the exclusive ambiance that Calhoun originally envisioned.

This came after the bankruptcy of the realty company, but reflects trends in the demand for land uses all during the first dozen years of the twentieth century. Calhoun had foreseen both the use of gasoline-powered commuter vehicles, with his 1895

omnibus idea, and as early as 1892 was authorizing sales ads that acknowledged that Euclid Heights "... is in the East End, now well to the East, but one day to be only Central in the great and populous East End of Ultimate Cleveland." It's likely that he planned for Euclid Heights to be a protected enclave, full of magnificent homes, before rival developments like Shaker Heights could come into demand. But the economic delays of the period, coupled with his troubles in San Francisco and Rice's murder, caused the Euclid Heights Allotment to miss its opportunity to prosper as a streetcar suburb development before the automotive suburb's time came.²⁹

Summary

The fifth layer of the Euclid Heights palimpsest reveals the problems that beset the development as slow sales caused the realty company to miss its marketing and financial schedules and fall into bankruptcy. From the bankruptcy came the re-emergence on the maps of Edwards Street and some of the building lots from the earlier J.J. Low's Allotment. It also necessitated re-plattings in the area of the Euclid Club along Cedar Road, like P. J. O'Donnell's Allotment and "Plat A."

From the growth of the heights -- enhanced by the automobile -- came the growth of commercial and apartment nodes, with corresponding changes in the configuration of lot lines near Coventry and Mayfield and near Cedar and Fairmount. These changes reflected changes in land use and altered the cartographic representation of Euclid Heights in this layer of the palimpsest.

But it is a credit to the planning of the allotment that the Euclid Heights Allotment today is not so very far from what Patrick Calhoun and his associates first envisioned: a lovely neighborhood of fine homes.

CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSION

Using the concept of a palimpsest to explain the search for real estate values in the Euclid Heights area has accomplished two things: it shows how earlier property lines can act as morphological frames, influencing the shape of subsequent development, and it shows that the continued legal existence of submerged cadastral features can nevertheless play a role in directing later growth.

The layers of the Euclid Heights palimpsest, when sorted out and analyzed separately, elucidate the progressively closer ties that Euclid Heights had to the Doan's Corners community during the course of the nineteenth century, and the Corner's simultaneously growing ties to the wider Cleveland economy. The product of demographic and technological changes, these closer ties resulted in new opportunities for creating land values on Euclid Heights and the efforts of generations of men to realize such values resulted in the cartographic layers of the palimpsest.

Land speculation was the primary reason for the new property lines that appeared throughout the century, beginning with the proprietors of the Connecticut Land Company and ending with the efforts of the Euclid Heights Realty Company. But during the middle period of the century there were some new lines added which represented efforts to build land values through agricultural use by the owners.

This study does not attempt to determine which methods of building land values were the most successful, but several things do appear likely. First that the fortunes of speculators were usually at constant risk from bank panics and wider economic events beyond their control, which is true of speculation generally, of course. Second that the growth of Cleveland and the pace of technological change would make it difficult for speculators to forecast the specific demand for different land uses and to market particular products profitably. Finally that the study of even such a small corner of Cleveland's metropolitan region as Euclid Heights is still too large a project to analyze without a more detailed quantitative methodology than this study intended to employ.

Nevertheless, such a quantitative study would be forced to acknowledge the episodic nature of economic activity on Euclid Heights and the consequential evidence of the cartographic layers of the Euclid Heights palimpsest. As with the case of literary palimpsests, the creative activities of one generation of men -- property owners, civil engineers, real estate attorneys and mortgage bankers in this case -- has never fully eradicated the works of their predecessors and the cartographic palimpsest is a valuable tool in reconstructing the history of area. As used here it offers a unique set of insights to the economic history of Cleveland and its hinterlands during the first century of its settlement by Americans.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. William Morris, ed., *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, (Boston, MA: American Heritage Publishing Company and Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973), 944.
2. For Gypsy encampments, see Charles Asa Post, *Doans Corners and the City Four Miles West* (Cleveland: The Caxton Company, 1930), 61.

CHAPTER 2

1. M. R. G. Conzen, "The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History," *The Study of Urban History: The Proceedings of an International Round-table Conference of the Urban History Group at Gilbert Murray Hall, University of Leicester on 23-26 September, 1966*, H. J. Dyos, editor (St. Martin's Press, 1968), 117.
2. Playhouse Square -- which actually includes no feature that could be called a square, circle, or other such design element -- owes its prominence to its location at the boundaries of the In-Lots and Out-Lots. The decisions to run Huron street along the southern boundary of the In-Lots, to place a street (East 14th) along the eastern boundary and to route Euclid Avenue through their intersection made this area a likely place for commercial uses to appear, once the city grew sufficiently to develop uptown nodes. The intersection of Euclid Avenue and Willson Avenue (E. 55th Street), on the boundaries of the Out-Lots and Hundred-Acre Lots, has also enjoyed some commercial prominence. This was not so much due to street design features as it was to the fact that the Cleveland and Pittsburgh railroad happened to cross these streets near their intersection and the property owner, Jared V. Willson, required that a station be built there (William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 278). These two prominent Euclid Avenue intersections, along with those at Erie Street (E. Ninth) and at Lake View Cemetery -- where the Nickel Plate railroad tracks cross -- did much to push the Millionaires' Row community progressively further out from Cleveland to the University Circle area. (Jan Cigliano, *Showplace of America: Cleveland's Euclid Avenue, 1850-1910*, Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1991, 319.)
3. An important collection of early documents about the founding of the Western Reserve may be found at the Western Reserve Historical Society Library, in Cleveland, titled "MS 1: Manuscripts Relating to the Early History of the Connecticut Western Reserve, 1795-ca. 1860."
4. Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959; reprint, *The Urban Frontier: Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis*, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, first Phoenix edition, 1964), 30-35 (page references are to the reprint edition). Land prices

from: Mary Lou Conlin, *Simon Perkins of the Western Reserve* (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1968), 29. Wade has a good discussion of the period of town building in the western lands that closed out the Eighteenth Century. See also Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775-1850* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1978; reprint, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1990), and William Wyckoff, *The Developer's Frontier: The Making of the Western New York Landscape* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), for more on western settlements during this period.

5. It was also near to where the route to Newburgh branched off to skirt the Kinsbury Run. Doan purchased this land, Hundred Acre Lot 402, and it became known as "Doan's Hundred," further underscoring his early importance to the area.

