

BOND HILL

Origin and Transformation of a 19th Century
Cincinnati Railroad Suburb



Figure 1: 1869 Map of Cincinnati and Millcreek Township, Bond Hill area highlighted. Scale is approximately 1 inch = 1 mile. (Titus 1869)

BOND HILL

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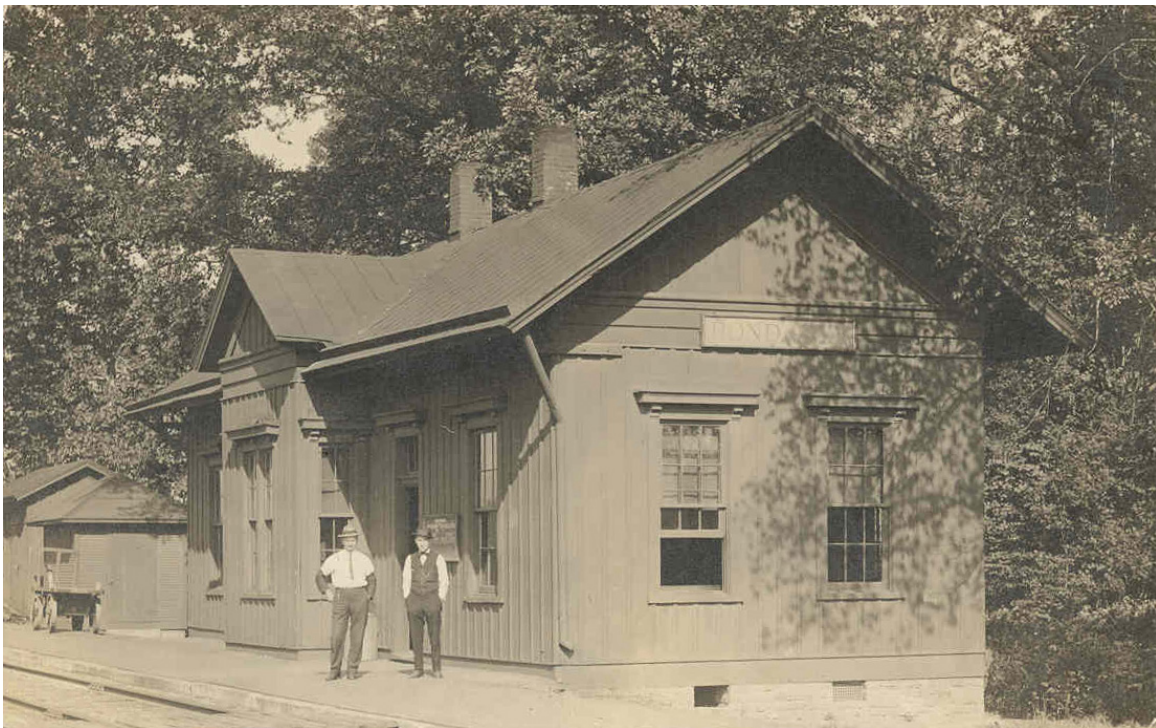


Figure 2: Bond Hill Station, commuter rail line, circa 1910 (Varady 2003)

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Henry Watkin Press & Cosmographic Design Initiates, Cincinnati, 2005

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9th edition, containing some new information not included in earlier editions

Published by Henry Watkin Press & Cosmographic Design Initiates, Cincinnati, Ohio

Design and Production by Aharon N. Varady

Printed by Lulu.com

Varady, Aharon N.

Bond Hill: Origin and Transformation of a 19th Century Cincinnati Railroad Suburb /

Aharon N. Varady

Includes Bibliographic References

ISBN 1-4116-1594-8

Printed in the United States of America

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To the children of Bond Hill, past, present, and future.

| TABLE OF CONTENTS | Page |
|---|-------------|
| Acknowledgements | 8 |
| Preface | 10 |
| Chapter 1. An Introduction to Bond Hill | 17 |
| Chapter 2: Early Settlement History, 1790-1870 | 23 |
| Settlement in Northeastern Millcreek Township | 24 |
| Origin of the Name 'Bond Hill' | 28 |
| Development of the Miami-Erie Canal and Public Institutions | 33 |
| Henry and Laura Ann Fry Watkin | 36 |
| Chapter 3: Bond Hill, Ohio, 1870-1903 | 48 |
| Motivations for Suburban Development | 48 |
| The Cooperative Land and Building Association, No.1 of Hamilton, County | 54 |
| Ideals of Co-operation | 57 |
| Acquiring the Site | 64 |
| A Railroad Suburb is Born | 68 |
| Cooperative Schism | 71 |
| Disease and Depression | 72 |
| Environment, Economy and Recreation | 76 |
| Symbols of the Loss of Bond Hill's Young Spirit | 78 |
| Chapter 4: Post-Annexation, 1903-1964 | 81 |
| Industrial Expansion and Housing Boom, 1903-1942 | 81 |
| Post-World War II Planning and Development, 1942-1960 | 87 |
| Chapter 5: Advocacy Planning and Demographic Transformation, 1964-90 | 94 |
| Chapter 6: Conclusion | 103 |

| TABLE OF CONTENTS | Page |
|--|------|
| Appendix 1: <i>Suburban Homes for Business Men</i> , “Introduction” (R. Nelson 1874) | 108 |
| Appendix 2: <i>Suburban Homes for Business Men</i> , “Bond Hill” (R. Nelson 1874) | 116 |
| Appendix 3: <i>Suburban Homes for Business Men</i> , “The Science of Real Estate Business” (R. Nelson 1874) | 120 |
| Appendix 4: “The Beginning of Bond Hill” (Patmor 1961) | 129 |
| Appendix 5: “Brief History of Bond Hill Welfare Association and Bond Hill Playground Formerly Known as Berling Field” (Wachendorf 1935) | 140 |
| Appendix 6: Additional information concerning Henry Watkin | 142 |
| Appendix 7: Reconstruction Era Building Associations 1867-1880 | 160 |
| Appendix 8: <i>The Story of Annexation</i> (Hamilton Country Research Foundation, 1955) | 166 |
| Bibliography | 183 |
| Notes | 183 |
| Sources | 196 |
| Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 2.0 License | 211 |

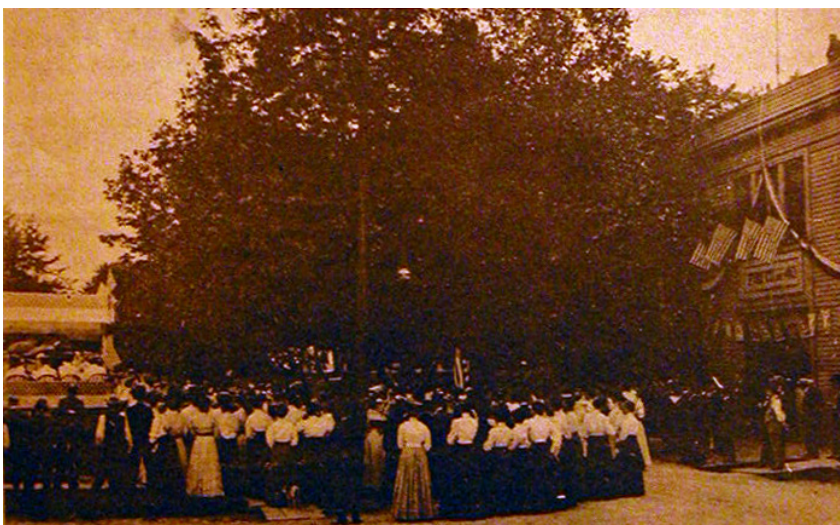


Figure 3: Memorial Day
Band Concert, Oakdale
and California, 1910.
Bond Hill Fire Company
No. 40 on right. (Singer
1971)

Acknowledgements

This study would have been exceedingly difficult without the expert help, advice, and support of the following persons and institutions.

While working on my Masters degree, the faculty of the School of Planning at the University of Cincinnati, provided direct and indirect input into this thesis. In particular, credit is due to Dr. Michael Romanos who gave me Bond Hill as my study area in his class, *Structure and Dynamics of Human Settlement*. In fact, in one of my first classes at the School of Planning, *Planning and Implementation of Planned Communities*, Dr. Romanos introduced Planning to me through the lens of urban history. The field trips of *Planned Communities* exposed me to a number of intentional and experimental communities in the Ohio-Kentucky-Indiana region: 19th century Owenite, Shaker, and Harmonist communities and 20th century garden city inspired villages. When I uncovered certain hints that Bond Hill's founders were idealists and possibly associated with radical socialist groups, my obsession with Bond Hill was guaranteed.

Another early class helped to train my eye for seeing the outline and stratigraphy of human activities in historical maps and aerial photographs. Kiril Stanilov's *Methods of Physical Analysis* prepared me to see in streets and parcel lines the deeply imprinted etchings of urban history on the natural landscape. In fact, one of the deepest lessons I feel I learned these past two years is how well a line and a map can mediate, empower and confuse a planner's relationship with the fragile crust and determined biota of planet Earth.

I am also indebted to the other fine professors of the School of Planning, namely, Carla Chifos (Environmental Policy and Perspectives), Christopher Auffrey (Healthy Cities, Local Agenda 21), Robert Manley (Planning Law), Xinhao Wang (GIS), and Rainer Vom Hoffe (Statistics). Special thanks go to my thesis committee: Robert Manley, David Edelman, and Mark Lause.

Mark Lause was teaching me American History when I was still in high school taking summer classes at the University of Cincinnati. It was my joy to have him on my thesis committee nearly 15 years later. Dr. Lause was always interested in listening to and providing feedback on my latest findings. His perspective and expert knowledge were invaluable in helping me to connect the dots in reconstructing the history of Bond Hill and its founders.

Special thanks are also due to Patrick Snadon and Walter Langsam of DAAP. Professor Snadon (Architecture) provided expert opinions on the street layout and typology of the original Bond Hill subdivision. His lecture on the town of Hygeia in northern Kentucky, the current site of Ludlow, Kentucky) in *Planned Communities*, made me realize there were still plenty of secrets waiting to be discovered in the musty archives of Cincinnati's libraries and historical societies. Walter Langsam (Art History), an expert on Cincinnati architecture, led me to obscure articles on Bond Hill sourced in his reference database. Local historian, Robert Wimberg, was also kind enough to point out an error in earlier editions of this work. (I had confused the *Altenheim*, also called the *German Old Men's Home*, with the *Old Folk's Home*, a separate institution. The error is corrected in this edition).

While I pursued the life of Henry Watkin for this study, unbeknownst to me, Jennifer Howe, an art historian and lecturer at the Cincinnati Art Academy, was publishing her findings on the life of Henry Watkin's in-laws, the family of Henry L. Fry. Howe's research in England on the Fry's radical socialist activities in Cheltenham, helped to clarify and reveal the milieu in which Henry Watkin lived and worked in Cincinnati.

I must also extend gratitude to Maria Vamvakidou, my partner in Dr. Romanos' *Structure and Dynamics of Human Settlement*. Once tasked with writing a comprehensive planning history on Bond Hill, we both suffered through a very early paper on which this thesis was based. That paper should be published as a chapter in a book Dr. Romanos is preparing on the planning history of Cincinnati's fifty-two neighborhoods.

A number of libraries and librarians, archives and archivists helped with this research. The former City of Cincinnati Planning Department's excellent collection of neighborhood and community plans was instrumental in providing rare documentation. At the University of Cincinnati DAAP Library, Nanda Araujo introduced me to the relevant electronic indexes and catalogues. Kevin Grace at Rare Books helped to reserve the Annexation collection archives of the incorporated Village of Bond Hill (1884-1903) for an extended period. At the Cincinnati Historical Society Library, several volunteer librarians and archival curators helped me locate important documents and maps. At the Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library, Sylvia Verdun-Metzinger of the Rare Books collection, an expert on Lafcadio Hearn, was particularly helpful in pointing me to possibly fruitful archives on Hearn's mentor, dear friend, and Bond Hill founder, Henry Watkin. Sylvia put me in touch with Dr. Kinji Tanaka, president of the Japan Research Center of Greater Cincinnati, a close friend of Lafcadio Hearn's grandson, Toki Koizumi, and great-grandson, Bon Koizumi. Dr. Tanaka was deeply interested in the life of Henry Watkin and advised me to include additional information and located important archival resources at Iowa State University.

In February of 2003, I met with the Bond Hill Community Council whose members were eager for any volunteer work that explored Bond Hill's history. Dear thanks go to Obalaye Macharia, a local poet who acts as one of the Council's vice-presidents and as director of youth activities. Obalaye not only urged me to continue this research, he was also instrumental in providing this study with a small grant which defrayed some printing and transportation costs.

Thanks as well go to Pat Garry, Carolyn Wallace, and Cromer Mashburn who spoke with me regarding the activities of the Bond Hill Community Council and Building Association in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Although they don't feel it necessary for me to thank them, my mother and father supported me while in graduate school, and helped review and edit this thesis.

Aharon N. Varady,
August 7, 2004



Figure 4: Ferris Farm at Paddock Road, just north of Ryland Avenue, Bond Hill, undated photo (Singer 1971)

Abstract

Through a synthesis of primary source records, this reconstructed planning history chronicles the origin and transformation of Bond Hill (currently a neighborhood of Cincinnati, Ohio) and the motivation of its developers, the *Cooperative Land and Building Association No. 1 of Hamilton County*. The suburban history reveals the role of teetotalers, cooperatives, building associations, railroads, and radicals in the founding of a commuter railroad suburb on unincorporated land at the junction of several important transportation routes in the countryside just outside of Cincinnati in 1871. The role of one of the Cooperative's founders, Henry Watkin, is especially documented. Although not comprehensive, this history provides a survey of development in the Bond Hill area, from the post-Colonial period, through the Village of Bond Hill's annexation in 1903, up until the present.

This study was originally prepared as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Community Planning (MCP) at the School of Planning, College of Design, Architecture, Art, and Planning (DAAP), University of Cincinnati, June 11, 2004. The thesis committee members were: **Dr. David Edelman**, Chair; **Robert E. Manley, Esq.**, Faculty Member; and **Dr. Mark Lause**, Reader. This new version, dated November 8, 2005, includes revisions and new information not included in the thesis.



Figure 4: Bond Hill Brass Band marching at the Memorial Day Parade, 1910, corner of Paddock and California Avenue (Singer 1971)

Preface

I grew up in Roselawn, a Cincinnati neighborhood directly north of Bond Hill on the eastern ridge of the Mill Creek Valley. What I knew of Bond Hill as a child was what I could make out from my parent's car windows as we passed by: diminishing neighborhood business districts along Paddock and Reading Road. It was a black neighborhood, I could tell, from the folks I saw waiting for buses there. On my school bus coming north up Reading Road or exiting off of the Norwood Lateral, I'd know when I'd be near Bond Hill after seeing the steeple of the St. Aloysius Orphanage rising above the B&O railroad bridge. My best memory of the place was the old Twins Drive-In theater where I, a sleepy 4 year old in 1978, watched Star Wars from the back of my parents Toyota Corolla.



Figure 5: View of Bond Hill from across the Norwood Trough to the south. Red Bud Avenue, North Avondale, Cincinnati (Varady 2003)

When the drive-in closed in the mid 1980s, there was nothing more I had to with Bond Hill. I had no friends there; my Hebrew day school classmates all lived elsewhere. The drive up Reading Road was simply a stretch of homes and golf courses and empty parking lots that I passed to and from school. When I was 12, my family moved to the neighborhood just south of Bond Hill and Paddock Hills, North Avondale, and having graduated Hebrew Day, my teenage world looked towards destinations south instead of north: Short Vine, Ludlow, and Downtown. Until I wrote a class paper on Bond Hill some 15 years later, I didn't realize that just up my block I had an excellent view across the Norwood Trough valley of Bond Hill's southern industrial zone.

I'd be ashamed for my ignorance of neighborhood geography, but I'm in good company. Such provincial awareness is typical for Cincinnati and in many cities across America. Residents are more transient and less likely to know their neighbors let alone the condition and history of their neighborhoods. People focus instead on their personal property, survival, and the success of their families. If it is easy to be incognizant of one's own neighborhood, how much easier is it to lose sight of one's neighbors across the valley? Even for those who know their own neighborhood well, how many can compare it with how it looked twenty, forty, one hundred years ago?

Of course, it wasn't always like this. When these neighborhoods were rural farmlands, there were less people to know and less news to know about. Generations lived in the same houses, and the names of streams, trees, and trails could be readily recalled by the many former

children who has swam, climbed, and hiked in them. Even if these places have been completely forgotten, these environmental and social amenities may still exist in some transfigured form: streams flow underneath our streets and homes in long buried culverts; where once a village reading circle read the latest article by Ralph Waldo Emerson, a local branch of the public library now sits. By closing our eyes and imagining the past with the help of history, we can begin to understand how what we see in the present came to be. Once our existing conditions and imaginations are informed by history, our eyes can be opened to the possibilities of smart and exciting new growth and development.

But if we stepped into Bond Hill and tried to imagine its past, what history might aid our imaginations? In 2001, Bond Hill passed through its 130th year as a neighborhood of Cincinnati, yet there was no celebration of its history. Aside from this history I've written here, there is no published history of the once proud independent village of Bond Hill. There are no older residents to transmit an oral history of its bygone days. Who made Bond Hill and why is it even named Bond Hill? These are natural questions any child growing up in Bond Hill might ask. But who can answer them? Why was Bond Hill developed? Why was Bond Hill developed where it was? Who developed Bond Hill and what were their ambitions? What events prefaced the dissolution and transformation of the developer's original vision? What environmental and social assets were lost in the social and spatial transformation of Bond Hill? There are many more questions to be asked and this history only provides some of the answers (and suggestions of possible answers). If we can begin to answer at least a few of the basic questions then we'll have provided the basis for the residents of Bond Hill, and the urban planners and historians of Cincinnati to ask more. What we have engaged in is nothing less than to restore to Bond Hill an understanding of itself.

This is not to say that these questions haven't been asked before, at least in some regard. The amateur local historian and journalist, Jean Singer, published a collection of oral histories for Bond Hill's centennial in 1971. A short history with a map showing the evolving land use of the neighborhood was prepared for the 1977 Bond Hill Neighborhood Master Plan. Throughout the 1970s and early 80s, Pat Crum and members of the Bond Hill Community Council worked to have Bond Hill recognized with Cincinnati's first local historic district designation.

The most visible result of all of these sometimes frustrating efforts is that upon entering Bond Hill today, gateway signs proclaim to speeding motorists that Bond Hill is "an historic community" (see figure 7). The



Figure 6: "An Historic Community." Bond Hill Gateway Sign, corner of Tennessee and Paddock Avenue. (Varady 2003)

Bond Hill Community Council initiated the sign campaign in the early 1990s, intending to nurture a positive identity among its residents and transient visitors. By identifying the community as *historic*, the Council wanted to form a bond between what is and what was. Most of the African-American residents of Bond Hill had no connection to the neighborhood before 1965. By invoking the word *historic*, Bond Hill is connected to something permanent and legitimate, something... special. But what exactly is historic and special about Bond Hill? Isn't "an historic community" simply an empty, if optimistic, phrase by hopeful community marketers?

Are not all neighborhoods historic? Every space and object has its own unique history. A pebble carries the history of its origin in a supernova, its metamorphosis under pressure, its passage from mountainside to creek bed, and its passage from creek bed via cement mixer to sidewalk. A busy urban intersection was once suburban, and before then, it was a rural division of four parcels of farmland, and before then, a place of semi-nomadic settlement and serendipitous wild encounters. Bond Hill is currently a Cincinnati neighborhood of nearly 10,000 residents encircled by industries and brownfield sites. A hundred years ago the small railroad suburb was surrounded by dairy farms, its population amounted to fewer than 1000 persons. An, a hundred years before that, it was the site of deadly skirmishes between European settlers and Shawnee defenders.

The history of Bond Hill is at once familiar and unique. Like quite a few other neighborhoods of Cincinnati, the neighborhood began as an independent village built on former farmland by a Building Association. However, the *Cooperative Land And Building Association, No.1*, which developed Bond Hill, was the first housing cooperative in Cincinnati. Like a number of other neighborhoods originating in the early 1870s, Bond Hill was founded as a railroad suburb along the Cincinnati-Loveland branch of the Cincinnati & Marietta Railroad. Unlike these other communities, however, Bond Hill was planned as a temperance community by teetotaling Episcopalians, artists, and communalists. The role of cooperatives in establishing Cincinnati suburbs is a chapter largely missing from the history of Cincinnati.

Considering the unique history of Bond Hill, it is remarkable that it has been so little studied and so thoroughly forgotten. (Unfortunately this is also the case for many of Bond Hill's sister neighborhoods). But there is great value in also describing the aspects of Bond Hill which are not unique, which are commonplace, and shared in the history of neighborhood spaces, not only in Cincinnati, but across the United States. The history of the development

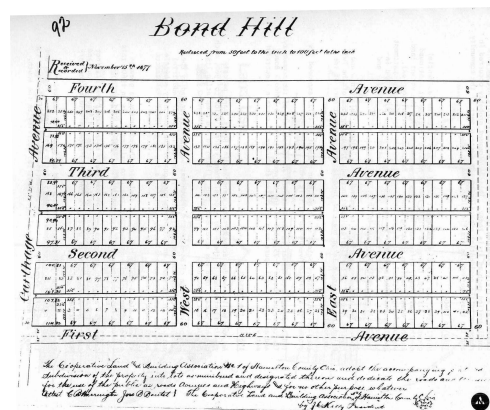


Figure 7: Original Bond Hill Platt Map, 1877 (Bond Hill Long Range Planning Committee 1977)

and loss of Bond Hill's environmental and recreational assets is a tragedy shared across this country. It is a story which must be repeated over and over until we stop investing in new communities, roads, infrastructure, and housing in the farmland outside of the city, and begin reinvesting in the wonderful communities our grandparents and great-grandparents struggled to build and which have languished and become blighted in our tragic disregard.

By cataloguing the loss of greenspace and recreational assets to badly planned industrial, commercial, residential and transportation developments, we provide a crucial perspective for the Bond Hill community and city planners. This is especially critical because the current Bond Hill community is largely unacquainted with the history of the neighborhood prior to the mid-1960s. Ninety-seven percent of Bond Hill's current residents are black. In 1960, nearly one hundred percent were white, comprised of descendants of the first residents of Bond Hill, as well as a large Jewish community. Beginning in the mid 1960s, Bond Hill underwent a radical demographic change. Hope for a racially integrated neighborhood grew with advocacy planning efforts in the 1970s, but faded in the 1980s—the result of the migration and influx of new residents and the knowledge that the assets which once existed, i.e., informal recreational spaces, civic groups and activities, open spaces, were lost. How can community residents, advocates, and planners evaluate and determine the assets and liabilities of their neighborhood without knowledge of the history and evolution of their community? The answer, of course, is that community planners and residents cannot make informed decisions without historical perspective. If in the telling of *Bond Hill: Origin and Transformation of a 19th Century Cincinnati Railroad Suburb* we succeed in informing residents and planners with such intelligence, then we will also have succeeded in creating something of greater benefit than a curious tale of what was and what might have been. Hopefully, people will be able to take from this and think of what might Bond Hill become (or be again)!

While the history of later planned suburbs just outside of Cincinnati, Mariemont and Greenhills, is well documented, the place of earlier Cincinnati suburbs in the context of suburban development is less understood. Precedents for intentional communities in Cincinnati's suburbs existed prior to Mary Muhlenberg Emery's vision and the garden cities movement. *Bond Hill: Origin and Transformation* shows how in the years following the end of the Civil War, idealistic philanthropists invested in cooperative building associations as means to inventing the harmonious societies they believed possible. In today's lingo, Bond Hill was a transit oriented development: a suburb established in the countryside just outside the most densely populated city on the planet and made accessible by means of the most technologically advanced transportation system then in use. The origin of Bond Hill provides an example of how the communalist spirit of Antebellum socialism was adapted and revived in the Reconstruction era by building associations, ethnic groups, and temperance organizations. In the telling of this history, I also illuminate the family and life of an obscure communalist, Henry Watkin, one of Bond Hill's founders and earliest residents, presenting

for the first time ever the most comprehensive account of a compassionate man, socialist, and builder of Cincinnati.

Bond Hill was built on farmland outside the city, and surrounded by peaceful open spaces. Sprawling development on the metropolitan outskirts of Cincinnati is today the norm. But do new suburban investors fully understand how the beauty and appeal of their land investments on the fringe is vulnerable to changes in transportation technology, the economy and the development of surrounding open space? Besides the obvious similarities what connects both development enterprises is the incredible optimism inherent in both, if not in the appeal of teetotaling, then in the role of the market and transportation developments to support this kind of exurban development. Both take for granted that infrastructure, gas, electricity, communication networks, will be made available, if not as part of an annexation by Cincinnati, as in the case of Bond Hill, then in the capability of Home Rule Townships to provide these services. The transformation of Bond Hill provides a lesson in how investments in commercial, industrial, and residential developments over the last century made in the name of “progress,” disregarded Bond Hill’s small village character and the neighborhood’s pedestrian and rail transit orientations. What do residents and administrators of outlying exurban townships believe will become the next hundred years of their semi-rural communities? The answer lies in the role of real estate developers and enduring stewardship of a compelling vision of community and environment. A look into the past of Bond Hill traces its building association as it evolved from that of an idealistic cooperative, to a neighborhood savings and loan, to a small bank only marginally invested in the neighborhood pursuing loans for developing more distant Cincinnati suburbs. Unfortunately, a full historical treatment of Bond Hill’s transition from village to urban neighborhood in the 20th century (including the effect of comprehensive planning decisions in the 1950s and Bond Hill’s radical demographic transition in the late 1960s) was beyond the scope of my research.

Readers of more familiar histories may notice that this chronicle has a different emphasis than others. It does not attempt to describe the evolution of the different ethnic changes, political movements, and neighborhood institutions. These aspects of Bond Hill are discussed but only in relation to Bond Hill’s planning history. The planning history is a description of Bond Hill’s evolution from a settlement from the late 18th century to the present through an account of the influence of transportation and land use changes in Bond Hill. It is an application of the ideas, concepts, and discourses in planning, geography, and metropolitan history. Through an analysis of available documents, maps, oral accounts, this history indicates the critical events responsible for the early social and spatial transformations of the village, the loss of its rural character, and the dissolution of its founders’ idealistic vision before and after the suburb’s annexation in 1903.

The first chapter introduces the place of Bond Hill through a physical analysis of the neighborhood’s topography, political boundaries, connectivity, and a short history. Chapter

two describes the early settlement history of the Bond Hill area from 1790 to 1870: early parcel owners, environmental impacts, transportation networks, and local institutions. Chapter two also introduces the founding resident of Bond Hill, the expatriate English printer, Henry Watkin, and explores his family's connections with communalists, artists and other radicals in Cincinnati. Chapter three describes the motivations for suburban development on the rural fringe of Cincinnati after the Civil War, the origin and history of the Cooperative, and life in Bond Hill from 1870 to 1903. Chapter four surveys the increased development in Bond Hill after its annexation until World War II, as well as the influence of modern comprehensive planning on the neighborhood, especially the development of highways and new commercial centers. In Chapter five, the years 1960 to the present are surveyed and the successes and failures of the Bond Hill Community Council and other neighborhood advocacy efforts are discussed. The conclusion in chapter six summarizes the findings and includes recommendations for future neighborhood development based on these findings.

Rare and relevant primary source records used in the construction of this history are appended to this research. The first three appendixes are chapters from Richard Nelson's 1874 work, *Suburban Homes for Business Men*. The book is part real estate advert, part local history, and encouraged philanthropists and real estate investors to build along the Cincinnati-Marietta Railroad's new railroad tracks from Loveland to the Mill Creek Valley. Appendix 4 is the full text of George E. Patmor's oral history as transcribed by Estell Barley in 1961. Patmor grew up in Bond Hill in the 1880s and had access to local history through relatives who were some of the first residents in the area in the early 19th century. Appendix 5 is a short history of Bond Hill from 1935 as recalled by one of its most active real estate developers, Robert Wachendorf. Appendix 6 is a list of Reconstruction era building associations, and contains the reference numbers to access them from the Office of the Secretary of State of Ohio. Appendix 7 lists additional information concerning Henry Watkin and his family, residences, work addresses, and products of his printing press. Appendix 8 is the rare *Story of Annexation*, a brilliant report prepared by the Hamilton County Research Foundation in the mid 1950s to help inform policy makers on inequities in the funding of public services between Cincinnati taxpayers and Hamilton County residents. The analysis and recommendations are largely still applicable today.

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Aharon N. Varady
July 7, 2005

Chapter 1. An Introduction to Bond Hill

IN OLD BOND HILL

by Eva McGrew-Graff, [circa 1961]

I grew up in old Bond Hill,
Surrounded by woods and many a rill,
Meadows and fields and spaces wide,
Where neighbors were neighbors-side by side.

We walked for the milk, the groceries, and mail;
Our color and youth was kept without fail.
Here four short streets were our abode,
Bounded by Paddock and Reading Road.

We were happy and free in simple play,
Oblivious of all who passed our way
From the richer and wealthier towns
to the north,
Blithely we sang as we sallied forth,

To the grape vine swing 'cross the cool ravine
On the Ruffner farm. Sweet memories teem,
The brook is filled with foreign soil;
A gay bright station sells gas and oil.

Can you ever forget the old haw tree
In the Ferris field? Now a golfer's tee;
How the baseball team oft raised our hopes
On what is now Maketewah's slopes?

The deep skating basins, the lake and canal
Are filled with factories and things banal,
To these we trudged through furrowed field,
Searching the earth for its winter's yield -
Sweet white turnips, nipped by the frost,
A simple snack, without any cost.

There's a hard paved street and stretches of clay,
And a signboard reads, "Fine Lots for Pay;"
'Twas a beech grove dense and fragrant and still,
The Blachley Woods, south of old Bond Hill.

They call it progress - for good or ill?
I'm daily glad that I had the thrill
Of a-growing up in old Bond Hill.

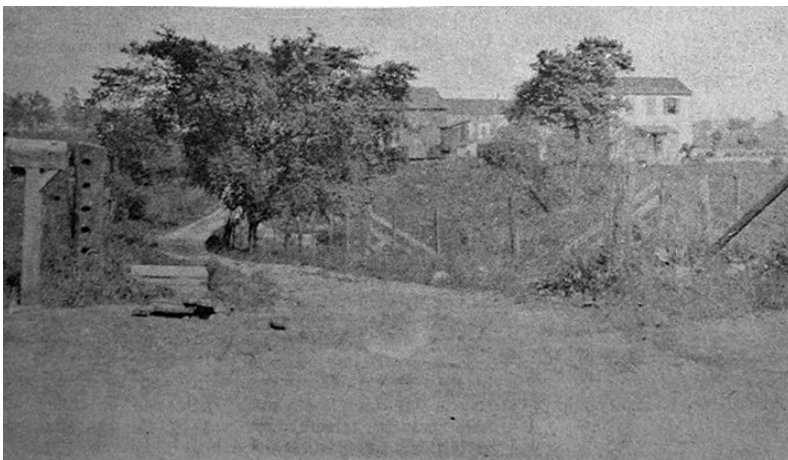


Figure 8: Woebkenberg Dairy Farm, Reading Road, Bond Hill, undated photo (Singer 1971)

On November 10, 1870, five idealistic men: Henry Watkin, Lowell H. Smith, Thomas Sargent, David Hicks, and Joseph P. Sailer, incorporated the *Cooperative Land and Building Association No. 1 of Hamilton County, Ohio* and within a few months set about building a small suburban housing development they named Bond Hill in the farmland a few miles north of the corporate limits of Cincinnati (Articles of Incorporation 1870, *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 1871). In the basin of the City, an eight-mile journey by train down the Mill Creek Valley to the southwest, thousands of working families lived in overcrowded and unsanitary tenements, exposed to alcoholism, and other seemingly intractable social ills. For “men of moderate means,” the Cooperative aimed to provide a new beginning—an affordable home in a temperance community in the undeveloped countryside, just a 30-minute commute to the city’s center. Bond Hill was intended “to establish a species of brotherhood, that is alike advantageous in developing the finer feelings of humanity” (R. Nelson 1874, 25).

Amid the pear orchards, dairy farms, lakes, and woods surrounding the Miami-Erie Canal, a grid was platted and brick townhouses with uniform setbacks were built. The Cooperative planned their new hamlet just a few minutes walk north of the newly completed Marietta-Cincinnati commuter railroad. While access to this cross-county artery helped the community to grow, it also helped to transform it beyond the original vision of its founders. Within 15 years, a wave of new middle-class residents eager for suburban homes overwhelmed the cooperationist identity of the Co-op’s first members, and the ambitions of its founders were forgotten. Throughout the history of Bond Hill, transportation systems have consistently defined its transformation, both socially and physically.

Bond Hill is today a northern neighborhood of the city of Cincinnati. Topographically, it is located on a plateau nearby the eastern slopes of the Mill Creek Valley,¹ a tributary of the Ohio River in southwestern Ohio, and the Norwood Trough, a channel cut by the

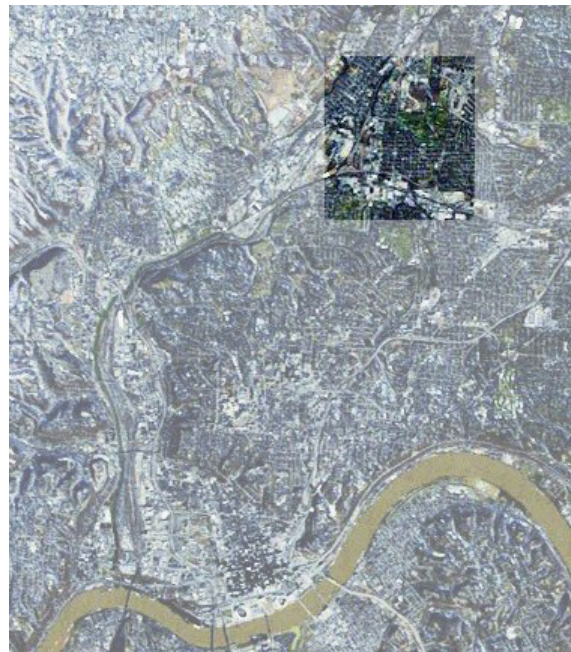


Figure 9: Satellite image of Cincinnati and the Millcreek Valley, Bond Hill area highlighted (USGS 2004).

¹ While the name “Millcreek” and “Mill Creek” refer to the same stream, throughout this work care is taken to use spelling consistent with popular usage and to avoid imposing a misleading authoritative spelling on the use of the term. “Mill Creek” is used to refer to the stream itself, as in the “Mill Creek Restoration Project.” “Millcreek,” tends to appear in local titles and place names, i.e., the *Millcreek Valley News*, the Millcreek Expressway, and the now defunct “Millcreek Township.” The usage “Millcreek Valley” and “Mill Creek Valley” are equally popular spellings; in this study “Mill Creek Valley” is used.

Ohio River while taking a different course long ago. The plateau's terrain is relatively flat, sloping gradually to the east, a feature that early made the land attractive for settlement. Rills, steep banked creek channels, are typical in this kind of flat landscape, and a number can still be found north of the neighborhood in Amberley Village. In the words of one early resident, "I grew up in old Bond Hill, surrounded by woods and many a rill" (McGrew-Graff 1961). In Bond Hill, the rills are no longer visible having for the last hundred years been either filled or forced into culverts and buried. Of the larger streams crossing the neighborhood, there is Ross Run² to the south and Bloody Run to the north. A visible feature of the northern branch of Bloody Run is a large ravine in northern Bond Hill. But like the rills, both tributaries of the Mill Creek have long since been culverted and buried in a series of engineering projects beginning in the 1890s and lasting to the 1950s. (The unfortunately named Bloody Run Sewer District is the last remaining vestige of it in the institutional memory of Cincinnati).

These streams were once a bounty for childhood play and fond nostalgia. As far back as 1926, amateur historian and old time resident James Green reminisced of his salad days gamboling in Ross Run to the Ohio Historical Society:

As a boy I swam in it. There was never a more lovely woodland stream. Its giant sycamores, its groves of beech, its clear waters, are as distinct in my memory as though it were yesterday. But the boy of today sees an open sewer, offensive beyond words, and he can be pardoned for doubting the picture of ideal beauty which I paint. Yet Bloody Run's [Ross Run's] loveliness will return. (Green 1926, 306).

Just as Ross and Bloody Run have been forgotten, so has Green's dream of their restoration. The streams will return someday (hopefully when there are still children and thoughtful adults around to enjoy them); nature only yields for a time to human trespass. For them to return sooner, Green's dream will have to be restored first.

The original settlement of Bond Hill (founded 1871) was located nearly midway between its three older neighbors: St. Bernard to the southwest (settled in 1851), Norwood to the southeast (formerly Sharpsburg, settled prior to

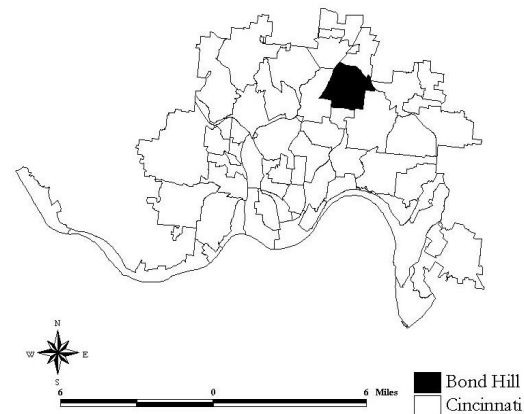


Figure 10: Bond Hill and surrounding neighborhoods. (City of Cincinnati Statistical Neighborhood Approximation boundaries, CAGIS 2000)

² Ross Run was named after John Ross, a landowner whose property the stream ran through in the early 19th century. John Ross was responsible for platting Spring Grove Avenue on the west side of the Mill Creek. Ross died at his home in Ludlow Grove November 25, 1870, the same day the founders of Bond Hill announced their purchase of the parcel of land they would name Bond Hill.

1835), and Carthage to the northwest (formerly White's Station, an 18th century fort). Farther northeast are the Golf Manor and Pleasant Ridge neighborhoods. The village of Elmwood Place, located just west of Bond Hill across the Millcreek Expressway/Interstate 75 (formerly the Miami-Erie Canal), was developed a few years later than Bond Hill in the late 1870s. Paddock Hills to the south and Roselawn to the north are younger developments dating from the 1920s and 30s.

Officially, Bond Hill is bounded by Tennessee Avenue to the south, Section Avenue to the east, Seymour Road to the north, and the I-75 Expressway to the west (City of Cincinnati Statistical Neighborhood Approximation boundaries 2000). But the neighborhood's boundaries predate the platting of some of these streets. Farms in every direction surrounded Bond Hill's original 3 by 3 block gridiron plat. Locally, the boundaries of Bond Hill were once thought to include areas of Paddock Hills, and not to include the northern part of the neighborhood. These unofficial boundaries expanded and contracted with the growth of residential areas and business districts along major transportation arteries. On Reading Road south of Tennessee Avenue in what officially is now Paddock Hills, one can still find businesses representing this provenance, such as Bond Hill Dry Cleaners.



Figure 11: A swing bridge, like this one across the Mill Creek, connected early Bond Hill residents to neighboring Elmwood Place across the Miami-Erie Canal. Photo circa 1893 (Schulze 1946)

Dirt roads, railways, and canals where pedestrian, wagon, canal boat, and commuter train once dominated, highways and automobiles now prevail. Paddock Road and Reading Road run through Bond Hill and provide connections to the City of Norwood and Cincinnati's Avondale neighborhood to the south and Roselawn and Carthage to the north. Ohio State

Route 562, known locally as the Norwood Lateral, cuts across Bond Hill at its southern boundary and provides a high volume transportation route connecting I-71 to I-75. There are two neighborhood exits at Paddock Road and Reading Road to the Lateral and two access points to I-75, at Towne Street and another at Seymour Road. Towne Street and Murray Road connect Paddock Road to Spring Grove Avenue, one of the main historical arteries of the region that runs through north out of Cincinnati through St. Bernard and Elmwood Place. A hundred years ago, the residents of Bond Hill, Elmwood Place and St. Bernard participated in each other's community activities. This familiarity began to dissipate when the Miami-Erie Canal was drained in the 1910s. Factories and expressways replaced the informal recreational areas and paths where these communities once congregated and walked to meet one another.

Even before the village was established, the northeastern section of Millcreek Township, Section 5, was known for its large public facilities: the St. Aloysius Orphanage (1859) and the Longview Asylum for the Insane (1861). The area's large open spaces, flat topography, proximity to established transportation networks, and distance from the odors of the Mill Creek made it an attractive location for settlement, and, for these reasons, the *Cooperative Land and Building Association, No. 1, of Hamilton County* chose the Bond Hill location in December 1870 (R. Nelson 1874, Enquirer 1870). Building began the following year, and in 1877, the subdivision was formally platted. Additional growth occurred just south of the Cooperative's site in the early 1880s with the addition of a second housing development. In 1886, the village was formally incorporated. A suit brought in 1893 by a local landowner, nearly bankrupted the new village. The City of Cincinnati annexed Bond Hill on November 16, 1903. Spurred by the introduction of the automobile and the investment of wealthy local residents and land developers, the neighborhood experienced a housing boom throughout the 1920s and 1930s. By the early 1940s, the area east of Reading Road was developed with the help of Federal Housing Administration loans and became a popular neighborhood for Cincinnati's growing Jewish community. By the 1960s, most of the dairy farms and orchards that ringed the community only 30 years earlier were lost in the construction of the Twins Drive-in Theater (1951), Swifton Commons Mall (1958), the Norwood Lateral (1961), the I-75 Millcreek Expressway (1961), and the industrialization to the south and west of Bond Hill (1936-1960). Little housing development has occurred since the building of Swifton Village (later Hillcrest Apartment and now Huntington Meadows), built as a residential section of the Swifton Commons Mall in the 1960s. In the last twenty years, new office parks were developed on the site of the Longview Asylum (in northwestern Bond Hill), and Cincinnati Showcase Cinemas was situated on the site of the Twins-Drive In theater. Eight former industrial sites mark the periphery of the neighborhood. In the late 1970s, the EPA designated a number of these brownfields as CIRCLA (Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act) listed "superfund" sites.

Until 1960, Bond Hill was a working and middle-income community comprised entirely of whites. In 1964, the first black residents moved to Bond Hill, settling in the older Bond Hill

Village area. But beginning in the 1960s, blockbusting by Hamilton County realtors and FHA redlining encouraged a radical demographic transformation of the neighborhood. Middle-income blacks in search of stable neighborhoods and new housing opportunities left the older and riot-devastated areas of Avondale, Corryville, and other neighborhoods for Bond Hill. Meanwhile, whites were directed to housing developments in newer suburbs in Amberley Village and Golf Manor. By 1982, Bond Hill's population was 70% black. Since then, Bond Hill has encountered many problems afflicting city neighborhoods throughout the United States: the decline of its retail centers, drug dealing on residential street corners and playgrounds, and low performing neighborhood schools. Meanwhile, the transition from rural outskirts to developed city neighborhood is almost complete. Where in 1980, there were still 18 persons farming in Bond Hill, Census 2000 marked the first time in 200 years that no residents indicated an agricultural occupation.

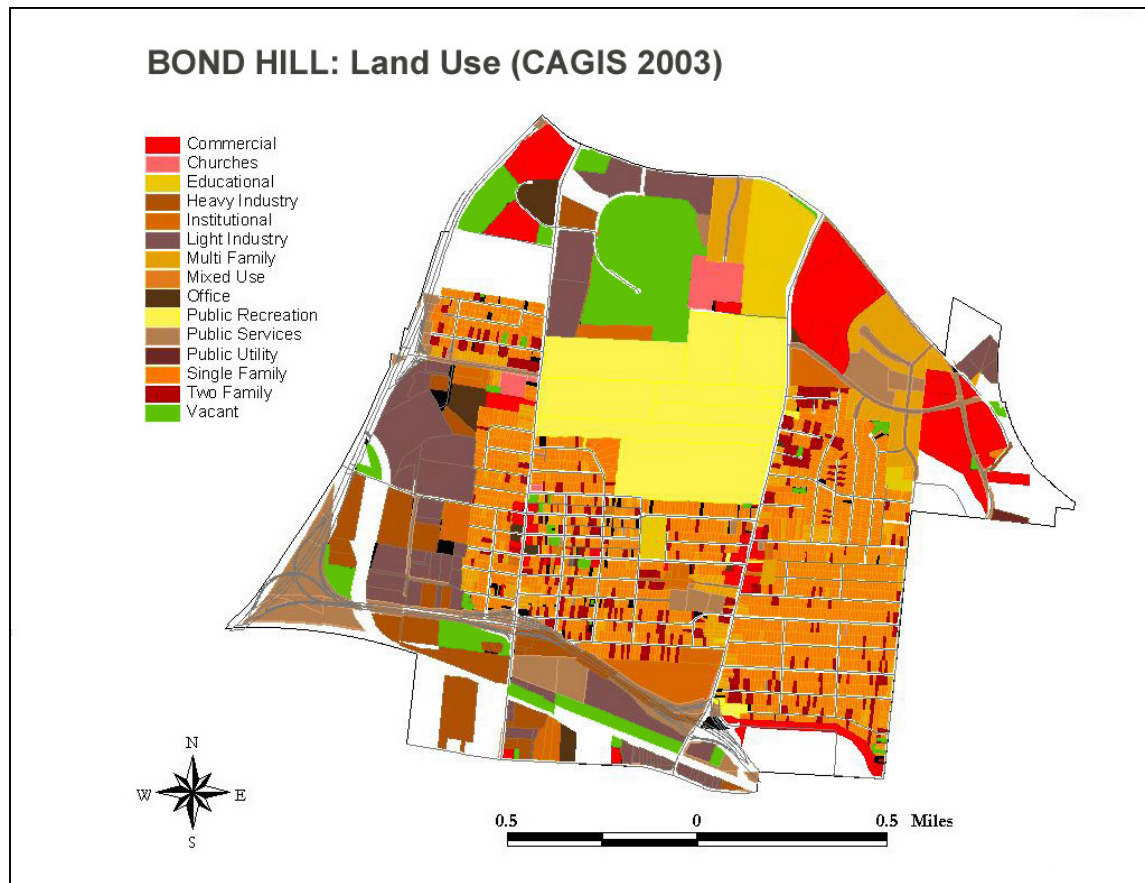


Figure 12: Bond Hill land use. Notice the label “Vacant” – a land use category used mainly by tax auditors to point out lands that are producing tax revenue versus those which are not. On land use maps “vacant” often represents what is otherwise undeveloped green and open space, and is rarely indicated on maps with the color green. The large yellow space in the center, labeled “Public Recreation” is actually a members-only golf course. There is very little public open space accessible in Bond Hill (CAGIS 2003).