6. "... located about where the old brewery now blots the landscape." (Charles Asa Post, *Doans Corners and the City Four Miles West*, (Cleveland, OH: The Caxton Company, 1930), 95.) A Mr. Hoffman purchased the clock factory and converted it into a brewery, perhaps the same one (*Ibid.*, 156).

7. Henry C. Binford, *The First Suburbs: Residential Communities on The Boston Periphery, 1815-1860* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 2.

8. Charles Asa Post, *Doans Corners and the City Four Miles West*, (Cleveland, OH: The Caxton Company, 1930), 82.

9. "State Road from Job Doan's in Cleveland to the East line of Geauga County...." *State Road Record*, 8 September 1828-1841, 1

10. Harry Christiansen, *Trolley Trails Through Greater Cleveland and Northern Ohio, Volume 2, from the Beginning Until 1910* (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1975), 190.

11. Charles Asa Post, *Doans Corners and the City Four Miles West*, (Cleveland, OH: The Caxton Company, 1930), 124-127. Harry Christiansen, *Trolley Trails Through Greater Cleveland and Northern Ohio, vol. 2, from the Beginning Until 1910* (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1975), 191. Christiansen also called it the Railway Hotel in one place. Post says that it was a team of two horses that was added at the Railway Hotel. Post adds that there was also a rival sandstone quarry up on the heights, operated by a Joe Barber, and a bluestone quarry owned by one W. A. Neff (Charles Asa Post, *Doans Corners and the City Four Miles West*, (Cleveland, OH: The Caxton Company, 1930), 74, 96, 156, and 163).

12. See "Columbus Street Bridge" and William C. Barrow's "Real Estate" entries in David D. Van Tassell and John J. Grabowski, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 2d ed. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), 307 and 843-848.

13. The presence of deep ravines leading into the Cuyahoga Valley, particularly Kinsbury Run, necessitated that roads and railroad tracks from the south swing wide to the east before entering the downtown area.

14. Harry Christiansen, *Trolley Trails Through Greater Cleveland and Northern Ohio*, vol. 2, *from the Beginning Until 1910* (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society 1975), 190.

15. Connecticut Land Company draft of 28 December 1802. *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 1:274, 10 August 1812. This group was also involved with creating a speculative town site on lands that they drew at the mouth of the Rocky River. The Rockport townsite that Canfield's group established is the first layer of an interesting palimpsest there, which concluded with the Clifton Park Allotment of 1894, also designed by Euclid Heights' designer, Ernest Bowditch.

16. *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 1:325, 12 November 1812. Ibid., vol. 3:72, 8 December, 1817. Ibid., vol. 8:543, 12 September 1829. Judson Canfield was a resident of Connecticut, and Samuel Flewelling may have been also, despite their holdings in Rockport Township, Doan's Corners, Warren and Canfield, Ohio. If they ever came to the Reserve, I have located no record of that trip. I can find nothing locally about John Adams, Jr., but Samuel Forbes is listed as one of the Connecticut Land Company employees in Cleaveland's 1796 surveying party, very few of whom settled here, so they both may have been Connecticut residents (William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 24). For bank panic as a result of land speculation, see: Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959, reprinted as *The Urban Frontier: Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis*, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, first Phoenix edition, 1964), 163-4 (page references are to the reprint edition).

17. Adams, et al, to Fitch and Barker, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 13: 261, 15 March 1833. Fitch evidently was a local farmer, as he was the founding Secretary of a group of farmers who organized the Union Club for the Detection of Horse Thieves in 1830 (William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 124). Barker was the U.S. Postmaster for Cleveland from 1839 to 1842 and, it has been shown, an incorporator of the Cleveland and Newburgh Railroad in 1834. Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959; reprint, *The Urban Frontier: Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis*, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, first Phoenix edition, 1964), 68-69 (page references are to the reprint edition).

18. Cyrus Ford wrote a letter on 25 February 1842 to a Lewis Ford in Cummington, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, in which he requests that Lewis Ford raise \$1,500 to \$1,800 by disposing of "the farm" that spring, either by sale or lease. The money was

needed to purchase a tract of land lying five miles from Cleveland, which consisted of 320 acres, 220 of them heavy timbered. A company had been formed four or five years earlier to construct a quarry railroad running on wooded rails over this tract, but it failed about 1840 and the rails were mostly torn up when Ford wrote. The construction funds were loaned by the Life Trust Company of Cincinnati, which consequentially took possession of the land and Ford was seeking to buy it. He enclosed a map showing that the land is between the State Road (Mayfield Road?) and a stream (Doan's Brook?) to the south, about a half mile east of the Cleveland-Buffalo Road. No legal description is given, but the map could be showing Hundred Acre Lots 404, 405, 412, 413 and 414, and the price and timing are about right for Ford's purchase of Lot 405 (Cyrus Ford Papers 1828-1905, WRHS, Ms 3963). Regarding the Congregational Church, see Charles Asa Post, *Doans Corners and the City Four Miles West*, (Cleveland, OH: The Caxton Company, 1930), 135-140.

19. The term "furlong" -- a distance of one-eighth of a mile -- comes from the idea of plowing long, straight furrows. Cleveland's Public Square is one furlong in length on its eastern and western sides and, due to the fact that Ontario is slightly narrower than is Superior, is almost one furlong long on the north and south sides, as well. A furlong is also a unit of *area* measure, being a square with sides a furlong in length. Such a square is ten acres in area, which is the size commonly attributed to Public Square (actually 9.5 acres), which is the smallest whole-acre square created by successive quarterings of a square-mile Section of land. It is also the smallest square of land measurable in whole acres that can be produced, the sides of which are measured in whole numbers of surveyor chains. At a time when vast wilderness subdivisions needed to be surveyed rapidly and cheaply, the use of whole number units was important. Besides Public Square, the rest of the original In-Lot region was built in multiples of furlongs.

CHAPTER 3

1. Cleveland	1830-40	1840-50	1850-60
City	393.7	50.4	10.8
Suburbs	128.0	89.2	72.4

Source: "Comparative Decennial Rates of Population Increase For Five Cities and Their Suburbs, 1810-1860," from Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1985), 316. "Suburb" is defined as Cuyahoga County minus the city, as of 1830.

2. Charles Asa Post, *Doans Corners and the City Four Miles West*, (Cleveland, OH: The Caxton Company, 1930), 96.

3. Henry C. Binford, *The First Suburbs: Residential Communities on The Boston Periphery, 1815-1860* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 39. Charles Asa Post (*Doans Corners and the City Four Miles West*, Cleveland: The Caxton Company, 1930), mentions Uncle Sammy's brickyard on page 155, and the Dutys' yard on page 70; and the city directories of the 1870s place the Duty brickyard in Kinsbury Run.

4. Harry Christiansen. *Trolley Trails Through Greater Cleveland and Northern Ohio*, vol. 2, *From the Beginning Until 1910* (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1975), 190-191, 197, 200. Charles Asa Post, *Doans Corners and the City Four Miles West*, (Cleveland, OH: The Caxton Company, 1930), 70. Lake, D.J. *Atlas of Cuyahoga County, Ohio*. (Philadelphia, PA: Titus, Simmons and Titus.) 1874. The route west of East 40th Street would be over Prospect Avenue, so as to avoid the heart of the Millionaires' Row district on Euclid Avenue. Jan Cigliano reports that opposition to the horsecars stemmed from the avenue's residents concerns about obstructions in the street and the presence of transit-riders (Jan Cigliano, *Showplace of America: Cleveland's Euclid Avenue, 1850-1910* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1991), 33). Another aspect, though, was the need to keep the tracks cleared of snow, which interrupted the avenue's favorite winter pastime, sleighing (Ellis L. Armstrong, ed., *History of Public Works in the United States, 1776-1976* (Chicago, IL: American Public Works Association, 1976), 164-5).

5. Ellis L. Armstrong, ed., *History of Public Works in the United States, 1776-1976* (Chicago, IL: American Public Works Association, 1976), 163 and 165.

6. Grace Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller, The Cleveland Years* (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1972), 123. Harry Christiansen. *Trolley Trails Through Greater Cleveland and Northern Ohio*, vol. 2, *from the Beginning Until 1910* (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society 1975), 199. In 1879 the Lakeview and Collamer folded and was subsumed into the new Cleveland, Painesville and Eastern line. Its routing was changed so that the tracks crossed Euclid Avenue just west of Lake View cemetery, and entered downtown Cleveland via Kinsbury Run, eventually becoming the eastern right-of-way into Cleveland for the New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad, the "Nickel Plate Road," in 1882. The presence of the tracks at Lake View served to stop the eastward migration of elite residential homes along Euclid Avenue, which migration instead moved up into the heights at Euclid Heights and followed Fairmount Boulevard into Shaker Heights in later years. The Van Sweringen brothers purchased the Nickel Plate in 1916 to acquire this high-speed route into Cleveland for their Shaker Heights Rapid. Thus the Lakeview and Collamer started a process which both discouraged the Euclid Avenue direction of growth and encouraged growth onto the heights.

7. Rockefeller's board in Grace Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller, The Cleveland Years* (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1972), 124. Henry C. Binford, *The First Suburbs: Residential Communities on The Boston Periphery, 1815-1860* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 84.

8. Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and The MIT Press, 1962; reprint, New York, NY: Atheneum, 1971), 23 (page references are to reprint edition):

The success of this experiment and the example of profitable lines in other American cities brought on a wave of entrepreneurial enthusiasm. To the local

investment public, used to the relatively long periods necessary to realize profits on large-scale land speculations, the rapid construction of horse railroads seemed to promise a generous and immediate harvest. To real estate men the simple procedure of placing a coach on iron rails seemed a miraculous device for the promotion of out-of-town property.

For "Astor's method" see Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan For Rent, 1785-1850*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 204, and Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1985), 134.

9. See note 16, Chapter 4, below.

10. Spangler and Weisgerber information from city directories. Ford to Spangler, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 179: 495, 8 November 1870. Spangler's executor, George H. Russell to Henry Weisgerber, exec's deed *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 188: 391, 5 June 1871. Weigerber to Low, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 191: 229 25 July 1871, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Mortgages*, vol. 187: 631, 8 August 1871.

11. "J.J. Low's Allotment," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Maps*, vol. 5: 31, 23 April 1872.

12. That the parcel was not actually rectangular was due to the topography of the land: the crest of Cedar Glenn extends slightly into the southwest corner of Hundred Acre Lot 405, and a variance in the alignment of Cedar Road cuts off a small triangular piece of land. Low's land on the western end of Cedar Road evidently had too much slope and later was sold as one large parcel, Lot 59.

13. "J.J. Low's Allotment." *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Maps*, vol. 5: 31, 23 April 1872. The name "Cliff Street" probably refers either to the larger cliff that Cedar Road and Clark Street climb, or to the smaller rise in land that marks the western boundary of Low's allotment.

14. "Stackpole and Parker's Subdivision," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Maps*, vol. 6: 14, 8 July 1873.

15. David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 638. There is a report of Bohemian residents in the area, but a check of most of the lot sales in Low's and in Stackpole and Parker's discloses no obvious Slovakian surnames for owners. Any such ethnic character could have resulted from Bohemian tenants, of course, or from mistaken references to earlier encampments of Gypsies.

16. Lake, D.J. *Atlas of Cuyahoga County, Ohio*. (Philadelphia, PA: Titus, Simmons and Titus.) 1874.

17. Routes and dates for Cleveland lines were reconstructed with the aid of the booklet *Notes on the Dates of Expiration of Various Grants of the Cleveland Electric Railway Company* [Cleveland, OH: City of Cleveland. 1914 or later].

18. For "long wave" economic depression see Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopia: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1987), 153.

19. *Cleveland Directory* 1871-72, 1871, 276. However, Rose and the *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* say that Hough Avenue was dedicated in 1873. Rose mentions that the corner of Crawford and Hough, where Low was listed as living, became a business district (William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 394). Prior directories listed a joiner named John J. Lowe in 1861 and a stove agent named J.J. Low from 1863 to 1868, one year residing in East Cleveland. J.J. Low, gardener, appears on Crawford Avenue in East Cleveland, in the 1870 edition, strongly suggesting that the same person is being listed all along. By 1895 only his widow, Fanny W. Low, was listed.

20. In this, as in nearly all cases referencing city directories, the periods 1861-1874 and 1888-1899 were examined. There were several James Parkers listed over the years, but this was the only real estate man listed and the lumberman listing was connected up via the residency on Willson Avenue, which seemed defensible. By at least 1888 (when directories were again consulted), Parker was listed as a real estate man and continued to be listed as such, or as being retired, through the 1890s.