Chapter 2: Early Settlement History, 1790-1870

The area where Bond Hill was originally developed is located in what was once the northeastern corner of Millcreek Township. (The township was dissolved in the 1940s after the incorporation of St. Bernard, Norwood, and Elmwood Place, and the annexation of township villages like Bond Hill by the City of Cincinnati, had whittled away its size to nothing). If we were to superimpose Cincinnati's current official boundary upon Bond Hill, the neighborhood's limits in 1870 would have included mostly farmland in sections 5, 6 and 11 of the township. The original Bond Hill development was much smaller— just a 30-acre subdivision located just off of the western section line of section 5. (See in figure 10, the western corner of "M. Minshall's Est. 60⁶⁰"). Why was Bond Hill developed here and why was the suburb named Bond Hill? Answers to these questions are hidden in the history and evolution of northeastern Millcreek Township.

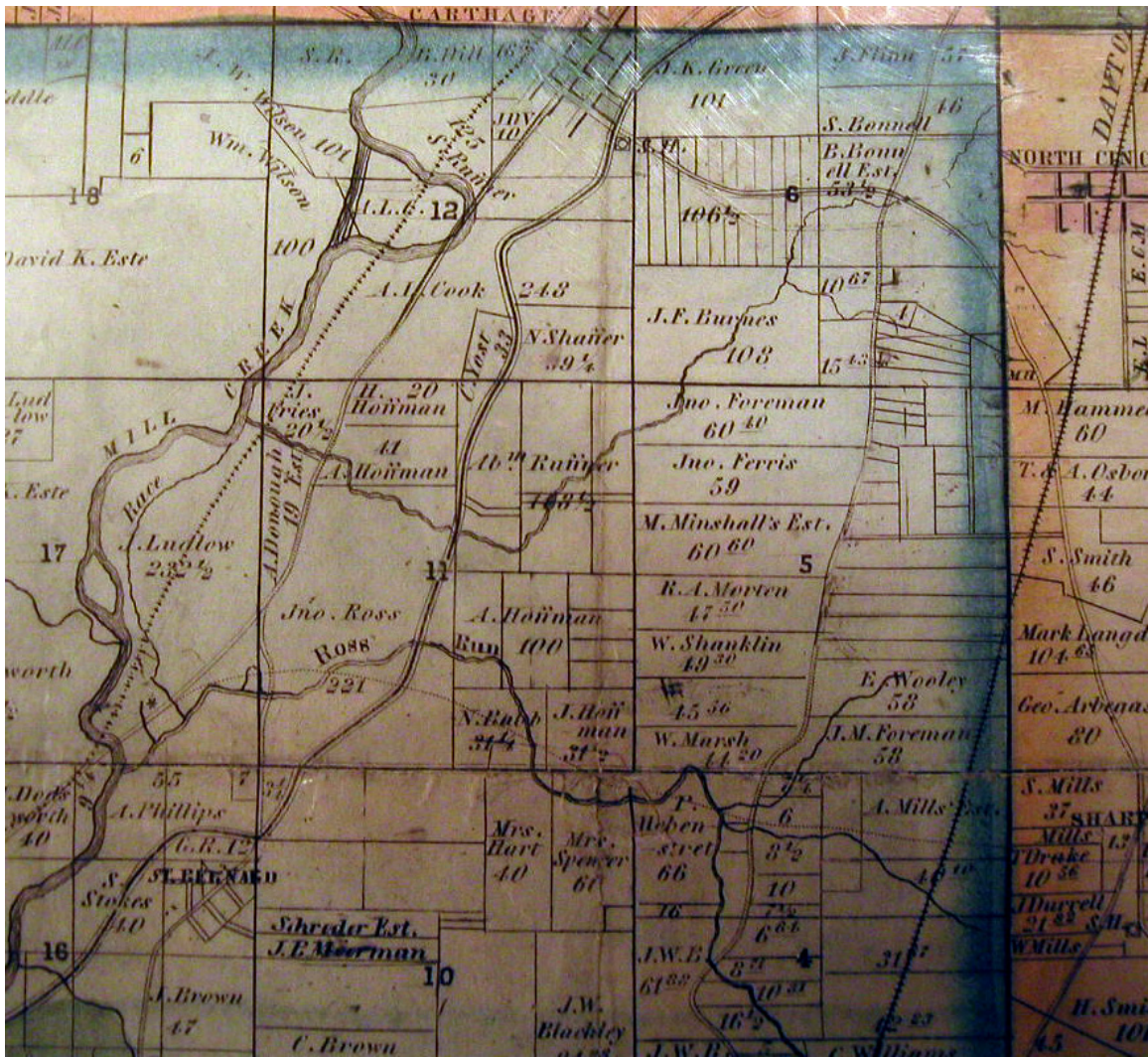


Figure 13: Northeastern corner of Millcreek Township, 1856 Map of Hamilton County (Gilbert 1856, Courtesy of the Cincinnati Historical Society)

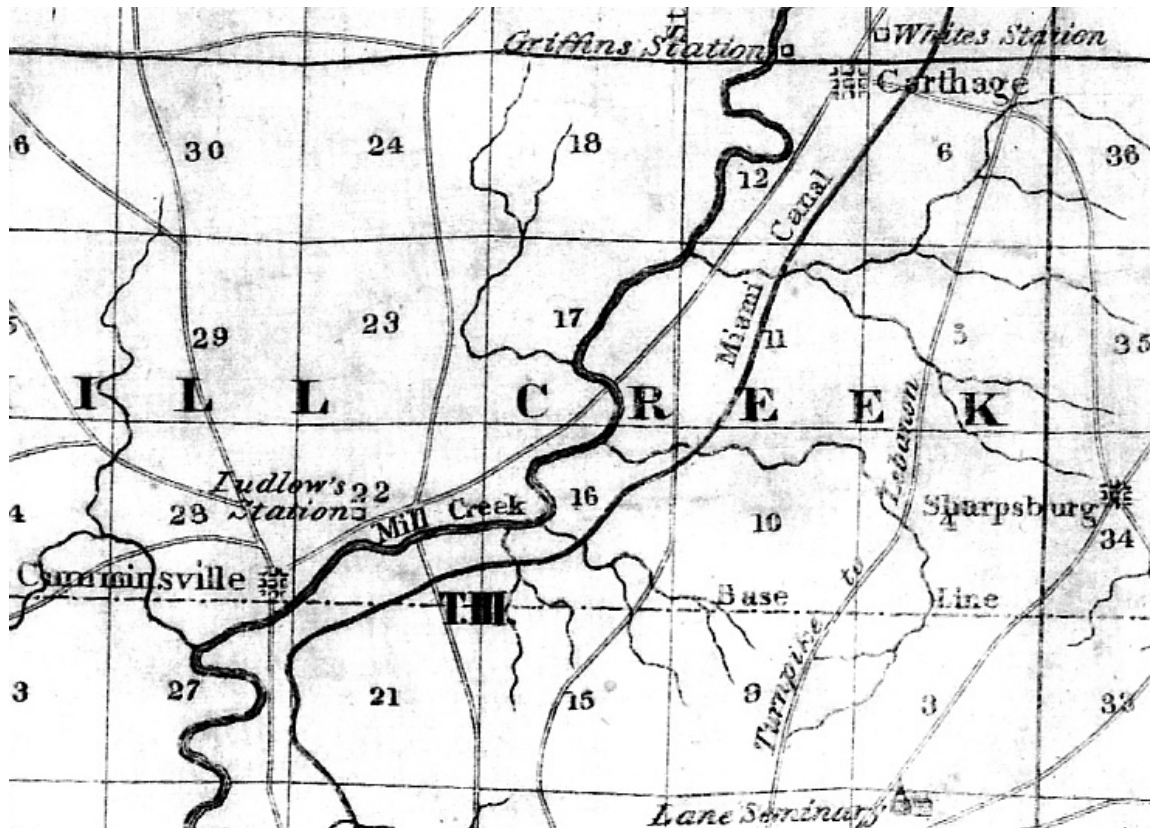


Figure 14: Northern Millcreek Township, Cumminsville to Carthage: Reading Road, Spring Grove, and the Miami-Erie Canal (Morrison and Williams, 1835, Courtesy of the Cincinnati Historical Society)

Settlement in Northeastern Millcreek Township

In the decades before and after the incorporation of Cincinnati as a village in 1802, the Mill Creek Valley, like much of the West, was a dangerous place to live for new American settlers. Shawnee warriors resisted settlement on their traditional hunting and burial grounds. But because of the strategic and economic value of the Ohio River Valley, settlement was encouraged and in 1788, for 67 cents per acre, John Cleve Symmes (1742-1814) purchased from the government 330,000 acres of land between the Great and Little Miami Rivers, part of what was then called the Northwest Territory. Symmes appointed Israel Ludlow to survey what became known as the Miami Purchase. Symmes granted to new settlers land deeds on the condition that the wilderness property be developed and its value thereby “improved” within five years from the date of purchase, otherwise it would become forfeit. Israel’s brother, John Ludlow, Sheriff of Hamilton County in 1795-6, was an early grantee of Miami Purchase land in northeastern Millcreek Township. Captain John White’s militia patrolled the Mill Creek Valley between the forts at Ludlow Station (later Cumminsville)

and White's Station (Carthage) for the safety of the new settlers and to help insure the land's agricultural development (see figure 15).³

In the late 18th century, settlement in the traditional Shawnee camp and hunting grounds of the *Mahketewah* (Mill Creek) Valley, provoked lethal skirmishes (Olden 1882).⁴ In 1792, a settler named Moses Pryor was killed along with his four-year-old daughter in a Shawnee attack after he ventured beyond the fortifications of White's Station with his family to build a cabin and begin farming, Pryor (Olden 1882).⁵ In another sensational incident, the stream Bloody Run, acquired its morbid name from one deadly incident in 1794 involving a purported ambush of federal postal carriers (Olden 1882). When Moses Pryor's wife, a few years later returned to her cabin with her surviving daughters and a new husband, locals touted her bravery. But settlement and development in northern Millcreek Township wouldn't follow Pryor's example until after 1812 (Millcreek Township Deed Index 1790-1870). Tecumseh, a charismatic Shawnee chief, and other non-signers, continued to resist European settlement for decades after the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, when indigenous peoples of the Northwest Territories were forced to cede some 25,000 square miles of Ohio to the United States and were driven to Indiana and Oklahoma.

When, after the War of 1812, the death of Tecumseh and the defeat of his Shawnee forces removed the last significant obstacle for settlement, Cincinnati boomed as the market hub of the Miami Purchase territories (Hurley 1983). Settlers who purchased land in the northeastern sections of Millcreek Township proceeded to clear forest and plough over ancient Indian burial mounds in order to make their land suitable for farming.⁶ On April 12, 1810, James Mott of Delaware gave his daughter Mary Foreman and her husband, Jonathan, a wedding present in the form of a title to an extensive 600 acre parcel of land purchased from Symmes, a parcel comprising most of section 5 in northeastern Millcreek Township (James Mott/Mary Foreman Deed 1810). The vast Foreman parcel was separated from section 11 of the township by a county road running north south along the township's

³ The trail White's militia traveled is sometimes referred to as "Harmar's Trace" or "Clarke's War Road," but known today as Reading Road (Eling 1964). General George Rogers Clark's road, from Drennon's Lick, Kentucky to the Ohio River (c1780) continued northward on this path. Harmar's Trace was named after General Joshua Harmar who led Fort Washington in 1789, when Cincinnati was called Losantiville.

⁴ Reference to the Mill Creek as the *Mahketewah*, was popularized in local romantic poetry in the 19th century (Olden 1882). It seems likely that this usage saved the earlier Shawnee name for the tributary from extinction. According to Laura Redish, a Shawnee language expert, *Mkateewa*, in Shawnee, means "black"; *Mahketewah* is likely a corruption or dialectical variation of *Mkateewa*. Says Redish, "[Mkateewa is] also the form of the word 'black' that would apply to a river; (applying to a person or animal, the word would be *Mkateewethi* instead)" (Redish 2005). Thus in the 18th century, before there were mills, the tributary was probably known locally, at least by the Shawnee, as the Black Creek.

⁵ Pryor's cabin later became the site of the Hamilton County Infirmary (Olden 1882).

⁶ A large mound still exists in nearby Norwood, Ohio off of Montgomery Road on Indian Mound Avenue.

section line, later called Paddock Road (Mary Foreman's Deed 1810). Landowners of section 11 included former Cincinnati Sheriff John Ludlow, Jonathan Ross, and Abraham Ruffner.⁷

Upon Mary Foreman's death in 1838, her estate was partitioned among her heirs in a lengthy petition to the Court of Common Pleas. The parcel was divided into large lots owned by the Minshall Morse, Shanklin, Morten, Woolsey, and other families. Other parcels were sold to men like John Ferris (who later participated in the founding of Bond Hill).

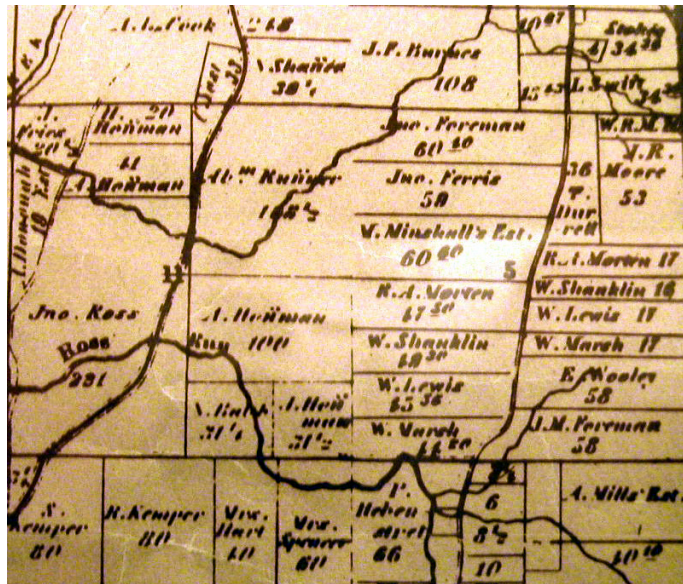


Figure 15: Earliest existing parcel map of Hamilton County, northeastern Millcreek Township, 1848 (Gilbert 1848, Courtesy of the Cincinnati Historical Society)

North-south transit through the area came by the way of a “long and trying mail route,” the Reading Road (Eling 1964). Long before human settlement, buffaloes, following an ancient salt lick, had beaten down a trail. It was along this trail that the postal carriers were likely attacked when watering their horses at Bloody Run in 1794.⁸ Undergoing successive improvements, by 1825 the Reading Road was transformed into a navigable dirt highway for coaches traveling north to Xenia. In 1833, further work on the road, formally established as the Reading-Lebanon Turnpike, was to be subsidized by regular tolls along its length (Eling 1964).

⁷ Ruffner, a Baptist and grandson of Swiss-German emigrants, sold his stake in his father's salt lick in the Kanawha Valley in central West Virginia, and moved to Ohio and to the Millcreek Valley.

⁸ If the route of today's Reading Road loosely follows that of Harmar's Trace, then the Bloody Run incident would have occurred near the Seymour-Reading intersection in section 6 of Millcreek Township. A year later in 1795, “a road was laid out from Main Street in Cincinnati along Harmar's Trace... a distance of six miles” to the north end of Millcreek Township at Carthage (Ford and Ford 1881, Eling 1964). It seems there has been something of a competition among area neighborhoods St. Bernard and Elmwood Place, to claim the site of the Bloody Run attack within its neighborhood boundaries (Schulze 1946, St. Bernard Centennial 1978). After all, what better to start a local elementary school history class than with tales of Indian Battles just down Vine Street or Spring Grove Avenue? As no period maps from the early 1790s exist it is almost impossible to tell from the story of Blood Run where the attack occurred. However, the only intersections of Reading Road (in Gilbert's 1848 map) and Bloody Run occur near the Seymour-Reading intersection. Whether Reading Road in 1848, followed the same route as Harmar's Trace in 1794-1795 is difficult to confirm, although it is certainly likely.



Figure 16: Location of homesteads in northeast corner of Millcreek Township, 1847 (Emerson 1847, Courtesy of the Cincinnati Historical Society)

For much of the early decades of the 19th century, the Reading Pike carried mostly freight traffic. Teamsters (also known as “swarthy Jehus,”⁹ “mountain-boys” or more politely, “traveling agents”) drove immense “mountain ships,” Conestoga freight wagons, up and down the pike, stopping at regularly spaced wagon-houses named for their distance from downtown Cincinnati: 4-mile, 5-Mile, 8-Mile, and 12-Mile House (Eling 1964). The 5-Mile House was located in the Bond Hill area near today’s Avonlea Avenue off Reading Road. The 5-Mile House would have been a popular destination, not only for the drivers, but also for area farmers and craftsmen intent on distributing their produce (Eling 1964). From the vague records on the origin of the name “Bond Hill,” it seems possible that the name, at least in part, might refer to the grounds near this particular inn.

⁹ “Swarthy Jehus,” inspired from the biblical verse: “...and the driving is like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi: for he driveth furiously” (King James Bible, 2 Kings 9:20).”

Origin of the Name ‘Bond Hill’

According to a number of sources, long before the Cooperative Land and Building Association in 1871 named their railroad suburb *Bond Hill*, a place called Bond’s Hill was already familiar to local residents of northeastern Millcreek Township (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 1871, R. Nelson 1874, Ford and Ford 1881). The exact origin of the name, however, has long been a mystery. The earliest records are vague and seemingly contradictory. Newspaper articles written in early 1871, at the time the suburb of Bond Hill was first established, reported only that, “this was the name of that particular locality forty years ago, [carrying] with it associations not easily forgotten by the oldest inhabitants,” (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, January 10, 1871); and, “Bond Hill is the ancient name of a locality in Section 5, Millcreek Township...” (*Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, April 29, 1871). Richard Nelson, in *Suburban Homes for Businessmen*, simply says the hamlet is “situated on the hill from which it derives its name” (R. Nelson 1874, 22). Henry and Kate Ford, in their voluminous *History of Hamilton County, Ohio*, similarly state that it was “situated at what was known as Colonel Bond’s hill from which the suburb takes its title” adding that the hill was located “on the Reading and Lebanon Turnpike” (Ford and Ford 1884, 343). George Patmor (who was a boy in the 1880s) gives the fullest account: “Before there was any village of Bond Hill, there was a man named Bond who owned and operated a sawmill” (Patmor 1961, 1). Patmor explained that the practice of coming up the hill to Bond’s mill registered itself as a place name in local lore:

In these days the people of St. Bernard and Cincinnati would use a footpath through the woods “for a shortcut from St. Bernard to Bond’s sawmill to work or transact business.” It got to be a common saying that they were going up on Bond Hill, so this is how we got the name “Bond Hill” (Patmor 1961, 1).

Patmor, whose father made cement for the original Cooperative homes and whose great-grandmother, Amelia Huffman-Minshall, was one of the first homestead farmers in the area, also indicates just where along Laidlaw Avenue near Paddock Road the sawmill operated: halfway down the north side of the 1400 block of Laidlaw Avenue (Patmor 1961, 1). The address is a bit of a stroll from Reading Road, but Patmor’s story does seem to correlate with Kate and Henry Ford account that “Colonel Bond’s hill” was located “just off of the Reading-Lebanon Turnpike.” The details of each of these accounts, George Patmor’s, the Fords’, and the local newspapers, at times apparently contradictory, and other times vague, offer the only clues available to resolve the mystery of what inspired Bond Hill’s name.

In the Mill Creek Valley histories of Teetor (1882, 1885) and Olden (1882) there is no mention of a Bond Hill, Bond’s Hill or a Bond’s Mill in northeastern Millcreek Township. But Kate and Henry Ford do mention other mills in the area, namely White’s Mill and Caldwell’s Mill, both close to nearby Carthage and places where horseracing, gambling, and political speechmaking were said to be popular in the early 19th century. The fact that mills in the area were associated with gambling might be significant considering the vague

comment in the *Enquirer* of “associations not easily forgotten,” but never elaborated on. Perhaps the lack of any descriptive history concerning “Colonel Bond’s Hill” or Bond’s Mill was intentional, because later generations of residents were loathe to explain associations they considered low class or seedy.

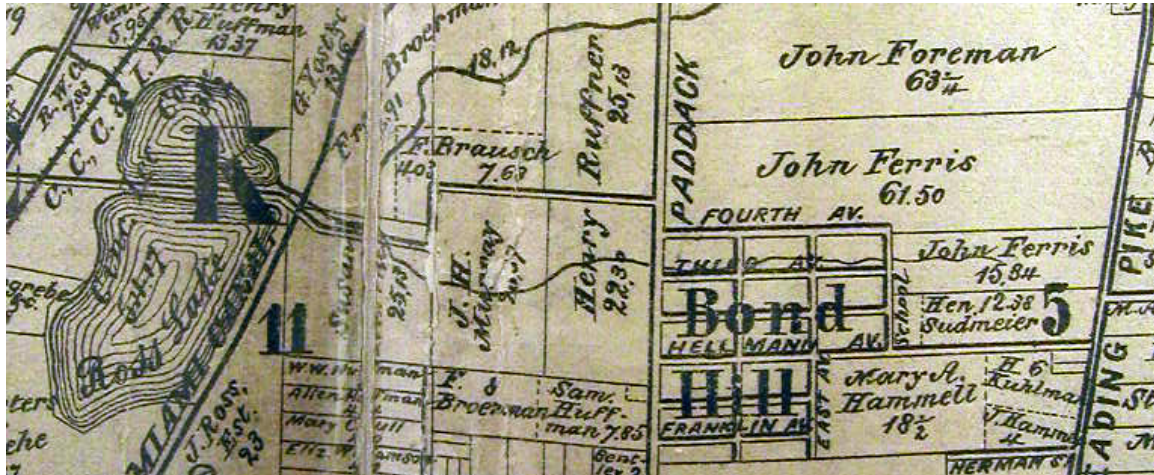


Figure 17: Moessinger’s 1884 Map shows a fork of Bloody Run extending along the north side of Third Street (now Laidlaw Avenue) (Moessinger 1884)

Teetor and Olden, however, do recount the story of Bloody Run. The exact location of Bloody Run has a bearing on this mystery since it could indicate the likely place of a water-powered sawmill in the area. But confusion over the precise locale of the Bloody Run is itself confused.¹⁰ It is enough to say, however, that Patmor’s account of a sawmill, along what

¹⁰ Titus’ 1869 atlas clearly locates Bloody Run in the north (where Bond Hill would be platted) and Ross Run in the south, flowing through St. Bernard and the Norwood Trough. A half-century later and the place names were confused. Green, in 1926, confused the Bloody Run in the north Bond Hill area with Ross Run in the south (*Ohio History Journal* 1926). This mistake was also reflected in the Cincinnati Park Commissioners decision in the naming of Bloody Run Boulevard (later Victory Parkway) sometime between 1912 and 1916 (*Cincinnati Times-Star* 1912, *Enquirer* 1916). The Bloody Run Sewer district is the only known municipal name enshrining this historical mistake; out of sight, out of mind.

Confusion over place names, reflected in oral histories and newspaper articles, reflected a growing lack of knowledge and ownership, even by the 1920s, of the Bond Hill community over its landmarks. In a paper read before the Cincinnati Literary Club in 1926, (and published by the Ohio Archaeology and Historical Society as “Map of Cincinnati”), James Green reminisced about his childhood growing up in Hamilton County in the 1870s and proceeded to explain the place names of almost every creek and municipality in the county. Regarding Bond Hill’s name, Green spoke, “Bond Hill is one of the few names deliberately meant to deceive. The place of that name is in the midst of a valley with high hills rising around it. But its founders thought if they called their low ground a Hill it would attract settlers. The name is grossly inappropriate but I understand the people of Bond Hill resent any allusion to the fact that they have no hill in their immediate vicinity and say that they are on high ground as compared with the level of Bloody Run or Mill Creek” (Green 1926, 306). No other sources corroborate this notion that Bond Hill was so named in order to attract new residents looking at other new “hill” neighborhoods, but it likely reflects some popular notions of Bond Hill in the Gilded Age.

would later be platted as Laidlaw Avenue, rings true. Maps, such as Morrison and Williams (1835) and Moessinger's (1884) show tributaries of Bloody Run running closely parallel to Laidlaw. Now culverted, the southern fork of Bloody Run runs just north of Laidlaw Avenue. The possibility that a water-powered mill operated there, perhaps as a meeting area of sorts between Carthage, Sharpsburg (Norwood), and St. Bernard, appears plausible.¹¹ The *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer's* description of Bond Hill's "associations not easily forgotten" is vague, but perhaps intentionally so. The mill might have served as a destination for "swarthy Jehus" or other dubious characters. That the 5-Mile House of the Conestoga teamsters existed nearby off of Reading Road suggests that there was indeed just such a destination. So far however, I have not found an early 19th century record of what this early "truck stop" was called besides the 5-Mile House (later Macke's 5-Mile Inn). Without further information it remains a tempting hypothesis to suggest that the 5-Mile House was early known as Bond's Mill or that a proprietor named Bond once operated a local mill or inn. A full exploration of the records of early teamsters might help, but unfortunately, such a search is currently beyond the scope of this study. Tax records for the county and township might have uncovered such a mill, if it existed, but records from those years were destroyed in the Hamilton County courthouse fire of 1849.

Could such a mill or a man named Bond, be located in any surviving archives? Emerson's 1847 map shows no sawmills at Bloody Run, only the homes of local landowners Ferris, Foreman, Durrell, Morton, Ruffner, and Lewis (see figure 17). A search of the Township records of John Burgoyne, Millcreek Township commissioner in the 1830s and 1840s, turned up nothing.

No positive leads were found searching for the surname *Bond* in any of the census surveys of Millcreek Township between 1790 and 1880. Cincinnati street directories did not often

Regarding the position of Bloody Run, Green apparently mistakes it for Ross Run. This calls into question how trustworthy a source Green was on the naming of Bond Hill and other area place names while speaking before the Cincinnati Literary Club (Green 1926). Confusion over the proper name of the stream also affected the Cincinnati Park Commissioners, who originally called Victory Parkway Bloody Run Boulevard, although it actually ran parallel to Ross Run. Green's remarks on Ross Run deserve mention in any case because they reflect so well the environmental degradation of the stream in 1926, "As a boy I swam in it. There was never a more lovely woodland stream. Its giant sycamores, its groves of beech, its clear waters, are as distinct in my memory as though it were yesterday. But the boy of today sees an open sewer, offensive beyond words, and he can be pardoned for doubting the picture of ideal beauty which I paint. Yet Bloody Run's [Ross Run's] loveliness will return. A part of its Valley has been made into a park through which runs a magnificent boulevard. I dislike even by implication to criticize the Cincinnati Park Commissioners who have done such noble work that generations yet unborn will rise up to call them blessed, yet when they changed the perfectly proper and historic name of Bloody Run Boulevard to Victory Boulevard they did not do well. The old name has a local significance" (Green 1926, 306). Incidentally, on an 1860 map of the Cincinnati-Marietta Railroad, Ross Run is labeled Duck Creek! (see figure 26).

¹¹ Even before St. Bernard's settlement in 1851, a well-known stop between Ludlow Station (Cumminsville) and White's Station (Carthage) sounds likely.

include businesses located outside of Cincinnati's corporate limits in Hamilton County. No record of a landowner named Bond was found in the Deed or Mortgage Indexes. The search is not made easier by the historical sources failing to register Bond's first name. The Fords' simply call Bond, "Colonel Bond" (Henry Ford and Kate Ford 1881).¹² George Patmor does not give Bond's full name, but unlike the Fords', does not refer to Bond as *Colonel*. None of these later sources may have known his first name. Just as today we might call someone *Mr.* Bond, in the 1880s, the Fords very likely granted Bond the title of *Colonel*, an honorarium given at the time to any man of stature.

But if we are to take seriously the suggestion that Bond Hill was actually named for a man known popularly as *Colonel Bond*, then there would be only one famous Bond in the Cincinnati region prior to 1870 who could fit the bill: Colonel William Key Bond (1792-1864). Bond, a Chillicothe lawyer and Whig from the "Virginia" wing of the party, served as U.S. Representative for Ross County from 1833 to 1840. The title of Colonel was given to Bond by the Ross County militia. The former congressman arrived in Cincinnati in 1841, worked as a prominent attorney, and was almost fatally injured in 1844 when a timber from a hoisting derrick was dropped on him while boarding a steamboat (Whitesell 1880). Bond survived and in 1849 was appointed Surveyor of the Port of Cincinnati by the Whig administration of President Zachary Taylor.¹³ Bond remained Surveyor until 1853 when, according to the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, he "became interested in the development of railroads in the west." For a period, Bond replaced Erasmus Gest as president of the Cincinnati-Zanesville Railroad from 1859 till 1862, notably "operating at a profit of \$80,000 primarily because he did not set aside money for depreciation or make repairs on rolling stock, roadbed, and other company property" (Schultz 1962, 30).¹⁴ Two years later, in 1864, Bond passed away and was buried at Spring Grove cemetery.



Figure 18: William Key Bond's grave at Spring Grove Cemetery, Section 36 (Varady 2003)

¹² Newspaper articles relying on Fords' account later jumped to the conclusion that Colonel Bond was a local landowner (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 1960, *Cincinnati Times-Star* 1941). Local deed and mortgage records prove he was not.

¹³ Whitesell writes that in 1849, Bond was appointed by President Filmore. But Filmore didn't take office until Zachary Taylor's death in 1850! Either Zachary Taylor appointed Bond in 1849 or Filmore did in 1850.

¹⁴ Erasmus Gest was a railroad engineer and master mechanic. "Following [Erasmus] Gest's resignation, William Key Bond, a lawyer with no previous railroad experience, was appointed receiver of the CW&Z. Bond served in that capacity and as president of the company for about four and a half years just before and during

For someone with such an established interest in Cincinnati infrastructure, it seems possible that sometime during the 1850s William Key Bond may have developed an interest in the Cincinnati-Marietta Railroad, the Loveland connection of which had been planned as early as 1860, during Bond's lifetime. But this connection between W. K. Bond and Bond Hill is rather tenuous. Geographically, the Zanesville line did use portions of the Cincinnati-Hamilton-Dayton track, and did run up the Mill Creek Valley past Bond Hill, but except for this indirect link, a comprehensive search of available records (including township deeds, mortgages and W. K. Bond's personal records) reveals no direct evidence of Bond's activity in northeastern Millcreek Township or the Cincinnati-Marietta Railroad. Still, given the important relationship between the development of intra-urban railroads in Hamilton County and the founding of Bond Hill (as will be discussed later), it remains a tempting hypothesis that William Key Bond could indeed be the Colonel of Bond Hill lore.¹⁵

Another contradiction in the historical accounts offers additional confusion. The *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* places the naming sometime in the 1830s, while Patmor's account suggests the naming occurred after St. Bernard's settlement in the 1850s. As mentioned earlier, a mill is not visible on Emerson's 1847 map. The subdivision of St. Bernard, and the construction of the St. Aloysius Orphanage and Longview Asylum lends credence to the likelihood that a sawmill could have profitably operated in the area in the late 1850s and early 1860s. The footprint of such a mill might indeed have still been visible when George Patmor arrived in Bond Hill as a child in the 1880s, but it also may have been the footprint of some other ruin,

the Civil War... During 1863, bondholders again brought suit against the CW&Z for failure to pay interest. The company was ordered sold and on October 17, Charles Moran, a New York banker, purchased it in trust for the first mortgage bondholders. On March 12, 1864, Moran transferred the road to a new firm named Cincinnati & Zanesville Railroad Company composed principally of the original stockholders and creditors. Erasmus Gest became president for a second time" (Ohio Railway Report, 1870, I, 623-625, quoted in Schultz 1962). Gest was also for a time the engineer of the "Short Line" Cincinnati-Hamilton-Dayton railroad operating north and south through the Mill Creek Valley.

¹⁵ Two other Bonds are, in my estimation, lesser candidates for the person of Colonel Bond, but still interesting. Colonel Lewis H. Bond (1838-1912), a well-known Cincinnati lawyer, socialite, and socialist, lived in Madeira in 1874. He became famous during the Civil War while prosecuting Jefferson Davis' nephew, who was caught as a spy in Ohio. In 1877, Lewis H. Bond ran for Ohio governor on the Workingmen's Party ticket, receiving 3% of the vote. Earlier in the century and closer to the date suggested by the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* article, is the record of a Jacob Bond living in Springfield Township in the 1830 Ohio census. The federal census of that year is not as detailed as later years are, but it does indicate that Jacob Bond, between 20 and 30 years old had two women in his household, one also aged between 20 and 30, probably his wife, and another between 30 and 40 years old, probably a servant (Census Survey, Springfield Township, 1830). Jacob Bond was relatively well off for a young man. If Jacob Bond lived in Carthage, the largest settlement in Springfield Township in 1830, then he could be a candidate for the person of Bond. Two more theories on the name for Bond Hill are extant. Pat Garry recalls hearing a story in the 1970s that Bond was an area tinker, but does not recall the source of this legend. A final possibility is that "Bond" signifies not a person, but a financial "bond" applied to a certain real estate transaction. Without further information there is no way to say for certain.

the ruin of the original Bond's Mill having disappeared long before. In the end the mystery perseveres. All that is really known is that the area was locally known as Bond Hill before it was named so by the Cooperative, and probably named for a nearby sawmill or meeting place, operated by man named Bond in the early to mid-19th century.

Development of the Miami-Erie Canal and Public Institutions

The Miami-Erie Canal was constructed along the eastern bank of the Mill Creek Valley in the 1820s. Begun in 1821, the canal was built in order to connect the important markets of Lake Erie (Cleveland, Buffalo, Chicago), and the Ohio River (Cincinnati, Louisville). The full length was completed in 1845 and provided efficient cargo movement north and south, as well as greater access to distribution for productive farmsteads, towns, and factories along its length. The area to the west of the canal was owned by Israel Ludlow's nephew, John Ludlow Jr. (son of Sheriff John Ludlow), and became known as Ludlow Grove, a popular picnic location (Olden 1882). Abraham Ruffner's son, Henry, managed his father's property and fought the planned passage of the Miami-Erie Canal through it (Schulze 1940). This early example of NIMBYism was the first of many for Bond Hill area residents. In order for the development of the canal to proceed, Ruffner's deed was amended stating: "if canal is abandoned, the property was to be returned to abutting property holders" (Ruffner Deed c1840, Patmor 1961). The greater access to the market offered by the canal to nearby farmsteads and factories in the Mill Creek Valley consequently created an incentive to increase productivity and hire more laborers, farmhands, and auxiliary persons needed for running successful farming operations. Indeed, the 1850 census indicates a number of Irish immigrants working as farmhands and laborers in northeastern Millcreek Township (Millcreek Township Census Survey 1850).

The Village of St. Bernard was settled in 1851 at the junction of Main Street (now Vine Street), the Miami-Erie Canal, and the Cincinnati-Hamilton-Dayton Railroad (completed west of the canal through the Grove in 1851). Later that decade, the first major factory, the Erkenbrecker Starch Works, took advantage of this transportation hub and relocated from Middletown, Ohio to the Ludlow Grove area in 1859 (St. Bernard Hamilton County Historical Survey, 1990).

The rural countryside was deemed to have healthful and recuperative values, and consequently, attracted hospitals, asylums, and orphanages to the area. Before 1860, the county poor house, the Hamilton County Infirmary, was established on the site of Moses Pryor's original cabin just east of Carthage off the Reading Road in Springfield Township (Olden 1882). The second major institution outside of Cincinnati was the St. Aloysius Orphanage, built just off of Reading Road in the south of section 5 in 1856 on lands formerly owned by W. Lewis (Gilbert 1848). Begun in 1839 by Father John Martin Henni (pastor of the newly organized, German speaking, Holy Trinity Church on West Fifth Street), the orphanage originally occupied a nine-room house at Sixth and John Streets in downtown Cincinnati. The new orphanage enabled the Sisters of Notre Dame to raise the

county's youngest unfortunates outside of the perennially cholera plagued Basin of Cincinnati in a green and healthy rural countryside (St. Aloysius Orphanage, 2002).¹⁶ Food for the orphanage was grown on another parcel, purchased from W. Lewis, on the east side of Reading Road a short distance away (St. Aloysius Orphanage 2002, Gilbert 1848, 1856). Longview Asylum for the Insane was completed in 1861 just south of the County Infirmary on the outskirts of Carthage on two large parcels just south of the intersection of Paddock Road and Seymour Avenue. The public institution was considered at the time to be the most progressive facility for the mentally ill in the whole United States and was the first American asylum to be designed without prison bars on its windows (Ford and Ford, 1881). On the other hand, the Asylum's remoteness protected the public from escaped lunatics, obviating the need for bars.¹⁷ In 1873, a fourth institution, the St. Joseph's Infant Home and Maternity Hospital, was founded on a plot on the corner of Reading and Tennessee Avenue (*Queen City of the West*, 1967).

¹⁶ From St. Aloysius' website: "By 1848, there were 58 boys in the care of the Society and again, epidemics of various origins invaded the city. A search began in earnest for a healthier climate in the country for a Waisenhaus (children's home). On September 15, 1849, after much deliberation, it was decided to purchase the 62 and 1/2 acres of farm and forest land on Dayton Road (now Reading Road) for \$9,588. The hard work of clearing began on the land that remains to this day the site of what we call St. Aloysius orphanage in Bond Hill... By October of 1856, a three story building 70'x 60' was finished on that Reading Road site for \$9,000 and boys only made the move to the country. An addition was built on to the front of the original structure and became the main building of the new home in Bond Hill. It was completed in 1861 at a cost of \$17,437. The new building measured 90'wide x 60' deep and 56' high, and was dedicated on October 21 of that year... In 1864 and 1865, additional lands were bought bringing the total acreage to 71.24 portions of which would be used as farmland to grow fruits and vegetables, and grazing area for livestock making the orphanage self-sufficient. By 1869, a wing on either side of the main building was added for classrooms, and in 1875, a second building was erected as a heating and gas plant, which included a large laundry" (staloysiuscincinnati.org 1997). St. Aloysius history conflicts with Patmor's account, interestingly in that St. Aloysius does not mention the fire which destroyed the institution in the 1890s. Patmor describes how Bond Hill residents cared for the orphaned children in their homes until the institution was rebuilt.

¹⁷ Such escapes were known to happen from time to time. In a *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* article entitled *Encounter with a Lunatic* dated July 29, 1871: "A colored man, whose name we were unable to learn, an inmate of the colored department of the Lunatic Asylum at Longview, yesterday, was seized with a frenzied fit of madness. He knocked down several of the assistants, and also the wife of one of them, and escaped from the building. The Marshal of Carthage was sent for. Having had previous experience with this same negro, and knowing his great strength and desperation, he armed himself with a rifle, which happened to be at hand. The negro finding himself pursued took to a pond, armed with a couple of boulders, and defied any one to approach him. The Marshal adopted the same tactics. He seized a boulder and hurled it at the head of the dusky maniac, bringing him down. He was then secured, bound hand and foot, and conveyed to the Asylum, where his wound was examined. It was ascertained that the skull was fractured, and the injury of a dangerous character. The recovery of the mad patient was a matter of some doubt in the mind of the attending physician" (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, July 29th 1871).

Grove Avenue on the current site of Ivorydale) was chosen (*Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 1860 quoted in *St. Bernard Centennial* 1978). The fair was touted as “the most outstanding fair held in the United States at the time, and included exhibition buildings displaying art, ‘power’, machinery, and animals of every sort” (*Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, September 1860). During the week the fair was open, an average of 25,000 people per day visited the over 200 exhibits in the fair’s exhibition halls. The visitors who traveled to the site via the Cincinnati-Hamilton-Dayton Railroad had an opportunity to see this area of northeastern Millcreek Township, view the construction of the St. Aloysius Orphanage and Longview Asylum and imagine living in its idyllic surroundings just a short ride from Cincinnati.

Henry and Laura Ann Fry Watkin

The 1860 census survey of northeastern Millcreek Township shows a land populated by farmers, laborers, and other rural craftsmen. One couple stands out from the rest: a commercial “job printer” named Henry Watkin (1824-1910) and his wife, a seamstress, Laura Ann Fry Watkin (1831-1914). Most weekdays, the thirty-something Watkins could be found working downtown; Henry at his bookstore and printing press on the northwest corner of Fifth and Row Street in downtown Cincinnati; Laura Ann on the southeast corner (*Williams’ Cincinnati Guide and Street Directory* 1860). The couple were pioneering suburbanites, part of a growing class of “literary commuters”, urban professionals commuting from the countryside to the city by railroad (Schmitt 1969).



Figure 20: Henry Watkin, age 66, expatriate English printer and cooperative founder, 1890 (*Dorothy McClelland Papers*, Courtesy of Iowa State University Archives).

Ten years later, in 1870, Henry Watkin would be one of the founding developers of Bond Hill in the *Cooperative Land and Building Association No. 1* housing cooperative. Unlike his partners in the co-op, Watkin was the only founding member who had actually been residing in the Bond Hill area. Henry, Laura Ann, and their daughter Effie, were living in northeastern Millcreek Township over a decade before the passage of the Marietta-Cincinnati commuter railroad helped to make the area attractive to suburban real estate brokers. According to the 1860 Census, no other urban professionals were living in the area.

So who were Henry and Laura Ann Watkin and why were they living in the Bond Hill area so long before it was developed? The answer provides a glimpse into the life of a fascinating and creative family and the motivations and interests behind Bond Hill's founding father.

Henry Watkin was born to William Watkin and Mary Hobson Watkin on March 6, 1824. Henry was the couple's fifth child to be baptized at the nearby Baptist Church in Moulton, Northamptonshire, a small town in central England.¹⁸ Nearby, in the hamlet of Pitsford, four miles from Northampton, Henry was raised with his four older and two younger siblings.¹⁹

The Watkins were members of a particularly prominent Baptist family. Henry Watkin was a grandnephew of Andrew Fuller, the founder and first Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, the first Baptist organization to disseminate missionaries to India.²⁰ Baptists in England were still a religious minority but were politically progressive, fighting and succeeding in their efforts to abolish slavery, while Baptist missionaries abroad were constantly at odds with slave owners. Small Baptist presses were the point of dissemination for Baptist religious teachings, social and political philosophy. One small press was operated by Andrew Fuller's son, John Gardiner Fuller, in Bristol. Although Watkin had earlier been injured in the eye,²¹ he likely apprenticed with his uncle in Bristol and set type while reading

¹⁸ The date is recorded in the Baptismal records of the Baptist Church, Moulton, Northamptonshire, Births 1795-1836. Francis Wheeler was the Baptist minister of Moulton at the time. The Watkin clan had some wealth; Henry's brother John boasted of having seven horses, and one for hunting. Wrote Henry's brother John, "...I am not much of a man to boast and I dare not say to anybody but you, how jolly and happy we all are together. There is 'Dad' and 'Mom', Poll and Sal, Jack and Charlie, Hep and Emmie, the youngest, with three apprentices and a servant girl. All have to be provided for. Why, I am so used to carving for a dozen that I feel as if I could match another dozen at the end and never know the difference. We all work together in the day and play together at night. I seldom go out in the evening, we have everything heart can desire. Altho [sic] we live in a market town, we can say we bake our own bread, make our own butter, feed our own bacon, and keep a few hens and if they don't lay we run them to make them lay, so we enjoy life as well as most folks. I have seven horses and a good one for hunting. I can - old as I am - 52 years yesterday, go over the country straight as any body" (Letter from John Watkin to his brother Henry Watkin, 1869).

¹⁹ Watkin had three older brothers, John (1817-1904), William (1819-?) and James (1822-?); one older sister, Mary (1820-?), and two younger sisters: Hephzibah (1827-?) and Sarah Ann Watkin (1829-?). (at familysearch.org Film Batch No. C092001, 1795 – 1836, Source Call No. 0825341 (RG4 3361)).