21. Only one year listed any other Stackpoles at all and that was 1888. Then a Mrs. M. D. Stackpole was listed at 1216 Willson Avenue and a Peter Stackpole, molder, was boarding on Payne. Mrs. M. D. Stackpole also appeared in the Cleveland Blue Book for 1888. As no residential listing appeared for Thomas Stackpole that year, as James Parker lived only two blocks away and as all Stackpoles disappeared from the directories at the same time, the conclusion that Thomas and Mrs. M. D. were not related cannot be made without at least examining directories issued before 1888. Skipping ahead to 1888 he was listed in real estate in the Wade Building, but in 1889 the listing said he moved to Athens, Tennessee.

22. Other East End examples were F. W. Smith and M. B. Lukens who each had allotments near Doan's Corners in the early 1870s. For Cowles, see James Harrison Kennedy, *A History of the City of Cleveland: Biographical Volume* (Cleveland, OH: The Imperial Press, 1897), 51-2.

23. *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 794: 34, 29 May 1901.

24. "Ford and Cozad, Dedication of Road," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Maps*, vol. 5: 43, 24 May 1872.. This road has also been known as Bellevue Street in later years.

25. For other ventures see *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Maps*, vol. 5: 25 and 33.

26. "Stringer's Map of Cleveland and Suburbs" (1873), and "Guide Map to the City of Cleveland," (Cleveland, OH: W.S. Robinson and Company, 1874). These maps show a Euclid Heights Avenue running along the ridge, about where Overlook is today. Unlike Overlook, however, Euclid Heights Avenue does not tie into Cedar, but to an extension of Highland Avenue, running north of and parallel to Cedar up onto the ridge.

27. Lake, D.J. *Atlas of Cuyahoga County, Ohio*. (Philadelphia, PA: Titus, Simmons and Titus.) 1874.

CHAPTER 4

1. This old trail, approximately where Overlook Road is today, was approximately the same alignment slated for Euclid Heights Avenue in the 1870s and may have existed as an hunting trail or cow path for years before. Post recounts a story of a Cozad son herding cows in the heights overlooking the college grounds and believes that the gypsy encampments gave rise to the "Heathen Ridge" nickname for the Euclid Heights area (Charles Asa Post, *Doan's Corners and the City Four Miles West*, 1930, 61 and 158).

2. For Mrs. Wick's accounts of her father's arrival in Cleveland, see Mary Emma Harris, and Ruth Mills Robinson, *The Proud Heritage of Cleveland Heights, Ohio* (s.l.: Howard Allen, 1966), 20-22, or Warren Corning Wick, *My Recollections of Old Cleveland: Manners, Mansions, Mischief*, (Cleveland, OH: Publix Book Mart, 1979), 106-108.

3. Maury Klein, *The Great Richmond Terminal: A Study in Businessmen and Business Strategy* (Charlottesville, NC: University Press of Virginia), 1970. King and Spalding is still a major law firm in Atlanta (see Della Wager Wells, *The First Hundred Years: A Centennial History of King and Spalding* (Atlanta, GA: King and Spalding, 1985). There were many connections between Cleveland, New York and Richmond in this era, but a couple are worth noting as they involve Calhoun and William L. Rice, who jointly had control of Euclid Heights after 1894. According to the articles of incorporation of the Continental Development Company of Virginia, an early player in the history of Shaker Heights, Rice was a member of the board of the firm in 1891, along with men from New York and Richmond. He had a close personal and business relationship with William Nelson Cromwell of New York, who represented J. P. Morgan in the creation of the National Tube Company, as Calhoun did with the Richmond Terminal.

4. Maury Klein, *The Great Richmond Terminal: A Study in Businessmen and Business Strategy* (Charlottesville, NC: University Press of Virginia), 1970. However, a search of newspapers during the month of August 1890 fails to turn up mention of such a meeting. Similarly futile was a search of newspaper columns announcing who was staying at local hotels during this period. There are no Richmond Terminal archives to speak of and no collection of Calhoun's papers can be found.

5. "A City of Homes - Beautiful Edifices Fit for the Richest to Inhabit...." *Plain Dealer*. 6 July 1890. Population figures from William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 500. In 1893, *Cleveland Illustrated* reported that over sixty allotments containing 7,000 homes had been laid out in the East End since 1890 (*Cleveland Illustrated 1893: Its Growth, Resources, Commerce, Manufacturing Interests, Financial Institutions, Educational Advantages and Prospects; also Sketches of the Leading Business Concerns Which Contribute to the City's Progress and Prosperity: A Complete History of the City from Foundation to the Present Time* (Cleveland, OH: The Consolidated Illustrating Company, [1893])).

6. *Plain Dealer*, 5 August 1890, 6. "Gordon and Wade Park - The Board of Trade Signifies Its Belief That They should be United" A three-paragraph resolution calling for a linking boulevard was passed by the Board on Monday, August fourth.

7. *Plain Dealer*, 5 August 1890, 6. "To the Garfield Memorial - The East Cleveland company Will Extend the Quincy Street Line to the Rear of the Memorial"

The system will then be extended from Quincy street to Fairmount and will cut diagonally over the ridge and continue along the bluff almost in the midst of the grove to the rear of the Garfield memorial.... Mr. Henry Everett said yesterday that he expects to have the extension completed by next spring. Since the Blue Rock Springs extension was made to the cemetery the farm land in the vicinity has been cut up into allotments and is selling well.

8. For more on the "Rural Ideal," see Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston 1870-1900* (Harvard University Press and the M.I.T. Press, 1962; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1969), 11-14 (page references are to the reprint edition).

9. William C. Barrow, "Real Estate," *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 2d ed., David D. Van Tassell and John J. Grabowski, eds., (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), 843-848.

10. William C. Barrow, "Real Estate," *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 2d ed., David D. Van Tassell and John J. Grabowski, eds., (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), 843-848.

11. "Shaker Heights: A Buffalo Syndicate Contemplates It's Purchase," *Plain Dealer*, 16 April 1893, 7.

12. Ann Durkin Keating has noted this close relationship between public park commissions and private real estate developers in Chicago, which permitted developers to shape area-wide improvements that benefited their projects (*Building Chicago: Suburban Developers and the Creation of a Divided Metropolis*, (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1988), 69).

13. John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 330. Downing felt that such public parks could even come to rival cemeteries in population!

14. Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and The MIT Press, 1962; reprint, New York, NY: Atheneum, 1971), 155 (page references are to reprint edition). Ernest W. Bowditch quoted in the *Plain Dealer*, 20 December 1891, 3.

15. This applied also to the awarding of traction franchises, as will be discussed later.

16. Fishman argues that the profits in streetcars was not in the revenues generated, but from the increases in land values to abutting properties that rail lines created. Streetcar promoters must, therefore, also be land speculators for the value of streetcars to be realized. Calhoun was both. (Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopia: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1987), 143).

17. Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1985), 108. Ellis L. Armstrong, ed., *History of Public Works in the United States, 1776-1976* (Chicago, IL: American Public Works Association, 1976), 168-9.

18. Ellis L. Armstrong, ed., *History of Public Works in the United States, 1776-1976* (Chicago, IL: American Public Works Association, 1976), 168.

19. "Cleveland's Electric Road," *Street Railway Journal* 5, number 2 (February 1889), 33.

20. "It is asserted that the consolidation of the companies was made for no other purpose than to effect a sale to the [rumored] syndicate." *Plain Dealer*, 9 April 1893, 4. For mergers see "Cleveland Electric Railway Company," in David Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 230-231.

21. "In one elemental way street railway service and suburban house building moved together: the more street railway service, the faster the rate of building." ((Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and The MIT Press, 1962; reprint, New York, NY: Atheneum, 1971), 49 (page references are to reprint edition)).

22. C. A. Urann, *Centennial History of Cleveland*, (Cleveland, OH: The Press of J.B. Savage, 1896), 116.

23. Ellis L. Armstrong, ed., *History of Public Works in the United States, 1776-1976* (Chicago, IL: American Public Works Association, 1976), 170. Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1985), 115. Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopia: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1987), 151. For a discussion of the dynamics of a working class suburb, see James Borchert and Susan Borchert, "The Bird's Nest" Making of an Ethnic Village," *The Gamut* 21 (Summer, 1987).

24. John R. Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), Chapter Five: "Heights."

25. Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 470-71.

One advantage of the Roland Park situation deserves particular mention: the exceptionally fine boundary protection, a factor of much importance in any community development. The outside property lines of the three sections taken as a whole were shared to a remarkable extent with educational and religious institutions whose considerable open spaces had every likelihood of being maintained. The value of such abutting neighbors, if only as a matter of visual surety, is obvious. This is probably one of the major external factors contribution to the enviable reputation that Roland Park gained in its time, as a real-estate enterprise and as a comfortable environment in which to live.

26. Another argument for the claim that the Euclid Club may have been part of the original conception is that Bowditch had previously created a luxury subdivision at Tuxedo Park, New York, which did include a country club. (Kenneth F. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1985), 98.) *Plain Dealer* (3 July 1892, 10. "The Man of Fashion Has Changed from the 'Town Rural' to the 'Country Rural'...") discussed homes in and about Tuxedo Park, and said that property deeds in Tuxedo Park were void if the buyer wasn't elected to the Tuxedo Club. This does not appear to have been the policy in Euclid Heights, but does support the importance of private clubs in the period.

CHAPTER 5

1. Remington to C.D. Bissell, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 282: 238, 14 September 1877. Bissell to Holden, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 325: 232, 2 June 1881. Parker & Stackpole to Bishop, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 259: 69, 11 February 1876.
2. Wright to Zachry and Brown, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 486: 380, 3 January 1891. Bishop to Zachry and Brown, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 486: 373, 23 February 1891. Zachry and Brown to Bishop, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Mortgages*, vol. 489: 230, 23 February 1891.
3. Belle to Brown, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 492: 80, 1 April 1891. Brown to Belle, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Mortgages*, vol. 490: 581, 1 April 1891. Stackpole to Zachry and Brown, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 493: 96, 16 April 1891. Zachry and Brown to Stackpole, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Mortgages*, vol. 497: 198, 24 April 1891. Parker to Zachry and Brown, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 493: 95, 24 April 1891. Zachry and Brown to Parker, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Mortgages*, vol. 497: 199, 24 April 1891. Ford to Brown, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 494: 191, 29 April 1891. Brown to Ford, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Mortgages*, vol. 497: 336, 5 May 1891.
4. William H. Brown to John H. Brown and Richard M. Parmely, Trustees, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 516, 106, 8 February 1892.
5. "Certificate of Organization of the 'Hudson River Realty Company,'" *Essex County [New Jersey], Clerk's Office, Incorporated Business Companies*, Book 5: 278, 30 April 1891. Name change to "Railroad and Realty Security Company" recorded in *ibid*, page 293, 12 May 1891.
6. That leaves ten times as many shares authorized but not issued. Nothing more is know about the Railroad and Realty Security Company beyond its work here.
7. In 1891 this latter road was known as either the North-South County Road, or Streator Road, and marked the eastern terminus of Cedar Road. "Cedar Street Extension, East Cleveland Township," *Cuyahoga County Road Record*, vol. D, 234. For the mortgage, see "John H. Brown, et al. to The Society for Savings," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 527, 410. Two dozen releases were made from this mortgage, probably indicating lot sales, and the entire mortgage was considered satisfied in 1897.
8. Mary Emma Harris and Ruth Mills Robinson, *The Proud Heritage of Cleveland Heights, Ohio* (s.l.: Howard Allen, 1966), 21.

9. Kara Hamley explains Bowditch's life, work and Cleveland years fully in her thesis "Cleveland's Park Allotment: Euclid Heights, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and Its Designer, Ernest W. Bowditch," Masters thesis, Cornell University, 1996.

10. Ernest W. Bowditch, *Personal Reminiscences*, vol. 1, 99. For Bulkley's search, see "Cleveland Park System, IV," *Plain Dealer*, 2 February 1898, 6. Bulkley's search may have been intended to create the appearance of objectivity, so as to weaken criticisms of the hiring process and Bowditch's credentials. In 1898 a series of bulletins published by the Park Board Reorganization Association lambasted the Park Commission, saying among other things that Bowditch was only a "junior" member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, while Cleveland boasted 18 full members that should have been considered (*Cleveland Press*, 18 January 1898, 3). Bowditch attributed these criticisms to professional jealousies.

11. *Plain Dealer*, 20 December 1891, 3.