²⁰ The reminiscences of Hepsie Watkin Churchill indicate that Watkin's uncle was Reverend Andrew Gunton Fuller (*Letter from Hepsie Watkin Churchill to Effie Watkin*, February 9, 1934). A.G. Fuller was the son of Ann Coles and Andrew Fuller (1754-1815). I am still unsure whether Fuller was an uncle to Watkin on his mother or father's side of the family, but regardless, it is evident that William and Mary Hobson Watkin's family were immersed in a particularly activist community of Baptists in England. This circle included Fuller's Baptist Missionary Society partner and colleague William Carey, the first Baptist missionary to India.

²¹ In 1830, when Henry was six years old, William Watkin died, and thereafter, Mary Hobson Watkin raised her family alone, surviving on income brought in from rental property the Hobson family owned. The family

extensively and absorbing the literate and progressive culture of the small press in Central England. By the time he was twenty, Watkin was a commercial printer in London and a “free-thinking radical... especially interested in utopian communalism, familiar with the revolutionary ideas of his day (Cott 1991, 34).

The nature of Watkin’s social and political attitudes as a young man are particularly interesting in trying to understand what ideas may have influenced him in his work to found a housing cooperative in his mid-40s. Most of what is known about Henry Watkin’s worldview comes from biographers of Lafcadio Hearn, a writer he met later in his life and who he mentored. According to Hearn’s biographers, Watkin was especially attracted to the communalist writings of Robert Owens and the philosophy of Immanuel Kant. Friends described him as “largely self-educated, of broad culture and wide reading, of singular liberality of views, and a lover of his kind” (Bronner 1908, 23).

Henry Watkin was a person of apparently elastic views and varied reading; self educated but shrewd and gifted with a natural knowledge of mankind... he remembered the days when his ideal of life had been far other than working a printing-press in a back street in Cincinnati. At one time he had steeped himself in the French school of philosophy, Fourierism and Saint-Simonism; then for a time followed Hegel and Kant, regaling himself in lighter moments with Edgar Allan Poe and Hoffman’s weird tales. (Nina Kennard 1912, 66)

Working in London and living at the home of his other Baptist uncle, the Reverend Andrew Gunton Fuller, these exciting ideas may have compelled Watkin to investigate first hand the communal experiments of American phalansteries. For in 1845, Watkin emigrated from England to America, settling initially in New York City. His journeys for the next two years are a mystery but in 1847, Watkin can be found again, this time living out west, in the booming river port city of Cincinnati. There, he employed his printing skills at a local daily newspaper, the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, and was quickly promoted to foreman (Stebbins 1898, 357). In the late 1840s, the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* was a well-recognized organ of the National Reform Association, and reported at the forefront of the anti-slavery, labor rights, and land reform movements in the Midwest.²² Watkin remained at the Gazette until

survived but two of the Watkin children suffered grievous accidents. Family reminiscences recount that one day, while her older brother William (Jr.) was throwing rocks over their house, Hephzibah Watkin was hit in the eye and blinded. A few years later, Henry was injured while hitching a ride in the back of a hay wagon. The driver, apparently, only meant to scare the boy off his wagon, but his whip struck Henry in the eye. Unlike his sister, Henry’s eye was saved, but remained disfigured his entire life. Relatives remarked that the Watkin children grew up to be very sensitive and concerned about eye care (Hepsie Watkin 1934, see Appendix 7, *Reminiscences of Hepsie Watkin Churchill*).

²² The obituaries of Watkin disagree with Stebbins, saying that Watkin worked for the *Commercial* (*Cincinnati Enquirer* 1910, *Cincinnati Commercial* 1910). This is impossible, as the *Cincinnati Commercial* wasn’t founded until 1859. In Henry Watkin’s obituary in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, the printer who took over Watkin’s press, Frank H. Vehr (1859-?), recalled an incident which Watkin must have told to him years earlier,

1853 when he married Laura Ann Fry, and opened his own commercial printing shop and bookstore on Richmond Street.

Laura Ann Fry was the daughter of the master woodcarver, Swedenborgian, and religiously inspired radical, Henry Lindsey Fry. While in England, Fry was deeply interested in and a vocal advocate of all manner social reform, especially vegetarianism, temperance, communism, and educational reform.²³ Watkin may have met Laura Ann, her father, or Laura's brother William Henry within progressive circles in England or else sometime after Laura and Henry Fry's arrival in Cincinnati in 1851. Like her father and brother, Laura Ann was, "an accomplished worker, [and] prominent teacher of woodcarving." A seamstress and dressmaker, by the 1880s she was teaching with her father and brother at the McMicken School of Design (*Art Journal* 1888, 22).²⁴ A short description of her in an autobiography of one of Henry Watkin's co-workers portrays her as independent and perhaps a little spoiled (although the characterization may be due to some chauvinistic attitudes).

[Laura Ann] although pretty and jolly, was the only daughter of an artist, who had always earned and spent a good deal of money, and who had never denied her anything which he could possibly afford; consequently her knowledge of domestic duties and economy was very limited. But her husband [Henry Watkin] was not much better, for although he had long

a story from when Watkin worked as foreman of the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*: "The printers were on strike and a delegation called to threaten Watkin unless he joined. Declaring that he would 'brain' the first man who approached him Watkin drove the entire delegation from his jobroom" (*Cincinnati Commercial* 1910). An unusual anecdote for a young man Watkin otherwise known to be enjoying the works of Charles Fourier, but recalled correctly or not by his assistant Vehr, the story may be corroborated by a printer's strike in Cincinnati between 1849 and 1850.

²³ Henry Fry and his son, William Henry Fry, along with Benn Pitman, practically introduced the decorative arts to Cincinnati by way of Cheltenham, England. Henry and his son William received patronage from Nicholas Longworth and went on to brilliant careers as artist woodcraftsmen, eventually setting up a woodcraft school at the McMicken School of Design. For excellent research into the radicalism of Henry L. Fry in Cheltenham see Jennifer L. Howe's "Love labour and enjoyment should be common to all': Henry and William Fry in England and America," chapter 2 in *Cincinnati Art-Carved Furniture and Interiors*, edited by Howe (2003). An exemplary quote of Fry's beliefs could be found in a contemporary publication from 1844: "My Swedenborgian reading has been a good condition to enable me to take the passages of Scripture from the old world's religious advocates, and use them in their higher sense. Christ's idea was communism. Swedenborg's heaven is one of Communism; and I assert fearlessly, that the only method for retaining love and unity, is by communism in spirit with love, and communion in faith and practice with the whole world" (in "Communism among the Swedenborgians," *Some Account of the Progress of Truth as It Is in Jesus* 32, Mount-melick, England: Colonnade Library, 1844, 66-68, and quoted in Howe 2003, 26). Howe suggests that after Henry Fry left Cheltenham in 1844 he likely worked in London until immigrating to America in 1849.

²⁴ The date comes from the Watkin family records of Laura Stewart, great-grand niece of Henry Watkin through Henry's brother John. No record of the civil marriage could be located. Laura Ann Fry arrived in New Orleans, Louisiana with her father and brother in November 1849. It is unclear when Henry Watkin arrived, probably in the mid-1840s.

had a good position as foreman of the *Gazette* he had never laid up anything. [He had not put away any money in savings]. (Stebbins 1898, 357)

Although financial problems would plague the family in Laura and Henry's senior years, in their youth the couple circulated among the other artistic, intellectual, and promising young talents of Cincinnati. Laura Ann became familiar to other artists: Ben Pitmann, Emma Bepler, Frank Duveneck and Henry Farney. Wealthy Cincinnati patrons, such as the Longworths, contracted for her family's exquisite art-carved wood furnishings and interior detailing. Meanwhile, at his small printing shop and bookstore on Richmond Street (and soon afterward on 5th Street) Watkin partnered with Charles M. Stebbins, formerly the youngest operator in Morse's Telegraph office, who had taught himself telegraphy and soon went on to build the communication network out across the Kansas territory (Williams' Directory 1849-53, Stebbins 1898).²⁵ Watkin's press was employed by the full spectrum of Cincinnati's business and social life.²⁶ Besides the typical fare of commercial printing (advertisements for industrial expositions, pamphlets for building associations, etc.), Watkin published the reminiscences of local historians, sentimental poetry, African-American spirituals, writings of black preachers in the African Methodist-Episcopal Church, and treatises of Spiritualists (see Appendix 6, for a complete List of Works by Henry Watkin).

For the first few years of their marriage, Henry and Laura Ann lived downtown. Then in 1857, they moved out to the countryside. It was a move that was both auspicious for their lives as well as for the history of Bond Hill. That year, Laura Ann gave birth to the couple's first and only child, Effie Maud Watkin.²⁷ For the pregnancy and birth, the couple had

²⁵ A list of works printed by Watkin, and a chronology of all of Watkin's work and residence addresses appears in Appendix 6. Charles M. Stebbins dreamed of a transcontinental telegraph network and in 1854 moved west to the Kansas Territory to help build it. He later published some brief but priceless anecdotes concerning Henry and Laura Watkin in an autobiography tacked onto his utopian work, *The New and True Religion* (1895). Stebbins writes, "One day during the latter part of the winter, while I was running off some bills on what was then called an "alligator press," Mrs. Watkin came in the office with a young lady friend. Of course I must talk to them. While doing so I became careless, put my left hand too far forward, and the end of the forefinger was pinched off by the press. The end of the bone had to be cut off, and the skin drawn so that the flesh grew over it; finally a new, although deformed nail grew out, but the finger has never been of any use. Hence, I must advise printers not to talk to the girls while feeding an alligator press," (Stebbins 1898, 357-358).

²⁶ The first dated printing I could locate by Henry Watkin was with Stebbins: an 1854 spiritualist work by Through H. Tuttle. *The Arabian art of taming and training wild & vicious horses* by P.R. Kincaid and Charles M. Barras' *The modern saint : an original comedy in three acts* were both printed two years later in 1856. Watkin authored his own pamphlet, *The Arabian art of taming and training wild and vicious horses: Under the written directions of a sheik of the Bedouin Arabs*, in 1857.

²⁷ Effie Maud Watkin was named after a character in a poem by the Quaker abolitionist and pacifist poet, John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892). From Whittier's 1854 poem, "Maud Muller": poem, "Maud Muller." "Maud Muller, on a summer's day / Raked the meadow sweet with hay / Beneath her torn hat glowed the wealth / Of

moved southwest to Delhi Township, a rural area far distant from the polluted air and hygienic nightmare of downtown Cincinnati (*Williams' Street Directory* 1858). Possibly the move was intended to be temporary, for in 1859, the family's residence was once again listed as being downtown (*Williams' Street Directory* 1859). But city living would not endure. Henry and Laura Ann quickly decided to move back to the country with Effie and Laura Ann's sister-in-law, 21-year-old Elizabeth Dobson, a dressmaker who was probably also helping to baby-sit for Effie.²⁸ The family settled in the countryside of northeastern Millcreek Township just outside of Carthage; a short jaunt across the Mill Creek, close enough to commute on the Cincinnati-Hamilton-Dayton Railway back and forth from the city. Attention to the nearby real estate was possibly kindled by the work on the nearby St. Aloysius Orphanage and Longview Asylum.

Living in the countryside was not an odd choice for Henry and Laura Ann. During this same period, Laura Ann's father, Henry Fry, and her stepmother, Minnie, settled in the countryside of the Pleasant Ridge area. In the early 1860s, Fry built a beautiful home there called "Sunflower Cottage" (Howe 2003). Possibly, Laura Ann and Henry Watkin's first home in the Bond Hill area could also have been built by Henry Fry. No deed records directly indicate a land transfer to the Fry family, but the value of Laura's real estate assets in the 1860 census survey were listed as \$2400 (Census Survey, Millcreek Township 1860).²⁹ The year in Delhi likely also kindled Henry Watkin's memories of his childhood spent in rural Northamptonshire. Having found success as a commercial printer, Watkin may have done his best to find an area on the rural fringe of Cincinnati more closely resembling Pitsford, a place of his own where he could, like his brother John Watkin in Northampton, England, "bake [his] own bread, make [his] own butter, feed [his] own bacon, and keep a few hens and if they don't lay ...run them to make them lay, [to] ...enjoy life as well as most folks" (J. Watkin 1869).

simple beauty and rustic health" (see Thomas R. Lounsbury, ed. (1838-1915). *Yale Book of American Verse*. 1912).

²⁸ Elizabeth Dobson, was a sister of Mary Ann Dobson (1833-1912), the wife of Laura's brother William Henry Fry.

²⁹ For perspective, the sum of \$2400 in 1860 was roughly equal to \$53,000 in 2003 (CPI Index, "What is the Relative Value?" Economic History Services). In contrast to Laura's assets, Henry's personal fortune is listed as \$500 (\$11,003.20 in 2003 dollars), possibly the worth of his steam press.

Lafcadio Hearn became famous in the late 19th century for his descriptions of Japanese culture, its sensibilities, and worldview written for late Victorian Europeans and Americans with an insatiable appetite for all things Oriental (Bronner 1908, Bisland 1911).³⁰ The help Watkin gave to Hearn when he was 19 years old, and their subsequent friendship, were described in Hearn's posthumously published correspondence, *Letters from the Raven* (1908).



Figure 22: Lafcadio Hearn, circa 1875
(Bisland 1911)

After a childhood worthy of a Dickens novel, Hearn spent his early years shunted between unconcerned distant relatives and boarding schools, only to find himself a teenager barely surviving on the streets of Cincinnati, occasionally sleeping in haylofts and cutting his hunger pains with opium (Cott 1991). In 1869, two friends of Hearn found him collapsed on the street and in desperate circumstances. They carried him inside Watkin's printing shop at 230 Walnut Street (Bronner 1908, Effie Watkin and Hepsie Watkin Churchill 1934).³¹

Hearn was revived and Watkin decided to do his best to help the young man with an English accent and disfigured eye. Watkin gave Hearn shelter in a back room of his printing shop, served him warm meals, and quickly became his friend, mentor, and in Hearn's own words, his "Dear Old Dad" (Bronner 1908, 28).³² Confident of Hearn's heretofore-unrecognized

³⁰ During the Edo period, 1603-1868, Japan was a closed society, its contact with the outside world restricted. Westerners were thus highly curious to learn more about Japan.

³¹ The incident is remembered in the *Reminiscences* of Watkin's niece Hepsie Watkin Churchill (see Appendix 7). Hepsie Watkin Churchill remarks in her *Reminiscences* that Watkin took pity on Hearn because the boy like himself had a disfigured eye. In Bronner's telling, Hearn was brought to Watkin by a fellow printer of "Scotch" descent and does not indicate a second man (Bronner 1908, 23). Bronner's printer may very well have been an apprentice of Watkin's named Joseph Maddock. Maddock, a Cincinnati native of Irish ancestry worked with Watkin from 1869 to 1872. Alternately, the printer who introduced Hearn to Watkin was a fellow cooperator and printer in the Cooperative Land and Building Association, Joseph P. Sailer. Besides Sailer's occupation in 1870, I have located no other information on him. As indicated by the many printer cooperatives, Cincinnati printers had a strong comradery, so possibly the two men who brought Hearn to Watkin could have been any number of other printers working nearby on Walnut and Fifth Street.

³² Watkin, apparently, had a habit of taking in unfortunates, another being a black dog, name unknown, which lived in his shop, apparently for security reasons. "Mr. Watkin had a dog. Hearn did not like the animal, and it

abilities, "Mr. Watkin secured for the boy a position with a Captain Barney, who edited and published a commercial paper, for which Hearn solicited advertisements and to which he began also to contribute articles" (Bronner 1908, 25). Hearn also began publishing articles in the *Boston Investigator* under the nom de plume, *Fiat Lux*, on Swedenborgianism, a topic he must have become familiar with in the company of Watkin (Mordell 1959). According to Hearn, for the first two years of their friendship, Hearn would read to Watkin nightly in his printing shop (perhaps due to Watkin's handicapped eyesight), stories from the *Atlantic Monthly* and other magazines. The radical milieu of Watkin's print shop is made clear in Hearn's reminiscence:

I had a dear old friend in America, who taught me printing. He had a great big silent office, and every evening for two years, it was our delight to have such reading. I read nearly all the old *Atlantic* stories to him — at that time, you know, the *Atlantic* was the medium of Emerson, of Holmes, of every man distinguished in American letters. The old man was something of a Fourierist. In his office I made acquaintance first with hosts of fantastic heterodoxies, — Fourier himself, Hepworth Dixon ("Spiritual Wives"), the Spiritualists, the Freelothers, and the Mormons,— the founders of phalansteries and the founders of freelove societies. I don't know whether my fellow travellers were anarchists. They might have been, though. They spoke very eloquently about the religion of humanity and the atrocities of modern civilization. (Hearn, *Letter to Basil Hall Chamberline August 21st 1894*).

In his printing shop, and on lengthy walks through Cincinnati and the countryside, Watkin and Hearn discussed the utopias of Robert Owen, Comte de Saint-Simon, and Charles Fourier, the fantasies of Edgar Allan Poe, and all the morbid and sensational events that found their place in Hearn's articles for the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* and *Commercial* (Bronner 1908, Cott 1991). Sometimes, Effie Watkin would join them on the way to school at the Cincinnati Art Academy. Hearn and Watkin's mutual curiosities into spiritualist practice lead them to attend lectures on Spiritualism in Covington (Cott 1991). With the help of Watkin's support and friendship, Hearn became a prolific and well-known journalist and writer in Cincinnati and abroad.³³

seemed to reciprocate the feeling. One of Hearn's notes was largely devoted to the little beast. When he so chose Hearn could make a fairly good drawing. This particular note was adorned with rude pictures of an animal supposed to be a dog. The teeth were made the most prominent feature. The pictures were purposely made in a childish style, and used for the word 'dog.' [The undated letter, probably from 1869 or 1870 read]: 'DEAR NASTY CROSS OLD MAN! I tried to find you last night. You were not in apparently. I shook the door long and violently, and listened. I did not hear the [dog] bark. Perhaps you were not aware that the night you got so infernally mad I slipped a cooked beefsteak strongly seasoned with Strychnine under the door. I was glad that the [dog] did not bark. I suspect the [dog] will not bark ANY MORE! I think the [dog] must have gone to that Bourne from which NO TRAVELLER RETURNETH. I hope the [dog] is DEAD" (Bronner 1908, 31).

³³ Through Watkin, Lafcadio Hearn may also have made contact with artists connected to the Fry family. Both Frank Duveneck and Henry Farney worked illustrating Hearn's short-lived parody magazine, *Ye Giglampz*.

Watkin's virtual adoption of Hearn, his marriage to the artist Laura Ann Fry, and his close relationship with her religious communist father, Henry Fry, describe to some degree the kind of people he was most closely attracted to. Unlike many of his peers, there is no indication that Watkin was a member or participated in any fraternal or secret societies. Rather, Watkin seems to

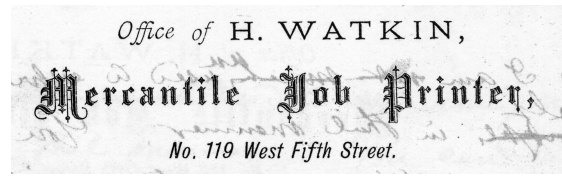


Figure 23: Letterhead of Henry Watkin, "Mercantile Job Printer" (courtesy of Pierpont-Morgan Library, H. Watkin 1876)

have circulated in cooperative institutions of Cincinnati, such as the Young Men's Mercantile Library. As a "Mercantile," commercial job printer, Watkin advertised this relationship in his letterhead, directory listings, and newspaper adverts (H. Watkin 1876). In 1868, Watkin became one of the initial stockholders of the Mutual Benefit Grocery, a cooperative grocery store in downtown Cincinnati. The grocery was a hub in the network of Cincinnati progressives including members from other prominent socialist families, the Hallers and McLeans, as well as other forward thinking printers, Caleb Clark and Charles Adams, also active in Cincinnati socialist movements (Mutual Benefit Grocery, Constitution and By-Laws 1868, Lause 2004).

Besides the immediate influence of persons suggested by the Mutual Benefit Grocery and the Mercantile Library, Cincinnati's socialist history in the 1840s and 50s suggests an even larger milieu of interesting people and ideas surrounding Henry Watkin. A young and radical Henry Watkin in London would almost certainly have known and been inspired by the successes of the Rochdale Pioneer Cooperative Movement, established in England in 1844. Significantly, elements of Rochdale cooperativism are reflected in the organization of the Bond Hill cooperative Watkin helped to establish. In the late 1840s, Watkin would have known and possibly even visited nearby communalist social experiments like Utopia, a Fourierist community in Clermont County just east of the city. As foreman of the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* he almost certainly heard Robert Dale Owen, the son of Robert Owen, speak at the Young Men's Mercantile Library in 1849.

Cincinnati had a long and varied history in progressive socio-political movements in the 19th century, harking back to Josiah Warren's Time Store cooperative, the National Reform Association's land reformist "Spiritual Brotherhood" in Cincinnati, and the Clermont Phalanx (Morris 1975, Lause 2004).³⁴ Fourierist ideas often inspired rural settlement in order for adherents to experiment with and activate their socialist and spiritual philosophies. The Clermont Phalanx, organized in Cincinnati in 1843s, was established a community on 900 acres of countryside along the banks of the Ohio River in neighboring Clermont

³⁴ For a nice summary of antebellum utopian movements in Cincinnati see James R. Morris' article "Communes and Cooperatives: Cincinnati's Early Experiments in Social Reform" in *The Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin*, Spring 1975.

County, Ohio. A year after the Clermont Phalanx was largely abandoned in late 1846, the community was revived by Josiah Warren as a village he named “Utopia.” According to Morris, “Utopia was the last attempt by the intellectual reformers in the Cincinnati area to establish an ideal community or cooperative. The final attempt at reform came from the workers themselves” (Morris 1975, 77). These workers helped to found the Iron Moulders’ Union Foundry (1847), a worker’s cooperative that was financially successful for three years before finally being driven out of business by competitors.

While Fourierist phalanxes were active all over the East Coast and Midwest in the mid to late 1840s, by the 1850s the movement was in decline. Its adherents exhausted by the economic failure of the phalansteries, they became attracted to other more promising social movements. Besides the anti-slavery movement, Fourierists were also widely attracted to the revolutionary spirituality promised by Spiritualism. (Guarneri 1991). Watkin’s connection to Spiritualism in Cincinnati is clearly evidenced by the lectures he attended in Covington with Hearn and by one of the first books he helped to print, a spiritualist tome entitled, *An Outline of Universal Government, Being a General Exposition of the Plan of the Universe, by a Society of the Sixth Circle. To which is added a lecture purporting to emanate from the spirit of Benjamin Franklin, on the philosophy of spiritual intercourse, and the reasons why spirits disagree in their communications* (Tuttle 1854). Watkin continued printing Spiritualist works even in his late career with the title, *Spirit Vitapathy; a Religious Scientific System of Health and Life for Body and Soul, with All-Healing Spirit Power, as Employed by Jesus, the Christ, His Apostles, and Others, that Cures and Saves All Who Receive It* (Bunyan 1891).

Although the activities of Watkin (as will be described in chapter 3) clearly indicate that cooperationism was vibrant in generating new institutions and communities after the Civil War, scholarship on Cincinnati progressive history has indicated that cooperative efforts mainly ceased after 1850. In his article “Communes and Cooperatives: Cincinnati’s Early Experiments in Social Reform,” James Morris writes:

When the Iron Moulders’ Union Foundry closed in 1850 it ended an era in Cincinnati history. It was the last of five serious attempts to construct alternatives to the capitalist, individualist society developing in America and in Cincinnati in the first half of the 19th century, alternatives that all sought to guarantee greater happiness to man. Some Cincinnatians had tried both communes and cooperatives to escape what they considered to be the injustices and inhumanity of the evolving American society. All the ventures had failed – from personal antagonisms, from a lack of sustained interest, from a lack of sustained financing, from outside pressures, and, perhaps, as [A.J.] MacDonald had observed [in Owen’s New Harmony experiment], “Individual happiness was the law of nature, and it could not be tolerated” -- but despite their failure they had at least injected into the social consciousness of some Americans and some Cincinnatians the awareness that humane values had a place in an industrial society (Morris 1975, 78).

Failures, these attempts were indeed, but certainly they were not final. Rather, for their participants, these experiences informed the progressive activities and ideals which energized other movements. After the Civil War, this energy could be refocused in a new wave of cooperationism. Indeed, Fourierism enjoyed a resurgence in the late 1860s and early 1870s, and the influence of Fourier on landscape architects like Frederick Law Olmstead helped to spawn the City Beautiful movement (Guarneri 1991). The formation of Bond Hill by a cooperationist like Watkin is an example of this resurgence of communalism in the Reconstruction Era.

Living in the countryside of northeastern Millcreek Township would have reminded Watkin of his youth living in the hamlet of Pitsford near Northampton, England. Like the Bond Hill area, Northampton's industrial growth accelerated in the 19th century with the introduction of the Grand Union Canal (which reached the town in 1815) and later by the coming of railways in the 1830s. The possibilities suggested by the familiar landscape of the Bond Hill area would have been unmistakable to Watkin. Could he not create a new village with his own limited resources, based on the cooperationist strategy of developing real estate, and the inspiration of Owen and Fourier? He did.

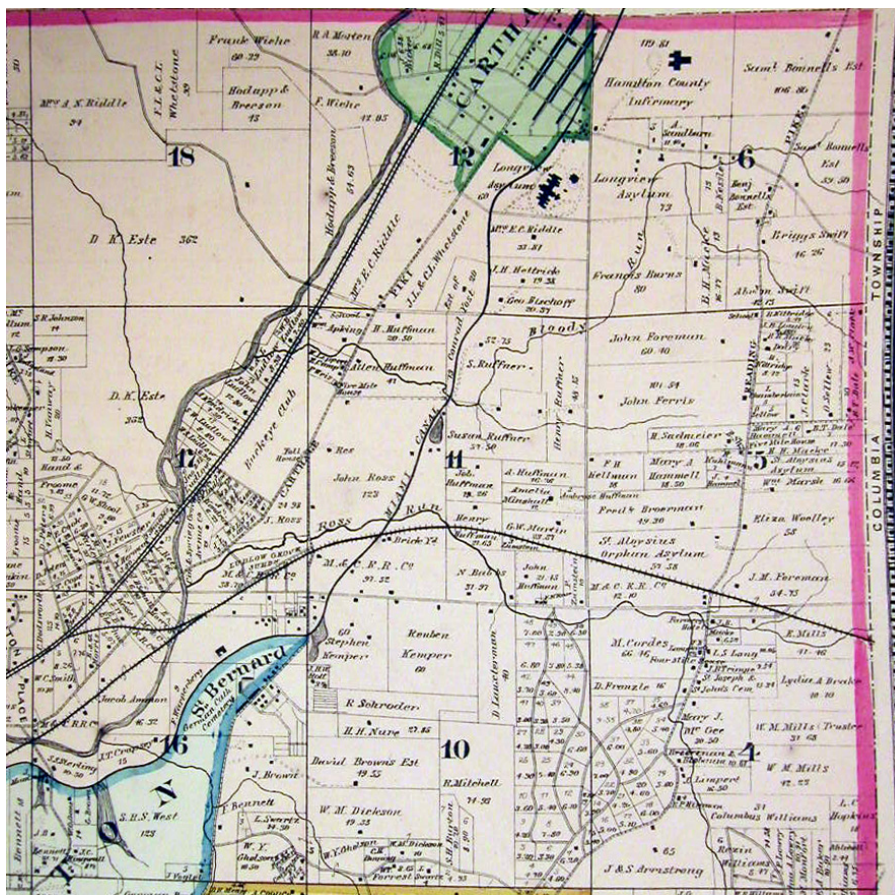


Figure 24: 1869
Map of
northeastern
Millcreek
Township just
prior to Bond
Hill's
development
(Titus 1869)

Chapter 3: Bond Hill, Ohio, 1870-1903

Motivations for Suburban Development

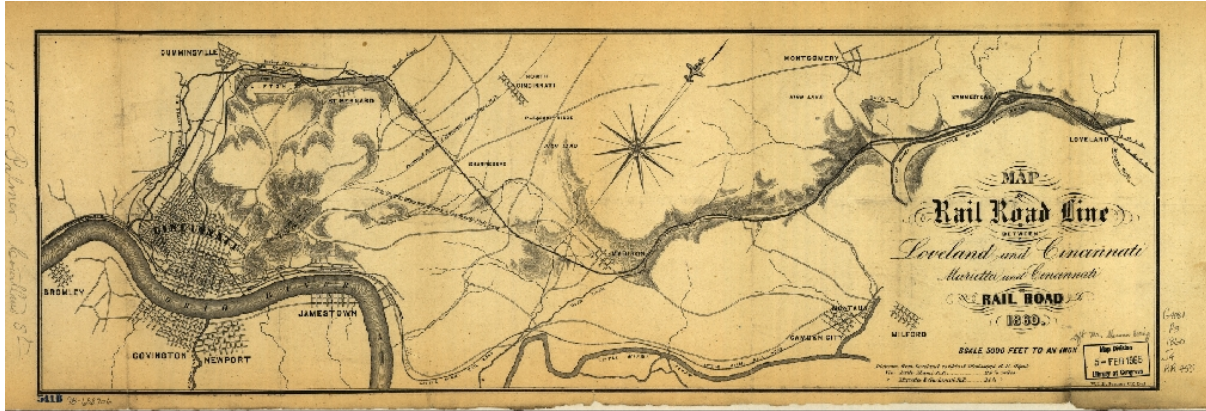


Figure 25: “Map of Rail Road Line: Loveland and Cincinnati” (Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad, 1860). This commuter railroad spurred the development of numerous communities including Bond Hill.

The Marietta-Cincinnati Railroad

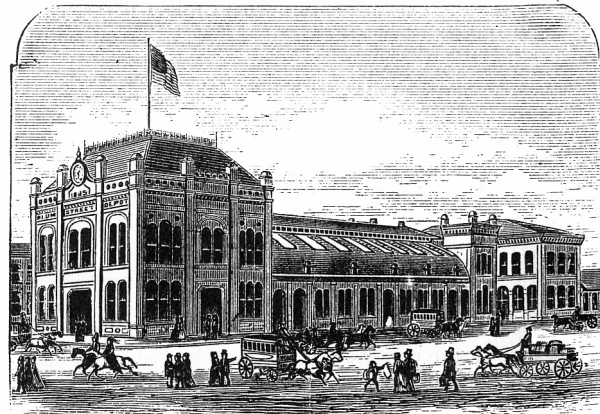
Here is wealth to the real estate operator, and to the philanthropist, if he will engage in the enterprise. Let these people have an opportunity to live in the pure atmosphere of the country, and enjoy the luxury of a whole house instead of a room or two, and you will do more for the cause of temperance among them, than all the temperance organizations extant. Let our philanthropists build houses of three to five rooms, that they can rent or sell at \$10 or \$20 a month, and they will remove this indispensable class of citizens from temptation, and the influence of corrupt and corrupting politicians and their tools, the saloon keepers, and teach them habits of thrift and economy. The trains are now prepared to convey them at reasonable hours and fares, and if they were not, we think we can say for the Marietta & Cincinnati Railroad, that they will meet half way, any enterprise that would have for its object the welfare of the city and development of the suburbs. (R. Nelson 1874)

In 1866, the Marietta-Cincinnati Railroad³⁵ was completed, providing comparably cheap and speedy access to downtown for Cincinnatians eager to flee the congested housing

³⁵ From the *History of Clinton County, Ohio* “The original company was chartered March 8, 1845, under the name of the Belpre & Cincinnati Railroad Company, and authorized to build a road from a point opposite Parkersburg, Va., or Harmar, in Washington County, Ohio, as a majority of the commissioners should determine thence by the most practicable route up the Hocking Valley, by way of Athens and Chillicothe, to some point on the Little Miami Railroad between Plainville, Hamilton County, and the mouth of O'Bannon Creek, in Clermont County. An amendment in March, 1850, authorized the company to construct its road to any point so as to connect with any railroad or other improvement constructed to the Ohio River on the Virginia side; and another amendment, in 1851, authorized its completion to Cincinnati, with the privilege of connecting with or crossing the Little Miami or any other railroad. In March, 1851, the name was changed to

conditions of the Basin. This new rail corridor, connecting the Mill Creek Valley to Loveland and destinations northeast, made accessible cheap rural land for residential development. For four years passage along the intra-urban line was delayed until in 1870, station service from the passenger depot at Pearl and Plum Streets to Loveland Station began in earnest (Williams' Street Directory 1861-75). These were heady times for real estate developers, brokers, developers, and cooperators like Henry Watkin. Within the next ten years many new subdivisions along the Marietta-Cincinnati Railroad were developed including: Ludlow Grove, Bond Hill, Norwood, Oakley, Madisonville, Madeira, Montgomery, Symmes and Loveland. Sometimes the railroad played a deliberate hand in the growth of settlements along its tracks as a means, not only to promote ridership and the financial success for the rail service, but also to make a huge real estate profit by selling the neighboring land originally purchased by the railroad for its right-of-way, made vastly more valuable due to the transportation infrastructure. Munson (more of whom will be spoken of later) is of particular interest in this regard. A member of Watkin's cooperative, William S. Munson, a broker and railroad builder harking from a wealthy family of Cincinnati iron-merchants had already built a home on John Ferris' land in 1865, one year before the completion of the Marietta railroad and six years before the Cooperative incorporated itself to build Bond Hill. The exact relationship between the railroad, real estate brokers, and cooperators is beyond the scope of this study, but the activities of iron merchants, brokers, and railroad builders

Figure 26: The Cincinnati-Marietta Railroad's Plum Street Depot. (Kenney 1875)



THE PLUM STREET DEPOT.

Marietta & Cincinnati Railroad. Work was begun in the spring of 1851, and the line was opened from Harmar to Loveland, Clermont County, a distance of 173 miles, in 1857. The history of this road has been like that of too many of the early railroads-that of failure to meet financial obligations, and in 1857, it was placed in the hands of a receiver, who operated it until February 25, 1860, when the Trustees purchased it for the benefit of the stockholders. The sale was confirmed in May following. The Trustees operated the road until August, 1860, when they transferred it to the re-organized company, known thereafter as the Marietta & Cincinnati Railroad Company as reorganized. In 1864, the re-organized company commenced building the extension from Loveland to Cincinnati, a distance of twenty-four miles, and in February, 1866, it was completed to a point six miles from Cincinnati. From this point a connection was established with the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad... The road is now (1882) operated by the Baltimore & Ohio Company under a lease" (*History of Clinton County*, 1882, 368).

like William Munson, real estate brokers like Richard Nelson, and community builders like Henry Watkin, suggest the interesting partnerships that were developing just as the gilded age idea of the suburb was coming into vogue (see Appendix 3).³⁶

The railroad accelerated the growth of older adjacent communities and led to the merger of subdivisions aspiring to become independent neighborhoods with neighboring villages. In 1878, the growth of the new Ludlow Grove subdivision next to the older community of St. Bernard, led to the neighboring communities' political merger and incorporation. The result of all this growth on rural villages was not always beneficial. Residents, especially children, often walked the rails between Bond Hill, St. Bernard, Norwood, and Madisonville, unaware of the dangers of doing so. Patmor describes numerous examples of residents getting hit by the railroad. And railroad development only increased. In 1871, the Short-Line railroad was constructed on the east bank of the Mill Creek's floodplain paralleling the Miami-Erie Canal (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, October 2nd 1871). City leaders, even in the 1870s, were proposing the replacement the Miami-Erie Canal with yet another railroad track "to encourage the development and prosperity of our northern Millcreek Valley factories" (Condit 1977).

Congested Housing and Social Philanthropy

After the Civil War, the City of Cincinnati's rapidly expanding population was desperate for affordable housing in more healthy environs. The Queen City of the West (as christened by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in 1854), renowned for its beauty as an important steamboat port on the Ohio River and trading hub before the Civil War, had fallen on hard times by 1870. Cincinnati was simply unable to keep pace with the growing demands for housing. The following account of Cincinnati's deplorable housing conditions comes from the City's Board of Health, though it should be noted that these conditions were to be found in most urban areas in the United States and Europe.

In 1868, there were, in the city of Cincinnati, 1,410 tenement houses, containing six or more families to each house. The total number of rooms in these 1,410 houses, was 16,197, an average of over eleven and one-half rooms to each house. These rooms were occupied by 9,894 families, comprising a population of 38,721 persons, an average of a fraction over seven families to each house, and a fraction over twenty-seven persons to each house. Four thousand two hundred and eighteen (4,218) families, numbering 15,604 persons, had but one room to a family, in which to cook, eat, sleep, etc. Three thousand five hundred and

³⁶ In 1869, at the suggestion of L. Bolles, a real estate agent, the Village of Sharpsburg changed its name to Norwood (*Cincinnati Post* 1958). The name Norwood was probably chosen by Bolles and his wife Sarah, from the title of the popular 1867 novel *Norwood, or Village Life in New England* by Henry Ward Beecher. The novel presented a particular worldview, theology, and politics appealing to the middle-class after the post-Civil War Gilded Age, but in Norwood, a village with an active Swedenborgian community, Harriet Beecher's radicalism would also have resonated strongly. Bolles was also the partner of Richard Nelson, author of *Suburban Homes for Businessmen*.

seventy-one of these rooms thus occupied, had but one window to each room; 4,469 families had two rooms each.

A very considerable portion of these tenement-houses have only one stairway or means of entrance and exit; the number of stories varies from two to six; so that in case of fire it would be almost impossible for many of the inmates [sic] to escape alive. These figures present the strongest reasons that could be adduced in favor of a law to regulate the construction of dwelling-houses, and the uses to which property should be devoted. It is in such crowded tenement- houses where diseases of every name and character are most prevalent and fatal, and these are the form which pestilential and contagious diseases spread over the whole city.

In 1869, Cincinnati was the most densely populated city in the United States, and was more densely populated than the city of London. New York city has twenty-two square miles, or 32,068 inhabitants to each square mile; Philadelphia has 129 square miles, or 6,200 inhabitants to each square mile; Brooklyn, twenty-five, or 17,388 persons to the square mile; Chicago, twenty-nine and three- fourths; Buffalo, thirty-seven; Pittsburgh, twenty-four; Louisville, twelve and three-tenths; while Cincinnati had an area of only seven square miles, or 37,142 persons to the mile, or fifty-eight and one-twenty-eighth to the acre.

Since that date, [a] considerable [amount] of the surrounding country has been added to Cincinnati, and the average would not, perhaps, be so great; but tenement-houses and their teeming population yet remain; and that population is composed entirely of workingmen and their families.

There are localities in Cincinnati so compactly built up with high buildings front and rear of lots both covered, that there is no means for the admission of air and light, only that afforded by a narrow passage way, which, too, in the majority of instances extends only as high as the second story. These buildings are almost always in a bad sanitary condition, due to two causes, viz.: those due to faults in the original construction of the building, and, second, those due to over-crowding and neglect.

There are many large tenement-houses in this city without one square yard of air space, excepting that used as an entrance. A single privy is provided, in most instances, for the occupants of the building, and it is commonly placed at one end of the entrance way, so that it is almost impossible to prevent the gaseous [sic] exhalations arising from it from being disseminated through the entire building, poisoning the atmosphere, and causing discomfort, disease, and death.

A stringent law is needed to regulate the construction of dwellings designed for the poor. Crowding human beings together is fraught with the most terrible physical and moral results; the practice is certain to cause sickness, and the forced companionship of the old and young of both sexes is demoralizing and pernicious in the extreme. (Cincinnati Board of Health Report 1878)

Richard Nelson, land broker, in his article "The Science of Real Estate," saw these terrible problems as financial windbreakers. Writing encouragingly to prospective real estate developers, he eagerly argued:

...With the same enterprise capitalists and real estate owners would find that there are more FORTUNES TO BE MADE IN CINCINNATI real estate, than in Chicago, St. Louis, or anywhere else.

It has been shown that it is population that chiefly enhances the value of property-an element in which Cincinnati for her territory, is perhaps the richest in the world. Sparsely settled, as it is, Chicago would seem not to need suburbs; but Cincinnati, crowded to excess-Cincinnati, with many of its houses containing half a dozen families each, its streets closely built with great solid blocks of brick structures, and overflowing with population. [In] "Over the Rhine," are thousands of families, and tens of thousands of people who would gladly accept some of the offers extended by Chicago real estate men. Families that are paying exorbitant rents for close, dark, ill-ventilated, unhealthy rooms. Places that drive the men to the finely furnished drinking saloon, and that have more to do with drunkenness and crime, than temperance people have thought of. (R. Nelson, 1874, 134).

Not only in Over-the-Rhine did social philanthropists and moralists wring their hands over the seemingly intractable problems encouraged by alcohol. They worried, also, in the working class communities dotting the Mill Creek Valley. One of the oldest was Cumminsville (formerly known as Ludlow Station), situated three miles north of the Basin. All of the issues mentioned above plagued Cumminsville as well, and differed only in that all of Cincinnati's conflicting passions were concentrated in a smaller, if similarly diverse, community, the members of which were constantly breathing and swallowing the miasma welling up from the Millcreek. In 1870, Cumminsville was a town in the midst of change. A year earlier it had taken the progressive step of integrating its public schools, negotiating with Cincinnati Gas & Electric to provide public utilities, and was seriously considering allowing itself to be annexed by Cincinnati (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, February 8th 1871). This debate was particularly raucous because only two years earlier, the first general annexation law, was written to allow the citizens of incorporated municipalities to bypass the power of their mayors and vote on annexation by direct election (see Appendix 8, Hamilton County Research Foundation 1955). Meanwhile, a constant political battle raged between advocates of temperance and their opponents in the enforcement of Sunday Laws. On Sundays, on a field near Dane Street, local "Base Ball" players were arrested by the Cumminsville police for playing ball, presumably because the game encouraged the gathering of mobs of energetic drinkers (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, November 14th 1870).³⁷ While ethnic associations, like

³⁷ From the Suburban News section of the November 14, 1870 issue of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*: "OFFICER COSTELLO, of the Cumminsville police force, summarily stopped a very neat little game of base ball, carried on yesterday afternoon by several young gents from the city, in the rear yard attached to the Poplar Grove Beer Garden. These young men were well aware that they were violating the ordinance, and, had not the officer stopped them, they would have kept on. It was well for them that they were not reminded of the existence of

the West End German Building Association, organized to improve the lot of their ethnic groups, other social philanthropists were meeting through cooperatives like the Mutual Benefit Grocery and Cooperative Printers Associations, in order to envision a new future for Cincinnatians.

Following the end of the Civil War, a number of cooperatives sprang up in Cincinnati and a few incorporated with the Ohio Secretary of State's office (see figure 28). Note that there were at least three cooperative associations of printers in Cincinnati (Secretary of State of Ohio 2004). The available records indicate that among professional groups in Cincinnati, cooperatives had become a popular means of organizing among printers like Henry Watkin.

| Business Name | Charter/ Registration Number | Original Filing Date |
|---|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| THE COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI | 1094 | Nov 14 1864 |
| COOPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY OF CINCINNATI | 1102 | Nov 05 1870 |
| THE CO-OPERATIVE LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. ONE OF HAMILTON COUNTY OHIO | 1100 | Nov 10 1870 |
| COTTAGE HILL COOPERATIVE LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. TWO OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 1113 | Sep 02 1871 |
| CINCINNATI MACHINISTS CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION | 721 | May 08 1872 |
| CO-OPERATIVE LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF OAKLEY, HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO | 1101 | Jun 01 1872 |
| THE CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY OF CINCINNATI | 53505 | Feb 12 1874 |
| THE COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF INDUSTRY OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 1095 | Apr 27 1876 |
| CINCINNATI CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING ASSOCIATION | 645 | Sep 17 1877 |
| THE CINCINNATI CO-OPERATIVE TRADE SOCIETY | 646 | Nov 06 1879 |

Figure 27: Table of Reconstruction Era Cooperatives, Incorporated in Hamilton County (Office of the Secretary of State 2004)

such an ordinance by being incarcerated in the station house opposite Mike Hogan's. The authorities of Cumminsville do not intend to tolerate Sunday playing, either in private yards or on the commons, if such practices come under their notice."

Starting almost immediately after the Civil War, in 1867, ethnic organizations began to incorporate, so-called “Building Associations,” to develop new land and thereby improve the housing conditions of its members (see Appendix 7, Table of Reconstruction Era Building Associations 1867-1880). The first of these building associations was the German Building Association, No. 1, incorporated August 11, 1867. The success of this association encouraged other groups to form their own. Later associations included the Colored Peoples Building Association of Hamilton County (1872) and the Celtic Building Association of Cincinnati (1878). Between 1867 and 1870, sixty-six building associations were incorporated. While some of these were undoubtedly speculative and capitalistic, many of these Building Associations were cooperationist and philanthropic and advertised in the local *Co-operative News*. Parcel owners might sell to building associations in return for their land’s value in the stock of the association, stock that they could immediately use to build new homes (Mortgage Deed German Building Association/Broerman 1868). (After 1880, these groups continued to proliferate; they began to call themselves Building and Loan Companies, and evolved into neighborhood savings and loan banks).

It was thus, on the basis of the concepts of cooperationism, temperance, and the need for affordable housing in healthful surrounding, that philanthropic building associations looked to new land made accessible by the Marietta-Cincinnati Railroad to build their ideal communities. And wealthy men who had made their fortune on iron, railroads, and real estate were happy to oblige.

The Cooperative Land and Building Association, No.1 of Hamilton, County

Enter two printers, a doctor, an architect, and a livery stable owner, men coming together to create, in the words of Richard Nelson, a fair and equitable society for “men of moderate means” (R. Nelson, 1874, 21). *The Cooperative Land and Building Association, No. 1 of Hamilton County* incorporated on November 10, 1870, the first cooperative building association to incorporate in Hamilton County with David Hicks as President; Dr. L.H. Smith, Secretary; Henry Watkin, Treasurer; Thomas Sargent, Superintendent, and Joseph P. Sailor, Solicitor (Articles of Incorporation 1870, Office of the Secretary of State of Ohio 2004; *Cincinnati Commercial*, November 25th 1870). Cooperative meetings were held initially at 195 West Fifth Street, in the office of David Hicks, a few doors down from Watkin’s bookstore and print shop (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, December 31st 1870).

The Cooperative originally intended to develop a parcel along Dane Street in Cumminsville (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, November 15th). At the time, Cumminsville Episcopalians were active in the Sons of Temperance teetotaling movement, and may have been seeking a spot to provide moral and social welfare to the lower classes of their community. But construction in Cumminsville was not to be. The reception towards temperance within the municipal bounds of Cumminsville was hardly welcoming and Cooperative members may have been attracted to realizing their community on land outside of the city limits where they would be

in a better position to establishing their temperance ideals. Within fifteen days of incorporation the Cooperative announced their intent to build instead in the Bond Hill area, closer to where Watkin lived (November 25th 1870).³⁸

Members of the Cooperative included artists, spiritualists, Swedenborgian cooperators, and well-heeled power brokers. At least two of members of the Cooperative, Joseph Rudolph and William Sellew Munson, were wealthy Cincinnati socialites. Joseph Rudolph served as the first elected director of the Cooperative in 1871 (Cooperative and Henry C. Ferris, Mortgage Deed 1871). Rudolph, likely Captain Joseph Rudolph, originally from Hiram, Ohio, was a close friend to future President James Garfield.³⁹ William S. Munson (1842-?) was listed by Richard Nelson as serving as treasurer for the Cooperative in 1874. In that year, Munson was also president of the Young Men's Mercantile Library. Munson was a very wealthy Cincinnati socialite, broker, and railroad builder. Besides his activities in Bond Hill and at the library he managed an expansive 600-acre estate near Remington Station along the Marietta-Cincinnati Line in Montgomery, Ohio. According to Probate Court records, Munson had invested in building a house on the future Cooperative plot as early as 1865 when the land was still owned by John Ferris (Sheppard 1981).

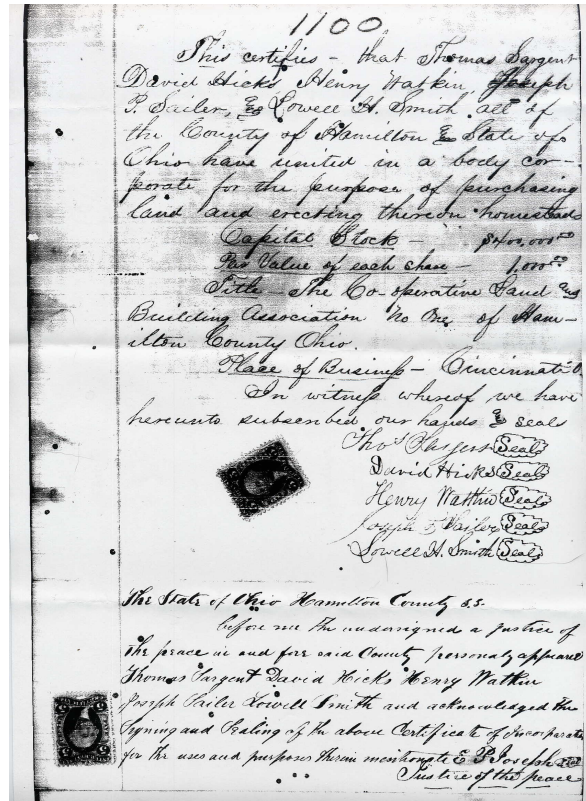


Figure 28: Certificate of Incorporation of the Cooperative Land and Building Association No. 1, of Hamilton County, signed by Henry Watkin, Thomas Sargent, David Hicks, Lowell H. Smith, and Joseph P. Sailer, November 10, 1870 (Secretary of State, Ohio, 2004).

³⁸ "Arrangements have been made to purchase twenty four acres of ground, in the vicinity of Dane Street, which will be subdivided into building lots, on which will be erected dwelling houses, and placed within the reach of all, by the payment of a regular weekly sum, amounting to the aggregate sufficient to purchase the land and make the necessary improvements. The lots will be erected at the cost per acre, and the homes erected at the lowest cost, according to the plans and specifications carefully prepared by a competent and experienced architect who has built some of the finest houses in Clifton. It is estimated that the land will furnish four hundred lots twenty feet front by one hundred in depth. No member will be allowed to hold more than two shares of stock in his own name" (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, 11/15/1870).

³⁹ The only known Joseph Rudolph in Ohio in 1870 was Civil War Union Captain Joseph Rudolph, friend to President James Garfield, from Hiram, Ohio.

Munson's presence in the Bond Hill area six years before the establishment of the Cooperative and one year before the completion of the Cincinnati-Marietta railroad indicates that the interests of the Cooperative in developing housing in the Bond Hill area were running parallel with the interests of railroad developers as well.

In 1870, Watkin's printing shop at 227 West 5th Street was located around the corner and just a few blocks south of the Mercantile Library. It seems likely that Watkin, an intellectual urbanite took part in Mercantile Library activities and lectures, and through his connection with other Cincinnati printers, had access to philanthropists and wealthy patrons like William Munson. Still, the exact nature of the connection between the Munson and the Cooperative remains a mystery. Munson may have been the Cooperative's largest stockholder. Records indicate that Munson built at least eight homes in the Cooperative's original Bond Hill subdivision between 1865 and 1901 (Sheppard 1981). A short article in the June 1906 issue of *Western Architect and Builder* reads, "The Bond Hill Realty Co., owners, Mercantile Library Building, to build a 2 and ½ story frame dwelling on the south side of Oakland Avenue, between Paddock Road and Lincoln Avenue. Radford Architectural Co., architects. Cost \$4000." (*Western Architect & Builder* 1906). With these significant connections between Bond Hill founder, Henry Watkin, the Mercantile Library, and William Munson, it is a tempting hypothesis to suggest that the commuter suburb of Bond Hill was built by and for members of the Young Men's Mercantile Library, and that the activities of both the Library and Bond Hill were linked for many years after its founding. The young men of the Mercantile Library, "men of moderate means," with steady jobs and a new optimism for the future after the Civil War, may have sought to reestablish the society they envisioned with their friends and colleagues and with their new families in an idealistic spirit of "Co-operation." Alternately, it



Figure 30: William S. Munson's "constantly improved" 600-acre estate included extensive greenhouses, near Montgomery, Ohio in 1874 (R. Nelson, 104)



Figure 29: 1403 Laidlaw Ave., built 1865 by William Munson, predates the Cooperative by 5 years and is the oldest home in Bond Hill built by a Cooperative member. (Varady 2004)

may have simply been the case that the initial buyers into the Cooperative were the closest members in Munson and Watkin's social network. For example, one of the first homebuilders in the Cooperative was the artist, August Bepler, whose daughter, Emma Bepler, became a very successful woodcarver in the Art Academy workshops of Laura Watkin's father and brother, Henry and William Fry.⁴⁰ Charles A. Partridge was another friend of Henry Watkin. An active leader in the Spiritualist movement in New York, in the mid 1860s he appears to have moved to Cincinnati and found kindred spirits in Watkin's Bond Hill Cooperative.

Before discussing the events of the Cooperative in securing their parcel and beginning construction, however, we should describe the ambitions and philosophies of the Cooperative as reflected in their constitution, by-laws, and urban design. The main aspects of the Land and Building Association philosophy centered around temperance, and the Rochdale Principles of cooperationism; the Association's urban design reflected traditional late Victorian *morés*: sanitation, health, modesty and utility.

Ideals of Co-operation

The Rochdale cooperative was one of the earliest and best-known business cooperatives. The English Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers established their operating principles, the Rochdale Principles of Cooperation, on August 15, 1844.⁴¹ They formed the basis of cooperative values that were eventually disseminated throughout Britain, and, in the United States, after the Civil War, by English radicals like Henry Watkin. Many aspects of Bond Hill's cooperative building association indicate that it was organized according to the Rochdale Principles of Cooperation, especially the principle of political and religious neutrality.

The Rochdale Pioneer movement began in Rochdale, England, a town made famous for its manufacture of flannels. Increased mechanization in the production of textiles found the workers struggling to survive let alone maintain the standard of living that they had known as craftsmen (Thompson 1994). The writings of Robert Owen and William King (editor of *The Co-operator*, 1828-) had a strong influence on idealists among the weavers of Rochdale and between the 1830s and early 1840s different cooperative schemes were attempted but had failed because they could not amass enough capital. After these heartfelt efforts, in 1844,

⁴⁰ August Bepler and his family were known to be living in Mount Tusculum at the time. This house in Bond Hill may have been built for one of the Bepler children, possibly for Emma Bepler to live nearby fellow woodcarver and artist, Laura Ann Fry Watkin.

⁴¹ The seven principles in the historic framework of the Rochdale Pioneers Cooperative Movement were: Open Membership, Democratic Control (One Man, One Vote), Distribution of the surplus to the members in proportion to their transactions, Limited Interest on Capital, Political and Religious Neutrality, Cash Trading, and Promotion of Education (Birchall 1991).

a committee of members met and resolved to form the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers with a cooperative strategy and a set of principles that would prove not only successful, but also widely popular. In order to successfully reuse the needed capital, members bought a share in the cooperative, the cost of one pound to be paid in at least 3 pence a week. By 1869, the Society's cooperative was so successful they created a building association to provide housing for its members (Kumon 1999).

Many different perspectives from the Rochdale working class were represented among these founders. Some were members of previous cooperative ventures, others were well-read in King's periodical *The Co-operator*, some advocated Chartist (reform via universal suffrage) efforts, while others came from the Teetotaler movement (reform via abstinence from intoxicating drink). Still others were simply craftsmen desperate for a practical solution to their troubles. The fifth Rochdale Pioneer principle, "political and religious neutrality," was essential in consolidating the efforts and energies of members with such diverse ideals and motives.

The founders of the Cooperative Land and Building Association No.1 were men of divergent political and religious alliances. Hicks, Sailer and Sargent, were Episcopalian; Watkin, was a free-thinker, born to Baptist parents and married into a Swedenborgian family; little is known of Lowell Smith's leanings. Cooperationism offered all of them, however, a strategy to pool their energies, regardless of their particular social or political backgrounds in their philanthropic pursuit of developing new housing. The most significant example of the Cooperative's connection with the Rochdale principle of religious and political neutrality was manifested in the construction of the community's non-denominational church in 1875 (Patmor 1961). Non-denominational churches were commonly represented in cooperative communities in reflection of this principle (Kumon 1999).

Richard Nelson provides, perhaps, the best description of the cooperative's idealist nature in his survey of the village and its cooperative building association, in 1874:

Unlike most of the building associations in the vicinity of Cincinnati, *this is a building society in fact, as well as in name...* We commend Bond Hill [Co-operative Land and Building] Association to the attention of men of limited means, who contemplate settling in the near suburbs. The organization is a great improvement on those that preceded it, while the tendency of the union is, *to establish a species of brotherhood, that is alike advantageous in developing the finer feelings of humanity*, and building up a settlement which will reflect credit upon the founders. *Every member of this society seems interested in the general welfare of all*, and in the [rail] cars and in society, a favorite topic of conversation with "Bond Hill men," is their rapid transit to and from business, their society, their new buildings, of which they will soon have twice sixteen, their new hall, their suburbs, and their scenery (emphasis mine, Richard Nelson 1874, 21, 25).

Both the Fords' and S.B. Nelson's histories omit any mention of the Cooperative's socialist philosophy (Ford and Ford 1884, S.B. Nelson 1891). Most references simply paraphrase the Fords' description of the Cooperative's by-laws, requiring "dwellings to be erected in the center front from the sidewalk, and also prohibited the sale of intoxicants in the village" (Ford and Ford 1884, 343).



Figure 31: At the Schuetzenfest, along the Miami-Erie Canal in Ludlow Grove, 1898. Note the presence of everyone, including the two policemen, holding lagers. (St. Bernard 1925)

Temperance

At least three of the Cooperative's founders were proponents of the temperance movement and this was reflected in the Cooperative's Constitution and By-Laws forbidding the sale of liquor in the Village (R. Nelson 1874, Ford and Ford 1881). Episcopalians were passionate teetotalers, especially ones from nearby Cumminsville. Cooperative founders, David Hicks, J.P. Sailer, and Thomas Sargent, were vestrymen in the Episcopal Society of St. Peter and St. Phillip's churches in Cumminsville. In 1870, Cumminsville, an independent village suburb northwest of Cincinnati, was fiercely debating whether to enforce the Sunday Laws, i.e., the buying and selling of alcohol within its corporate limits (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, March 2nd 1871). This law was already in effect in Cincinnati.⁴² While these laws enjoyed support

⁴² This wryly written article from the August 21, 1871 edition of the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* illustrates the consequence of failure to obey the Sunday Laws: "A Hebrew Arrested, for Fracturing the Sabbath: David Billigheimer, a Jew, who keeps the "billiard saloon at Loewen Garden, after a diligent perusal of the Old Testament, and profound meditation upon the doctrines of the old dispensation, concluded that he was violating the laws of God and man by opening his rooms on Saturday. Accordingly, day before yesterday, he

among Protestant communities, ethnic Catholics in Cumminsville opposed both Sunday Laws and annexation (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, August 7th 1871). “Love to God is not expressed by rivalry and carousal, the cup of drunkenness and the song of the bacchanal...Sabbath-breaking and liquor-selling are prolific causes of crime and put a tax on every honest man...German infidels and Irish Catholics are bringing to this country the worst practices of the old country,” harangued Dr. W. H. French, pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church in the summer of 1871 (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* August 7th 1871). Meanwhile on that very day the second anniversary of the Cumminsville Turner Band was celebrated with beer, gymnastics, and cigars in Ludlow Grove, “a very appropriate address delivered by Dr. Sollheim of Cumminsville, in the German language upon the necessity of physical culture, which was warmly received and the speaker greeted with tumultuous applause,” (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, August 7th 1871).

Ludlow Grove, a picnic ground located just southwest of Bond Hill on the other side of the Miami-Erie Canal, just outside of the corporate limits of Cincinnati in Millcreek Township, was a place where temperance laws were unenforceable. “Being outside of the corporation [of Cumminsville], there were no Metropolitan Police present to molest or make them afraid by the enforcement of the Sunday Laws...” (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, June 5th 1871). Polite contemporary wording merely states that the Grove was “a popular Sunday ground” (Ford and Ford 1881). What they fail to mention, however, is obvious from a vintage photograph (see above) and a variety of newspaper articles (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, June 5th 1871, August 7th 1871). The reason why it was such a popular weekend retreat (besides being such a lovely creekside park) was that community celebrations could be engaged there with the company of alcohol. This was a feature taken advantage of by Cincinnati and Cumminsville’s German and Irish Catholics eager to escape their municipality’s Sunday Laws (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, articles, Suburban News – Ludlow Grove, 1871, 1872).

Health and Sanitation

In contrast with the dark, narrow, and stinking streets of the basin, Bond Hill’s wide streets were originally lined with fruit trees (R. Nelson 1874, Patmor 1961) and “secure[d]...from the miasmatic influences of Mill creek [sic] and its tributaries” (R. Nelson 1874, 24). In his survey of Bond Hill, Richard Nelson, asks the village physician, “utilitarian,” and Cooperative founder, Dr. Lowell H. Smith, about Bond Hill’s trees:

Shade and fruit trees are being planted along the streets —Yes, ‘fruit’ trees. Mr. [L.H.] Smith for instance, having a northern aspect for his front, says he does not need shade trees, and

locked up the balls and cues, closed the windows and barred his doors against the world of profanity and fracturers of the decalogue. But with the first streak of yesterday’s light he opened up every thing as wide as a church-door, so that all who wished to indulge in a billiardastic contest might have an opportunity. He was quietly, pulled in by the police officers and conducted at an animated pace to Bremen street Station-house, where he was released on \$80 bail to answer before the Police Court this morning.” (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* August 21st 1871).

being a utilitarian, is determined that his trees shall be producers. On our venturing an insinuation regarding *the boys*, he interrupted us by stating that Bond Hill boys didn't belong to *that class*. (Emphasis in original quote, R. Nelson 1874, p23.).

That Smith seems shocked by Nelson's "insinuation" that the children of "men of limited means" might steal the fruit from Bond Hill's trees reflects his passion as a patron, philanthropist, and social engineer. Smith clearly held Bond Hill's youth in the highest regard while dismissing the possibility of gleaning. Still, it is an odd comment; didn't Smith intend for the residents, both young and old, to glean or otherwise partake of the fruit along the village's right-of-ways? Either Smith meant that there was no crime in taking fruit from the trees or else he meant that every Bond Hillian had plenty of fruit in the trees in front of their own house, and thus had no need to reduce themselves to common thievery. In either case, the local physician was deeply concerned not only with the physical health of his cooperative, but also in their social health. The fruit trees were considered a productive commons available for all to enjoy.

Besides fruit trees, the Cooperative mandated uniform setbacks for new homes throughout the subdivision.

To secure complete ventilation in the town, the by-laws require houses to be erected on the center of each lot, and [set] fifteen feet back from the pavement. (R. Nelson 1874)

The urge to create uniform setbacks was becoming established urban design wisdom and a much-needed response to the sanitation needs desperately needed in downtown Cincinnati. According to the Cincinnati Board of Health (1878):

In 1871, there were, in the city of Cincinnati, 306 dwellings without water, 862 without yard space, 251 without privies, and 480 cellars used as dwelling places, and, in addition, 1,116 were found to be in bad sanitary condition.

In 1873, that dread plague, cholera, visited Cincinnati, and from June 14, to October 18, 207 persons died of the disease, of which number 142 were residents of tenement-houses and boarding houses, while but thirty-four died in private residences, the balance dying in the hospitals or their residences not ascertained.

An average of over 70 per cent of the deaths in the city occur in tenement houses and either of two things must be apparent: 1, that a vast majority of the people of the city live in tenement houses, or 2, the number of deaths in tenement houses are out of all proportion to their population. In either case every power of the law should be exerted to compel the owners of such property to keep it in the best possible sanitary condition, to prevent over a given number of persons being permitted to each tenement according to its size and surroundings, and above all to prevent the erection of such buildings, except upon plans approved by the board of health or other police authority, who should have full power to enforce obedience to their rules. The facts herein given must convince the most skeptical,

that from a sanitary point of view, these tenement houses are a standing menace to the health of the city, and no considerations of private property should be permitted to interfere with the strictest police regulations.

Two rooms, front or back, in the second, third, fourth, and even fifth story of a barracks, hemmed in on all sides but one, is the average home of the workingman in the Queen City of the West, and for these two rooms he pays an average rent in excess of the rent of four-roomed tenements in most of the towns and smaller cities of that State. (Cincinnati Board of Health 1878)

These reports of the Board of Health were brought to the attention of the literate public in annual publications through local newspapers in the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*. New subdivisions were designed with larger setbacks and open spaces, reflecting not only market demand, but also the intelligence supplied in these reports.

Modesty and Utility



Figure 32: Models 1 and 2, types offered by the Cooperative. On the left is 1335 Ryland Ave, built 1894 by Henry Watkin. (Sheppard 1981, Varady & Courtland 2004)

When the Cooperative was fully organized and began offering land to its shareholders in 1871, members were offered the choice of two basic two-story house designs by the association, each design accommodating one or two family dwellings (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 1871, R. Nelson 1874). In a December 17, 1870 article in the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, “all the houses erected by the association are of a uniform architecture, and will be put up under the direction of an old and experienced architect, who built some of the finest homes in Clifton, Avondale, &c.” The architect was the cooperative founder, Thomas

Sargent.⁴³ The slight differences in the designs resulted in attractive streetscapes still visible today in the Old Bond Hill Village Historic District. Richard Nelson also notes that of the two types of homes being built, Dr. Smith's home, with its northerly aspect, was of the less expensive models. Smith's choice reflected his belief in modesty and cooperation rather than the ostentation and individualism. This lack of ostentation was also reflected in the choice of architecture style and in the grid street layout. The Italianate style was, by the 1870s, considered to be old-fashioned, as was the imposition of a grid on the flat landscape of the Bond Hill areas rural dairy farms. Both the grid and the Italianate style contrast with the large sprawling villas and curvilinear street pattern of Glendale, established twenty years earlier.

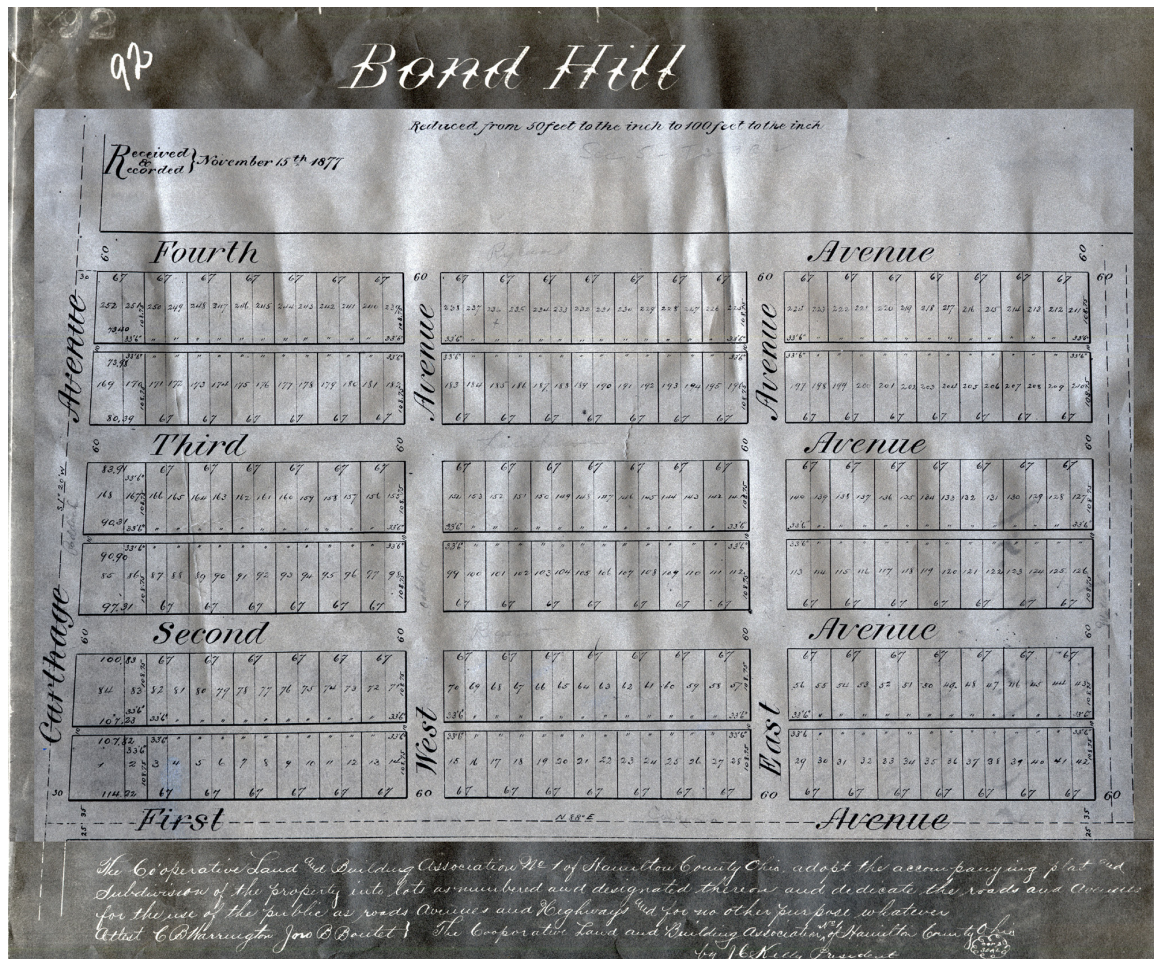


Figure 33: Subdivision Platt Map of Bond Hill, 1877 (Varady 2004, modified from original image)

⁴³ Sidney B. Maxwell in his book *Suburbs of Cincinnati* (1870) credits a "T. Sargent" with the design of the W. C. Neff house, "The Windings," on Lafayette Avenue in Clifton, (although according to Langsam the design is a mirror copy of the New York-based Anglo-American architect, Gervase Wheeler).

The Cooperative's street plan consisted of six streets and three alleyways; nine blocks arranged in a grid pattern (see figure 34).⁴⁴ The names of the streets were similarly austere. The North-South streets were named First (now California Avenue), Second (now Regent), Third (now Laidlaw Avenue), and Fourth Avenues (later Myrtle Street, now Ryland Avenue). The East-West streets were named East (now Oberlin) and West Avenues (now Oakdale). The section of Paddock Road bounding the subdivision to the west was renamed Carthage Avenue (not to be confused with Carthage Pike, late Spring Grove Avenue, or the Carthage Avenue which currently bounds Bond Hill and Norwood in the east). The far eastern boundary remained unnamed indicating the original platting was bound by farmland. Although a Town Hall was established early on, no town square or recognizable town center is evident in the Cooperative's Platt.

What determined the Cooperative's choice of housing type and street layout? One reason might be found in the By-Laws: that housing in Bond Hill would be for "men of limited means." Alternately, the modest street layout and choice of architectural style may have been a modification of the planner's original decision to build on a lot on the urban periphery of Cumminsville. The reason for the decision to build in the midst of nearly empty farmland in the Bond Hill area is not certain. When the Cooperative first incorporated November 10, 1870, its intention was to build in Cumminsville (*Enquirer* November 15th 1870). Cumminsville was home to David Hicks and Thomas Sargent, local philanthropists eager to create a temperance community there. But a mere 15 days after the incorporation, the Cooperative inexplicably changed its plans and decided instead to build across the Mill Creek Valley a couple of miles northeast. Possibly, the Bond Hill area may have been thought of as colloquially part of Cumminsville; residents often held their picnics and community events in nearby Ludlow Grove. Prior to 1840, before the Miami-Erie Canal was dug, there was no established boundary between the Bond Hill area and Ludlow Grove aside from the invisible parcel lines of John Ludlow's property. Whether the Cumminsville deal fell through at the last moment because Watkin was offered a better deal by someone with vast real estate and railroad connections like William Munson can only be suggested. The typology of the original Cumminsville location, however, may help to explain the choice of Italianate townhouse architecture, which, according to, Dr. Patrick Snadon, "seems out of place in a rural-suburban context" (Snadon 2004).

Acquiring the Site

Another cooperative land and building association began organizing in Cumminsville soon after the Cooperative changed its site to Bond Hill (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, January 19th

⁴⁴ It is unclear, however, whether this 1877 plat map reflects a new plan or formalized an existing plan that was being followed since 1871.

1871).⁴⁵ Between November 1870 and May 1871, the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* and the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* regularly printed copy from the Cooperative's press releases. (In these articles the terms, Cooperative and Association are used interchangeably).

They have obtained thirty-three acres... on which they propose to lay out four hundred lots, and erect thereon substantial single and double brick residences—the single houses each to contain four rooms, kitchen, cellar, &c., and to be provided with a cistern, outhouses, and necessary improvements, for which the purchaser will pay \$1000, in weekly installments, at the rate of \$2.50 per week. The double, or larger houses will contain eight rooms, with cellar, cistern, outhouses, &c., and will cost with lot \$2000, for which the purchaser, being a member of the association, will pay in weekly installments \$5.⁴⁶ The capital stock of the association is \$409,000, and we are informed that twenty members have already joined it and taken stock amounting to several thousand dollars.⁴⁷ The Association is regularly organized under a law of the States, and holds out extraordinary inducements to the poor man, or the man of small means, to secure a home in a very easy manner, by the payment of a small sum weekly at the regular meeting of the association. At the very point where the lands are located, it is expected that the Cincinnati and Springfield Railroad [the Short Line] will make a junction with the Marietta Railroad, that is, between the canal and the Reading Pike, thus making the enterprise more attractive than ever. (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, November 25th 1870).

The subscription list is fast being filled up, and the indications are that long before the time of expiration for subscriptions shall have arrived (first of the coming year), as set by the projectors, the entire number of shares (390) will be taken.... The constitution of the Association shows that the enterprise is utterly devoid of speculation, and indicates perfectly what the name imports—"co-operation." Each member derives all the advantages of the actual cost per acre without being compelled to pay a retail [illegible] profit. In addition, he obtains a house and lot for \$1000 which, in an ordinary transaction, would cost for less than \$1800 and his rent will pay for it in less than five years. (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* December 8th 1870).

The "Co-operative Land and Building Association, No. 1," is disposing of shares at the rate of about \$10,000 a day, and, by the first of the New Year, the entire capital stock of \$400,000 will all be taken. (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, December 17th 1870).

⁴⁵ It is unclear whether this cooperative is related to Cumminsville's Mutual Benefit Land and Building Association, a cooperative whose constitution and by-laws were published by Henry Watkin in 1874 (Mutual Benefit Land and Building Association 1874).

⁴⁶ \$2.50 in 1871 is comparable to \$37.40 in today's dollars (McCusker 2003). Thus, the monthly cost for the more modest of the two homes (\$10) would be about \$149 a month in our terms. It would take \$1059.33 a month in the year 2003 to hire the same amount of labor as \$10 a month in the year 1871 (David and Solar 1977).

⁴⁷ The capital stock of the Cooperative, \$409,000 would be worth in \$6,120,000 in today's dollars (McCusker 2003).

The [Co-operative] plan is entirely new here, but it is said to have been in operation successfully in Philadelphia, and to have greatly added to the growth of her suburbs. And, what is of infinitely greater importance, it has emancipated hundreds from the thralldom of living in overcrowded, unwholesome rented houses. (*Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, April 29th 1871).

Directors of the Cooperative (separate from the founding incorporators), were chosen by direct election on December 31, 1870 at Hicks' office. A little over a week later, on January 10, the newly elected directors reported that they had settled on the name of "Bond Hill" for their new community (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, January 10th 1871). In March, the Cooperative decided to reduce the total number of shares to 360, thereby reducing the number of lots available, to afford for wider streets than originally planned: "from 70 feet front by one hundred and ten deep to a ten foot alley" (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, March 8th 1871, April 6th 1871). Later that month, the Cooperative completed its first payment to John Ferris, owner of the largest parcel. Elections were once again held for new directors, reflecting the influx of new members over the intervening months (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, March 16th 1871).⁴⁸ The number of shares were further reduced from 360 to 250 at the next weekly meeting, to account for demand for larger lot sizes: "from 25 to 35 feet [for the smaller homes], and from 50 to 75 feet [for larger homes]" (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, March 22nd 1871, April 6th 1871). Of the 250 lots made available, 200 had been sold by March 22nd 1871, (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, March 22nd, 1871).

By April 1871, the Cooperative completed the purchase of John Ferris' land bordering Paddock Road, as well as small slivers of property from Henry C. Ferris and Henry Sudmeier's tracts to the east (see figure 20, map of northeastern Millcreek Township, 1865). The Cooperative's enterprise was so successful that they were reportedly offered \$30,000 cash for their original parcel by an unnamed party, for which they had only weeks earlier paid \$15,000 total (and in negotiated installments!) (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, April 6th, 1871). The cooperators could then and there have walked away with double their investment but instead chose to continue building their community where they planned. The Cooperative's parcel was indeed prime real estate. Located midway between Ross Run to the south and Bloody Run to the north and west, mostly flat with good drainage, it would likely have provided plenty of water in its cisterns (Philips, Map 1865, Nelson 1874). A little farther to the west ran the Miami-Erie Canal and to the south ran the newly completed, and much anticipated, Marietta-Cincinnati Railroad (1866).

⁴⁸ The 13 directors chosen were J. Rudolph (co-signer of the mortgage on Henry Ferris' deed), H.C. Denis, J.R. Wright, H.J. Snyder, H. Watkin, D. Hicks, T. Sargent, H.W. Knight, F. Smith, S. W. Morrow, S.C. Goodall, Wm. Stewart, senior, and E.G. Hillyer.

Curiously, before the Cooperative purchased their land from the Ferris family, the West End German Building Association had negotiated the sale of F. H. Helman's property, a parcel directly to the south of it. The German Building Association No. 4 had also secured the nearby land of Fred Broerman, as well. It may have been that William Munson had long been seeking to partner with a Building Association in order to sell neighboring land owned by the Marietta-Cincinnati Railroad. But until the establishment of Watkin's Cooperative, he had no success. There are some indications that show the two German building associations failed to develop their properties because, in contrast to Watkin's Cooperative, the two associations were speculating in real estate instead of actively developing it. Alternately, the Germans were perhaps put off by the Cooperative's temperance morés.⁴⁹ It wasn't until 1882 that the Helman property was subdivided and new homes built.

⁴⁹ With the introduction of these competing developers and new money, the values of the Cooperative ended up being challenged.

| MARIETTA & CINCINNATI RAILROAD,—LOCAL TIME TABLE. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------|---------------|----------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|--|
| May 10, 1874. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| LEAVES CINCINNATI. | | | | | ARRIVES AT CINCINNATI. | | | | | | | |
| Coz'd Acc | Lov'd Acc. | Lov'd Acc. | Hills. Acc. | Mail. | STATIONS. | Mail. | Hills. Acc. | Lov'd Acc. | Lov'd Acc. | Coz'd Acc. | Fast Line. | |
| P. M. | P. M. | A. M. | P. M. | A. M. | | P. M. | A. M. | A. M. | P. M. | A. M. | P. M. | |
| 6 20 | 5 10 | 10 00 | 3 45 | 5 50 | Cincinnati..... | 8 15 | 9 30 | 8 00 | 3 20 | 7 10 | 4 50 | |
| 6 34 | 5 24 | 10 12 | 3 57 | 6 02 | Brighton..... | 8 00 | 9 18 | 7 46 | 3 05 | 6 58 | ..... |  |
| 6 37 | 5 27 | 10 15 | 4 00 | 6 05 | Stock Yards..... | 7 56 | 9 15 | 7 43 | 3 02 | 6 55 | ..... |  |
| 6 40 | 5 30 | 10 19 | 4 04 | 6 08 | Cumminsville..... | 7 53 | 9 12 | 7 39 | 2 58 | 6 52 | 4 29 | |
| 6 45 | 5 35 | 10 24 | 4 09 | 6 12 | Spring Grove..... | 7 47 | 9 07 | 7 33 | 2 52 | 6 47 | ..... |  |
| 6 49 | 5 42 | 10 29 | 4 14 | 6 16 | Ludlow Grove..... | 7 41 | 9 03 | 7 27 | 2 48 | 6 41 | ..... |  |
| 6 53 | 5 47 | 10 33 | 4 18 | 6 20 | Bond Hill..... | 7 37 | 8 59 | 7 22 | 2 44 | 6 36 | ..... |  |
| 6 57 | 5 52 | 10 37 | 4 23 | 6 24 | Norwood..... | 7 33 | 8 55 | 7 18 | 2 41 | 6 32 | ..... |  |
| 7 01 | 5 56 | 10 41 | 4 28 | 6 28 | Oakley..... | 7 29 | 8 51 | 7 14 | 2 37 | 6 28 | 4 14 | |
| 7 05 | 6 00 | 10 45 | 4 33 | 6 32 | Madisonville..... | 7 24 | 8 46 | 7 09 | 2 33 | 6 20 | 4 10 | |
| 7 16 | 6 11 | 10 55 | 4 46 | 6 41 | Madeira..... | 7 13 | 8 38 | 7 01 | 2 25 | 6 10 | 4 03 | |
| 7 26 | 6 21 | 11 05 | 4 56 | 6 49 | Remington..... | 7 03 | 8 28 | 6 49 | 2 14 | 5 59 | ..... |  |
| 7 33 | 6 28 | 11 11 | 5 01 | 6 56 | Symmes..... | 6 58 | 8 23 | 6 40 | 2 07 | 5 52 | ..... |  |
| 7 43 | 6 38 | 11 17 | 5 08 | 7 04 | Loveland..... | 6 53 | 8 17 | 6 30 | 2 00 | 5 45 | 3 44 | |
| 8 05 | | | 5 31 | 7 24 | Cozaddale..... | 6 32 | 7 57 | | | 5 25 | ..... |  |
| | P. M. | A. M. | | | G & W. Pike..... | 6 25 | 7 50 | A. M. | P. M. | | | |
| P. M. | Arr. Lovela'd | | 5 47 | 7 41 | Level..... | 6 16 | 7 41 | Lve. Lovel'd | | A. M. | | |
| | | | 5 58 | 7 51 | Blanchester..... | 6 05 | 7 30 | | | | 3 06 | |
| | | | 7 10 | 10 25 | Hillsboro..... | 3 30 | 6 20 | | | | P. M. | |
| Coz'dale Arrive | | | P. M. | A. M. | | P. M. | A. M. | | | Leave Coz'dale | | |

Express Trains leave Cincinnati 9:00 A. M. and 9:30 P. M.

Figure 34: Marietta-Cincinnati Railroad time table (Nelson 1874)

A Railroad Suburb is Born

Every member of this society seems interested in the general welfare of all, and in the [rail] cars and in society, a favorite topic of conversation with “Bond Hill men,” is their rapid transit to and from business, their society, their new buildings, of which they will soon have twice sixteen, their new hall, their suburbs, and their scenery. (R. Nelson, 25)

Initial groundbreaking began in April of May of 1871 at the intersection of First Street and Carthage Avenue (California and Paddock) and continued north and east. Soon after ward, a post office, confectionary, stationary and cigar store began operating at the corner (Patmor 1961). A second business district formed near the center of the community along Second Street (Regent Aveue). In 1874, Anne Mears opened Bond Hill’s first grocery to serve “the community’s civic and sundry needs” (Singer 1971, 4).

Building materials came from surrounding properties; an early thrill for Bond Hill residents was when the skeleton of a mastodon was discovered at Henry Ruffner’s sand pit (Patmor 1961). Once dug, these pits filled with water and served the surrounding settlements as artificial lakes for summer bathing and winter ice making. Natural ice (for local use and

export) was also carved from nearby streams. Local ice production joined fruit orchards and dairy farming as one of Bond Hill's main rural industries (Patmor 1961). Dairy farming among the many German farmers in the area continued for many years, and locally produced ice cream could be had at the Berling Dairy along Paddock Road.

Most residents, however, commuted to jobs downtown and this orientation was reflected in Bond Hill's urban design. While other communities like St. Bernard, Norwood, and Carthage had centrally oriented main streets and squares, evident in the Cooperative plat map of 1877, is the lack of any designated town center. James H. Murray, superintendent of the cooperative, worked downtown as a steamboat painter. Downtown was also the daily destination of Watkin, and Hicks (Williams' street guide 1874). Evidence of Bond Hill's downtown orientation can be found in Richard Nelson's description of Bond Hill society: "a favorite topic of conversation with 'Bond Hill men,' is their rapid transit to and from business" (R. Nelson 1874, 25). Bond Hill was a commuter suburb of Cincinnati connected by the Cincinnati-Marietta intra-urban rail line. By 1874, a Bond Hill Railroad Station at Spencer Avenue⁵⁰ was constructed on the Marietta-Cincinnati line, and for \$5 a month, commuters could be whisked to and from downtown and northeastward to more distant suburbs. Patmor indicates that some of this commuter traffic was intra-suburban, generated by high school students from Bond Hill attending school in Madisonville (Patmor 1961).



Figure 35: Bond Hill Brass Band 1909. Top Row: H. McDonald, A. Holters, A. Kaufold, E. Wachendorf, R. Wisser. Middle Row: Ed Brendel, Ed Pettit, R. Thompson, R. Ellis, A. Maish, J. Bridg. Bottom Row: R. Sommer, J. McDonald, S. Woodward, W. Sommer, W. Keene." (Singer 1970)

One indication of the excitement that the new community of Bond Hill engendered should be noted. As was previously mentioned, in 1871, the first baby was born and was named Bond Hill by his parents Henry C. Denis and Cecelia Erhart Denis.⁵¹ The first residents of

⁵⁰ Spencer Avenue no longer exists but it is visible on Robinson's City atlas in 1884. Before Paddock Road was lengthened to connect Reading Road to Tennessee Avenue in 1893, Spencer ran north-south connecting Bond Hill with North Avondale (Robinson 1884). Indeed, from 1870 to 1875 the station stop was listed as Avondale Station in the Cincinnati-Marietta railroad's advertisements in the Williams' Street Directory. Avondale residents would walk up Spencer Avenue to Bond Hill to catch the train to downtown Cincinnati.

⁵¹ Henry C. Denis was also one of the 13 directors of the Cooperative, elected in April 1871.

Bond Hill were a diverse group including French-Americans, like the Denis family, Irish, Germans, and the descendents of local residents, Huffmans, Minshalls, and Ruffners. Patmor indicates that at least one black family lived nearby, in the Paddock Hills area (Patmor 1961) and may have worked in Bond Hill.

By 1874, 32 homes had been built by the Cooperative Land and Building Association. That same year, Richard Nelson reported that no more stock in the Cooperative was available for purchase (R. Nelson 1874), indicating that all lots had been sold and the Cooperative had achieved a full roster of members. In four short years, the cooperative was full. The initial capital expense by the founders had quickly multiplied and was ready for immediate reinvestment. Members of the cooperative incorporated the Bond Hill Hall Company and began building a town hall and opera house in 1875.⁵² The Town Hall reportedly had a basement jail, but no accounts indicate the presence or need for neighborhood policemen. A Sunday school was formed in 1874, and the Bond Hill Circle, a literary society, met regularly and contributed to the neighborhood's first community library. The Bond Hill String Band (later the Bond Hill Brass Band) performed regularly in Bond Hill, Elmwood Place, and other nearby communities. In 1875, Bond Hill had 100 inhabitants (Kenney 1875, 17).



Figure 36: Bond Hill Town Hall, built 1875, demolished 1904. photo circa 1901 (Courtesy of Bond Hill Community Council)

On November 7, 1875, Bond Hill's Presbyterian church was dedicated (S.B. Nelson 1891). But significantly, according to George Patmor's oral history, the Presbyterian Church on the corner of Paddock and California, was not the first church established in Bond Hill. Patmor indicates that the first church was originally intended as a non-denominational church for the entire community. The energies of many residents from different denominations in nearby communities, including Patmor's father in St. Bernard, had contributed to its building (Patmor 1961).

The first church built here was a frame one, and was located on the lot now south of the Presbyterian Church. It was built to be used as a community church; any denomination was to have the use of it. The carpenter work, plastering, and other trade work was donated by

⁵² Incorporators of the Bond Hill Hall Company were members of the Cooperative: Charles A. Partridge, John Ferris, James H. Murray, Henry C. Denis, and James C. Kelly.

the men of these trades in Bond Hill and one or two from surrounding villages. (Patmor 1961, Appendix 4)

It appears likely that the original church was Swedenborgian, embracing the non-sectarian spirit of Rochdale Pioneer cooperativism. As cooperationists of many denominations built it, by either official agreement or common understanding the new building was established as a commons. But as will be discussed later in more detail, this church was not to survive for long. S. B. Nelson in his 1891 *History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County* indicates that soon after the non-denominational church's founding, that the "Bond Hill Presbyterian Church was organized by a presbyterial committee composed of Rev. E. H. Camp, Rev. E.D. Ledyard, and Theophilus Wilson" (S.B. Nelson 1891).⁵³ Presbyterian churches were establishing themselves in many of the new Millcreek Valley suburbs in the 1870s including Ludlow Grove and Elmwood Place. The history of the non-denominational and Presbyterian churches in Bond Hill reflects the demographic and cultural transition of the Bond Hill community in the 1870s. With the influx of new residents, the progressive spirit and universalist ideals of Bond Hill's founders were eclipsed.

Cooperative Schism

By 1880, the Cooperative and the small Bond Hill community weathered a schism that divided the community along sectarian lines. A review of the cooperative principles of political and religious neutrality and that of voluntary membership in Rochdale cooperatives helps to elucidate the largely undocumented schism. While cooperationism was an extraordinarily successful strategy for organizing diverse energies to reach a common goal, it was also especially vulnerable to dissent from within. In 1869, two groups of conservative-minded members split off from the main Rochdale Society to form their own cooperative associations. The ability of these groups to secede from the main society exemplified the exercise of the cooperationist principle of *voluntary association*.

Sectarianism is at all times the bane of public unity. Without toleration of all opinion, popular co-operation is impossible...[A foundation of cooperation is] that every member shall have full liberty to speak his sentiments on *all subjects* when brought before the meetings at a proper time, and in a proper manner; *and all subjects shall be legitimate when properly proposed*. (Holyoake 1918, 20).

Co-operation is a voluntary act, and all the power in the world cannot make it compulsory; nor is it desirable that it should depend on any power but its own. For if Co-operation (as seems likely) be the form which the greater part of the world is destined to assume, the interference of governments would only cramp its energies and misdirect them. (Birchall 1994, 28).

⁵³ Wilson had just a few years earlier organized a Sunday school in Ludlow Grove, which later became the Ludlow Grove Presbyterian Church (S.B. Nelson 1891).

Hence people cannot be forced to join a cooperative and they must be free to leave a cooperative (subject to reasonable rules that protect the interests of the organization). For example, the early rules of the Rochdale cooperative allowed a member in times of distress to sell all their shares except for one. (Holyoake 1918, 20).