12. For biographies of Pratt and Vorce, see Samuel P. Orth, *A History of Cleveland, Ohio: Volume 2, Biographical* (Chicago, IL: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1910), 43 and 47. For Palmer, see note 20 below. Exactly who conceived the design for Euclid Heights is unknown, as the records from Bowditch's Cleveland office did not survive. Bowditch accused Pratt of using his position here to steal the office's clients for his own subsequent private practice (*Personal Reminiscences*, vol. 2, n.p.)

13. Elevations derived from the United States Geological Survey. *Cleveland South, Ohio* [map]. 1:24,000. 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), 41081-D6-TF-024. Reston, VA: USGS. 1963, photorevised 1984. Also consulted the *Cuyahoga County Sanitary Engineering Department, Topographic Map* [Orthophoto], Sheet 38.03, 1978.

14. A few blocks south of Columbia, on Cedar Road, Realtor William G. Taylor would later advertise lots on land 40 feet higher than The Overlook as having "a grand view of Lake Erie." (*Plain Dealer*, 20 September 1896, 19). Similarly, Calhoun's mansion on Cedar had a "glorious view of Lake Erie," according to Calhoun's daughter and presumably the large lots near Columbia and the Euclid Club shared such views (Mildred Calhoun Wick, *Living with Love* (Newport, DE: Serendipity Press, 1986), 72).

15. Actually, Clark Street had followed an inverted "J" shaped route, whereas Edgehill stayed on a straight course all the way to the top, cresting the ridge north of Clark Street's old terminus.

16. Harris and Robinson state that Euclid Heights was established "with straight streets to carry the traffic, curving boulevards that followed the natural terrain, and large residences set in spacious lawns." (Mary Emma Harris and Ruth Mills Robinson, *The Proud Heritage of Cleveland Heights, Ohio* (s.l.: Howard Allen, 1966), 21.)

17. Quoted in Norman T. Newton, *Designs on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 465-67.

18. "Because of the constant supply of new land brought forth by the expansion of the streetcar system, standards for lot sizes rose continually throughout the 1870-1900 period." (Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and The MIT Press, 1962; reprint, New York, NY: Atheneum, 1971), 81 (page references are to reprint edition).

19. *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Maps*, vol. 19: 2-13. The notary public for the signing of the dedication was William L. Rice, an attorney who will play a major role in the allotment's history in coming years. His law firm, Blandin, Rice and Ginn, were evidently handling the recordation as his partner, Frank H. Ginn, notarized the 1893 sheets. Note, too, that Bowditch's declaration about the survey was signed by one J. E. Palmer acting as his agent. James E. Palmer is listed in the City Directory for 1892 as a civil engineer, living in a local hotel.

20. "John Hartness Brown to the City of Cleveland," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Index*, vol. 605: 57, 23 May 1895. "Euclid Heights Realty Company to Allison J. Thompson," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Index*, vol. 642: 524, 12 June 1896. Thompson was an employee of the allotment's law firm, Blandin, Rice and Ginn.

21. Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and The MIT Press, 1962; reprint, New York, NY: Atheneum, 1971), 58-60 (page references are to reprint edition).

22. "Euclid Heights Realty Company to Stewart H. Chisholm," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Index*, vol. 616: 612, 2 December 1895.

23. "Euclid Heights Realty Company to Ralph H. Cobb," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Index*, vol. 631: 505, 14 May 1896.

24. "Euclid Heights Realty Company to Allison J. Thompson," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Index*, vol. 642: 524, 12 June 1896. Sam Bass Warner has observed that the uniformity of unrestricted subdivisions was often due to peer pressure and a belief that conformity of styles and setbacks enhanced values and led to self-regulation. Perhaps in the case of smaller, marginal lots the Euclid Heights planners felt that such mechanisms were adequate (Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and The MIT Press, 1962; reprint, New York, NY: Atheneum, 1971), 117 (page references are to reprint edition)).

25. "Euclid Heights is Cleveland's Park Allotment," *Plain Dealer*, 17 July 1892, 6.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. The exception being the north-south lines separating Original Lot 406 from 405 on the west and 8 on the east, as these had to be contained in the legal description of the allotment.

CHAPTER 6

1. *Plain Dealer*, 25 August 1894, 6.

2. *Plain Dealer*, 13 June 1897, 2:1. "Mr. and Mrs. William L Rice have issued cards for a large reception at their beautiful new home on Euclid Heights, on next Wednesday evening." Ibid., 20 June 1897, 14. "...Their splendid new colonial residence, Lowe Ridge, on Euclid hights (*sic*), presented a brilliant scene when the spacious rooms were filled with the throng of elegantly attired guests.... Assisting in the receiving were Mrs. Patrick Calhoun, Mrs. Tom L. Johnson... and Mrs. A. H. Granger...."

3. A. H. Mueller and Company, *Atlas of the Suburbs of Cleveland, Ohio in One Volume, Compiled from Official Records, Private Plans and Actual Surveys by F. L. Krause, Ellis Kiser, Thomas Glynn, Otto Barthel, Paul Stikney and R. H. Bunning* (Philadelphia, PA: A. H. Mueller and Company, 1898), 9. The marketing of this development was no doubt enhanced by the inter-connected nature of Cleveland's social elite. Herrick and Parmelee were on the board of the National Carbon Company, whose Vice President was Benjamin Miles, later to become a Euclid Heights resident, Brush and Rockefeller; through whom are connected Miles, also President of Cleveland Linseed and Oil Company and A. E. Hay, Supt. of Williams Publishing and Electric Company, both Euclid Heights property owners.

4. "Land at Euclid Heights," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Maps*, vol. 24: 8, 15 July 1897. "Plan of Euclid Heights," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Maps*, vol. 24: 29, 23 August 1898. Inset map "Key map showing relation of property to parks & transportation lines" in Bowditch's 1896 map, "Plan of Euclid Heights, Cleveland, Ohio," shows this relationship perfectly.

5. "McArthur's Brooklyn Park Allotment" *Plain Dealer*, 2 September 1894.

6. *Plain Dealer*, 15 July 1894, 14.

7. *The World's History of Cleveland: Commemorating the City's Centennial Anniversary*, (Cleveland, OH: The Cleveland World, 1896), 319. For information on a later gift of land in this area by Calhoun, see *Cleveland Press*, 9 February 1898, 1.