The early members of the English Rochdale Pioneers Cooperative came from a wide variety of political inclinations (Chartism, Owenism, Temperance) and religious beliefs (Catholicism, Swedenborgianism, Unitarianism, and Protestantism). Many members were radicals, and so tolerance of a variety of opinions was essential for the organization to function at all. The same was true for the Cooperative society in Bond Hill. (The differences among the founders of the Cooperative were discussed earlier). Among the first residents of Bond Hill, Methodist, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Catholics all shared a common non-denominational church, a common feature of cooperative built communities.

Patmor's oral history describes a similar split but over sectarian differences occurring in young Bond Hill community following the unilateral appropriation of the non-denominational church by Presbyterians.

Only a few years after it was built, the Presbyterians became very strong in number and it became a Presbyterian Church. This caused some dissension. The new Presbyterian Church was built at the corner next to the old church, southwest corner of Paddock and California Avenue in 1889. The old church was torn down and the lot cleared. (Patmor 1961, Appendix 4).

As detailed above, while Presbyterians had founded the church, laborers and craftsmen of different faiths supplied their energy and expertise in the new church's construction, a building that, according to Patmor, was widely understood by the community to be non-denominational. By taking the church as their own, the Presbyterian community transgressed a basic principle of the Bond Hill cooperative and that of the surrounding community's good will (Patmor 1961).

Disease and Depression

Throughout the 1870s, despite Bond Hill's building code, cholera, typhoid fever, and other water born illnesses plagued the small village. Although, no first hand account of the effect of these epidemics on the community can be found, we can only imagine that for those who had sought the health and safety of suburban living; their failure to escape these illnesses was profoundly demoralizing. In the summer of 1874, Matilda Murray and her husband, James Murray, superintendent of the Cooperative, lost their twin infants, Edna and Archie Lee, to cholera (Spring Grove Burial Records 1874, 1878). But perhaps even worse than the death of Bond Hill's children were the passing of young active men like Charles E. Rose, dead at

the age of 24 from typhoid fever. The deaths of young cooperators may have weakened the Cooperative at a critical junction in its political history.

But besides these terrible losses, the most difficult challenge to the new community and the financial success of the Cooperative and its members was the Long Depression. From the early 1870s until the mid-1890s, the Long Depression afflicted much of the world. The origins of the Long Depression continue to be debated among economic historians but the most immediate and probable cause was the collapse of the Vienna Stock Exchange, May 9, 1873. Huge reparations payments demanded by Germany to France at the culmination of the Franco-Prussian War, caused the French economy to buckle and this in turn created a chain reaction of financial distress. Meanwhile, agitating these already stressed circumstances, a world shortage of gold was helping to undermine the gold standard then in use, and the Second Industrial Revolution was causing large shifts in the economy of many nations.

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Murray, Archie Lee | | No. | 26233 |
| Place of Birth | Bond Hill, Ham.Co.O. | | |
| Late Residence | Do. | | |
| Age-Birth Date | Jan. 3, 1874 | Decease | July 17, 1874 |
| Public Vault | | Interment | July 18, 1874 4 P.M. |
| Disease | Cholera Infantum | | |
| Parent's Names | Jas. H. & Matilda W. Murray | | |
| Lot Owner | Jas. H. Murray | Sec. | 53 |
| Size and Kind of Grave | Box--3'2" x 16" | | Lot 15 |
| Undertaker | Estep & Meyer | | |
| Ordered by | Jas. H. Murray | | |
| Place of Death | Bond Hill | | |
| Single-Married-Widowed | Married | Relation to Owner | |
| Charges | \$24 | | |
| Removed | | | |
| Murray, Edna Lee | | | |
| | | No. | 26221 |
| Place of Birth | Near Bond Hill | | |
| Late Residence | Do. | | |
| Age-Birth Date | Jan. 3, 1874 | Decease | July 14, 1874 |
| Public Vault | | Interment | July 15, 1874 4 P.M. |
| Disease | Summer Complaint | | |
| Parent's Names | Jas. H. & Matilda W. Murray | | |
| Lot Owner | Jas. H. Murray | Sec. | 53 |
| Size and Kind of Grave | Box--3'2" x 16" | | Lot 15 |
| Undertaker | Estep & Meyer | | |
| Ordered by | Jas. H. Murray | | |
| Place of Death | Near Bond Hill | | |
| Single-Married-Widowed | Married | Relation to Owner | |
| Charges | \$24 | | |
| Removed | | | |
| Rose, Chas. E. | | | |
| | | No. | 31272 |
| Place of Birth | Millcreek Tp | | |
| Late Residence | Do. | | |
| Age-Birth Date | 24 yrs. | Decease | July 11, 1878 |
| Public Vault | | Interment | July 14, 1878 |
| Disease | Typhoid fever | | |
| Parent's Names | F.M. & Mary Ann Rose | | |
| Lot Owner | John Huffmann | Sec. | 39 |
| Size and Kind of Grave | 7' x 26" | | Lot 210 |
| Undertaker | C.A. Miller | | |
| Ordered by | Geo. M. Rose | | |
| Place of Death | Millcreek Tp. | | |
| Single-Married-Widowed | Married | Relation to Owner | |
| Charges | Grave \$44 | | |
| Removed | | | |

Figure 37: Burial Records of the Murray twins and Charles E. Rose (Spring Grove Cemetery 2003)

The effects of these global economic upheavals were felt directly by the members of the Cooperative operating closest to the financial markets, especially wealthy benefactors like William Sellew Munson. The Sellew family made their fortune as iron-merchants. *The Munson Record*, a genealogy of the family, indicates that the Sellses "previously to the reverses of 1875... were ranked among [Cincinnati's] wealthiest Citizens" (Munson 1895, 2:720). The effect of the depression on Henry Watkin is not known completely but letters between him and Hearn from this period suggest Watkin was impoverished. In the 1880 census, Henry Watkin's wife, Laura, and 23-year-old daughter, Effie, are shown to be boarding with the family of Alfred Hodge in Kansas City, Missouri. In seeking new business opportunities out west, Watkin may have contacted his old partner, Charles M. Stebbins, for help, and sent his daughter and wife to investigate new living arrangements. It is possible that Effie remained unmarried due to the incredible financial difficulties of the Watkin family during this period. Alternately, the success of Laura Watkin's father and brother's

woodcarving and furniture school at the McMicken School of Design, may have kept the family afloat through the difficult years.

The stresses of the Depression and the sectarian strife may have helped to cause not only the church between the Presbyterians and the other Bond Hill residents, but also conflicts within the leadership of the Cooperative itself. Beginning in 1882, another building association formed, and officially incorporated with capital stock amounting to \$500,000 in May of 1884 (Articles of Incorporation 1884). This organization, the Bond Hill Building Association Company, was formed with the support at least one former Cooperative member, Charles A. Partridge, and the funding of Cincinnati banker, Oliver L. Perin.⁵⁴ Perin helped to found a number of early Bond Hill institutions: the incorporated Village of Bond Hill (1886), the Methodist Episcopal Church (1889), the Bond Hill Civic Association (1892), and the local Knights of Pythias lodge, a fraternal organization. The lodge was so popular and intertwined in the Bond Hill Building Association and village politics that it established its offices in the rear of the Town Hall. Other local fraternal organizations included the United Ancient Order of Druids and the

Improved Order of Red Men. Fraternal groups like these established the close-knit social and business networks helpful to their members, as well as a social safety net providing some insurance to their members in case of injury. But the organizing principles of these groups were not at all transparent, contrasting significantly with the principles of the Cooperative.

The exact date of the schism is unknown but the year might be suggested in a letter written by Henry Watkin to Lafcadio Hearn. On September 10, 1882, Watkin wrote to Hearn that he thought of taking a rest in Tampa, Florida “and possibly also to look around and see what the business prospects were” (Bronner 1908). This is an odd statement coming from a man who had just a few years earlier served as vice president of the Cooperative. The letter seems



Figure 38: Knights of Pythias meeting hall in rear of the Bond Hill Town Hall, Oakdale and California Avenues. (Courtesy of Bond Hill Community Council 2004)

⁵⁴ Perin was a banker with the Fifth-Third Union Trust Company, now Fifth-Third Bank. A portrait of him was reportedly hung at their corporate offices but this could not be located in time for this publication (*Cincinnati Enquirer* December 19th 1951). The Fifth Third Union Trust Company was created in the 1930s by a merger of three separate banks: the Third National Bank, the Fifth National Bank, and the Union Trust Company. The banks ran into trouble during the Depression of the 1930s; their merger was predicated on their mutual self-preservation. At a later date, the name was changed to Fifth Third Bank (Manley 2004). Other founding members included A. E. Brigg, Charles Hunt, and Henry Broerman (Articles of Incorporation: Bond Hill Building Association Company 1884).

to indicate Watkin's withdrawal from the project in the year that Oliver L. Perin began incorporating his Bond Hill Building Association.

What else may have caused the eclipse of the Cooperative's organization? When F.H. Helman's land just south of the Cooperative was developed, it allowed housing styles other than the two styles set down by the Cooperative (Wachendorf 1935). Additionally, a reading of the Fords' histories, Patmor's anecdotes, and the constitution and by-laws of other cooperatives and building associations, indicates that other building associations in the 1870s had no temperance provisions which might have affected the popularity of the Cooperative's established temperance rules, especially in proximity to Ludlow Grove, famous for its outstanding German beer parties (see figure 32). For long time residents of the area, like 5-Mile House saloon proprietor, Henry H. Macke, alcohol was as familiar a part of their lives as air and water (Ford and Ford, 419). Furthermore, the culture of the teetotalling cooperative would have struck them as an alien occupation in their midst. Furthermore, the influx of new middle-income residents to the area in the 1880s were ignorant and without any understanding or disposition to Cooperative principles.

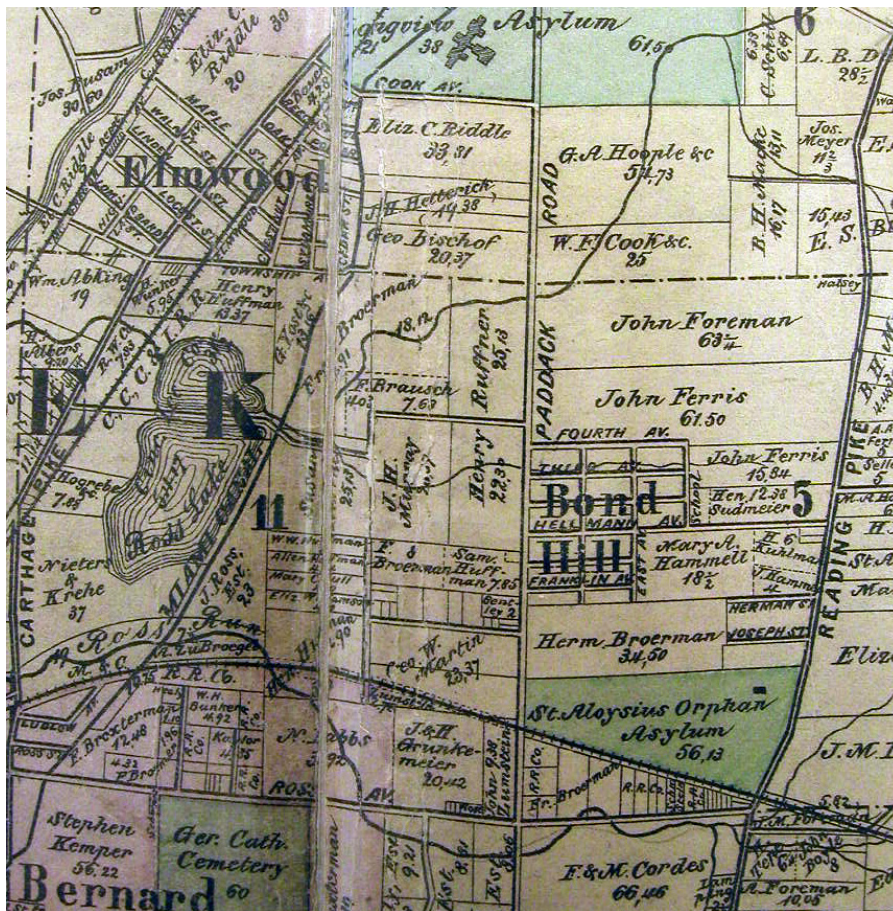


Figure 39:
Bond Hill
(Moessinger
1884)

The subdivision of Helman's parcel by the Bond Hill Building Association also weakened the Cooperative's hand. From the meeting minutes of the early unincorporated village of Bond Hill in 1884, it is clear that by the early 1880s political power had shifted in favor of the Bond Hill Building Association and away from the Cooperative. This shift was reflected in neighborhood histories, told and retold over the next 100 years: "Bond Hill didn't really grow until the early 1880s when F. H. Helman's subdivision [was made]" (Patmor 1961, see Appendix 4) and "For the first fifteen years there were very few homes built, and then came five years of noticeable expansion" (Wachendorf 1935, see Appendix 5). The socialist ideals and accomplishments of the Cooperative's founders were minimized and then forgotten.⁵⁵

Environment, Economy and Recreation

In 1877, a formal plat of the unincorporated village was published (see figure 34). The publication of the plat, seven years after the village was laid out, likely reflected the beginning of the process towards formal incorporation of the municipality. Bond Hill was formally incorporated as a Village in 1886. By June 1880 the village consisted of only 896 persons (Ford 1881). After the development of Helman's property and Henry Ruffner's land west of Paddock Avenue, the population increased by only 200 and remained stable until the 1920s. However prescient the Cooperative was in locating its community close to the junction of well-established transportation routes, they failed to secure the open space of the surrounding farmlands, tributaries, and canal from future development. And these open spaces were clearly enjoyed by the first generation of children in Bond Hill. Eva McGrew-Graff's poem, cited in the introduction, speaks of the trees and

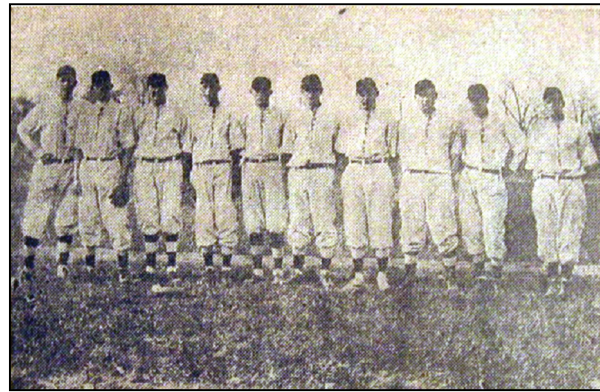


Figure 40: The Bond Hill Athletics 1913-1914, at Macke's field. Macke founded the team in 1895. (*Cincinnati Times-Star* 1945; Certificate of Incorporation 1895)

⁵⁵ The little knowledge of the Cooperative which survived until 1944 is revealed in this cheeky article appearing in the *Cincinnati Times-Star* December 6 of that year: "Bond Hill, according to one of Cincinnati's histories, began its existence with a name of 17 syllables. It was this: 'Co-operative Land and Building Association Number One.' Seventeen syllables! Count 'em. Only Germany or Wales, noted for polysyllabic names, could hope to equal this. The suburb was founded and chartered in 1870 by a group of Cincinnatians who wanted homes 'out in the country.' They were inclined to having brick homes, solidly built. Many of these structures today in Bond Hill are testimonials to the careful builder's art. The founders liked trees. Bond Hill continues the tradition of shaded streets. In February, 1871, the project with the multisyllable [sic] name was organized and was amazingly successful. Visitors fell in love with the quiet, tree-lined streets, the lawns, the substantial brick homes. They became renters, or builders, or buyers of homes. The project with the seven word, 17-syllable title had begun well as a planned community and thereby won success from the start..." (*Cincinnati Times-Star* December 6th 1944).

rills and creeks in which they played. Patmor's history is replete with references to recreational assets now long lost, like the artificial lakes next to the canal, as well as the canal itself.

According to Patmor, three artificial lakes (Willow, Chester, and Ross, seen prominently in Moessinger's 1886 map, figure 37) and a canal-loading zone called "Broxterman's Basin" were located adjacent to the Miami-Erie Canal in western Bond Hill. The area served as an important informal recreational area for swimming, canoeing, and hunting. The Canoe Club and Club House was established there, an extremely popular country club for Cincinnati's elite (Patmor 1961, Singer 1971). The area's recreational use continued after the Cincinnati Ice and Fuel Company icehouses burnt down in the 1890s (Patmor 1961, Singer 1971). The short-lived ice industry failed with the invention ice-making automated machinery (Singer 1971).



Figure 41: Miami-Erie Canal and Tow Path at Murray Road, Bond Hill, c1890 (Ludwig 1921)

The loss of incentive for natural ice production led to the loss of the recreational areas and the riparian buffer along the canal. The lakes were drained despite their enormous value to Bond Hill both young and old. But from this date onwards, industrial usage of the area continued to evolve and now dominates the area west of Paddock Road into the Mill Creek Valley floodplain. The proximity of available transportation networks (the Miami-Erie

Canal, the Mill Creek, and the Cincinnati-Marietta railroad) made this area as attractive to industry as it did elsewhere along the Mill Creek.



Figure 42: Myrtle Avenue (later Regent) seen looking east from Paddock Avenue. c1900 (The Memory Project 2003)

In 1892, the Bond Hill Civic Association was formed and established a number of committees dedicated to improving Bond Hill. The original five committees announced by R.C. Champlin, the first president of the Civic Association were rapid transit, water supply, legislation, light, fire protection, sewers, sidewalks, tree plantings and “general improvements” (Bond Hill Civic Association September 27th 1892). The Civic Association negotiated with the B&O Railroad, contracted with electrical utilities, and in 1893 planted between 400 and 500 new trees along Bond Hill’s avenues (see figure 44, Myrtle Avenue). Later “topping” practices by Cincinnati Gas & Electric killed these trees (Patmor 1961).

Symbols of the Decline in Bond Hill’s Young Spirit

In the summer of 1887, the boy whose name signified the optimism of the young suburbs first residents, fifteen-year-old Bond Hill Denis, drowned in Broxterman’s Basin (Patmor

1961).⁵⁶ The loss of the Village's non-denominational church, the growth of elitism in a neighborhood founded on "creating homes for men of limited means," and the drowning B.H. Denis, seemed to signal the end of an age of innocence for the community.

| | | |
|--|--|-------------------------------|
| Dennis, Bond Hill | | No. 44397 |
| Place of Birth | Bond Hill, Ohio | |
| Late Residence | Do. | |
| Age—Birth Date | 15 yrs. | Decease July 5, 1887 |
| Public Vault | | Interment July 8, 1887 |
| Disease | Drowned | 11 AM |
| Parent's Names | | |
| Lot Owner | S.S. Clark | Sec. 36 Lot. 43 |
| Size and Kind of Grave | Box 5'9" x 20in. | |
| Undertaker | Estep & Meyer | |
| Ordered by | S.A. Robinson & order & del'd | |
| Place of Death | Bond Hill Ohio | by him |
| Single—Married—Widowed—Relation to Owner | XXXXXXX | x |
| Charges | Grave \$6 | |
| Removed | | |

Figure 43: Spring Grove Cemetery Burial Record of Bond Hill Denis (Spring Grove 2003)

The trail that originally served as a footpath for residents between St. Bernard and Bond's Mill became a railway devoid of its former natural beauty. In the 1880s, the Cincinnati-Marietta railroad merged with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company. Meandering along its route, the train occasionally hit and killed Bond Hillians walking along its tracks to neighboring communities (Patmor 1961). But there was an even more ominous challenge to the cooperative founders vision' that lay ahead.

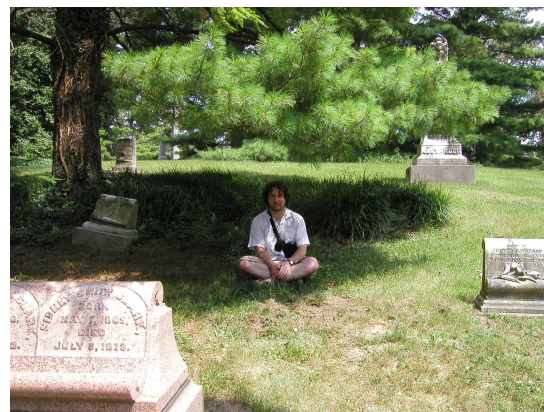


Figure 44: Bond Hill Denis' grave, marked by author, Section 36, Lot 43. (Varady 2003)

Watkin and his associates believed that Bond Hill's location was particularly excellent because its elevation "secure[d] the town from the miasmatic influences of Mill creek and its tributaries" (R. Nelson 1874, 24). The greenbelt encircling Bond Hill, with its pear and apple orchards, dairy farms, canal greenway and towpath, was to be replaced with highways,

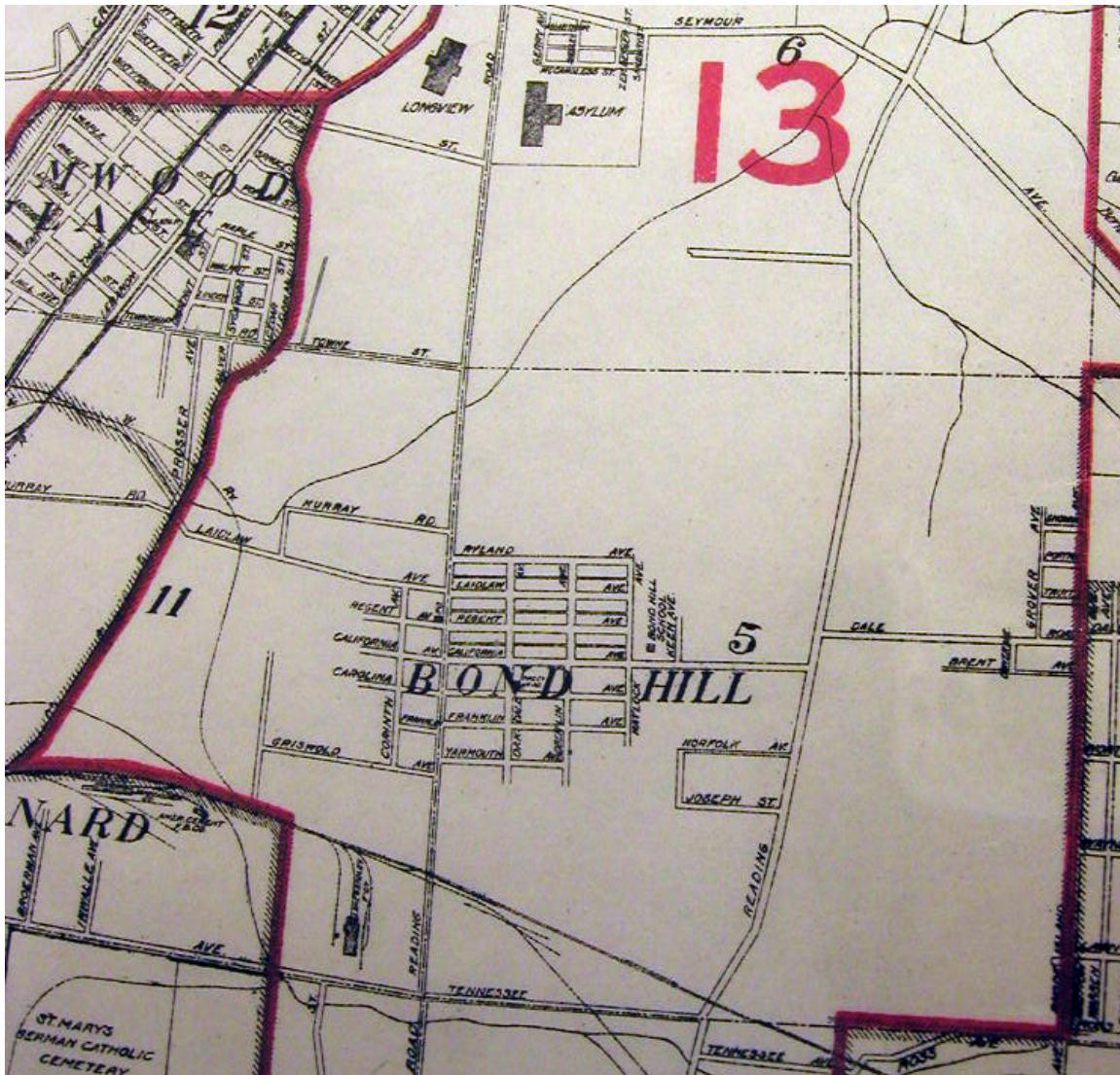
⁵⁶ Perhaps coincidentally, the graves of Bond Hill Denis, his family, and those of other early Bond Hill residents, rest just south of William Key Bond's plot in section 36 of Spring Grove cemetery. If a more direct connection could be made between William Key Bond and the Bond Hill area, then this might serve as something more than circumstantial evidence of the origin of the neighborhood's place name.

chemical plants, and heavy industry, and with these new neighbors, the periodic arrival of mysterious foul odors of indeterminate origin.⁵⁷ With the development of the Ludlow Grove area and Ivorydale in the mid-1880s and 1890s the lands surrounding the village soon lost their earlier appeal and it was not long before the artificial lakes in the Bond Hill area were drained and the land sold. Industrial use replaced recreational use as the factories of Westinghouse and the M. Werk Company were constructed on the flat drained lake bottoms.

Changes due to roadwork along Paddock Road also affected the financial strength of the independent village and indirectly led to further loss of greenspace south of Bond Hill. During a road-widening project of Carthage Avenue (Paddock Road), local landowner's fields and pear orchard were flooded when a culvert running underneath the road was blocked. The landowner, George Martin, a wealthy Cincinnati hotel owner and local pear orchard farmer, was also angered that the village had taken advantage of the county's road widening project to begin installing public sidewalks along Paddock outside of the municipal boundaries of the village. Without informing Martin, the village removed the hedge to make way for the sidewalk (Patmor 1961). In *George W. Martin vs. Village of Bond Hill* (First Circuit Court, Hamilton County, 1893) Martin sued and won three civil cases against the Village. The suit financially beleaguered the small village government. But the financial consequences were slight compared to the long-term repercussions on the accessibility of pastoral green space in Bond Hill. Before the suit, Martin had intended to bequeath his orchards to the Village upon his death on the condition it be used "for park purposes only" (Patmor 1961). After the suit, Martin struck the land out of his will. When George Martin died in 1929, the twenty acres of landscaped gardens and orchards east of Paddock were bulldozed and the chemicals factory of the Diamond Alkali Company built. The Bond Hill community objected but their concerns went unanswered. Today the site of Martin's pear orchards is the site of Occidental Chemical (formerly the Davidson Chemical Company, Singer 1971).

⁵⁷ Ludlow Grove suffered an even more ignominious fate. St. Bernard, including the Ludlow Grove area just west of the Miami-Erie Canal, was drastically changed in the mid-1880s. In 1885, Procter & Gamble and the Emery Candle Company moved north from downtown to the Grove, settling on the spot of the former nationally famous 1850 Exhibition Grounds and Trotting Course. Renamed Ivorydale, the three companies located in the former picnic area to make use of the large acreage, and accessible water and rail transportation systems. In 1893, Ivorydale was annexed to St. Bernard at the request of P&G. Many chemical, lumber, and fertilizer works moved to St. Bernard within the next two decades including Globe Soap (1907) and M. Werk (1913). On the other hand, such development enabled St. Bernard's population grew five-fold between 1880 and 1920 enabling it to become the "Second City" in Hamilton County in 1912 (Hamilton County Historical Survey, St. Bernard, 1991).

Chapter 4: Post-Annexation, 1903-1964



Industrial Expansion and Housing Boom, 1903-1942

Figure 45: Bond Hill after annexation, Northern Ward 13 (Stewart 1914)

The lack of a powerful industrial tax base in the village meant that the costs of capital infrastructural improvements (such as sewer, water, electrical, gas, and road repair) were levied exclusively on Bond Hill residents. But after the suit with George Martin, the Village had no money for the kinds of improvements enjoyed by their neighbors in Cincinnati, namely connection to the gas, electric, and water grid. Like Elmwood Place to the west and Hartwell to the north, Bond Hill's residents looked forward to becoming part of the larger city and its commonweal (Hamilton County Research Foundation, 1955, see appendix 8). The annexation of Bond Hill was part of a larger strategy of the City of Cincinnati to annex its outlying suburbs and was furthered in the

1900s though a strategy of withholding and promising these infrastructural improvements. The technique was described in *The Story of Annexation*, an analysis of annexation strategies by Hamilton County in 1955:

After 1902 the City again had to rely on a favorable vote in the outlying community to secure annexation. Consequently, the City began to stress service advantages, such as water and cheaper streetcar fares, as inducements to annexation. The City adopted a policy (allowing for some previously existing exceptions) of not providing water service to areas outside the City. Only a few of the suburban communities had any water service at that time; most of the residents had their own private wells. Very few of the outlying communities, poorly financed in most cases, could have undertaken the expense of building water systems. The transportation problem was equally difficult for the suburbs. The traction companies dealt separately with each town through which the tracks passed, and the outlying communities were unable to agree among themselves or with the companies on fares, schedules, and related matters. Cincinnati, which had an ordinance providing for five-cent fares throughout the City, presented the only hope of a united front.

A campaign of civic-minded businessmen; the City's policy of withholding water service; and the desire of the suburbanites to secure five-cent streetcar fares resulted in the annexation of seventeen cities and villages between 1903 and 1914. Most of the businessmen and their organizations -- the Industrial Bureau, the Businessmen's Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Federated Improvements Association -- supported annexation through public statements, newspaper releases, their own publications and, no doubt, through unrecorded political dealings (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, Feb. 19, 1910).

As a result of these activities a number of the communities, particularly the down-river villages and Millcreek township (unincorporated) even sought annexation for the additional purpose of solving their otherwise impossible financial problems. The citizens of Hyde Park, Winton Place, Evanston, Bond Hill, California, Delhi, Mt. Washington, Mt. Airy, Saylor Park, College Hill, Madisonville, Carthage, Hartwell, Pleasant Ridge, Fernbank, Oakley, and Kennedy Heights -- all independent municipalities --voted to join Cincinnati. In addition, the City annexed 11.2 square miles of unincorporated territory during the same period. So eager were some of the suburbanites for annexation that they annexed to their own villages long strips of land making the villages adjacent to Cincinnati and therefore eligible for annexation, although Elmwood Place and, by an almost unanimous vote (509 to 10), Cheviot decided to go it alone, more or less. Cheviot had been receiving city water without annexing. (*The Story of Annexation* 1955, See Appendix 8).

Bond Hill was an attractive morsel within the hungry gaze of an engorging and expanding Cincinnati. While St. Bernard and Norwood could successfully fight annexation propositions from Mayor George "Boss" Cox's machine with the power of its native industries and economy, Bond Hill willingly did not. Only a few protested when the matter was put to a vote, and in November 1903, Bond Hill was annexed along with Evanston, Winton Place, and Hyde Park.

Besides the political reorientation, the area remained largely rural for the next twenty years. But politics mattered. While Bond Hill's orchards and picnic groves remained a convenient destination for Sunday vacationers, planning decisions with vast repercussions on Bond Hill's recreational area and open spaces were being drawn up.⁵⁸



Figure 46: Chester Lake, after drainage. Factories, like that of the M. Werk Company, were situated on the lakebeds of the artificial lakes abutting the Miami-Erie Canal, c1913 (Ludwig 1921)

By 1910 freight traffic along the canal system was still being used by Mill Creek Valley distilleries but more and more traffic favored the railroad. Boss Cox was considering a scheme to implement a transportation system that would connect all the neighborhoods in the City including Bond Hill, St. Bernard, and Norwood (Mecklenborg 1998). So in the early 1910s, plans were also drawn up to build a subway system to do just that. Dredged canal channels would provide the routes on which the subway lines would be built. A 6 million-dollar bond issue was passed in 1916 with popular support. However, due to economic inflation affecting the country following its entry into World War I in 1917, the cost of the subway project doubled to 12 million. The ill-fated subway line would have gone up the Miami-Erie Canal east into St. Bernard through Ross Run and paralleling Tennessee Avenue to Norwood (Mecklenborg 1998). Support for the project began to ebb and

⁵⁸ "How many of us have saved and skimped for weeks so that one Sunday we could rent a horse and buggy and take the object of our affection for a drive into the country. Out to Bond Hill or to St. Bernard to spend the day at one of the groves. And that was Cincinnati up until 1910" (*Cincinnati Times-Star* 1940).

resistance from the independent villages of St. Bernard and Norwood caused the project to be delayed more than a year (Mecklenborg 1998). With the channel drained south of Bond Hill, Ross Run creek had been poisoned by the new chemical plants and now diminished by the subway development. It would only survive in the memories of those children who enjoyed its waters on hot summer days and ice-skating in the winter.

Until the housing boom of the 1920s, Reading Pike remained a small farm road in contrast to Paddock Road, along which electricity and telephone poles had been laid to connect the Village of Bond Hill.⁵⁹ But after World War I, the popularity of the automobile began to exert its presence all over the country. The impact of new transportation changes could have been predicted as early as 1905 when a headline in the *Enquirer* exclaimed, "Toll road owners [along Reading Pike] anxious to sell, as they cannot collect from travelers" (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, June 21, 1905). The long desired streetcar finally made it to Bond Hill in 1916 but came too late to make a lasting impact on the community. Improvements for the Bond hill streetcar route over Bloody Run Parkway (later, Victory Parkway) halted in 1918 for World War I. Meanwhile, by the mid-1930s the commuter rail station, once the hub of community transportation, was demolished.

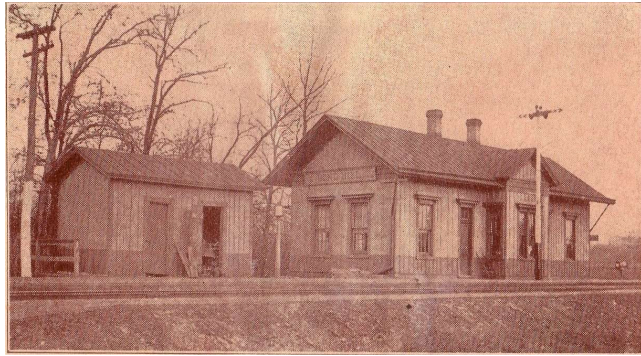


Figure 47: Bond Hill Station, B&O Railroad, 1925
(Bond Hill Welfare Association, 1935)



Figure 48: Bond Hill Welfare Association Seal. The association aimed to reconstitute the activities of the Bond Hill Civic Association post-annexation. (Bond Hill Welfare Association 1935).

After the World War I, the United States experienced an economic boom; middle-income families could begin to afford automobiles and real estate developers could afford to speculate on new prospects. In the 1920s, residential development, once concentrated near Paddock Road due to the original Bond Hill subdivision, began to migrate eastward towards Reading Pike (Reading Road) because of the availability of flat terrain. "New realty project in Bond Hill: company purchases 20 acres on which costly homes will be built," reported the *Times-*

⁵⁹ Indeed, Segoe's 1925 Master Plan of Cincinnati viewed Paddock Road as the larger artery and anticipated the expansion of Paddock Road northward. Reading Road, in contrast, was only identified as a major road until the Tennessee Avenue junction (Segoe 1925).

Star in 1922 (*Cincinnati Times-Star*, September 9th, 1922). Between 1923 and 1928, 20 blocks in seven separately planned segments were appropriated from farms east of Reading Road (*Cincinnati Times-Star* 1938). These plans did not take into consideration the existing gridiron plan of the original Bond Hill village. Consequently, their execution resulted in irregular street alignments east and west of Reading Road. Car traffic was quite heavy and commerce expanded north along Reading Road and westward along California Avenue (Sanborn 1937). A new elementary school, to support the increasing population of Bond Hill, was built between Laidlaw and California Avenues to the east of the original Bond Hill Village development. Five farms between Paddock and Reading Roads, just south of the Asylum, were aggregated into the private Maketewah Country Club and Golf Course (Patmor 1961). The taking of greenspace for a country club succeeded in halting any further development north of the residential grid. The space still remains today the largest greenspace in the neighborhood, but the golf course is private.



Figure 49: Robert Wachendorf, Bond Hill-Roselawn Real Estate Developer
(*Cincinnati Time-Star* 1942)



Figure 50: Bond Hill Minstrel Show Supporters (*Bond Hill News*, 1935)

The housing boom continued through the 1930s as cash-strapped farmers sold off their plots to real estate developers like Robert Wachendorf, who began developing along the eastern, Hillcrest, side of Reading Road (Queen City Guide, 1967). Other local developers smelling opportunity joined in the enterprise (*Cincinnati Queen City of the West*, 1967). Throughout the Depression, dairy farm and orchard lands north and east of Bond Hill were

subdivided and developed for single-family houses. In the original Bond Hill subdivision, modernist duplexes, and other non-conforming infill housing, sprang up alongside the late 19th century Italianate townhouses. This newly built area of Bond Hill became the center of a vibrant new Jewish suburban neighborhood. Jews began migrating north up the Reading Road corridor from North and South Avondale neighborhoods to a new neighborhood with the reputation of being one of Cincinnati's most affluent. Bond Hill, together with its northern neighbor, Roselawn, continued to draw Jewish residents until the 1970s.



Figure 51: late 1930s infill development
(Varady 2003)

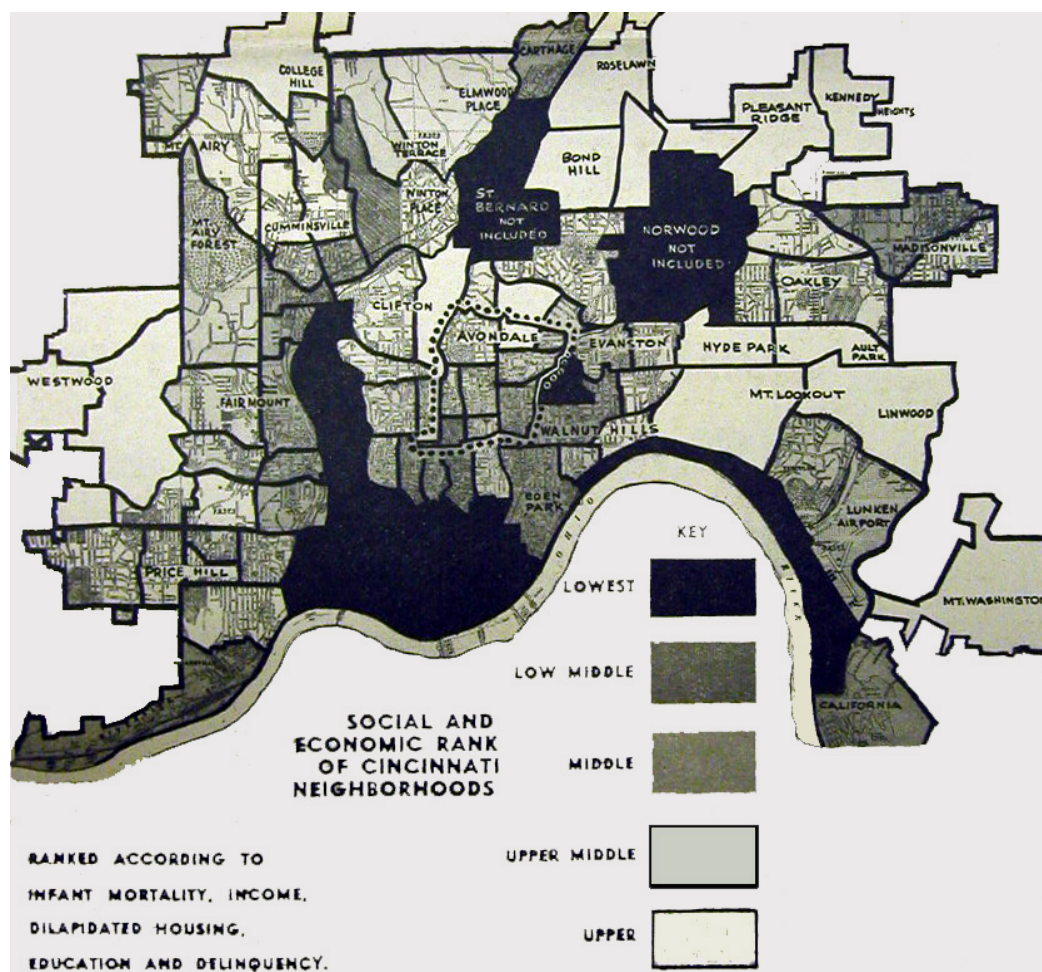


Figure 52: Bond Hill was long considered one of Cincinnati's most affluent communities. Social and Economic Rank of Cincinnati Neighborhoods, 1956. "Ranked according to infant mortality, income, dilapidated housing, education and delinquency. (The Cincinnati Pictorial Enquirer, July 8th, 1956)

Post-World War II Planning and Development, 1942-1960

After the Great Depression and World War II, the farmland north of Tennessee Avenue was appropriated for other kinds of land use. New rail spurs to the south and southwest of Bond Hill made that area even more attractive to industry, and industrial growth proceeded with the demands of the war effort in the early 1940s. The King Machine Tool Company Plant No.2 on the corner of Paddock Road and Tennessee Avenue opened in 1941 to “care for overflow orders from the main plant on Clifton Avenue” (WPA Guide 1943). Woods off of Tennessee Avenue surrounding the Ross Run tributary and the B&O rail line were cleared and the creek filled in; the flat space of the valley was becoming an industrial belt. The 1947 Cincinnati Master Plan states, somewhat optimistically:

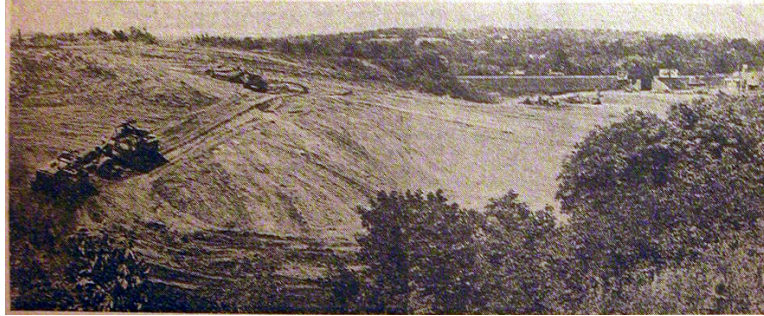


Figure 53: Construction on the Twins Drive-In Theater site
(*Cincinnati Times Star* 1948)

Recent developments to the south and east [Norwood] have consisted of high-grade modern plants, unobjectionable to adjacent communities. Chemical and rendering plants to the southwest of Seymour are somewhat of a disadvantage to it, which continuing improvements in manufacturing processes may minimize” (City of Cincinnati Planning Department, Seymour Community Plan, in *Communities*, 1947:116).

The effect of these industries on the community not only increased job opportunities and economic activities for Bond Hill and Cincinnati, but also created eight toxic “superfund” brownfield sites (Campbell 1997).⁶⁰ But construction of new industrial plants in Bond Hill didn’t always proceed without community opposition. In 1943, Bond Hill residents vehemently opposed the building of a proposed \$2,000,000 plant on the site of George W. Martin’s orchard (*Cincinnati Post* January 21st 1943, *Cincinnati Times-Star* February 10th

⁶⁰ The sites are currently “archived” CIRCLA sites, meaning that these sites are a low-priority and not currently scheduled for cleanup. Details on these sites can be searched for in the EPA’s CERCLIS database for archived sites (<http://cfpub.epa.gov/supercpad/arcsites/srchsites.cfm>) using the following EPA IDs. The sites are: Laidlaw Avenue Landfill (Laidlaw Avenue, EPA ID: ohd000810176), Occidental Chem Aka Diamond Shamrock (4701 Paddock Rd, ohd004260980), Orchem Incorporated (100 Murray Road, ohd400011615), Sherwin-Williams Chemical Company (501 Murray Rd, ohd004261301), Sterling Drug-Hilton-Davis Chemical Company (2235 Langdon Farm Rd, ohd004240313), Keenan Oil Co Plt 38 (2350 Seymour Ave, ohd004237889), GE Aircraft Engines (1350 Tennessee Avenue, ohd000817304), Chemcentral Corporation (4619 Reading Road, ohd008926909).

1943). The Diamond Alkalai Chemical Company was authorized to be built there anyways (*Cincinnati Times-Star* February 24th 1943).