8. *Plain Dealer*, 15 October 1896. See also *Plain Dealer* for 13 June 1897 (front page), for more on the Murray Hill line battles. And *Notes on the Dates of Expiration of Various Grants of the Cleveland Electric Railway Company* [City of Cleveland, ca. 1907?], 44-45. Note that the franchise was to the railway company and not -- as reported by Johannesen and Harris and Robinson -- to Calhoun, who had no known interest in the

company (Eric Johannesen, *Cleveland Architecture, 1876-1976* (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1979), 101. Mary Emma Harris and Ruth Mills Robinson, *The Proud Heritage of Cleveland Heights, Ohio* (s.l.: Howard Allen, 1966), 45).

9. William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 573.

10. "A Dead Ordinance" *Plain Dealer*, 29 September 1896, and "On the Hip - The Railway Company has the Bulge on the City in the Murray Hill Avenue Paving" *Plain Dealer*, 11 October 1896, 2. Questions whether Big Con will abandon its Murray Hill Avenue line in favor of a line along Sterns, Deering and Fairchild streets.

11. "Generous Gift - Mr. Patrick Calhoun Presents the City with Valuable Lands - To be Used in the Extension of the Park System - Euclid Avenue to Cedar Heights" *Plain Dealer* 6 August 1896, 2.

12. *Plain Dealer*, 25 October 1896, 7. "Public Parks - Their Influence Upon the Development and Growth of Great Cities - Some Thoughts and Figures - Which Indicate that Cleveland's New Park System Will Promote the City's Growth." This idea of Euclid Heights being in the "elbow" of the park system was also found in the Euclid Heights promotional pamphlet of the same period: *Euclid Heights* (Cleveland, OH: Press of J.B. Savage, [1896?]), [13].

13. For example, Sarah Brewster had purchased subplot number 12 from the Mrs. Low in 1896, for \$400 and tried to simultaneously sell it on land contract to H. G. Rupp for \$1,000. A year later she sold her interest, subject to Rupp's land contract, to Carrie B. Taylor for \$770. Calhoun got Rupp's land contract assigned to him three months later, passing it on to the realty company, who then purchased Taylor's title for nearly \$798. (*Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 651: 117; *Ibid.*, vol. 655: 59; *Ibid.* vol. 667: 168; and *ibid.*, vol. 707: 158). In another case, the Low's sold lot number 21 to Alvan R. Brown in 1876 for \$250. He held it until 1899, when he sold it to the realty company for \$1,000, taking a mortgage back of \$300. (*Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 297: 171; and *ibid.*, vol. 714: 636; *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Mortgages*, vol. 752: 40). The process was similar in Stackpole and Parker's, although lots there seem to have originally been sold in groups more often than individually. Even J. G. W. Cowles, Parmely's real estate partner until 1897, was also involved in these transactions. He was the executor of the estate of Fanny W. Low (J. J.'s widow) when she died in 1898 and he deeded the lots still in her hands over to the Euclid Heights Realty Company in 1901. This was during the general period that he was serving as President of the Cleveland Trust Company and placing the \$1,100,000 bond issue for the realty company (*Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 794: 34, 29 May 1901).

14. A. H. Mueller and Company, *Atlas of the Suburbs of Cleveland, Ohio in One Volume, Compiled from Official Records, Private Plans and Actual Surveys by F. L. Krause, Ellis Kiser, Thomas Glynn, Otto Barthel, Paul Stikney and R. H. Bunning* (Philadelphia, PA: A. H. Mueller and Company, 1898), 9. Warren Corning Wick, *My*

Recollections of Old Cleveland: Manners, Mansions, Mischief (Cleveland, OH: Publix Book Mart, 1979), 107. Other mentions of remaining stands of trees in Euclid Heights include the article about the proposed streetcar line up onto the heights which, in 1890, mentioned a "grove to the rear of the Garfield memorial," which might refer to land that became Euclid Heights (*Plain Dealer*, 5 August 1890, 6.). Also, in 1896, Realtor William G. Taylor advertised large, acre-plus lots fronting on Cedar Road, "across from Streater's Grove," which should have been about where Calhoun's second home was located (*Ibid.*, 20 September 1896, 19.).

15. *Plain Dealer*, 4 October 1996, 19. Norman T. Newton might object to calling Euclid Heights Boulevard a "parkway," believing that parkways, in the modern sense, are limited access roads (*Designs on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 597). The testimonial letters were originally published in *Euclid Heights*, op. cit. [16 & 19].

16. Patrick Calhoun's brother, John, was here reported to be a major stockholder with Patrick in the entire allotment, a claim found nowhere else (*Cleveland Press*, 23 November 1895, 1). Alexander Winton did not exhibit his first automobile until the year following the announcement about the Euclid Heights fleet. For early automotive history of Cleveland see William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 503. Also see Darwin Stapleton, "Automotive Industry," in David Van Tassell and John J. Grabowski, *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 2d ed. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), 57-59, and H. Roger Grant, "Transportation," *ibid.*, 974-979.

17. "The New Home of the Euclid Club," *Plain Dealer*, 25 August 1901 (part 3), 1. Frances F. Bushea, "Euclid Heights and the Euclid Club," *Ibid.*, 20 March 1950.

18. Warren Corning Wick, *My Recollections of Old Cleveland: Manners, Mansions, Mischief* (Cleveland, OH: Publix Book Mart, 1979), 106-108. And, William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: the Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 1069.

19. "John H. Brown et al. to The Society for Savings," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 527: 410, 11 May 1892. "The Railroad and Realty Security Company et al. to Garfield Savings," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 543: 419, 421 and 423, 15 November 1892.

20. "The Euclid Heights Company to E. J. Blandin, Trustee," 24 September 1894, *Cuyahoga County Recorders Office, Deeds*, vol. 601: 312, 320 and 325.

21. "The Euclid Heights Realty Company to The Cleveland Trust Company," 11 October 1897, *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, 687: 116. Cited in "The Cleveland Trust Company, Trustees, et al., vs. The Euclid Heights Realty Company, et al." *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court Journal*, vol. 188: 137, 10 August 1912.

22. William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 555.

23. William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 633.

CHAPTER 7

1. "Brown in Town... Patrick Calhoun, His Representative, With Him," *St. Louis Star*, 7 March 1899.

2. One large buyer of bonds was the Maryland Casualty Company (*Plain Dealer*, 16 May 1914, 3).

3. "Cleveland Trust Company, Trustees, et al., Plaintiffs, versus Euclid Heights Realty Company, Defendants," *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, Journal*, vol. 188:140, 10 August 1912.