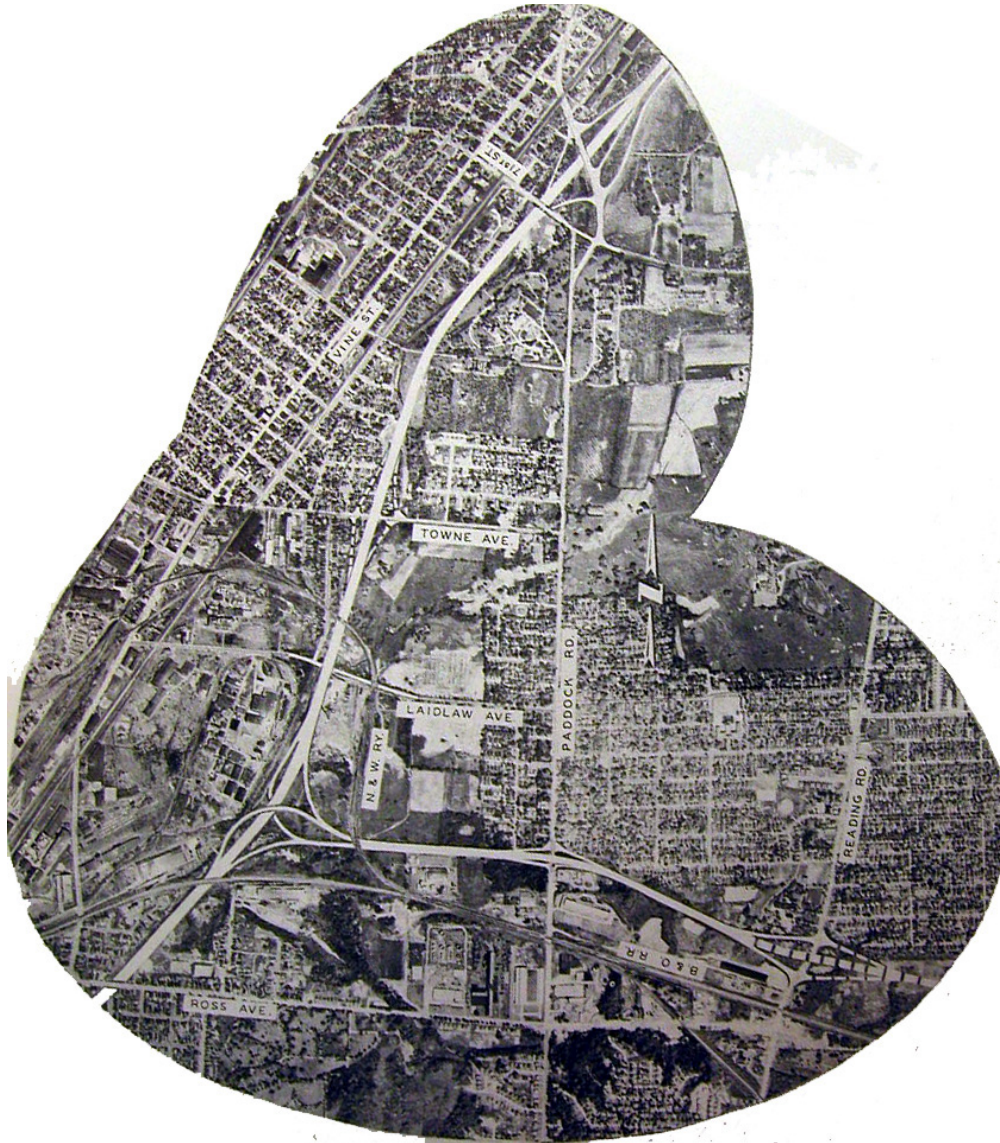
After the war, institutional and commercial construction replaced single-family housing as the primary developments occurring in Bond Hill.⁶¹ These developments reflected a new emphasis on automobile-centric design and regional planning. For example, in the north of Bond Hill, at the corner of Reading Road and Seymour Avenue, Woodward High School was built. The Baby Boom after World War II significantly increased the number of enrolled children attending the county's school system. Woodward, it was hoped, would relieve the congestion among the older high schools in the city, and its completion in 1953 was eagerly anticipated. Although the site was selected in 1945 and construction begun in 1950, completion was delayed due to "labor problems and military shortages occasioned by the defense activities resulting from military action in Korea." (*Woodward 150-Year Anniversary* 1981). In 1948, in the northeastern corner of Bond Hill, at the boundaries of Roselawn, Pleasant Ridge, and Norwood, the Cincinnati Gardens sports arena was constructed creating a regional destination location. Simply known as The Gardens, the arena was located near the axis of two major county roads, Seymour Avenue and Montgomery Road, and built a decade before any interstate highway connections existed. Traffic along the streets of Bond Hill before and after games created problems for area residents (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 1951). In contrast to the other public sports and music arenas in Cincinnati which were built along the Ohio riverfront, the Gardens was situated in a location far inland, but central to existing suburbs in Hamilton County radiating north from Cincinnati.⁶²

Construction of the Gardens provided impetus for the Cincinnati to re-engineer the Bloody Run Sewer District (*Cincinnati Times-Star* November 27th 1947). "Old Bloody Run is Victim of March of Progress," wrote the *Cincinnati Post* in 1947, the four-mile creek running south from Bond Hill (actually a fork of Ross Run, not Bloody Run) had long been an open sewer and constant gripe for nearby residents. For those who pined nostalgically for the clear running rills, orchards, and canals of the past, the necessary "march of progress" was often cited (Ludwig 1929, *Cincinnati Post* 1947). Work on the sewer district succeeded in banishing Ross Run into underground pipes, but foul odors remained, likely caused by airborne pollutants and smog from nearby industries and automobiles (*Cincinnati Enquirer* August 14th 1950). In 1953, damage to the new sewer was discovered, resulting from the disposal of heavy industrial acid through its pipes. In 1958 work neared completion but the effects of industrial waste through the culverted stream were afflicting workers with noxious fumes as recently as 1991 (*Cincinnati Enquirer* July 9th 1991).

⁶¹ Some veteran housing was planned, notably the Swifton Commons Village (Jonathan Woodner Corporation 1951) and a \$1.75 million, 161 dwelling unit project begun in 1947 which was never completed.

⁶² Today, the Gardens remain a destination for rock concerts, automobile demolition exhibition shows, and ice hockey games.

Figure 54: Aerial View of Bond Hill with Proposed Millcreek Expressway Overlay (Hazelet & Erdal, 1951)



Construction of the Millcreek Expressway (later I-75) over the old Miami-Erie Canal at the western edge of Bond Hill began in 1941 and took 22 years to complete (Hurley 1983). The Paddock Road interchange of the expressway, located at the northern boundary of Bond Hill, broke ground on December 4, 1947 (see figure 56). The interchange was improved in the 1950's with the addition of emergency shoulders. The gap between Mitchell Avenue and Elmwood Place was not completed until 1959, which included the construction of the first leg of the Norwood Lateral running half mile east of the Millcreek Expressway to the interchange with Paddock Road. The remainder of the Lateral to I-71 was not finished until the early 1970s (Mecklenborg 1998). Just off of the Norwood Lateral, construction of Cincinnati's first drive-in movie theater, the Twin Drive-In began in 1948 as part of a \$2 million dollar project to create a combination movie theater and 100,000 square foot

shopping center with street access. However, by 1951, only the drive-in was completed.⁶³ Other northern institutional developments, such as the Swifton Commons Shopping Mall, reflected the impact of the Cold War on Cincinnati's land use.

The 1947 Master Plan for Cincinnati does not contain a plan specifically for Bond Hill. The Plan does, however, include Bond Hill in its plans for the "Seymour community," an agglomeration of neighboring including Roselawn to the north, and Carthage-Elmwood to the west (see figure 57). The plan envisioned a beautifully landscaped Woodward High School just across the street from a new residential subdivision and post office. Three years later, the planned subdivision was put aside in favor of a new shopping mall, the Swifton Center. Its developers, the Jonathan Woodner Corporation, promised that the 4400-car parking lot and shopping complex would "be of great value to *the national defense effort*" (emphasis in original quote, Jonathan Woodner Corporation 1951, 1). In their design proposal, the Corporation, suggests:

At the present time, Cincinnati needs additional, centrally located, housing and community facilities to serve its important defense industries The Swifton Center will aid civil defense in Cincinnati by providing, at no public cost, a community bomb shelter in the event of air attack and a complete evacuation center capable of providing emergency living quarters, food, clothing and medical facilities. These dispersed facilities are eight miles away from the critical down-town 'target area' of the city." The Swifton Center proposal, which was approved, also included the construction of a high-density "garden apartment" development (1200 units for 4500 people) behind the shopping center along Seymour Avenue. (Jonathan Woodner Corporation 1951, 1)

⁶³ The drive-in was built on land running along Reading Road just north of the B&O Rail line and Tennessee Avenue, the current site of Showcase Cinemas Cincinnati. Ironically, while the drive-in was a reflection of the automobile's popularity, its closure in the mid-1980s may have been related to the building of the Norwood Lateral expressway; the roadway's lights and traffic noise had a negative impact on the theater viewers, while the screen presented a major distraction for drivers.

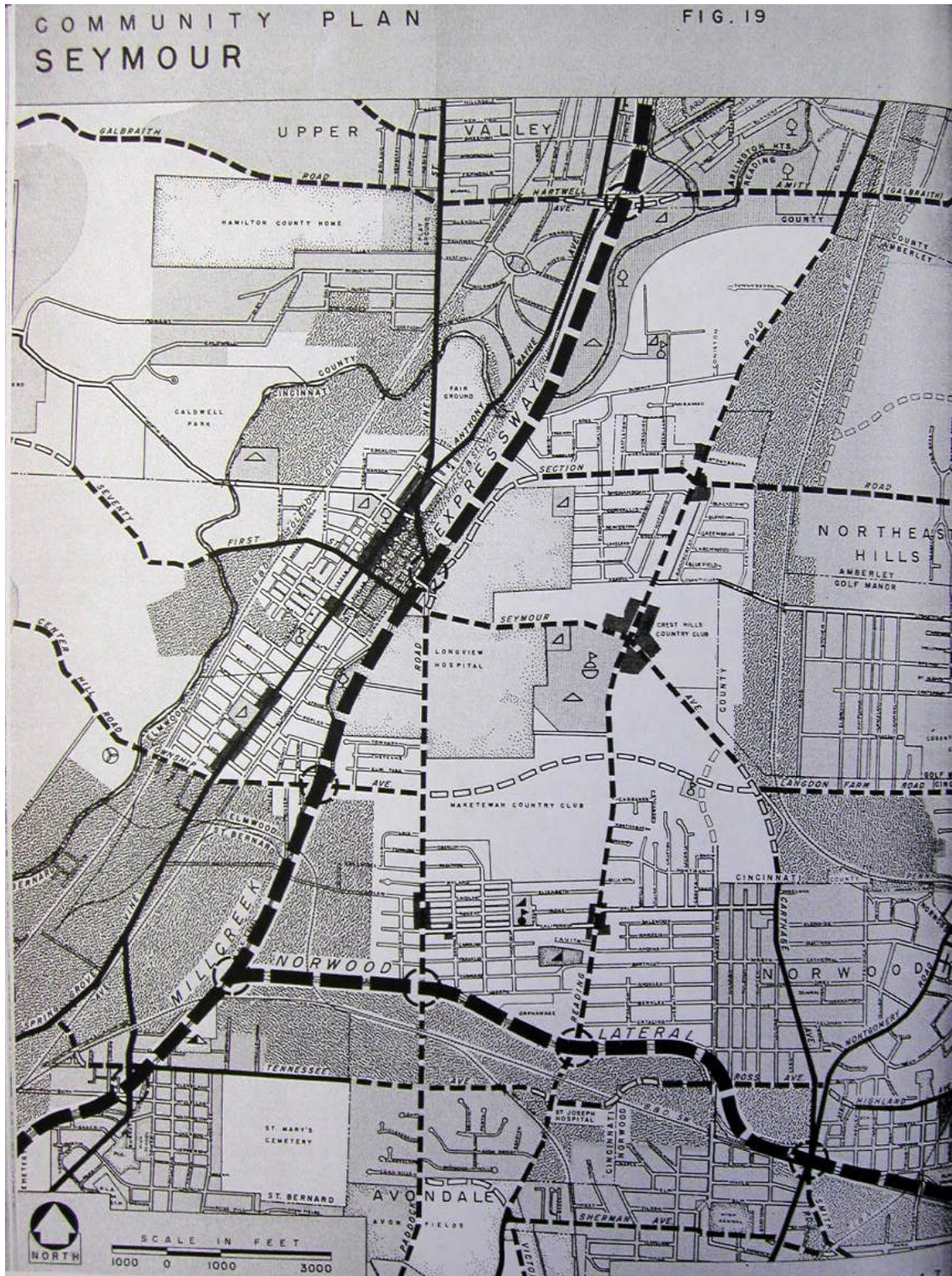


Figure 55: The “Seymour” community (City of Cincinnati Master Plan, Communities 1947)

Nearby residents were outraged (*Cincinnati Post* March 10th 1951), and hastily gathered against the commercial rezoning advocated by the Planning Commission. Exclaimed one contrary resident: “we think this project is contrary to the Master Plan. It calls for the decentralization of business to alleviate the traffic mess. By good planning, you provide shopping centers which take care of just the community they serve. Instead of decentralizing, this project would centralize business.” Nevertheless, like the revenue from industrial facilities in southern Bond Hill, the prospect of \$500,000 a year in taxes from the shopping mall was too tempting to halt over the objections of the local community. The farmland across from the high school was replaced by a huge expanse of black asphalt. Relegated to the rear of the complex and parking lot was the residential subdivision, but instead of the curvilinear plat of single family homes imagined in the 1947 Community Plan, “Swifton Village” consisted of high density garden apartments.

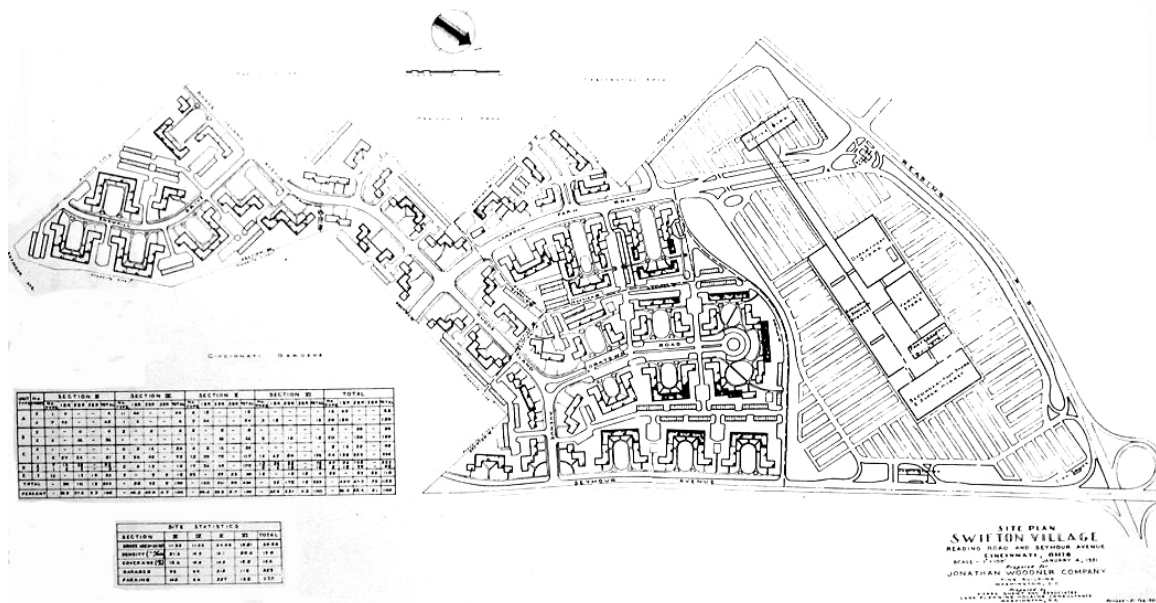


Figure 56: Swifton Common and Village (Jonathan Woodner Company, 1951)

Swifton Village's multi-family garden apartments were redbrick three story cubes built in for people of limited means. Renamed Hillcrest Apartments in the 1970s and Huntington Meadows in the 1980s, the property, one of the first owned by Donald Trump's real estate empire, was poorly managed and eventually experienced a high crime rate (*Cincinnati Enquirer* 2002). Because the apartments were built using lead paint and asbestos, the complex was condemned in 2002, officially evicting the residents for their own safety. Additionally, a toxic mold was found growing in a number of the complexes (*Cincinnati Enquirer* 2002). Most residents and local environmentalists assumed that the mismanaged rental rehab property was simply getting shelved, because the social problems it manifested were intractable for Cincinnati administrators (*Cincinnati Enquirer* 2002). At present, the complex is being demolished and new single-family homes built by a faith based

organization. This project is being spearheaded by the new owners of the Swifton Shopping Center (now Jordan's Crossing), the Allen Temple/African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (*Cincinnati Enquirer* 2002). This area in northern Bond Hill has become a hub of religious institutions attracting non-Bond Hill residents to the area. Within the space of a quarter mile, three large churches have been built within the last fifteen years.

One further note about the place of Bond Hill within the Cincinnati 1947 Master Plan; by grouping Bond Hill with Roselawn to the north, and Carthage and Elmwood to the west, the pedestrian character of the Bond Hill neighborhood was denied. For example, the Plan's description of future of commercial areas for the Seymour neighborhood states: "The logical location for the community business district is the intersection of Seymour and Reading Road which is the focal point of the community" (Communities 1947). But the truth was that the Seymour "community" was a complete fiction invented by Cincinnati's master planners. While neighborhood business districts in Roselawn, Bond Hill, Carthage, and Elmwood Place, did exist, the historic focal centers of each individual neighborhood were denied in favor of a completely imaginary planning concept. The consequence of these decisions was that the existing Neighborhood Business Districts (NBDs) were certainly diminished and nearly destroyed.

Commercial activity continued along Reading and Paddock Roads with increased emphasis on providing off street parking. The Twin Drive-in theater at the corner of Tennessee and Reading, the construction of I-75 on the footprint of the Miami and Erie canal, the construction of the Norwood Lateral over the Ross Run, the huge parking lots around the shopping center and the expansion of development northward at considerable pedestrian distance from the core of old Bond Hill, all reflect a change in pedestrian use to one focused on and organized around the automobile.

Chapter 5: Advocacy Planning and Demographic Transformation, 1964-90

The activities of the Bond Hill Welfare Association petered out by the mid-1960s at a critical time in the history of the neighborhood. In 1965, concerned community residents discovered that the City had plans to build a new Cincinnati Reds baseball stadium on the site of the Maketewah country club (*Cincinnati Enquirer* 1966). The fight over the stadium helped to generate energy for the new Bond Hill-Roselawn Community Council (Pat Garry 2003). The fight reflected the deep differences which had grown between the desires of some of the newer residents of Bond Hill and the Bond Hill Building Association, which had evolved over the preceding 75 years to become, like so many other Building Associations in Hamilton County, a neighborhood savings and loans bank. The Building Association was in fierce competition with many other neighborhood banks and in order to remain competitive these banks strove to develop new real estate opportunities wherever they could, often outside of Cincinnati where large parcels could still be easily secured. (For example: Cromer Mashburn was invited onto the Building Association's board of directors in the mid-1960s in the hopes that he could attract business from the Amberley and Indian Hill communities outside of Cincinnati). Most land in Bond Hill had already been developed and this made the Maketewah country club property extremely valuable and a prize for any Building Association which could successfully broker a deal for its development (Mashburn 2004).

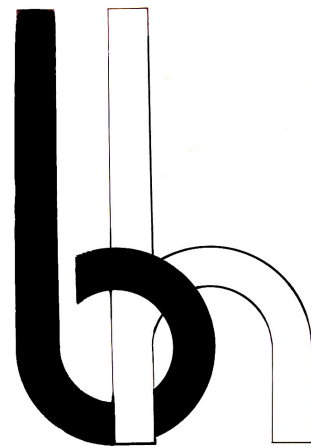


Figure 57: Bond Hill Community Council logo, 1976, emphasizing the spirit of inter-racial cooperation in tackling community problems. (Varady 2004)

As conflict erupted between old neighborhood institutions and new white residents, so also a profound demographic transition began taking place in the neighborhood. Between 1930 and 1970, the over-all population of Bond Hill increased nearly three fold from 4,973 to 12,324. Between 1960 and 1970, the black population rose from 0.1% to 26.2% (U.S. Census 1960, 1970). The first black student was recorded in Bond Hill School in 1964. In November 1965, Charles Cook, William Schumacher and Mack Singer, white and liberal residents of Bond Hill, formed the Bond Hill-Roselawn Community Council, "realizing that some unifying force was needed to preserve the assets of their Community," (Suburban Bell Telephone, 1967, 87). Their purpose for incorporation recorded in their statement of incorporation was:

To maintain the superior assets of our community among which are an abundance of well kept homes and real property, convenient shopping centers, easy access to expressways, adequate recreational facilities, and superior schools staffed by well qualified instructors.

To welcome into our community all persons who are sincerely interested in sustaining its assets.

To dissuade homeowners from selling their property because minority groups are moving into the neighborhood.

To provide a forum in which to air problems related to integration of the neighborhood, as well as other problems which may arise, with the hope that reason, justice, and good will shall prevail.

To provide accurate and honest information concerning integrated neighborhoods, with the view to dispelling myths that have arisen.

(Articles of Incorporation, The Bond Hill-Roselawn Community Council 1965)

Meanwhile, activities by local real estate companies and the Federal Housing Authority conspired together to encourage the racial transformation of Bond Hill. In her 1976 thesis, *A Case Study of Transactive Planning: The Coalition of Neighborhoods, 1972–1975*, Lynne Cunningham writes, “the realtors believed that the communities had become undesirable neighborhoods in which to raise families because of racial transitions occurring there” (Cunningham 1976, 41). Beginning in the late 1960s, realtors engaged in blockbusting, steering, and redlining tactics, all now illegal, by contacting white homeowners advising them to sell their property and move from Bond Hill as soon as possible or risk selling their homes later at a reduced price, while steering potential white homebuyers away from Bond Hill. Simultaneously, the Federal Housing Authority’s loans for distribution through local banks were granted at restrictive terms or not at all, thereby making it very difficult for both black and white small businesses and homeowners to improve their properties. These practices—blockbusting, racial steering, and redlining—resulted in Bond Hill becoming less than a “pleasant neighborhood in the years ahead” (CURC 1981; Cunningham 1976).

These practices were occurring in Paddock Hills in the early 70s as well. A community organization separate from the Bond Hill Community Council called, The Bond Hill-Paddock Hills Housing Task Force, worked together with the Coalition of Neighborhoods and HOME (Housing Opportunities Made Equal) to recruit volunteers for testing the realtors and gathering data. This activity blatantly exposed the realtors’ practices. A class action lawsuit by 14 families in the Coalition of Neighborhoods against four real estate companies resulted in meetings with the Cincinnati Real Estate Board and a legally binding consent decree by one of the defendants, Federle, “never to steer clients in the future” (*Connections* 1975, cited in Cunningham 1976). The result, however, was that realtors became much more savvy in recognizing volunteer testers and, thus, steering practices became more subtle and difficult to detect (Cunningham citing an interview with Marjorie Isaacs, Coalition of Neighborhoods Communication Specialist, 1976). At the same time, the Coalition of Neighborhoods met with Federal Home Loan Bank officials in Cincinnati and testified in Washington, D.C. before Senator William Proxmire and his Senate Banking,

Housing and Urban Affairs Committee to urge the passage of a bill requiring full disclosure by savings and loan associations (CURC 1981).

While redlining and blockbusting contributed significantly to white flight in Bond Hill, the migration was also spurred by a perceived increase in crime and related racial tensions between whites and blacks. These anxieties sometimes turned into ugly scenes at the local high school, Woodward. This anecdote from a former Bond Hill resident is particularly illuminating:

The reason for my family's departure was pretty simple. Within days of the first black family moving on to our block on Ryland Avenue I would guess that a half dozen houses went up for sale. I was 3 when we moved to Cincinnati from rural Kentucky. My family moved into an apartment at Colonial Village (Joyce Lane by Roselawn Park) and shortly after my parents purchased a house at 1296 Ryland Avenue. The period from 1961 to 1967 was pretty normal and boring. By 1968 the tension between whites and the increasing number of black residents was resulting in a number of "For Sale" signs appearing.

Fights between black and white children became routine (particularly at Woodward High School) and by 1969 it was becoming risky to walk the streets. Crime was on the increase. There were several robberies on California Avenue around that time period which dealt a blow to a business district that wasn't on steady ground. Drugs and the crime that they bring also started showing up around this time. Please do not read this as being a complete black/white issue (although I do believe that was the major cause of the decline in the neighborhood). My knowledge of the drug trade in Bond Hill during the late 60's and early 70's is based upon the actions of 2 young white men that were living in the neighborhood.

My parents, along with many other families, felt that the neighborhood was no longer safe and the fear of decline in property values landed a "For Sale" sign in our yard in May or June of 1969. We moved back to Colonial Village and on and on.... (Steve Hagy 2004).

Over the next 20 years, from 1965 to 1985, local Bond Hill organizations worked with the Cincinnati Planning Commission and the University of Cincinnati School of Planning, to develop plans and land use schemes to promote economic development and neighborhood revitalization during recessions and housing market downturns (Bond Hill Community Plan 1977; Neighborhood Business District Revitalization Plan 1980). In 1978, the City Planning Commission adopted six basic goals outlined in the Bond Hill Community Plan and developed by the Bond Hill Long Range Planning Committee of the Bond Hill Community Council and the City of Cincinnati Office of Community Administration. These goals were:

- 1) to conserve good housing and repair/rehabilitate deteriorated housing
- 2) to gather ideas on some subsidized and low income housing for Bond Hill residents, particularly the elderly
- 3) to use vacant land so as not to increase density

- 4) to protect the area from high density development and encroachment by NBDs
- 5) to upgrade Old Bond Hill Village, and make it a focal point of the community
- 6) to develop a community-based housing corporation to operate as a neighborhood housing services center

(*Bond Hill Community Newsletter* (December 12, 1979) 1:8)

A great deal of work proceeded over the next decade to meet the above goals as well as others in the plan. Some goals were met, while others were not. A bikeway through the neighborhood was planned but never established (Community Plan 1977). Plans were recommended to build low-income housing for the elderly on the corner of Langdon Farms and Reading Road, but this concept was never realized (Community Plan 1977). Instead, the Tri-Stone Church, was built on the site in the late 1980s.⁶⁴



Figure 58: “Take Stock in Bond Hill” campaign included a pamphlet and poster designed by the Bond Hill Community Council to attract yuppies. (Varady 2003)

By 1979, the number of whites in Bond Hill had dropped to 30% (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 22nd 1979). Bond Hill, like many other older suburbs in Cincinnati, was struggling to promote itself to realtors as an attractive neighborhood for middle-income and white residents (*Cincinnati Magazine* 1978). The Bond Hill Community Council tried various means to combat the increased segregation of the neighborhood. One was the “Take Stock in Bond Hill” campaign, which sought to bring to the attention of young urban professionals the architectural, social, and recreational assets of the neighborhood.

Pat Crum and the Bond Hill Community Council, had, since the late 1970s struggled to get the original 30-acre area developed by the Cooperative Land and Building Association recognized as a significant local historic district (see figure 62). By 1982, they succeeded. The City Planning Commission designated the original plat as the “Old Bond Hill Historic District,” and design guidelines were published (Guidelines 1982). However, the guidelines were only voluntary ones, poorer owners disregarded them. When in 1987, Charles Alexander, president of the Bond Hill Redevelopment Corporation requested more funds to rehabilitate the housing in the Old Bond Hill Village District, the City of Cincinnati balked,

⁶⁴ At present, the proliferation of church owned businesses and properties reflect a new direction in the neighborhood. The issue is not simply that the City of Cincinnati losing its tax base to the “faith-based” institutions such as Jordan’s Crossing and the AME Church. The concentration of social capital and real power in these churches is at historical odds with the secular and civic focus of the neighborhood Community Council in determining the future of the neighborhood. While churches and synagogues have long been staples of Bond Hill’s community life, not since the mid-1870s have the activities of a church had so much influence on the future of the neighborhood.

citing a lack of “broad community support” despite being accompanied by a community wide petition indicating widespread support (see figure 63).⁶⁵ The history and significance of the Old Bond Hill Village District has since become largely forgotten; most newcomers being both ignorant of its historic past and the actions of the planners and neighborhood activists who worked so hard to get the District recognized.

These ambitious activities largely expired by the late 1980s and a marked ebbing in the energy and professional experience of the Community Council is apparent in the size and content of their community newsletter. As late as 1985, newsletter issues contained advertisements from local businesses, were eight pages long, and professionally printed, and contained content reporting on zoning issues and block clubs. No issues of the newsletter could be located from March 1985 till April 1988, and the four page, dot matrix printed issue from May 1988 pointedly asks the reader if they are a block club president, and if so, to inform the community council. Only a few years earlier, Caroline Wallace was helping to create and organize these block clubs. What happened to the institutional and expert knowledge of the Bond Hill Community Council in the late 1980s?

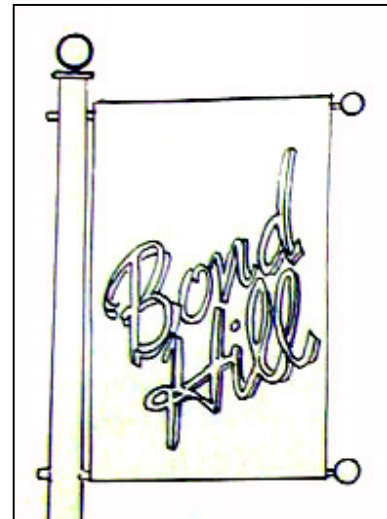


Figure 59: 1984 Bond Hill Community Council Logo, modeled after the banner design chosen for the City of Cincinnati's neighborhood banner initiative (Community Council 1984)

The departure of key figures in the community council and the Community Urban Redevelopment Corporation in the late 1970s and early 80s, Pat Crum, Carolyn Wallace, and Gerard Hyland, were not met with replacements prepared to continue their work or maintain the vision set forth in the Bond Hill Community Plan they had helped to develop. An indication of these institutional changes in the Bond Hill Community Council is reflected as early 1984 when the Council logo of the 1970s symbolizing inter-racial cooperation was abandoned in favor of the bland Bond Hill banner shown above (contrast figures 56 and 58).

⁶⁵ This was not the only activity of Charles Alexander which failed in Bond Hill. In 1986, Alexander organized Mom's Laundromat (at the corner of California and Oberlin) in an imaginative means to generate funds for the Bond Hill Redevelopment Corporation (*Cincinnati Post*, April 22nd 1986).

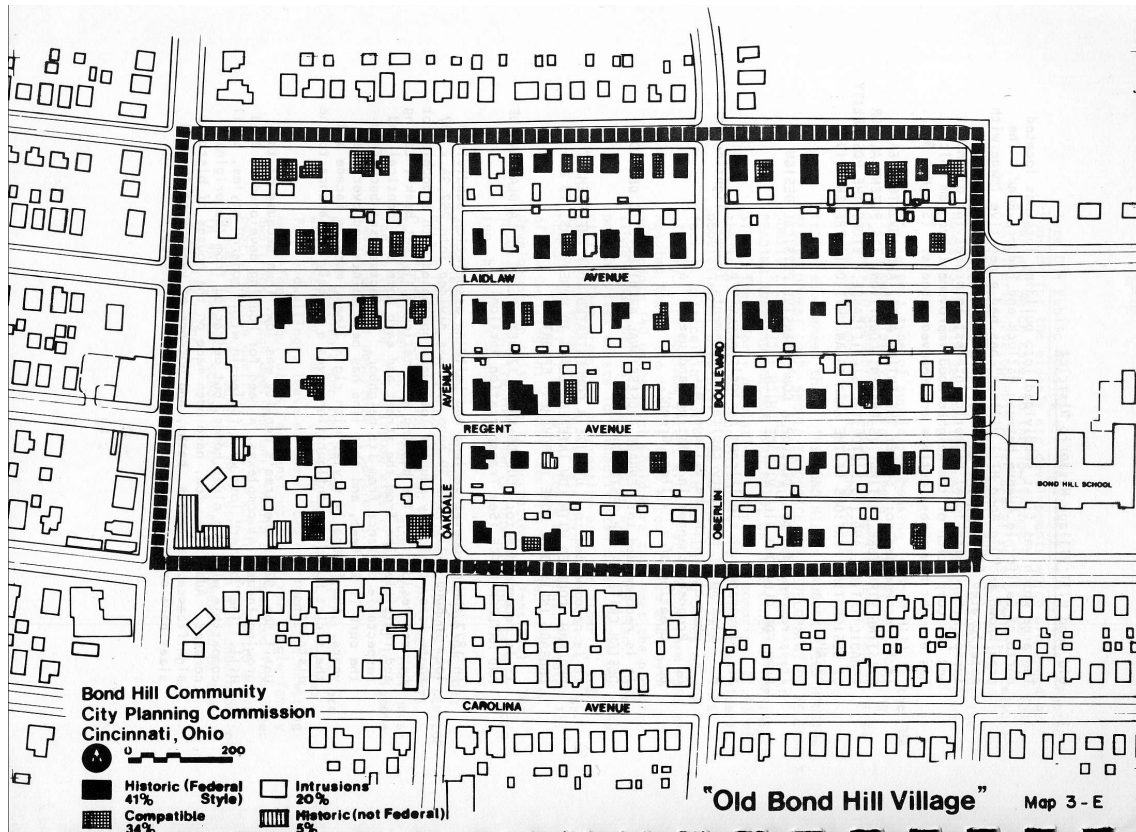


Figure 60: Above: Old Bond Hill Village, originally proposed boundaries include entire historic grid. Note the exclusion of the Helman subdivision south of California. (Bond Hill Community Council 1977). Below: The officially designated Bond Hill Historic District included a much smaller area, excluding California and Paddock Road (Cincinnati Planning Commission 1982).

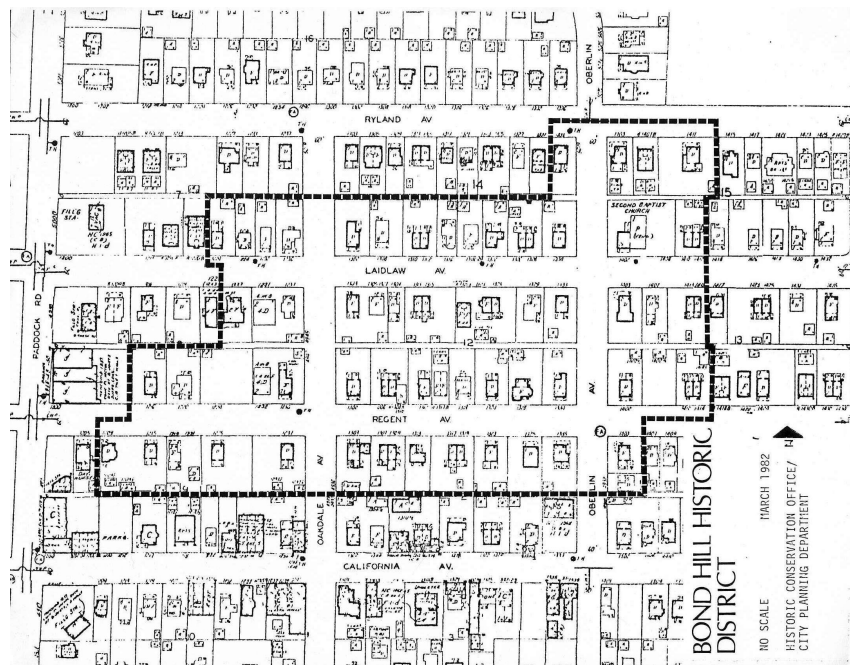


Figure 61: Charles Alexander's rejected 1987 request for city funding of the Bond Hill Historic District's phased plan for improvement (City of Cincinnati Planning Department, 2003).

REQUEST FOR 1987 CITY FUNDING, C.B.R. *sent to: NHC, City Planning*

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| PROJECT TITLE: OLD BOND HILL VILLAGE-URBAN DESIGN PHYSICAL PLAN | | THIS SIDE TO BE COMPLETED BY CITY OFFICIALS | |
| Community: BOND HILL | Other than contact person, additional project information may be received from: name: CHARLES ALEXANDER address: 1214 CALIFORNIA phone: 242-2120 | Reviewing dept.: City contact person: | Date received: Phone: |
| 1. Statement of problems / needs Since 1982 when local certification of this Historic District became final little, if any organized effort had been generated, until recent with the hiring of a organizer with NSP Funds. There is considerable new interest and desire as exhibited by our recent petition signing session against the long term vacant and blighting building with immediately effect a significant portion of the Old Bond Hill Village. The need is to develop consistent and active re-development projects and activities which will restore the stable historical composition and fulfillment of physical, economic as well as social needs. In order for this to occur a plan much be produced and prepared. | | 1. Response to statement of problems / needs An Urban Design plan can focus the neighborhood on community issues and formulate solutions to development problems. It can be an important image builder for the neighborhood as well. A plan can only succeed, however, where there is broad community support. | |
| 2. Proposed solution (include definition of community contribution) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The phased solution begins with the hiring of a community design/planner consultant to organize, analyze, process and produce with the active and on going participation of Village residents and Bond Hill Community Council, a approved plan by which all future redevelopment activities will be directed. - Another part requires that brochures, publicity, fliers, reports be developed promoting the positive aspects of this area, in order to stimulate new and existing residents into the needed and necessary revitalization activities. - To gain control over the total 8-9 vacant building in the area and effect re-development in order to return at least 12 living units back to the seeking market. | | 2. Response to proposed solution and community role The Urban Conservation Office does not have funding to produce an Urban Design Plan. The proposed solution of gaining control of vacant properties would be well beyond the scope of a plan and would also far exceed the estimated project cost. | |
| 3. Priority ranking number 3 of 5 (total number of requests) | | Is project recommended for funding <input type="checkbox"/> yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> no | |
| 4. Total estimated project cost \$30,000 (CURC will raise 5-10,000) | | 3. If recommended, department priority of | |
| 5. Cost per year 1987 \$15,000 1988 \$15,000 1989 0 | | 4. Total project cost Funding: C.D.B.G. <input type="checkbox"/> C.I.P. <input type="checkbox"/> Cplg. <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 6. Prior year city funds committed NONE | | 5. Cost per year 1987 1988 1989 | |
| | | 6. Prior year funds committed | |

Some successes of the Council were achieved. Money for a recreation center, requested since the late 1960s, was finally brought together in the late 1980s. The center was established behind the Bond Hill Elementary School on Laidlaw Avenue by the mid 1990s. However, public greenspace remains limited to active recreational spaces for children, and since the demise of the Miami-Erie Canal towpath, there exists no passive recreational space in Bond Hill for children or adults. When the Twin Drive-In Theater failed in the early 1980s and was demolished, a Loews (later Showcase) multiplex cinema was constructed on the site in the early 1990s. This is the only movie theater in Cincinnati that shows first-run Hollywood features. The cinema structure sits surrounded by acres of parking lot with an orientation toward the Norwood Lateral and its main access off Reading Road, though it is angled in such a way as to present its rear to the community of Bond Hill. There are no sidewalks into the complex, and pedestrian access is unsafe. Nevertheless, Bond Hill teenagers are often seen walking the complex using the automobile entrance. It has become a popular hangout and the lobby's arcade games are a destination for local youth who lack other recreational opportunities.

Unanticipated by the Bond Hill Community Council was the growth of group homes for the mentally ill. Following a cut back in social services by the Reagan administration, Longview Asylum began releasing patients into communities for lack of funding. Subcontracted group home managers helped to house the mentally ill and found ways to avoid NIMBY complaints by "acting completely below the radar of the community council" (Wallace 2003). When the Bond Hill council discovered the phenomena they were surprised to discover some blocks in Bond Hill with multiple group homes (Wallace 2003).

A Bond Hill Neighborhood Business District Urban Design Plan (Reading/California Focus) was implemented in 1981. Although the NBD did not improve, a number of trees were planted along the California Avenue, Paddock Road, and Reading Road business corridors. Meanwhile, Swifton Commons was targeted to receive financial subsidies in the hopes that it could be revitalized. The nation's third shopping mall had begun suffering financially due to increased competition from suburban malls located off the Interstate Highways, as well as from new retail outlets right across Seymour Avenue in Roselawn. The owners, received \$10 million dollars in Industrial Revenue Bonds and \$2.5 million in a Community Action grant to renovate the Center. Despite the renovation, a number of factors including commercial competition, the growing incidence of poverty among Bond Hill residents, perception of safety by potential shoppers, high crime rates in nearby Huntington Meadows, and unwelcome loitering by Woodward high school students, brought about a significant loss of business. In the 1990s, Swifton Commons went out of business. Jordan's Crossing, a church organization, purchased the huge facility in 1998. Besides building a church on the property, the non-profit organization plans to lease existing retail space to interested commercial businesses.

In the last ten years, Bond Hill and other Cincinnati neighborhoods have been losing their population. A large number of low-income residents left Bond Hill when the Huntington Meadows complex was suddenly closed in 2002, ostensibly due to environmental dangers (toxic mold). Was the rental rehab property mismanaged and did the City, knowing no better solution to the intractable management, drug, and crime problem in the complexes, use the mold story as a smokescreen? With the evacuation of its residents, however, crime rates have fallen, lending credence to the cynical aphorism that the best solution to social problems is to get rid of the people.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This suburban history informed the following questions set out in the premise: why was Bond Hill developed, why was Bond Hill developed where it was, who developed Bond Hill and what were their ambitions, what events prefaced the dissolution and transformation of the developer's original vision, and what environmental and social assets were lost in the social and spatial transformation of Bond Hill?

Bond Hill is an example of a community dreamed up in the confluence of social movements and development strategies proliferating after the Civil War. The village of Bond Hill was developed by a building association, organized as a cooperative under the principles of the Rochdale Pioneer Movement, inspired by cooperators (Henry Watkin) and Teetotalers (David Hicks, Thomas Sargent, and Joseph P. Sailer), and fostered in a partnership between real estate brokers and railroad builders (William S. Munson). According to the Cincinnati Board of Health, "in 1869, Cincinnati was the most densely populated city in the United States, and was more densely populated than the city of London," (Cincinnati Board of Health 1878). The construction of railroads like the Marietta-Cincinnati opened up new real estate development opportunities for progressives like Watkin and his philanthropic colleagues to create more amenable communities in the countryside. The market was primed for new homebuyers eager to raise their families outside of the basin. Commuting to work by rail was an exciting application of technology for prospective suburbanites. While some Reconstruction Era building associations aspired to create new ethnic enclaves, or to simply speculate on real estate, the ambition of the *Co-operative Land and Building Association, No.1 of Hamilton County, Ohio* was to create healthy, modest and affordable housing for workers of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds.

The parcel chosen by the cooperative was not only attractively situated at the junction of several important transportation routes; it was familiar to Henry Watkin who had lived there even before rail had made it accessible. Although real estate speculators such as the West End German Building Association had purchased property in the area in 1868, the Cooperative acted first in developing its subdivision, a deal which was likely financed by William Sellev Munson, a railroad builder and broker from an extremely wealthy family of iron merchants. For all the different energies brought together in the Cooperative, the Rochdale Pioneer cooperative principles were an excellent and effective means of organization. But these principles: one man—one vote, religious and political neutrality, and voluntary membership, also led to the dissolution of the Cooperative's ideals. After stresses brought about at the onset of the Long Depression, a schism brought about over the direction and leadership of the community's non-denominational church, the Cooperative split along sectarian lines. While the Cooperative maintained its existence even as late as 1960, the parallel Bond Hill Building Association created by the banker, Oliver Perin, took the reigns of political power in the community in the early 1880s and succeeded in incorporating the Village of Bond

Hill in 1886. The power of this municipality was greatly reduced when in 1893 the Village was sued and nearly bankrupted by a nearby landowner, George Martin. The open spaces, orchards, streams, canal, and farmland which had served as destination locations for Cincinnatians eager for a weekend retreat, and for area children, came under successive development pressures. In the west of Bond Hill, after the canal was drained in preparation for a subway never built, the Millcreek Expressway was constructed, and factories built over the artificial lakes abutting it. George Martin's parcel (originally willed to be maintained as parkland) in southern Bond Hill, became the site of the Diamond-Alkalai Chemical factory during the period after WWII when Cincinnati, and other cities, sought to increase their tax base by industrializing their open spaces. The farms east of the original Bond Hill subdivision were developed into residential homes in the late 1930s by real estate developers, like Robert Wachendorf. As a child Wachendorf enjoyed gamboling over the hills, rills, and ravines of Bond Hill, but as an adult he only saw "vacant land" for development. Another public commons made private was the County's Longview Asylum for the Insane, demolished and privatized for economic development in the 1990s. In the northeast, commercial developments were built under the pretext of offering shopping and shelter for the metropolitan region's defense workers. A large amount of greenspace was retained in central Bond Hill, but since 1925, this has only been accessible to members of the Maketewah Country Club. Currently, the neighborhood of Bond Hill is largely developed and is represented by a neighborhood Community Council eager to sell itself both to the rest of Cincinnati and to its own residents as "an historic community."

This paper presented, for the first time ever, the story of the origin of Bond Hill, a cooperative planned and historic neighborhood of Cincinnati. Century old documents, from across local Cincinnati and national archives, were brought together for the fullest account yet of the suburb's early history, and synthesized in the context of 19th century suburbanization, cooperative building associations, and cooperationist history. While chronicling this early history I identified the social and environmental events that helped to shape the village before and after the suburb's founding and after the village's annexation by the City of Cincinnati in 1903. These included the activities of intellectual suburbanites like Henry Watkin locating in the urban fringes to pursue social experiments in the country, the completion of the Marietta-Cincinnati railroad in 1866, the affordable housing needs of poor working people in Cincinnati, and the influx of middle-class residents into Bond Hill in the 1880s. The connections revealed between William Munson, president of the Young Men's Mercantile Library and treasurer of the Bond Hill Cooperative in 1874 and Henry Watkin, Cooperative founder and printer for the Library, strongly point to the possibility that Bond Hill was built by and for the members of the Library. Among the first resident homebuilders of Bond Hill was August Bepler, whose daughter Emma was in the nexus of Cincinnati's decorative arts scene spearheaded by Watkin's in-laws, William and Henry Fry. The milieu in which Watkin operated, progressive Swedenborgians, artists, and writers, as well as the Cooperative model they adopted for organization, suggests that Bond Hill's was first populated by the most cultured and progressive young socialist families in Cincinnati.

Recommendations

Numerous planning lessons can be learned from this story. Perhaps, overarching is the need for visionary planning bodies to presciently develop structures of organization as well as physical plans that can sustain their community vision over successive generations. For example, the preservation and maintenance of open space surrounding the unincorporated Bond Hill Village was taken for granted and left to landowners, like George W. Martin, to will them over to the village as parkland after their death. But the whims of such owners and the pressures exerted after annexation in 1903, by a city eager for the tax revenue brought by new factories, by the economic pressures of the depression, and by other development interests, led to the destruction of many of the wonderful assets which provided the magic fondly remembered by its earliest residents. Today, planners have tools such as TODs (transfer of development rights) to preserve rural open spaces, farmland, unencroached habitat, and floodplains. These tools were unknown in 1870. The culverted streams of Bond Hill, Bloody Run and Ross Run, now part of the Bloody Run sewer district, were witness to a time when children played gaily in their fresh water and natural ice was cut from their winter sleep for hot summer days. Bond Hill (and Cincinnati) needs to rediscover its urban streams, appreciate, preserve, and restore its waterways wherever possible. When large private green spaces, like the Maketewah Country Club, fall under development pressure, (as it has repeatedly for the last 50 years) the community must ensure that greater pressure is exerted to convert the space into the publicly accessible park long needed by Bond Hill residents. It is all too easy for planners to look at a land use map and see undeveloped areas as “vacant space instead of undeveloped open and recreational space. By thoughtfully preserving open spaces we can create connections between communities long separated, and a common habitat for children, adults, and other animals to enjoy, relax, and live in.

The Rochdale Principles of cooperation share many values with planners, most notably the ideal of maintaining political and religious neutrality. The Cooperative could be said to have been taking an incremental approach to planning, empowered by an active and involved membership. Because community political energies wax and wane, incremental community based approaches can be weakened by lack of involvement or the influx of new residents with different value sets. The latter was true in the case of the Cooperative’s schism; both phenomena were evident in the wane of the Bond Hill Community Council in the late 1980s. The Community Council leadership by the late 1980s had either forgotten or actively ignored the community planning efforts initiated in the late 70s and early 80s, such as the push for national historic recognition and local awareness of the Old Bond Hill Village Historic District. Similarly in the 1870s, the residents of F.H. Helman’s subdivision in the 1880s had no interest in the temperance laws established by the Cooperative in the 1870s.

The activities of churches and civic associations have figured prominently over the lifespan of the neighborhood. The Holy Trinity Church and the Sisters of Notre Dame integrated the two ambitions of spiritual community and civic responsibility in the Bond Hill area as early as 1859 with the building of the St. Aloysius orphanage. Religion was also important to

Bond Hill's early cooperators. While the religious inclination of the Cooperative stressed neutrality and tolerance, sectarian pressure split both the non-denominational church and the Cooperative. As long as social capital could continue to be pooled in common citizen groups like the Bond Hill Civic Association (1892), the Bond Hill Welfare Association (1915), and the Bond Hill Community Council (1965), the interests and vision of the community could be determined as a whole. The proliferation of churches in Bond Hill has waxed considerably over the last fifteen years while, in contrast, the energies of Bond Hill's Community Council have ebbed since the late 1970s. If Bond Hill residents focus their spiritual attentions and capital investment inwards to the neglect of civic organizations like the Community Council, then Bond Hill will continue to be threatened by the same problems afflicting it for the last twenty years. Will a civic and community spirit be inspired in Bond Hill's churches, or will residents find other secular means to cooperate in the betterment of their neighborhood?

Encouragingly, the Bond Hill Community Council has a new dues-paying member, the B&O Railroad. Bond Hill began as a commuter suburb in the 1870s and the railroad played an important part in the life of the early village. Even while the dream of a Cincinnati central subway system vanished in the 1920s, the existence of so many commuter suburbs along the Millcreek Valley and the Norwood Trough testify to the promise of light-rail in orienting new developments.

Although the Bond Hill Railroad Station was destroyed in the 1930s, a similar and currently abandoned station exists on the CSX tracks in St. Bernard. The St. Bernard station requires desperate attention if it is going to be preserved, and could be adopted by Bond Hill as the site of a new local history museum. The abandoned tracks south of Bond Hill could easily be converted to be an intra-urban bicycle-pedestrian trail, and the relocated station could be a station house and meeting place once more. St. Bernard, Bond Hill, and Elmwood Place's communities

were, historically, very close to one another. While the creation of new transportation systems, especially I-75, cut these communities off from one another, it is apropos that a new transportation network help to bridge the communities once more. As Bond Hill has no existing passive recreational space, these abandoned tracks running between St. Bernard, Bond Hill, Paddock Hills and Norwood could be transformed into a new inner-city pedestrian/bicycle trail linking the Millcreek Valley ultimately with the Miami-Erie State bicycle trail. A pedestrian bike trail has long been advocated for in Bond Hill, most recently in the Bond Hill Community Plan (1977). While the lack of east-west car routes are a



Figure 62: Rear of the St. Bernard Railroad Station, CSX Tracks (Jakucyk 2004)

common complaint in Cincinnati, even fewer east-west trails unite the city. A long-term investment in the health of Cincinnatians could begin in a Bond Hill and St. Bernard pedestrian/bike trail.

In the introduction we showed an example of Bond Hill's signage. These signs are located at the peripheral boundaries of Bond Hill often along busy roads in industrial zones. While these signs are technically correct by indicating to passing motorists that they have just entered within the Statistical Neighborhood Approximation boundaries as defined by the City of Cincinnati, they do little to encourage the development of a neighborhood identity that commends its residential areas and business districts. So long as signage is a priority for the Bond Hill Community Council, they should contribute to the existing community master plan, a signage design which both embraces Bond Hill's history as a gilded age commuter suburb as well as fostering the contributions of Bond Hill's current residents in defining the neighborhood's identity. These new signs should be located close to the entrance to Bond Hill residential areas, celebrating with visible markers the boundaries of the Bond Hill historic district. Future Bond Hill Days celebrations can both promote and educate the Council's new vision and describe the area's nearly 150-year history.

Lastly, the Bond Hill Community Council should take advantage of the great energy expended and vision imagined by community advocates and planners in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The community plan, developed by the Council in the late 1970s with help from the Cincinnati Planning Department and the University of Cincinnati's School of Planning, provides a remarkable starting point in marshalling a new planning vision for Bond Hill. The plan has been all but forgotten and still includes recommendations and visions for the neighborhood still relevant today. By reviewing the vision contained within, and modifying it as necessary, the plan can be used as a tool to pursue and maintain positive change over the next twenty years.

Appendix 1: *Suburban Homes for Business Men*, "Introduction" (R. Nelson 1874, 5-15)

CINCINNATI.

It is generally conceded, that for beauty of scenery, salubrity of climate, and adaptation to the purposes of commerce and manufactures, Cincinnati, as a city, stands unrivaled. Located in an extensive agricultural region, and fronting on one of the greatest rivers known to commerce, her merchants receive and distribute merchandise over an area of thousands of miles, while her supply of fuel and material enables her manufacturers to compete with the older cities of America and Europe. Nor is she more distinguished for her commerce and manufactures, than for her facilities for maintaining a healthy population. The most densely populated of American cities she is the most healthy. Protected from the severity of winter storms by surrounding hills, possessing an unlimited supply of pure river water, and having a surface the best adapted for drainage, her inhabitants enjoy more of the conditions for health and longevity than fall to the lot of denizens of any other commercial and manufacturing city in the world.

Thus favored, we can account for the unparalleled growth in population and wealth of this

QUEEN OF THE WEST,

Which, in 1800, was a village of only 780 inhabitants, and in 1870, was with its dependencies, a great city of 300,000 population, representing property to the amount of \$255,000,000. So rapid has been her growth and development, she has absorbed her immediately available building property, before her citizens are conscious of the fact. Business and manufactures have compelled a large portion of her resident population to take refuge in the cities of Newport and Covington, and have pressed the balance several squares back from the river front, and are rapidly supplanting it on all the leading thoroughfares. Families have betaken themselves to the slopes; houses are climbing the steep acclivities, while not a few enterprising pioneers have scaled the heights, and others made the pilgrimage of Millcreek Valley, only to find themselves again embraced within the limits of the rapidly advancing city. Despite the stagnation of trade, the unjust discrimination of transportation companies, and the extraordinary efforts of rival cities to possess her trade, property in Cincinnati continues to advance, while the commutation passenger trade has acquired an impetus that nothing can check. In short, the city is already occupied, and already our more enterprising business men have taken lessons of those of New York city, and are fast learning to occupy the suburbs. But if it is now so overcrowded, what will be its condition on the completion of

THE CINCINNATI SOUTHERN RAILROAD?

The Louisville Commercial of a late date says :

" We fear the legislative provisions requiring the Cincinnati Southern road to carry freight and passengers at the same rates for connecting lines as for the main trunk, and the fact that it will form, with our roads which lap it a shorter route for Louisville than for Cincinnati, have blinded our people to the real danger that menaces her by its building. There is a danger which true courage will not

underestimate, but look in the face and conquer if possible. Let us, then, calmly consider the direct and incontrovertible effect of the now certain construction of this great Southern line. Starting at Cincinnati, it passes through seven successive counties in the very heart of our State, and right through our very best coal field, crossing the Cumberland river at the mouth of the south fork, in the midst of the very choicest iron making coals of Kentucky, and her richest lumber and iron ore region, and pushing southward further it taps the vast coal center and iron region of Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, at Chattanooga, thus invading the mineral and lumber magazines of the South.

This road will drain a belt at least ten miles wide on either side for its entire length-it would be probably nearer the mark to say that with its branches it will drain twenty miles on either side-and whither will it carry this trade ? Let every citizen here ask himself this question. There can be no doubt that, notwithstanding our best efforts, the bulk of this trade will go to Cincinnati. We entreat our fellow citizens to listen to these words from across the Atlantic, and then estimate the prize for which Cincinnati is playing.

The London Daily Advertiser says:

"The coal fields of Alabama alone are calculated to yield thirty-two billions five hundred millions (32,500,000,000) tons! More than enough to supply the entire world, at the present rate of consumption, for two thousand (2,000) years! The brown hematite ores in the north-west of the State, in juxtaposition with the pure, hard bituminous coals of the Warrior field, and the red and brown hematites of Central Alabama, adjacent to the Cahaba coal, justifies the prediction that this State alone will in the future produce annually more iron than is now made in England, Scotland, and Wales combined, and at less cost. Tennessee has more coal than Alabama, with iron ore in close proximity, superior in quality and inexhaustible in quantity. Kentucky and Virginia each have more coal than Tennessee and Alabama together, and more than England, Wales, and Scotland ever had! and a larger area of coal than the great coal producing State of Pennsylvania, while their ores are rich and abundant."

" How wise and far seeing was it in Cincinnati to project her Southern Railroad into this incalculably rich region, and offer her own subscription of ten millions of dollars toward its construction ! ' It is,' it continues, ' THE MOST MAGNIFICENT PRIZE THAT ANY CITY EVER ATTEMPTED TO WIN.' * *

" Already a part of our Southern trade passes us by and reaches Cincinnati. We must not hide the effect of the building of this arterial railroad on our interests, but try to protect ourselves by prompt action. Let us observe, further, that along the trade belt of this road immigration will swarm. Germans, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, will push southward through Cincinnati, and the products of their labor will reach that city by direct and cheap transportation. All the arrangements are complete to insure immigration over the lines passing into Cincinnati."

Referring to the recent contract between the Baltimore & Ohio and the Union Pacific Railroad Companies, it shows that CINCINNATI is ON THE LINE OF TRADE AND TRAVEL BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE FAR WEST, and consequently between EUROPE and CHINA and JAPAN.

" The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company now controls exclusively the vast trade passing East and West, to and from California, by the Pacific Rail-road, and it all passes through Cincinnati. Are our people aware of this startling fact? Merchandise and passengers are now shipped by steamer from New York to Baltimore, there transferred to special fast trains on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and forwarded to California and all intermediate points, via Cincinnati! What a combination is here in favor of that city to insure her cheap transportation for immigrants and merchandise, and what a glorious Southern region will pour wealth and power into her lap!"

With such prospects for the future, it behooves our men of business and the city government to prepare the way for the certain increase of trade and manufactures, by encouraging projects for the settlement of the suburbs, and increasing the facilities for reaching them.

Not many years hence the basin of the city proper will be needed for business and manufactures. Instead, therefore, of constructing untraveled avenues and inaccessible pleasure grounds or smoking gardens, misnamed "parks," were the city government to open up means of rapid and cheap travel through or over the hills, citizens could enjoy the luxury of comfortable homes in natural parks of unsurpassed beauty and unlimited extent. But it is not at all likely to do anything so wise and disinterested, and accordingly the burden of relieving the city of its surplus population and preparing it for the future, devolves upon the business community, the railroad companies and capitalists.

BUSINESS MEN SPECIALLY INTERESTED IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SUBURBS.

While the resident population so tenaciously maintains its hold upon the city, the price of property will not only continue high, but will with the increase of trade, indefinitely increase! High rents and heavy taxes which have already driven not a few enterprising men from our city, will then act with increased force, and especially upon our manufacturers, who by that single circumstance may be rendered unable to compete with others in rival cities.

But high rents imply crowded tenements, and the two together exert a great influence in increasing the cost of labor and rendering it uncertain and unreliable. Those who have studied the laws of social science, know that crowding increases crime. The morals become depraved, intemperance reigns, and men not only often neglect work, but become mentally and morally unfit to faithfully perform it. Nor is that all. Living in such a state of depravity, they become the ready tools of unprincipled and avaricious politicians who use their opportunity not only to obtain office where they can rule the public, but to sink their constituents into a still deeper state of degradation; hence our exorbitant taxes, our heavy city debt.

Is it not, therefore, the interest of our business men, to encourage emigration from the city to the suburbs, where the influences are favorable to pure morality, a higher manhood and their own prosperity, as well as that of the city ? Or is it less the interest of philanthropists or capitalists to engage in this enterprise?

This question was ably presented by the Cincinnati Gazette a few years ago, when discussing the merits of the opening of the Tunnel:

" A second class of improvements are those that facilitate and cheapen the comfortable living of mechanics and workingmen. This is a grand point. This can only be done by giving them houses, lots, markets, and railroads cheap. How can you do this? Evidently by putting tens of thousands of the future people outside of the city limits, in pleasant towns built purposely for them, and carrying them at a minimum price. Mr. Stewart is building a town on Long Island for this purpose. The New Jersey Central Railroad does this when it starts a train of cars from New York to Elizabeth and other country towns every ten minutes, and carries them for a minimum price. From six to twelve miles north of Cincinnati can be had good sites for half a dozen such towns, and all that is wanted are facilities for getting to them.

" The problem of extending Cincinnati is reduced to just this-of giving cheap houses and cheap living to working men. It can be done, and it ought to be an object alike benevolent and patriotic to every man who has acquired his wealth by the labor of others, (and who has not?) to help the great mass of workingmen to cheap homes and cheap living."

The Railroad Record of about the same date states that:

" It is of the utmost importance that great cities should provide cheap and comfortable homes for its working people. If such homes can not be got the best part of the mechanics and working men must emigrate. The progress of a city can not be aided in any way so well as to make living cheap and comfortable for the people. This is an element of city success."

THE SUCCESS OF OTHER CITIES.

As Chicago, St. Louis, and Indianapolis, which do not possess the natural advantages of Cincinnati, for trade and for obtaining manufacturing supplies, is very much owing to the unlimited extent of their building property, and its adaptability for cheap and rapid travel and transportation. On the extensive plains of Chicago and St. Louis, the street cars carry passengers a distance of six or seven miles for as many cents, whereas in some parts of Cincinnati, as Walnut Hills, it costs passengers three or four times that amount by the only conveyance-an omnibus.

The accessibility and availability of property in the cities mentioned, attracts capital for building tenements to be rented to mechanics and others till they can buy the property they live in or build elsewhere; hence we find spread over miles of surface, the comfortable tenement cottages, the cozy homes and ample yards of this very important class of citizens. In this way these cities hold out inducements to settle that constitute the highest kind of premium for labor; while the labor thus obtained is more reliable, intelligent, and may soon be the most skilled.

THE BARRIERS TO CINCINNATI'S PROGRESS.

From these considerations, it is obvious that the barriers to the more rapid progress of Cincinnati, are the very hills that seem to have invited settlement. Beyond them on all sides there is room for unlimited expansion. Ascending Vine Street and Walnut Hills on the north and east, and the chain of hills forming the boundary of Millcreek Valley on the west, we reach the undulating high lands-the natural parks that offer pleasure, health, and repose to the tired mechanic and care-worn business man. Surmount these, or increase the facilities for getting round and beyond them, and the crowded

citizens will do as those of New York city have done in the short space of ten years, literally swarm to the country.

The New York Herald says:

"But a, very few years since-five years at most-much writing and argument were necessary to interest the people of New York in New Jersey, as a place of residence. Then that part of the State contiguous to New York, if we except Hudson county, was, outside of the cities, but plain farming lands, and in most instances could be bought at old farming prices ; and the railroads carried a few local passengers. But now who would recognize the New Jersey of those days?"

* * * * *

Newark, Patterson, Hackensack, Elizabeth, Jersey City and Hoboken, form the New Jersey chain of cities, by intervening villages all their streets connect, and the most remote-Patterson and Hackensack, are within 60 minutes of New York. Unite all under one government and they would form a metropolis occupying 122 square miles, the same area as that of London, the population being 400,000, two-thirds of which have gone from the city of New York.

The inhabitants of metropolitan New York, including the suburbs for 40 miles, comprise 2,220,627 souls, only 41 [and] 1/2 per cent, of which live in the city proper.

So will it be in Cincinnati, whose suburbs are much more susceptible of and quite as desirable for settlement.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE

For the settlement of the property along the lines of our older roads, our readers generally know. A liberal policy on the part of the "Old Reliable" and the Hamilton & Dayton roads, has built up towns of quite respectable dimensions. The Dayton Short Line seems disposed to pursue the same course, and is being rewarded by a growing commutation list.

But these roads all run upon the lower plane of the Ohio valley, one following the line of the Little Miami river, and the others being located in the valley of Mill creek. The elevated plateau of the north-east, or the undulating high lands beyond Walnut Hills and Avondale, have not been reached by them or their connections.

The desirableness of this region for suburban homes for city men, has not escaped the notice of capitalists and railroad men, however, but the steep grades to be encountered, seemed to present insuperable obstacles. To get over or beyond Walnut Hills, seemed to be the problem of all projects looking to the establishment of a highway, till the year 1847, when the projectors of the Dayton & Cincinnati Railroad obtained a charter from the State legislature, with the object of solving it by piercing the hills with a

TUNNEL,

And constructing a double track railroad between this city and Dayton. With this enterprise our readers are not unfamiliar. About one-third of the work on this tunnel was accomplished many years ago, at an expenditure of \$475,000, and abandoned for want of means. Attempts have been made within the past two years to complete the work, and though little has yet been accomplished, stockholders seem confident of early success.

The tunnel failing to meet the expectations of the public who were looking to the development of the north-eastern suburbs, it remained for the

MARIETTA & CINCINNATI RAILROAD COMPANY

To essay the task, which was accomplished, as most of our readers know, by winding around the hills, and coming into the city by the way of Cumminsville and the Millcreek Valley.

This so increased the distance of the various points from the city, that for a long time few cared to locate on the road. Latterly, however, a great change has taken place in public sentiment on the question of distance by railroad. The consideration is not how many miles have to be traveled, but how long will it take to reach any point after leaving the business house or office, and what will be the expense? That desirable suburb, College Hill, which is only six miles from Cincinnati, can not be reached from the business part of the city, in much less time than an hour, and a part of that time is consumed in a long walk to the depot, or a long ride in the street cars, thus increasing the cost of monthly travel. Another part of the journey is accomplished in an omnibus, in which passengers are exposed to the dust and heat of summer, and the chilling cold of winter.

If we take the line of the "Little Miami," we find the depot so far distant from the business center, that a long journey has to be made on foot or an extra fare paid on the street cars to reach it. Then to get up to the high and healthy grounds within easy distance of the city, still another journey has to be performed. On the M. & C. Railroad, these extra journeys, and the loss of time and money incident to making them can be saved.

The depot being located near the center of business, is easy of access, and the line of this road from the city limits to the summit of the county, being on a rising grade, passengers are landed on dry and healthy elevations, where they can make their homes close to the railroad.

Reference to the time table on page 142 will show that in this way commuters living at Maderia, 18 miles distant, reach their homes about as soon as those residing at College Hill.

Reckoning distance by time, even Walnut Hills is farther from business centers, than many of the suburbs on the M. & C. Railroad. To reach the summit occupies the same time as to go to Bond Hill, and the omnibus stand on East Walnut Hills, is as far distant, by time, as Montgomery station. And if we take into consideration the expense of travel, the difference is still in favor of the railroad. Commutation tickets, which do not limit the passenger to any number of trips, are to Bond Hill, only \$45 a year, to Norwood, \$50; whereas, one trip commutation tickets to Walnut Hills, cost \$52 a year.

An annual ticket to Loveland, which is 25 miles distant, costs only \$65, or about 10 cents each way! At that point, and many other desirable places on the M. & C. Railroad, property can be had at nearly the same price per acre, that it costs per front foot on Walnut Hills. [See Loveland.]

THE NORTH-EASTERN SUBURBS

Of Cincinnati, as described in this volume, is that part of Hamilton county, between Spring Grove Cemetery and Loveland, that lies within easy distance of the M. & C. Railroad—a Suburb, which, for diversity of surface, gentle slopes, wide valleys, and variety of tint and color, is, during most of the year, one of surpassing loveliness.

Beyond Avondale and East Walnut Hills, is a convex basin or amphitheater, of some twenty-five square miles, which is so admirably adapted for suburban residences, or even a compact city, that it will at no distant day, be included in the city limits, and may soon contain the larger portion of the city's resident population. At present this territory consists of the improved farms and extensive meadows of the opulent farmers, who have grown rich by their proximity to the city and to the railroad. For a distance of four miles from the city, the Montgomery road runs through this beautiful country, where the eye of the traveler may roam over hundreds of acres of park-like plains, ornamented with groves of forest trees and clumps of evergreens, with here and there a wide-spreading lawn, intersected by serpentine walks or drives, leading to a stately mansion or a less pretentious cottage.

At the intersection of the Montgomery road with the M. & C. railroad, the surface becomes more variable. High lands offering the most extensive range of view now present themselves, and beyond, on the line of the turnpike road, is the undulating table-land of the county.

Here the country is rich in orchards and hay-making farms. In various places the road is lined with rows of cherry trees, that yield almost never failing crops* Broad meadows clothed in rich green, mansions with ample lawns, browsing cattle dotting the slopes, add to the beauty of the scenery. In the distance the prospect widens, and admits to view the distant hills of Kentucky, the western slopes of Mill creek, and the misty lines of Clermont.

As the distance from the city increases, the country is more sparsely settled, and the scenery grows less picturesque than grand, except in the vicinity of the western verge of the plateau, where the scope of view seems illimitable. Below, in the valley of Mill creek, are the thriving towns of Reading, Lockland, Wyoming and Sharonville, and almost beyond the broad valley is the beautiful village of Glendale, while away in the far distance are to be seen the spires of the towns on the Great Miami.

On the line of the railroad the scenery is more romantic. Leaving the amphitheater in which are situated Norwood, Oakley and Madisonville, the course is through a deep chasm in the overlooking hills, where the steep banks run up to an elevation of some one hundred and sixty feet above the level of Madisonville. On the west bank of this chasm or ravine, are groves of oak, and beech, and maple; on the east, orchards and fields of grain, alternating with grassy slopes, at the foot of which may be found an occasional cotter.

Beaching the summit, an apparently new town, fresh from the hands of the builders, greets the eye, with an occasional farm-house and orchard to add to the aspect of quiet, comfort and rural enjoyment. From this point the country is now broken, though in nowise lacking in picturesque beauty. A down-grade soon brings the traveler to the level of the Little Miami river, upon which placid stream the eye now rests with more than ordinary pleasure.

Continuing along the line of the railroad, we find upon our right the deep waters of this beautiful river, and pass successively, peering through the rich foliage, the attractive homes of the thrifty farmers, and fields of grain that promise an abundant harvest. On the left is the verge of the table lands of Hamilton, with here and there farm houses, lanes and orchards, and homes of city men. Such is the character of the country, till we reach our prescribed limits of the North-eastern suburbs-Loveland.

Reviewing this extensive tract of country, the almost total absence of jutting rocks, craggy peaks and sun-dried banks, is, except in the railroad excavations, remarkable. Besides it can be safely asserted that there are no swamps to breed malaria: no stagnant pools or offensive debris.

The soil in general is a friable clay, resting on a substratum of limestone; hence, its character as a grass-growing and hay-producing region. A large proportion of the immense hay-supplies of Cincinnati comes from the north-eastern suburbs, and chiefly by the way of the Montgomery turnpike, which ramifies these delightful suburbs.

The water is clear and sparkling, and in sufficient abundance for farm purposes-creeks and brooks and springs abound, while by sinking shafts from 10 to 20 feet, well water can be obtained on some of the highest ground. Such is a general view of this beautiful country. When referring to the property near the various stations, a more detailed description will be given.

Appendix 2: *Suburban Homes for Business Men*, "Bond Hill" (R. Nelson 1874, 22-27)

Leaving Ludlow station in the rear, the passenger is soon at the canal bridge, and fairly out in the country. The train in crossing the canal, almost at a leap, scarcely admits of time to notice the placid waters as they reflect the overhanging trees and shrubs, but that loss is compensated by the splendid view obtained of the surrounding country and Longview Asylum, whose tall chimneys and ample dome add to the picturesqueness of the scenery.

On both sides of the road the land is undulating, presenting hills and knolls and plains, adapted alike for villas and town settlements. Soon the whistle calls attention to the next station. On approaching which may be noticed the chaste villa of George W. Martin, occupying a beautiful rising ground, and nearly surrounded with the remains of the native forest, and ornamental trees and shrubs. This building fronts on the township road, from which it is almost concealed by the dense foliage of the tall oaks and maples. On the south line of the grounds, is located a handsome little station house, offering shade and shelter and rest to the weary or waiting passenger, and this is,

BOND HILL.

This young and thriving town is the outgrowth of the cooperative plan of raising money, and meets a necessity that in Cincinnati is every year more pressing—that of men of moderate means to procure suburban homes.

Bond Hill was founded and chartered in the autumn of 1870, and fully organized on the 3d of February following, under the title of the "Co-operative Land and Building Association No. 1, of Hamilton County."

Unlike most of the building associations in the vicinity of Cincinnati, this is a building society in fact, as well as in name. As stated more at length under the head of "Building Associations," this society has purchased its own land, laid out and graded its own streets and avenues, built, and continues to build its own houses from its own common fund.

The extent of the grounds is thirty acres, situated on the hill from which the town derived its name, and distant from the railroad station some two thousand feet, in a northerly direction. Though scarcely a glimpse of the town can be seen from the station or the cars, it stands upon an elevation considerably above the level of the road.

A substantial plank walk connects the handsome little station with the town, affording a pleasant walk in both summer and winter. This walk is on the road of the sectional line passing from Avondale through Bond Hill, toward Carthage. A leisurely walk of a few minutes along this plank path, takes us to the boundary line of the town, (as seen in the accompanying engraving,) where the eye immediately takes in the view of the entire settlement, as it lies on a slightly undulating plateau, which commands a most unexpected prospect of the beautiful country around.

Near to us on the north and west, are the commodious residences of John Ferris and Jas. H. Murray, and between them, in the near distance, the extensive buildings of Longview Asylum. Farther to the left, and some distance below, we notice the track of the Dayton Short Line, and to the south, the hills and knolls extending to Avondale. Close by on the east, is the Orphan Asylum, (which is seen to much better advantage than from the cars,) and the settlement about Five Mile House, on the Reading pike, close at hand.

Taking a survey of the town, we notice a few remains of the old farm settlement in the large shade trees on the avenue leading to the Reading road, then the neat and substantial homes of the members.

Sixteen of these houses are already occupied, and others nearly, if not quite, ready for occupancy. These houses are built on lots measuring sixty-seven by one hundred and nine feet, and are retired from the sidewalk fifteen feet, leaving a space of ninety feet clear between opposite buildings. We had the pleasure of examining the interior of two of the houses, that of L. H. Smith, which contains seven rooms besides an outside kitchen, and the home of G. B. Denny⁶⁶, a house of similar dimensions. Still finer houses than those are to be seen in the town, one of which cost \$7,000.

These houses are built of brick, are two stories high, with five windows of four lights each, fronting on the street. The rooms are large enough for general family purposes, and well provided with light and ventilation, and any one can be entered without passing through another.

To secure complete ventilation in the town, the by-laws require houses to be erected on the center of each lot, and, as already stated, fifteen feet back from the pavement. Shade and fruit trees are being planted along the streets—Yes, "fruit" trees. Mr. Smith, for instance, having a northern aspect for his front, says he does not need shade trees, and being a utilitarian, is determined that his trees shall be producers. On our venturing an insinuation regarding the "boys, he interrupted us by stating that Bond Hill boys did'nt belong to that class.

The association builds another style of house, which costs only half of the former, viz.: \$1,000, including ground, but as two of these are erected with a "party" wall, the accommodations afforded are greater in proportion to the price than in the larger ones. Either house, however, makes a genteel and comfortable dwelling, and costs the owner less per month to buy it, than he would have to pay in rent for a similar house in the city.

Advantages of Location.—In selecting a site for the use of the organization, the managers were not actuated by a desire for display. On the contrary, they seem to have preferred retirement. Besides the item of economy, they were influenced by the following considerations:

1. Proximity to the city by turnpike and railroad, as well as accessibility to the center of business—The Reading pike and the Section-line road satisfy the former condition, and the Marietta Railroad the latter. By the pike, the distance to the city through the beautiful village of Avondale,

⁶⁶ "Mr. George B. Denny, the long and well known advertising agent of *The Daily Times* of this city, has accepted a similar position on the Indianapolis State Journal. That journal is fortunate in securing the services of such a popular and competent gentleman" (*Cincinnati Enquirer* 8/2/1871).

is only five miles, by the Section-line road when opened, the drive will be still more charming, and of course, more direct

2. Elevation, which secures the town from the miasmatic influences of Mill creek and its tributaries.
3. Facility of drainage. These grounds possess a gently undulating surface, dipping toward the Millcreek Valley, and a sandy soil.

Society.-Among the residents of Bond Hill, we notice a member of the press, a newspaper attache, a gentleman connected with railroad interests, a public school principal, a lumber dealer, two or three builders, and a printer. Among the stockholders is one of our most prominent citizens, whose enterprise and means have aided many worthy objects.

A Sunday School has grown into prominence, and already possesses a respectably-sized library.

Considerable progress has been made in organizing social entertainments. The Bond Hill Circle, a dramatic reading society, gave weekly readings in private houses the past winter. This society and the necessity of a place in which to hold public meetings, have suggested the formation of a joint company to erect a Public Hall, which will be constructed during the ensuing summer.

The value of the property of the association has been fixed by the managers. Members prepared to buy can do so either at private or public sale, but as the price of the ground is kept nominally at cost, houses and lots command a premium. At present, we are informed, that none of the stock of the association is offered for sale.

OFFICERS FOR THE CURRENT YEAR [1874].

President, J.C. KELLEY; Vice-President, H.WATKINS; Secretary, E. L. AGIN; Treasurer, W. S. MUNSON; Superintendent, JAS. H. MURRAY.

COMMUTORS, ETC.

J. C. Kelly, R. W. Murray, T. J. Murray, H. Ruffner, Miss Nettie Murray, Sumpter Murray, A. K. Murray, J. W. Coleman, Mary Hannaford, Willie Partridge, Cora Ruffner, Lizzie Champlin, J. M. Champlin, C. E. Rose, H. C. Denis, Thos. Fleshner, James Pummill, W. Lantry, F. M. Spangler, J. H. Hart, S. H. Smith, Chas. Agin, J. H. Murray, H. Weibell, C. A. Partridge, G. B. Denny.

We commend Bond Hill Association to the attention of men of limited means, who contemplate settling in the near suburbs. The organization is a great improvement on those that preceded it, while the tendency of the union is, to establish a species of brotherhood, that is alike advantageous in developing the finer feelings of humanity, and building up a settlement which will reflect credit upon the founders. Every member of this society seems interested in the general welfare of all, and in the cars and in society, a favorite topic of conversation with "Bond Hill men," is their rapid transit to and from business, their society, their new buildings, of which they will soon have twice sixteen, their new hall, their suburbs, and their scenery.

Value of Property in the Vicinity.-That property should increase in value near to such a settlement, is only a natural consequence. Bond Hill property cost \$500 an acre; an adjoining tract of two acres was sold a few days before this writing for \$3,000.

The time required to reach the city from this point is thirty minutes: the commutation rates, \$5 per month.

In closing this sketch, it may be of interest to state that the sale of intoxicating drinks on the premises of Bond Hill, is prohibited by the laws of the association.

ST. ALOYSIUS ORPHAN ASYLUM.

The next prominent object on the Bond Hill side of the road, is this charitable institution, which is located on the Reading turnpike, and lies north of the railroad.

It is situated on a tract of fifty-four acres, owned by the institution, and its naturally beautiful grounds are seen to fine advantage from the cars. The main building is three-stories high with a basement, and contains the dining-rooms, kitchen, clothes-rooms, dormitories and chapel. The house is constructed with a wing on each side as it fronts the turnpike. These wings are two-stories high, and connected with the main building by a hall twenty feet long and ten feet wide. The lower story is used for school purposes, the upper for dormitories.

There are now two hundred and fifty-seven orphans in the Asylum, the girls occupying one side, the boys the other.

The property is now valued at \$150,000.

This institution is sustained by voluntary contributions and from proceeds of annual concerts on Washington's birthday, and refreshment stands on the grounds on the occasion of the celebration of the 4th of July, when the friends of the institution in the city, resort there to the number of 7,000 or 8,000, and a general gala day is held. Previous to the celebration, the officers of the institution collect the viands, etc., with which to entertain their friends, who in their turn contribute a piece of money, from twenty-five cents to five dollars in value for {heir entertainment. In this way from \$5,000 to \$6,000 is raised.

Another occasion for raising money occurs on Church decoration day, which is the third Sunday of September. The sum raised on these three occasions amounts to over \$9,000.

The matron of this establishment is Miss Elise Pape, and the chaplain, Rev. A. H. Walburg. South of the railroad, at Bond Hill, the country presents a peculiar yet picturesque appearance-that of a series of knolls and natural mounds, multiplying incessantly as they approach the northern limits of Avondale. This property is included in the Blatchley estate, and was laid out with avenues for building sites a few years ago, portions of it bringing \$5,000 and upwards an acre.

Appendix 3: *Suburban Homes for Business Men*, "The Science of Real Estate Business" (R. Nelson 1874, 130-144)

The Science of Real Estate Business.

That the rapid growth of the city of Chicago before and since the great fire, has been largely owing to the unlimited amount of its eligible building property, has already been intimated, and who that has recently visited the city or watched the development of its real estate business, will question the truth of the assertion?

More 'money has been realized from operations in real estate, than in any branch of trade, commerce or manufactures. Nor does the business in the least flag. On the contrary, it seems more active than ever; only the scene of operations has changed. The suburbs rather than the city, are the objects of speculation. In proof of this we may state that the sales of land in Cook county, for the year ending October 9, 1873, numbered 15,978, aggregating \$82 [to] 943,359.

This increased demand for suburban property is easily accounted for. The fragile and combustible balloon frames that so unexpectedly and disastrously took flight on that eventful occasion-the great fire-lost the confidence of the people. After the conflagration, brick buildings began to succeed and supersede frame structures, and an ordinance made it a penal offense to erect frame structures within certain limits. This had the effect of inducing settlement immediately outside of the fire limits, where cheap improvements could be made on cheaper property. Those who were able to put up a higher grade of improvement, and could find time to travel farther to and from business, went out beyond the limits of the city, and either projected new suburbs or settled on those already opened. There they found the frame structure not only as desirable as one of brick, but in several respects preferable to it. The frame is more susceptible of ornamentation, costs less money, and because of its isolation on a large lot in the suburbs, is more exempt from accidents by fire, than the more solid brick structure in the city block. Another inducement to settle in the suburbs, was the fact that property purchased in the new settlement, was an investment that would pay perhaps better than if made in a man's legitimate business. His own improvement increases the value of the property around him, and favorably affects itself, while his family is an acquisition to the settlement by increasing the population, and aiding the various instrumentalities that make life in the country desirable. In no city in the Union are these facts better known than in Chicago, and nowhere else do the people profit more by their knowledge. Says the author of *Chicago and its Suburbs*: " Indeed the feature of the Chicago market for the past two years, has been the suburban trade, in which many fortunes have been made." "The fact is, that ninety-nine of every hundred, will go an hours' ride into the country or toward the country rather than live under or over another family, as the average New Yorker or Parisian does ; and this tendency will be in-creased in future years rather than diminished."

OTHER INDUCEMENTS.

There are still other inducements held out to citizens of the city to occupy the suburbs, and one of them is the opening of public parks in various directions. Chicagoans are a social people, and would hardly consent to isolate themselves from society, even for cheaper and better homes, so parks are encouraged, because they not only reach out to the suburbs, wit some of them are in the suburbs.

The writer above quoted, states that notwithstanding the fact that the managers of some of the parks have not been able to construct good driveways, "the South and West parks have been for five years the principal stimulus to land speculation and investment, and the key to the situation of the Chicago real estate market."

Again, the projector of the new suburb sees that he has the means of transit to his colony, or he secures that means even at the expense of building a railroad, as has been done in some instances. Then he lays out the grounds in streets avenues and lots, grades his streets and plants his shade trees. Then, perhaps, he builds a hotel which soon pays its own way, and erects a dwelling for himself. After partial settlement, if the place does not grow fast enough, he may add to it a school house or a church, and with these, perhaps, a few houses, which are sold on terms to suit the class of purchasers he wants.

An extensive operator a few years ago erected out on the prairie, a huge building, that attracted much attention, and was the occasion of much enquiry and comment. The building was designed for a cotton factory, but was not erected to order, nor did the owner design to run the establishment himself. His object was to get a cotton manufacturer from Great Britain or the Continent of Europe, and to sell lots to the operators or rent them houses, as the mill was several miles from the city. How far he has succeeded we have not learned, but the circumstance illustrates the enterprise of Chicago real estate dealers.

Another instance of heavy outlay for an apparently insignificant purpose, is the transplanting of shade trees on the two sides of a street a mile long. "Not such an expensive undertaking," it may be said, but yet it must be admitted that it was a gigantic undertaking, when we state that the trees averaged sixty feet in height, and to put them there cost \$26,000. These trees may be seen on Ashland avenue, which was laid out and is being finished by S. J. Walker.

But real estate men do more than this in order to insure the sale of their property. At South Englewood, for instance, the proprietors advertise "Houses built according to plan" and specifications of purchasers, and sold to them with lots on monthly, quarterly, or yearly payments.

The Blue Island Land and Building Company, will furnish money, in limited amounts, to parties wishing to build houses on lots bought of the company, and will take pay for all in four annual or forty-eight monthly payments, with seven per cent, interest.

At Auburn, lots are sold on long credit to those who will build.

At Mount Forest, no cash payment is asked, of parties making good improvements.

At River Park, property is offered at a reduction of 33 [and] 1/3 per cent., to those who will put up improvements worth \$2,000 and upwards.

At Desplaines, nine seven-room cottages and lots are offered at \$1,000 each-\$200 down, the balance in payments of \$15 a month. But we need not multiply instances. Enough has been stated to show that money is being made in Chicago property, and that it is not done without enterprise and effort, or offering the most liberal terms. It has also been shown that the suburbs of Chicago are being

developed with surprising rapidity. Already the number of suburbs, new and old, amounts to sixty. In other words, the city seems to be moving to the country, so that soon Cook county will have to be incorporated as one city.

"But what has been the effect on the city," it may be asked. Simply to stimulate trade; and instead of cheapening rents for tenement houses, to increase them, as any one may learn from enquiry. The transfer of those great interests to the suburbs-the building of so many houses, has consumed an immense amount of material, and given employment to a vast army of mechanics, who aid in swelling the population, and in creating an increasing demand for city residences. These workmen can not board in the suburbs for want of accommodation, so the city grows-yes, grows, despite frequent predictions, or perhaps, our secret wishes. Money there, is in free circulation. Men have been accustomed to venture capital, and having found that it pays, go on Prospering and to prosper. With the same enterprise capitalists and real estate owners would find that there are more FORTUNES TO BE MADE IN CINCINNATI real estate, than in Chicago, St. Louis, or anywhere else.

It has been shown that it is population that chiefly enhances the value of property-an element in which Cincinnati for her territory, is perhaps the richest in the world. Sparsely settled, as it is, Chicago would seem not to need suburbs; but Cincinnati, crowded to excess-Cincinnati, with many of its houses containing half a dozen families each, its streets closely built with great solid blocks of brick structures, and overflowing with population. "Over the Rhine," are thousands of families, and tens of thousands of people who would gladly accept some of the offers extended by Chicago real estate men. Families that are paying exorbitant rents for close, dark, ill-ventilated, unhealthy rooms. Places that drive the men to the finely furnished drinking saloon, and that have more to do with drunkenness and crime, than temperance people have thought of.

Here is wealth to the real estate operator, and to the philanthropist, if he will engage in the enterprise. Let these people have an opportunity to live in the pure atmosphere of the country, and enjoy the luxury of a whole house instead of a room or two, and you will do more for the cause of temperance among them, than all the temperance organizations extant. Let our philanthropists build houses of three to five rooms, that they can rent or sell at \$10 or \$20 a month, and they will remove this indispensable class of citizens from temptation, and the influence of corrupt and corrupting politicians and their tools, the saloon keepers, and teach them habits of thrift and economy. The trains are now prepared to convey them at reasonable hours and fares, and if they were not, we think we can say for the Marietta & Cincinnati Railroad, that they will meet half way, any enterprise that would have for its object the welfare of the city and development of the suburbs.

Besides this very large class of population, there are thousands of citizens who would be glad to move to the suburbs if they were sure of accommodation. On the Marietta & Cincinnati road there are no houses for rent, and no inducements are held out for people to settle. Few could pay for lot and building without credit, and to borrow money on such property, would in Cincinnati, be impossible. In the city so often referred to, money can be borrowed on improvements, at seven per cent ; in Cincinnati no one will take the risk at any rate, and yet, while we write, the coffers of the banks are overflowing with unemployed currency.

PAYING SPECULATIONS.

That business men are interested in the development of the suburbs of Cincinnati, we need not stop to prove. It is well known, as already intimated, that high rents and limited accommodations have had their influence in making skilled labor scarce and unreliable, and thus operated against the welfare of the city.

To make rents cheap, it is only necessary to occupy the abundance of eligible building property in the suburbs and environs that is waiting for settlement. Within a distance of twenty-four miles of the Marietta & Cincinnati depot, there are many thousands of acres of high and healthy land that it does not pay to cultivate, and would pay heavy dividends to settle with suburban towns. Four accommodation trains now run daily between Loveland and Cincinnati, at hours to suit most classes, as may be seen by reference to the local time table. One train arrives at three minutes after seven, city time, and leaves at six-twenty, Columbus time. Another arrives at seven fifty-three, city time, and leaves at five-ten, Columbus time, and the fare between Loveland and the city, is only \$6 a month.

Business and professional men, clerks and mechanics, can thus live at a distance of twenty-four miles, and attend to their various vocations. But they need not travel twenty-four miles, either to find cheap homes or healthy locations. Most of the line of the Marietta & Cincinnati road is known to be high and salubrious, and property is cheaper at the same distances from the city, than on any other road.

To open up a new suburb, or add to one already open, let us suggest

PLAN I.

Let a builder or a company purchase a tract of 100 acres of land, at \$200 an acre, reserve five acres for a park and a site for a town hall, lay out the balance in lots of four to the acre, which will give a frontage of sixty with a depth of 130 feet, streets and alleys deducted. On fifty of these lots let houses of five rooms be built, which can be done at a cost of \$1,500.

These houses would sell rapidly on ten years' time, at \$1,800 each, in monthly payments of \$15, and there would be 330 lots left; and that too in a town of 250 inhabitants, where the property would be worth from \$3 to \$5 per front foot. Sell 100 of these lots on five years' time, (which will average two and a half years) at \$5 per front foot, and we have $100 \times 60 \times 5 = 430,000$; and 230 lots, in a village whose

| SALES. | Cost | Total |
|--------------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 50 houses | \$1,800/each | \$90,000 |
| 100 lots, 6,000 feet | \$5/foot | \$30,000 |
| 230 lots | \$10/foot | \$138,000 |
| subtotal | | \$258,000 |
| COST AND EXPENSES. | | |
| 100 acres | \$200/acre | \$20,000 |
| Surveying, platting and agency | | \$3,000 |
| Grading and macadamizing | | \$5,000 |
| Town Hall | | \$7,000 |
| 60 houses | \$1,500/each | \$75,000 |
| subtotal | | \$110,000 |
| total | | \$148,000 |

population may now be estimated at 800, and where property would be valued at \$10 per front foot. 230 lots of sixty feet at \$10=:\$138,000.