4. "The Euclid Heights Realty Company to The Cleveland Trust Company," *Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Deeds*, vol. 687: 116, 11 October 1897. Cited in "The Cleveland Trust Company, Trustees, et al., vs. The Euclid Heights Realty Company et al." *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court Journal*, vol. 188: 137, 10 August 1912.

5. *Cuyahoga County Recorders Office, Maps*, Vol. 36, 2-15 and 17. "Euclid Heights Allotment." 28 February 1907.

6. "The Cleveland Trust Company, Trustees, et al., vs. The Euclid Heights Realty Company," *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court Journal*, vol. 188: 138, 10 August 1912.

7. There is record of a partial payment made on 14 April 1909 which apparently did not restore any degree of control to the Euclid Heights Realty Company.

8. Walton Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco: The Story of the Union Labor Party, Big Business, and the Graft Prosecution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1952). Calhoun's family felt the trial was designed to keep him from handling his business affairs elsewhere. Mildred Calhoun Wick, *Living with Love* (Newport, DE: Serendipity Press, 1986), 82 and 83.

In order to hurt him, Father's enemies would not allow him to leave the city until his long trial was over. Because of this restriction, Father could not attend to his oil fields in Texas, his utilities in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, his interests in New York, and particularly his real estate development in far-away Cleveland... If only he could have kept the Cleveland property, he would have continued to be worth many millions.

9. Eric Johannesen, "A Building Worth Killing For?" *Timeline*, August/September, 1985, 42-47.

10. "The Cleveland Trust Company, Trustees, et al., vs. The Euclid Heights Realty Company," *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court Journal*, vol. 188: 137, 10 August 1912. It is unknown whether J. G. W. Cowles' accession to the Chairmanship of Cleveland Trust in 1903 had any bearing on that firm's timing and tactics in its relationship with the realty company.

11. Interestingly, the owners of the lots were disproportionately found to be the wives of the couples residing there. Sixty-eight women were named, as compared with only forty men. While husbands and wives were both named in several cases, and known divorcees and widows in several others, in most cases only the wife was named of a married couple. This probably reflects a social convention calling for the domicile to be placed in the wife's name, but financial protection may have been an important factor in the shaping of that convention. John Hartness Brown was sued by The Cleveland Trust in 1910 for placing his home in his second wife's name, the suit alleging that this was done to shelter the home from the bank's claims as trustee for his first wife's alimony. (*Cleveland Press*, 8 June 1910, 8.)

12. In April the amount of the award to Rice's estate was reduced to \$67,000 (*Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, Journal*, vol. 187:143) and the Guardian Savings and Trust Company obtained a \$3,338 judgment in July (*Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, Journal*, vol. 188:150).

13. "Cleveland Trust Company, et al, Plaintiffs, versus Euclid Heights Realty Company, Defendants," *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, Journal*, vol. 194:427, 6 February 1914, 467.

14. "Cleveland Trust Company, et al, Plaintiffs, versus Euclid Heights Realty Company, Defendants," *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, Journal*, vol. 127:782, 6 February 1914.

15. "Cleveland Trust Company, et al, Plaintiffs, versus Euclid Heights Realty Company, Defendants," *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, Journal*, vol. 194:427, 21 February 1914, 443.

16. "Cleveland Trust Company, et al, Plaintiffs, versus Euclid Heights Realty Company, Defendants," *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, Journal*, vol. 194:427, 21 February 1914, 465.

17. "Cleveland Trust Company, et al, Plaintiffs, versus Euclid Heights Realty Company, Defendants," *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, Journal*, vol. 188:137, 10 August 1912.

18. G. M. Hopkins Company, *Plat Book of the City of Cleveland Ohio and Suburbs....; Volume One North-east and Southeast Divisions of the City and Eastern Suburbs*, 1912, 35.
19. *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, Journal*, vol. 194:427, 21 February 1914.
20. *Plain Dealer*, 10 May 1914, 7C. Ibid., 16 May 1914, 3. "Cleveland Trust Company, et al, Plaintiffs, versus Euclid Heights Realty Company, Defendants," *Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, Journal*, vol. 127:782, 6 February 1914.
21. *Plain Dealer*, 16 May 1914, 3. Ibid., 17 May 1914, 8A. Occupations of some purchasers from *The Official Cleveland (Sixth City) Directory for the Year Ending August, 1915*, [1914].
22. Frances F. Bushea. "Euclid Heights and the Euclid Club," *Plain Dealer*, 20 March 1950.
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24. H. Roger Grant, "Transportation," *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 2nd ed., (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), 974-979. William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1950), 622 and 798.
25. "Cedar Hill to be Revamped to Aid in Traffic Relief," *Cleveland News*, 21 July 1927.
26. P. J. O'Donnell's Cedar-Coventry Subdivision was recorded by the Cleveland Realty Improvement Company, Williard J. Crawford, Jr., President, and George H. Boutall, Secretary (*Cuyahoga County Recorder's Office, Maps*, vol. 78: 40, 25 August 1922). According to the 1922 city directories, George H. Boutall lived at the same address as Theodore W. Boutall, cashier for the Van Sweringen Company
27. David Van Tassell and John J. Grabowski, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 302-03.

28. The group of allotments south of Cedar Road consists of the Ambler Heights Allotment, the Walton Brothers' Cedar Heights Allotment, the Wade Realty Company's Cedar Hill Allotment, and the various re-subdivisions of the Abeyton Realty Company's Euclid Golf Allotment. Data on assessment values were obtained from John A. Zangerle, *1920 Assessments: Unit Value Maps of Cleveland, East Cleveland, Lakewood, and Cleveland Heights, 1920*. And John A. Zangerle, *1924 Assessments: Unit Value Land Maps with Building Schedules and Photographic Types of Cleveland, East Cleveland, Lakewood, Cleveland Heights, Shaker Heights and Rocky River, 1924*.

29. Thomas Adams, *The Design of Residential Areas: Basic Considerations, Principles, and Methods*, 1934, 9.

The reason for the incongruous developments in or adjacent to the high-class residential neighborhood is that constructive methods were not applied in good time to serve all community needs in their proper places. The grocery store, the apartment house, and the gasoline station are ordinarily necessities for which provision must be made in any complete neighborhood. Not having proper and convenient sites provided for them according to plan, they tend to force themselves indiscriminately into places where, as likely as not, they do the maximum of harm.

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