Over 133 per cent, on an investment, in a speculation that can be completed within five years. And a company with a larger capital, that could afford to sell more houses on long time, would realize still greater returns. There are thousands of citizens who would purchase houses of seven to ten rooms if they could do so on monthly payments of \$30 to \$75 without interest. Others would be glad to pay a few hundred dollars cash down, and the balance in five years; but most will require liberal terms, because the expensive living of the city, prevents families from accumulating spare means. Houses and lots sold at auction on ten years' time, would at the present time command fabulous prices, and ten years on monthly payments, is only a five years' average credit.

It will be readily admitted that property increases in value in the ratio of population and the cost of improvements. To the owner of land in the environs, population is money, and in many cases it would pay him well to donate twenty or thirty acres to a building society, that would immediately put up improvements. 'Hence, one of the first objects of the land speculator should be to plant a colony either by offering a bonus, or what is much better in Cincinnati-to put up improvements on part of the property, and sell on liberal terms. Give such a colony reliable and cheap means of transit and a suitable locality, and it will take care of itself, because every member of it becomes an advertising medium. It is astonishing what momentum the growth of a town suitably located will acquire. Nothing would seem to check it. Some conception of it may be formed by referring to the history of Madisonville. Property that was purchased a few years ago at hundreds per acre, is now worth as many thousands. Several pieces that changed hands in Spring, could not now be had for less than twice the amount paid.

Madisonville also illustrates the advantages of convenient means of transit. For several years she has enjoyed the privilege of a "late and early train," the Madisonville Accommodation, which enabled men of all classes to attend to their various vocations.

Now that Loveland and all intermediate stations are accommodated with a late and early train as well as Madisonville, nearly all classes of citizens can live in the suburbs, at any place along the line that offers the greatest advantages. Business and professional men are specially interested in the running of this extra train, and for them we will suggest

PLAN II.

To lay out a suburb for this class of citizens, a little attention to esthetic taste, as well as comfort and convenience will pay the projector. These people are not so solicitous for fields of grain, gardens of cabbage, or to possess cow pens or horse stables, which would occupy too much time and are entirely too expensive. A little garden patch for vegetables, or space for a parterre would perhaps not be objectionable. But while they care little for farm land, they like to see broad acres of green lawn, with drives and gravel walks, shrubs and flowers. For the culture of music and literature, they would appreciate a public building or a concert hall. A park for a stroll with a lady friend would be desirable, and a play ground in the park for old and young, would not be out of place, nor would a skating rink, especially when one can be had for the selecting. One of the great drawbacks to a country or suburban residence, is the absence of places of resort for old and young. Heads of families who have

outlived amusements too often provide for their own conveniences and tastes in these respects, and thus exclude their grown-up sons and daughters from necessary recreation. Let the projector of a suburb study these wants, and adapt his grounds accordingly.

As to a park, the whole settlement, might, and perhaps ought to be a park, with its curving lines of avenues and un-fenced lawns; its shade and ornamental trees, its shrubs and flowers. It would not be necessary to lay out and complete the whole of a tract at one time. Provision might be made to plant and finish for some fifty houses at irregular intervals, and as these would be sold, a part of the money might be applied to general improvements, and be a splendid paying investment.

We have said nothing about church accommodation. In locating the suburb, already established churches and schools could be secured. There are towns that might be reached by the settlement, that have schools, churches, and the additional advantages of stores, and shops, and workmen. Land in such a location can be purchased at an average of \$150 an acre-land that abounds with building material, clay for brick, stone, sand, and timber, to a limited extent. Brick can be manufactured on the spot, at nearly half the usual price.

Stone can be quarried cheaply, and some can be had in the creeks and river banks.

Sold on ten years' time, these houses and lots would bring at auction, \$4,000 to \$5,000.

The level portion of a tract of 300 acres, might be laid out in half acre lots, including avenues, and the balance in lots of one acre. This would give say, 426 lots. From these take the fifty lots supposed to be improved, and we have 376 lots in a suburb as large as Oakley, where property in the settlement sells for \$10 to \$25 a front foot.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| 300 acres, @ \$150 | \$45,000 |
| Surveying and platting | \$1,000 |
| Grading, etc., of avenues and lawns | \$10,000 |
| Shade and ornamental trees | \$1,000 |
| Park improvements | \$2,000 |
| Public hall | \$10,000 |
| Fifty seven-room houses, \$2,500 each | \$125,000 |
| Total | \$194,000 |

Let \$10,000 more be laid out in improving and embellishing these 376 lots, would it be too much to expect them to command \$750 each? We think they would bring much higher figures at auction, especially if care and taste were exercised in the construction of the houses first built. $276 \times 750 = \$282,000$, to which add \$200,000, the cost of fifty houses and lots at \$4,000, and we have \$482,0.00, which may be realized in an average period of five years.

The capitalist can make this a paying investment, and a joint stock company could probably do it more successfully, as each member would be an operator in soliciting settlers.

PLAN III. CO-OPERATION.

We have now only to suggest that this same object can be carried out by a building association, the members of which would reap the benefits otherwise accruing to the capitalist. The following are some of the advantages of such an association :

1. Containing the chief element that makes up a suburb, it can locate where land and building material are cheap.
2. By manufacturing its own building material, it can effect a saving of thirty to fifty per cent.
3. Extensive pleasure grounds can be secured at a minimum expense, and concert hall, kitchen garden, laundry, bakery, and stable, can be owned in common.
4. Building can be done at a minimum expense, by employing a superintending architect, instead of letting out by contract.
5. Should the society consider it inexpedient to build, members can purchase their material on a liberal credit.
6. All members will share alike in the gains. Those who purchase material will pay high prices, but be relieved of paying rent, while the profits from sales will accrue to stockholders.
7. Every member will be a center of influence in favor of the association, and the more settlers the higher the prices of land and material. In this way the association will be
8. A great saving's bank that will pay compound interest every six months, because
9. land that was purchased at hundreds per acre, will in a year or two be worth more than as many thousands.

PARK PLACE ASSOCIATION.

This is an organization that is designed to secure to members all the advantages enumerated in the foregoing article. Its nominal capital is \$416,000, divided into 800 shares of \$520 each, payable at the rate of \$1 per share, per week, and it purposes

1. To purchase on as long time as possible, 200 acres of land that is rich in building material, and fine scenery, and is high and healthy, and located near to a station and a settled village.
2. After reserving ten acres for park, rink, kitchen garden, etc., to lay out the ground in acre and half acre lots, according to the topography of the locality, and construct drives and a central road or avenue.
3. To commence the manufacture of brick, lime and lumber, to a limited extent, and to improve the grounds.
4. To sell to the highest bidders among the stockholders, lots of land, giving deeds on the payment of the original cost, and taking mortgages for unpaid balances, to be paid in weekly installments.
5. To build houses, and sell in the same way, if preferable.

THE INCORPORATORS ARE

A.C. Nash, J. W. Pillsbury, L. Meredith, George Crist and Richard Nelson; and its office at Nelson, Bolles & Co's 76 West Third Street

THE MARIETTA & CINCINNATI RAILROAD.

ITS ADVANTAGES.

ITS CENTRAL DEPOT. Located on the west side of Plum, between Second and Third streets. This depot occupies the center of business.

TEN DAILY TRAINS, as will be seen by the time table, run between the city and Loveland.

| LEAVES CINCINNATI. | | | | | ARRIVES AT CINCINNATI. | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Coz'd Acc. | Lov'd Acc. | Lov'd Acc. | Hills Acc. | Mail. | STATIONS. | Mail. | Hills Acc. | Lov'd Acc. | Lov'd Acc. | Coz'd Acc. | Fast Line. |
| P. M. | P. M. | A. M. | P. M. | A. M. | | P. M. | A. M. | A. M. | P. M. | A. M. | P. M. |
| 6 20 | 5 10 | 10 00 | 3 45 | 5 50 | Cincinnati..... | 8 15 | 9 30 | 8 00 | 3 20 | 7 10 | 4 50 |
| 6 34 | 5 24 | 10 12 | 3 57 | 6 02 | Brighton..... | 8 00 | 9 15 | 7 45 | 3 05 | 6 58 | ..... |
| 6 37 | 5 27 | 10 15 | 4 00 | 6 05 | Stock Yards..... | 7 56 | 9 15 | 7 43 | 3 02 | 6 55 | ..... |
| 6 40 | 5 30 | 10 19 | 4 04 | 6 08 | Cumminsville..... | 7 53 | 9 12 | 7 39 | 2 58 | 6 52 | 4 29 |
| 6 45 | 5 35 | 10 24 | 4 09 | 6 12 | Spring Grove..... | 7 47 | 9 07 | 7 33 | 2 52 | 6 47 | ..... |
| 6 49 | 5 42 | 10 29 | 4 14 | 6 16 | Ludlow Grove..... | 7 41 | 9 03 | 7 27 | 2 48 | 6 41 | ..... |
| 6 53 | 5 47 | 10 33 | 4 18 | 6 20 | Bond Hill..... | 7 37 | 8 59 | 7 22 | 2 44 | 6 36 | ..... |
| 6 57 | 5 52 | 10 37 | 4 23 | 6 24 | Norwood..... | 7 33 | 8 55 | 7 18 | 2 41 | 6 32 | ..... |
| 7 01 | 5 56 | 10 41 | 4 28 | 6 28 | Oakley..... | 7 29 | 8 51 | 7 14 | 2 37 | 6 28 | ..... |
| 7 05 | 6 00 | 10 45 | 4 33 | 6 32 | Madisonville..... | 7 24 | 8 46 | 7 09 | 2 33 | 6 20 | 4 10 |
| 7 10 | 6 11 | 10 53 | 4 46 | 6 41 | Madeira..... | 7 13 | 8 38 | 7 01 | 2 25 | 6 10 | 4 03 |
| 7 26 | 6 21 | 11 05 | 4 56 | 6 49 | Remington..... | 7 03 | 8 28 | 6 49 | 2 14 | 5 59 | ..... |
| 7 33 | 6 28 | 11 11 | 5 01 | 6 56 | Symmes..... | 6 58 | 8 23 | 6 40 | 2 07 | 5 52 | ..... |
| 7 43 | 6 38 | 11 17 | 5 08 | 7 04 | Loveland..... | 6 53 | 8 17 | 6 30 | 2 00 | 5 45 | 3 44 |
| 8 05 | | | | 7 24 | Cozaddale..... | 6 32 | 7 57 | | | | 5 25 |
| P. M. | P. M. | A. M. | 5 31 | 7 32 | O & W. Pike..... | 6 25 | 7 50 | | | | |
| Arrive | Arr. Loveland | | 5 47 | 7 41 | Level..... | 6 16 | 7 41 | Lvs. Loveland | | | |
| | | | 5 58 | 7 51 | Blanchester..... | 6 05 | 7 30 | | | | |
| | | | 7 10 | 10 25 | Hillsboro..... | 3 30 | 6 20 | | | | |
| | | | P. M. | A. M. | | P. M. | A. M. | | | | |

Express Trains leave Cincinnati 9:00 A. M. and 9:30 P. M.

ITS DOUBLE TRACK has been completed to Norwood, and the work is going forward beyond that point. When finished to Loveland the rate of speed can be increased, and additional trains be put into requisition.

REGULARITY OF TRAINS. The regularity of trains is already assured. Seldom is a local train behind time.

LUXURIOUS CARS. The spacious well-cushioned cars, are among the attractions on the Marietta & Cincinnati road.

ITS ACCOMMODATING CONDUCTORS are not excelled in attention to the comfort of their passengers, and for courtesy to strangers. Packages, baskets, etc., are allowed to be carried with impunity, and without charge.

ITS MAIL TRAIN STOPS AT EVERY STATION, and delivers the morning papers all along the line, so that

PASSENGERS CAN READ THE PAPERS before they leave the cars. THE SCENERY of the Marietta & Cincinnati road, is unsurpassed about Cincinnati, and the track makes

A RISING GRADE till it reaches the table land at Madeira.

ITS CHEAP FARES, only \$6 a month to Loveland, twenty-four miles distant.

ADVANTAGES OF SUBURBAN LIFE.

1st. Health and longevity. The towns in the north-eastern suburbs are noted for their salubrity. The atmosphere is free from malaria, the water pure, and much of the food fresh.

The abundance of sunlight-that great curative agent-the agreeable surroundings, the pleasant society, the walks and drives, the beautiful scenery are all highly conducive to health.

Riding in the luxurious coaches of the Marietta & Cincinnati Railroad, is also conducive to health. It rests the weary frame, brings into action the whole viscera, diverts the attention from business cares, and affords complete relaxation of mind. The coaches are roomy, well ventilated in summer, and comfortably heated in winter, contrasting strongly with street car accommodation.

The elevated grounds, the cooling breezes of evening, and serenity of country life, soothe to rest and induce sound sleep, that great invigorator and recuperator.

Early retirement results in early rising as a habit, and early rising lengthens the working day. Hence, the suburban resident can reach business at an earlier hour than the city denizen, and engage in it with much more vigor and alacrity. Contrast the cheerful countenance and clear complexion of the former, with the pallid hue and care-worn look of the latter.

Contributing alike to happiness and health, is the social intercourse in the church, benevolent and literary and musical societies. The village concert more than counterbalances the fashionable opera, or gay theater, or grand concert, but even these are not denied to the suburban resident, and every year they are getting more accessible.

The care of a limited kitchen or flower garden, affords delightful and healthy occupation.

2nd. Economy in living, is an advantage secured by a suburban residence. One-half the cost of a city residence, on a few feet of ground, will give a fine residence and acres of land in the country.

Living is cheaper, clothing is plainer, houses can be less expensively furnished, water costs nothing, light less than half as much as gas, and fuel quite as low as in the city. Taxation is lighter, because the assessments are lower. Many families cultivate nearly enough food for their own use.

3rd. Punctuality and regularity are taught by a residence on a railroad line; and thus men acquire system in conducting their business and domestic affairs.

4th. The pleasures are among the advantages. The walks and drives, the fishing excursions, the neighboring parties and concerts, the rural sports are alike conducive to health, happiness and morality, if properly used.

Let these advantages be placed in the scale with those claimed by the city resident, and the balance will be largely in favor of the country home and the North-eastern Suburbs.

Appendix 4: “The Beginning of Bond Hill” (Patmor 1961)

Before there was any village of Bond Hill, there was a man by the name of Bond who owned and operated a sawmill which was located in about the middle and on the north side of the twelve hundred block of what is now Laidlaw Avenue. At that time this was all woods. There were only three streets which were mud lanes at that time. One was Paddack Road which was named after Judge Paddack of the City of Cincinnati. Here you will note there is no letter "o" in Paddack, as there is today on our street signs, which are wrong.⁶⁷

Then, there was the Murray Road which runs from what is Vine Street today in St. Bernard to Paddack Road. That part of the street that is in St. Bernard is still named Murray Road. That part in Bond Hill was changed to Laidlaw Ave. Murray Road was named after a family by the name of Murray.⁶⁸ They lived on the north side of this street east of the Westinghouse Plant that was recently built. Relatives of this family still live in Bond Hill.

Then there was Ross Avenue, which runs from what is Vine Street now in St. Bernard to Paddack, Reading Road, and on to Norwood. The part in St. Bernard is still called Ross Avenue. That part in Bond Hill was changed to Tennessee Avenue. This street was named after a party by the name of John Ross of St. Bernard, who owned lots of property at that time and was well liked.

St. Bernard at this time was called Ludlow Grove more often than St. Bernard, as there was a picnic grounds there of that name, owned by the Ludlow family.⁶⁹

Norwood at that time was known as the Village of Sharpsburg and there is a public school there today called the Sharpsburg School. In the early days, this village was known as the North Woods. In later days it was renamed "Norwood." It got its name from the North Woods.⁷⁰

In these days the people of St. Bernard and Cincinnati would use a footpath through the woods "for a short cut from St. Bernard to Bond's sawmill to work or transact business." It got to be a common saying that they were going up on Bond Hill, so this is how we got the name, "Bond Hill."⁷¹

⁶⁷ Emerson's 1847 map and census records from 1850 and 1860 show a local landowner in Millcreek Township named William Paddock, with an 'o'. Disagreement over the origin over the name spelling heated up in the 1930s but seems to have simmered down recently.

⁶⁸ This would be the family of the Cooperative member and superintendent, James H. Murray.

⁶⁹ St. Bernard was settled in 1851, but incorporated in 1878 when it merged with the subdivision of Ludlow Grove, a nearby railroad suburb similar to Bond Hill.

⁷⁰ This is one of two extant theories on the origin of Norwood's name. The other theory is that the name was chosen by Bolles and his wife Sarah, from the title of the popular 1867 novel *Norwood, or Village Life in New England* by Henry Ward Beecher. The novel presented a particular worldview, theology, and politics appealing to the middle-class after the post-Civil War Gilded Age. Bolles was also the partner of Richard Nelson, author of *Suburban Homes for Businessmen*.

In these days, a party by the name of John Hare operated a four-horse bus between St. Bernard and the Gault House in Cincinnati. It was common thing when this bus was heavily loaded and leaving Cincinnati for St. Bernard, on account of the bad road and steep grade, the man in the bus would get off and walk behind the bus up Vine Street hill, as it was a long and hard pull.

The creek south of us, Ross Run, was named after John Ross of St. Bernard. The creek north of us called "Bloody Run" has quite a history connected with it. When the Indians scalped and killed the white man and threw him in the creek, other white men saw the blood running down the creek and traced it, and found what had happened. From then on, the creek was called "Bloody Run." There is, or was, a marker along the creek in Elmwood Place showing where the man was massacred.⁷²

A party by the name of Mildred Schulze wrote a book called "Elm Tree Days." It gives a full description of the killing on the bank of this creek. This book is now available in the Cincinnati Public Library, Bond Hill Branch.

Before there was a Village of Bond Hill, the Marietta and Ohio Railroad was built through here.⁷³ It is now the Baltimore and Ohio.

Three lakes and one body of water called "The Basin" was built here. Ice was cut on the basin and the three lakes each year, to supply Cincinnati with ice. The ice was stored in four ice houses - one house was on the west end of Chester Lake, which still stands, and is occupied by the Cincinnati Ice and Fuel Company. This lake was north of Murray Road, where the Werk Soap Company plant is today.

Ross Lake the largest, was south of Murray Road where the Virginia Carolina Fertilizer Company, Cincinnati Chemical Company and other plants are located today

There was one ice house on the west shore of Ross Lake and the horse stables of the Cincinnati Ice and Fuel Company. There also was a Canoe Club and beautiful Club House on the northwest corner of the lake. This was supported by very prominent men of Cincinnati who in season enjoyed duck hunting on the lake. There was also another large ice house on the southeast shore next to the canal. These two ice houses burnt in the nineties. The basin was south of Murray Road, now Laidlaw Avenue, and east of the canal. It was used to bring in sand boats off the canal to load sand out of the Broxtermans sand pits. Willow Lake was south of the basin next to the canal and north of Ross Run. A party by the name of Shippenberg lived in a house at the northeast end of this lake and he had charge of the lake and ice house. Between the basin and Willow Lake and next to the canal there was

⁷¹ Is this statement apocryphal? It is the least vague reference to the origin of the name Bond Hill on record. Other sources suggest that the place name had its origin in the 1830s or 40s, before the settlement of St. Bernard.

⁷² In contrast with Schulze's telling, my thesis argues that this killing occurred where Bloody Run crossed Harmar's Trace. Schulze would have the killing at the crossing of Bloody Run with Spring Grove Avenue.

⁷³ The Marietta-Cincinnati railroad, from Loveland to the Mill Creek Valley, was completed in 1866, opened for service in 1870.

another large ice house. This was just across the canal from the one I previously mentioned on the southeast corner of Ross Lake. This ice house also burned and so did the other two previously mentioned. All three burned in the nineties about a year or two apart. These three ice houses were never rebuilt, as the manufacturing of ice had started at this time. The basin and canal were one. The three lakes were fed by pipe from the canal. These three lakes every few years were drained into Ross Run for cleaning out the water vegetation for the sake of clean and clear ice.

When Ross Lake was made, they dug up a skeleton of a Mastodon. I have in my possession part of one tooth. This lake was named after the same man as Ross Avenue and Ross Run, John Ross of St. Bernard. As I stated before, this man owned a tremendous amount of land. I have heard according to his will, the Ross Lake property and property he owned west of it, could not be sold for a given number of years after his death. I did hear his estate gave ninety-nine year leases on the property. These leases may have expired by this time.

The Erie and Miami Canal was built before my time. I understand that some of the property was donated for the building of the canal, and the deeds read as following: "If canal is abandoned, the property was to be returned to the abutting property holders."

In the early days the canal had passenger service on some boats. This was before the B&O Railroad was built. Our early settlers came here from the east by the way of the canal.

I remember when a track was built on the towpath and a car was operated on it, called "The Electric Mule." It was for the purpose of pulling the canal boats, but they claimed it washed the banks too much and was discontinued. Lots of politics was mixed up with this. Not so many years later the canal was abandoned.

I also remember after a heavy rain the canal bank gave way on the west side near where Ross Run goes under the canal bed. This was during my school days, some time in the early nineties. Jacob Gloss got the contract of repairing it and my father was the foreman.

The same day the canal broke, we got word here in the village that because of the heavy rain, Mill Creek was out of its banks and the B&O Railroad bridge over the creek at St. Bernard was expected to be washed out, as barrels from the Procter and Gamble Company had clogged the bridge. George Hessler, my schoolmate, and I walked down the B&O Railroad to the bridge and when we got there, they had carloads of coal on the bridge holding it down and men working under the bridge dislodging the barrels. On this trip we noticed that the canal was running over the towpath when we were crossing the B&O Railroad canal bridge. Later on we got word that the canal had broken the same place we had seen it running over.

The Village of Bond Hill started on the north side of First Street, which is now California Avenue.⁷⁴ The village then grew north. For many years the village consisted of four streets and two alleys. First Street is now California, Second Street changed to Myrtle and now to Regent. Third Street is now Laidlaw Avenue, Fourth Street is now Ryland Avenue. Laidlaw Avenue was named after a man by the

⁷⁴ The Village was actually incorporated 15 years after the Cooperative began building the Bond Hill subdivision in 1871.

name of Laidlaw, who was connected with the Laidlaw Dunn Gordon Company of Elmwood Place, now the Worthington Pump Company. He lived at the southeast corner of Oberlin and Laidlaw Avenue. He has relatives living here in Bond Hill today.

In later years they built Carolina, Franklin and Summit Avenues. In later years Summit was changed to Yarmouth. A man by the name of Henry Huffman and my father, George W. Patmor, who lived in St. Bernard at that time, plastered most of the houses built here. They are double brick houses all built alike. They were financed by a Building Association - you can look around the town today and pick them out.⁷⁵

When I went to school here we had the following business houses: John F. Ahlers, southeast corner of California and Oakdale Avenues, who had a grocery and coal yard. His stable was at the northeast corner of Oakdale and Carolina Avenues. His first store was moved from that corner to 1505 California Avenue. It was then occupied by a party by the name of Quick. He had a shoe repair shop. After Quick, a man by the name of Grieshaber had the shop. It is now occupied by the Lamping Plumbing Company. His residence was a log cabin behind the store. It was moved on to a lot facing Carolina Avenue. The new store stands today and is occupied by the Voss Grocery Company. Ayers Wilson had a butcher shop at 1325 Regent Avenue. He had his slaughter house in the hollow on the Ferris Farm, which was north of Ryland Avenue. The low part of Oberlin Boulevard north of Rossmore Avenue is about where the slaughter house was. Members of the family still live here. Mrs. Willoughby had a drygoods, notion and candy store at 1328 Regent Avenue. Dick Macke had a cafe at the southwest corner of Oberlin and California Avenues. Jake Gloss had a grocery and cafe at 1225 California Avenue. The Post Office was at the southeast corner of Oberlin and California. The Postmaster was George Hare. He also had the morning and evening paper route. Frank Rose had his barber shop in the 1600 block on the south side of California Avenue. B. Truitt had his barber shop in the 1500 block on the south side of California Avenue and in later years on Oberlin Avenue between California and Regent avenues. West of Oakdale Avenue between Carolina and Franklin Avenues was the location of the first Tillage stable and fire house. Previous to the building of the village stable, this lot was used as a playground. Later when we became of Cincinnati, the city built a new fire house at the northwest corner of Oakdale and Carolina Avenues. They finally did away with the fire house, and it was sold and remodeled into an apartment building.

The Town Hall and Bond Hill Building Association were at the southwest corner of California and Oakdale Avenues, where the Kroger store is today. The Building Association which was in the back of the hall owned both.⁷⁶ The hall above the Bond Hill Building Association was occupied by the K[nights] of P[ythias] Lodge from the early eighties until it was torn down to make way for the new

⁷⁵ This was the Henry Watkin's *Cooperative Land and Building Association No. 1 of Hamilton County Ohio*, not to be confused with the *Bond Hill Building Association* founded in 1882 by Oliver Perin for building on the Helman subdivision south of the Cooperative's site.

⁷⁶ The Town Hall was built by the Bond Hill Town Hall company, established in 1875 by members of the Cooperative including Charles A. Partridge and James H. Murray. Partridge became involved with Perin's new *Bond Hill Building Association* when it attained political leadership of Bond Hill and the maintenance of the Hall was taken over by Perin's association. Perin dissolved the Town Hall company in 1904.

Building Association and Kroger building.⁷⁷ The first church built here was a frame one, and was located on the lot now south of the Presbyterian Church. It was built to be used as a community church; any denomination was to have the use of it. The carpenter work, plastering, and other trade work was donated by the men of these trades in Bond Hill and one or two from surrounding villages. Only a few years after it was built, the Presbyterians became very strong in number and it became a Presbyterian Church. This caused some dissension. The new Presbyterian Church was built at the corner next to the old church, southwest corner of Paddock and California Avenue in 1889. The old church was torn down and the lot cleared.⁷⁸

One of the first Presbyterian ministers to have charge of the old church was a man by the name of Aldrich. He, at that time, lived on the south side in the middle of the twelve hundred block, second street which is now Regent Avenue. The next church build here was the Methodist Episcopal at the northeast corner of Oakland and Franklin Avenue.⁷⁹ The next church was the Roman Catholic. They held services in a frame building which faced on Oberlin Avenue, back of what is now the building occupied by Ammon, the plumber.

In later years they built a new church, which is now St. Agnes Church on California Avenue. In the early days before there was any Roman Catholic Church here, the people of this faith would attend services held at St. Aloysius Orphanage on Reading Road. The Orphanage burned in the nineties, and it was a very sad sight to see.⁸⁰ I remember seeing it very well. Fortunately, no lives were lost. It was readily rebuilt and some improvements were made. Herman Kuhl, who lived on Reading Road near the Orphanage and had a large house and bowling alley, housed many of these children after the fire in his bowling alley and turned over a part of his house to them, until they could be taken care of otherwise.

The first boy born in Bond Hill was Bond Denney.⁸¹ This boy in his early school days, went swimming with other boys of the Village in the Broxterman basin. He got into deep water and was drowned. His boy friends made the news known and men of the village went to the basin and recovered the body. He has relatives living here today.

A loss of life I remember very well was when Miss Silvers was killed on the B&O Railroad while she was waiting for a train at the Bond Hill station to go to Madisonville to attend high school; she was killed by a train coming in the opposite direction. This, at that time, cast a gloom over the entire

⁷⁷ Other fraternal organizations active in Bond Hill and the Bond Hill area included the Improved Order of Red Men and the United Ancient Order of Druids.

⁷⁸ According to my thesis, this first church was likely a Swedenborgian Church and evidence of the non-sectarian spirit of Rochdale Pioneer cooperativism.

⁷⁹ The Methodist Episcopalian church was established in 1887 by Oliver Perin.

⁸⁰ This incident is not recorded in St. Aloysius history at their website.

⁸¹ This is Bond Hill Denis (1872-1887) last named pronounced, "Denney," as Patmor remembers.

village. The Silvers at that time lived in the 1200 block of California Avenue and the family took a very active part in the Methodist Church.

In my school days, most all the property south of Tennessee Avenue to the top of the hill, on both sides of Paddock Road, was called Blachlers Woods and the school children gathered many wild flowers there during the summer. Ross Run in the woods at that time was so clean that the school boys had a swimming pool in it.

Up Paddock hill on the west side where the Golf Links starts, a family of Negroes, man, wife, and daughter, lived in a small house or shack. He and his wife would do work around the village for different people. In the early eighties, these three people were killed in their home by two men, and the house was set afire to make it appear that they burned up. When the culprits tried to sell the bodies of their victims to the Medical College, they were caught. I have the old iron match box they had, for my father picked it up out of the ashes next day after the fire. The well was still there until the Golf Links were built.

Sometime in the nineties, the N&W Railroad was built here. At that time lots of it was built on a trestle, but in later years was filled in.

When my parents moved here in 1881, there were only about four houses south of California Avenue. I can also say in my school days it was very seldom we did not have skating on the basin for Thanksgiving or Christmas. We also skated on a pond on the Zumstein farm which was at the northwest corner of Paddock and Tennessee Avenues. Also on a pond across Paddock from Zumstein pond, which was on property owned by George W. Martin.

A man by the name of Helman who had a shoe store in Cincinnati lived at the southeast corner of Paddock and California Avenue. He owned lots of property in the village. He at one time owned almost the entire square he lived in. He also owned the two squares between Oberlin and Paddock Road and Carolina Avenue on the north side, Franklin Avenue on the south side. On the east end of this property, along Oberlin Avenue, he had a fair-sized apple orchard. He also owned a two-acre apple orchard at the southwest corner of Paddock and Franklin Avenue. This extended as far back as Corinth Avenue. He had a building at the northeast corner of Paddock and Carolina Avenue, this being the square he lived in. In it he had his cider presses and with the apples from his two orchards, he made lots of cider and vinegar. The house he lived in was moved to make a place for the house that is now there. His old house still stands and is occupied today. I also remember a large apple orchard which was at the southwest corner of Laidlaw and Corinth, owned by a party by the name of Ruffner.

George Martin owned twenty and a third acres of ground west of Paddock between the B&O Railroad and Griswold Avenue. It is now occupied by Diamond Alkali Company and by the Davison Chemical Company. His house a mansion surrounded by a beautiful woods, well kept, and the west end of property was a beautiful meadow. Along Paddock Road he had a beautiful hedge with arched driveway, well trimmed. One driveway entered his property near where the driveway of the Diamond Alkali plant is today; the other, where the Rapid Transit bridge is today.

He also had one of the finest pear orchards and gardens in this section of the country, along Paddock Road, and behind it was a beautiful hedge. The village of Bond Hill claimed his hedge was on public property and ordered it cut down. This they had done. He then had it surveyed and put up a solid board fence which was anything but beautiful compared to the hedge. He then had three law suits with the village on account of this and won all three. He sued them for cutting the hedge, for draining water on his property and for putting down a cement walk that he proved was not necessary. This cost the village plenty.

In later years after this was all over and after his death, I read his first will which contained the following: "My property of twenty three and a third acres in Bond Hill fronting on Paddock Road after my death is willed to the village of Bond Hill or the city of Cincinnati, as it may be at the time of my death 'for park purposes only.'" Across this will in red ink, it read as follows: "This being my first will is void," signed, George W. Martin. No doubt this will was made void on account of cutting his hedge.⁸²

West of the Martin property, Edward Kemp had a truck farm. He was one of the first to market with his produce. His house burned some few years ago, but the old log house which was one of the oldest in this section of Hamilton County was just recently torn down. I remember in my very early days, the death of his son, Freddie Kemp. He was killed on the B&O Railroad just opposite his house and that cast a gloom over many in the village who knew him and his family. This man has relatives today in Bond Hill.

Oliver Perin lived at the southeast corner of Paddock Road and Franklin Avenue. He owned the most of this square; east of his house was a stable for his horses, cows, and carriages, and from his stable east to Oakdale Avenue was a large pasture with a nice fence around it. In this pasture was a large tree and we school boys had a swing in it. Many hours we put in here after and on Saturdays. He also owned lots of property west of Paddock Road between Carolina Avenue and Griswold Avenue, including the Helman orchard he in later years; some of this property was west of Corinth Avenue.⁸³

Streets were made, and this property was laid out in lots, which are all built up today. This man also helped organize the Bond Hill Knights of Pythias Lodge in the early eighties. August Broerman owned lots of property in the village. He owned a large tract of land east of Paddock Road, which extended to Reading Road, and most of it was south of Yarmouth Avenue. His large farmhouse still stands on the south side of Joseph Street in the 1500 block. He and his family were very faithful and strong supporters of their church, and I have heard St. Agnes Church on California Avenue was named in memory of his wife, Agnes, and his daughter, Agnes. This man has many relatives living in Bond Hill today.

⁸² The conflict over the Martin property, according to the legal record *George W. Martin vs. The Village of Bond Hill*, occurred due to the Paddock Road widening project occurring in 1893. A culvert running under the road was blocked and Martin's fields were flooded. This is slightly different than Patmor's account.

⁸³ Oliver Perin, a banker with the Fifth Third Union Trust Company, was responsible largely for the incorporation of the Village in 1896.

Ruffner had a large farm at the northwest corner of Paddock Road and Regent Avenue, and it extended as far north as Towne Avenue. He had a sand pit and sold sand out of it. It was on the west side of Paddock, north of Ryland Avenue.

Brausch had a truck farm on the north side of Laidlaw Avenue, where the new Westinghouse plant was just built, and he was a large producer for the market.

Zumstein had a farm at the northwest corner of Paddock and Tennessee Avenue. Mills had a dairy farm at the northeast corner of Paddock and Tennessee Ave. Sudmeier had a farm on the northwest corner of Reading Road and California Avenue, which extended west as far as the public school.

Albrink was a truck gardener and lived in the old Murray house on Laidlaw Avenue and had his gardens across the street on the property where the Cincinnati Chemical Works just recently built its office and laboratories. He also was a large producer for the market. He has relatives living here today. One son, John Albrink, has the morning and evening paper route. The old Murray house was just recently torn down.

Rusche had a farm here, and his house, barns and farmyards were located where Barbara Place is today.

The Meyer's farm was where the drive-in theater on Reading Road is today. Woebkenberg had a dairy farm north of the Sudmeier farm, which fronted on Reading Road. He was our first milkman here in the village. At the time, they dipped the milk out of a large can and put it in your bucket or pitcher.

Ferris had a large farm on the northeast corner of Paddock and Ryland Avenue.⁸⁴

The building at the northwest corner of Paddock Road and Regent Avenue was built by the Ruffners, and at one time had a grocery in it, and after that a cafe. It was then occupied by Edward Murphy who was our first druggist. Then Richards had it and now it is the Drysdale Pharmacy.

Frank Macke had the Five-Mile House. It consisted of a cafe and dance hall, a beautiful grove of maple trees, which was his beer garden.⁸⁵

There were also three ball diamonds. Also a space for shooting live or clay pigeons. The Macke ball team was known all over the county and then some, having turned out a few professional players. He had a lake some distance east of his gardens and each year cut the ice off of it.

St. Matthews Episcopal Church is now on part of what was the mail ball diamond. Relatives of this family still live in Bond Hill.

⁸⁴ This would be John and Henry Ferris' farm. Ferris had originally sold a portion of his property to the Cooperative in 1871 and became a member of the Cooperative helping to found the Bond Hill Town Hall.

⁸⁵ Aka Swiss Gardens. Macke also founded the Bond Hill Athletics "base ball" team in 1895.

Harry Hoople had a delivery stable and coal yard on Paddock Road. His brother Frank every few years, would send a carload of forty or fifty unbroken Texas ponies for him to sell. We school kids at that time would have a grand time looking them over and seeing him break them in for driving. The Hoople stable was done away with and a filling station was built in its place. This building is now occupied by a pony keg and delicatessen.

Herman Kuhl had a cafe and bowling alley on the northwest corner of Reading Road and Joseph Street, but there was no Joseph Street there at that time.

Herman Tepe had a cafe and dance hall on the southeast corner of Reading Road and Tennessee Avenue.

Ben Macke had the Four-Mile House on Reading Road, which was located where the Robert Hall Clothing store is now. Back of his place of business he had a rifle range and every Sunday afternoon you could hear them at target practice. There were two tollgates on Reading Road; one was between Sherman Avenue and what is now Avon Drive, but at that time there was no Avon Drive or street there.

It was operated by a party by the name of Spilker. This part of the town at that time on Reading Road, between the B&O Railroad and Sherman Avenue, was known as Coon Hollow. The other was Heading Road opposite Dale Road.

The old Huffman homestead was next to the Kemp farm and they owned all the ground north of Ross Avenue, now Tennessee Avenue, north along Paddock Road to the Ruffner property and west to the canal. I often heard my Grandmother say that the forefathers of this family at one time owned most all the ground of what is Carthage today. This family were relatives of the Kemp family and my Grandmother Goodrich.

Henry Huffman lived in a large brick house and it was where the Standard Oil Company tanks are today, north of Tennessee Avenue. It was in this house that I was born. In later years, this house was occupied by a party by the name of Grunkemeyer. After he moved, this house was empty for many years, and I remember during my school days, there was a grass fire near this house and a cistern was opened up to get water, but there was none to get. The next day Lewis Brown and I went back to see what had burned. When passing the cistern, there was a peculiar odor that we noted. We lighted a newspaper, dropped it into the cistern, and it fell on the breast of a man who had been murdered. The man was never identified or the murderer found. But they did find his grips, and it was agreed that he had been a notion peddler and most likely was killed for his money. My Great-Grandmother Amelia Huffman Minshall built one of the first houses in Bond Hill and it stands today. When they were clearing the ground for the building of this house, the first thing they had to do was to destroy a wolf's nest. I have often heard my Grandmother say when they were building this house, they would work late in the evening and returning home late in the dark through the woods to St. Bernard, they always carried a pine-knot light for the purpose of keeping the wolves from attacking them.

Robert Minshall at one time lived here, and was one of the first truck gardeners around here. During my school days my Grandmother Goodrich occupied this house. The old Ross home was on Tennessee Avenue, where the Eastern Machine Company is today. The Nolte family lived next to

them. Nolte was considered a very good carpenter and was one of the first in the village. He lost his life walking the B&O tracks, having been hit by a train. This happened near where Ross Avenue, now Tennessee, crosses the railroad east of Reading Road. He was on his way to Norwood at night to attend to some business. I don't think anyone knew whether he was killed going to Norwood or coming back. This happened on October 7, 1891. This was another time the people of the village mourned the loss of one well liked. He has a son, J.H. Nolte, living here with us today.

In my school days the village had coal oil street lights. The first three lamplighters were Joe Hare, Ben Bedinghaus, and Balser Trutt.

We also had a Fourth of July picnic each year in the Ruffner Woods, which was south of Towne Avenue. Henry Wagner, who lived at the northeast corner of Oberlin and Laidlaw Avenues, took a very active part in putting on the picnic. Members of his family still live in Bond Hill.

The following were men of different trades or professional people:

CARPENTERS

Sam Huffman
William Davis
John Nolte
Frank Spangler
Val Barker
Charles Barker

PLUMBERS

William Jenney
George Barker

PAINTERS

Richard Murray
Charles Murray
Frank Rose

STONEMASONS

Huber
Schoepf

BRICKLAYERS

Andy Huber

CEMENT MEN

Doc Perin
Tom Ross
Charles Goodrich
George [W.] Patmor

SCHOOL TEACHERS

Mr. A.J. McGrew, Principal
Mr. Albers, Assistant Principal
Miss Sadie Bryan (later Mrs. Jess Ruffner)
Miss Kennedy
Mill Ulick [sic]
Mrs. McKibben
Miss Nina Fleischner

DOCTORS

Dr. Walden
Dr. Kersey

I have in my possession a picture of Bond Hill, dated 1874.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Patmor's 1874 photograph could not be located.

"IN OLD BOND HILL"

[a] poem by Eva McGrew Graff

I grew up in old Bond Hill,
Surrounded by woods and many a rill,
Meadows and fields and spaces wide,
Where neighbors were neighbors - side by side.

We walked for the milk, the groceries, and mail;
Our color and youth was kept without fail.
Here four short streets were our abode,
Bounded by Paddack and Reading Road.

We were happy and free in simple play,
Oblivious of all who passed our way
From the richer and wealthier towns to the north,
Blithely we sang as we sallied forth,

To the grape vine swing 'cross the cool ravine
On the Ruffner farm. Sweet memories teem,
The brook is filled with foreign soil;
A gay bright station sells gas and oil.

Can you ever forget the old haw tree
In the Ferris field? Now a golfer's tee;
How the baseball team oft raised our hopes
On what is now Maketewah's slopes?

The deep skating basins, the lake and canal
Are filled with factories and things banal,
To these we trudged through furrowed field,
Searching the earth for its winter's yield -
Sweet white turnips, nipped by the frost,
A simple snack, without any cost.

There's a hard paved street and stretches of clay,
And a signboard reads, "Fine Lots for Pay;"
'Twas a beech grove dense and fragrant and still,
The Blachley Woods, south of old Bond Hill.

They call it progress - for good or ill?
I'm daily glad that I had the thrill
Of a-growing up in old Bond Hill.

Appendix 5: “Brief History of Bond Hill Welfare Association and Bond Hill Playground Formerly Known as Berling Field” (Wachendorf 1935)

Just sixty-four years ago Bond Hill in its origin, was laid out as a small hamlet with three or four designated streets running East and West and as many running North and South. In one campaign of home building, the Cincinnati Cooperative Land and Building Association,⁸⁷ at that time, constructed in most conventional settings, sixty brick residences of one and two family types, most of which buildings are still standing and being different in appearance only because of minor improvements made on them from time to time.

For the first fifteen years there were very few homes built, and then came five years of noticeable expansion where a few new streets all South of California Avenue were opened and a number of frame houses built.⁸⁸

For the following thirty years the Community of Bond Hill consisting of some six or eight hundred most congenial and neighborly inhabitants, seemed contented to encourage little or no expansion. On November 13th, 1903, when the village was annexed to Cincinnati, all the territory outside of that bounded by Paddock Road, Matlock, Yarmouth and Ryland Avenues, was occupied by dairy farms. Those who had no horse and buggy had to walk to Norwood, Elmwood or Avondale to catch a car for the city or go to town on the B. & O. Railroad, the latter of which means of travel was most popular in the earlier days of Bond Hill.

In those early days the Avon Fields Golf Club grounds was entirely wooded, and properly named "Blachley Woods." It is in the memory of many of our people living in Bond Hill when the present Maketewah Country Club consisted of four or five farms, and when Macke's Five Mile House, which is now the Swiss Garden, was a popular country picnic grounds with six or eight baseball diamonds on the premises.

Nearly all the vacant territory in and around Bond Hill has now been developed into beautiful subdivisions of modern homes. The desirability of residing in Bond Hill is encouraged by the facts that there are no factories in its- midst, no cemeteries, and particularly because we are in the immediate vicinity of several golf and country clubs,

About twenty-two years ago when Bond Hill began to show some noticeable growth, a group of its prominent citizens felt an organization should be formed to look after the many common community needs of this suburb, and they formed the BOND HILL WELFARE ASSOCIATION, which has continued to grow since its beginning, now boasting of a membership of more than 800.

⁸⁷ Wachendorf is referring to Watkin's *Cooperative Land and Building Association No.1 of Hamilton County*.

⁸⁸ This is definitely incorrect, and reflects the Bond Hill Building Associations bias against the accomplishments of the Cooperative. Already by 1880, before Helman's subdivision was developed, over 800 people were living in Bond Hill. By 1890 with the establishment of the new subdivision, only 300 or so more people had moved into Bond Hill.

Space does not permit the mention of the many men and women of Bond Hill who have devoted a lot of their valuable time to community activities for the generation past. Those who have lived in Bond Hill for the last twenty or twenty-five years will well remember, however many happy occasions on the so-called Campus at the corner of Carolina and Oakdale Avenues which was the community social gathering center. Mr. E. N. Atkins was a leading citizen who brought about the possibility of this Campus meeting ground. Here is where the old Bond Hill Band of some thirty members of young men of Bond Hill provided free concerts for all. Mr. Edw. L. Brendel was the originator and sponsor of this band and its congenial leader was Dr. Roy G. Merriman. The old Bond Hill buses running between Bond Hill and Avondale car lines some twenty years ago were other items of fond remembrance. These buses of the high wheel type would usually be over-loaded in their trips up Paddock Road Hill and it was never a surprise to the riders when the bus would break down in the middle of its trip and its customers would have to walk part of the way to the street car line.

Five years ago when Mr. Raymond J. Wilson was president, and Mr. Jos. Berning, [was] chairman of the playground committee of the Association, the new Bond Hill Playfield popularly known as Berling Field was purchased by the City of Cincinnati as a community playground for all those living in Bond Hill. Through the special efforts of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Berning the city officials were persuaded to favor Bond Hill with this recreation field. The Berling Family were agreeable as they have always been, and their ground was purchased by the city. Consisting of five acres this Recreation Field is situated in the center of Bond Hill, and has been so planned as to accommodate many varieties of games and athletic events for both old and young.

For many years before the Recreation Commission decided to purchase this acreage, Mr. G. H. Berling permitted the free use of his grounds to all the people of Bond Hill. Everyone, of course, is indebted to the Berling family for the many favors extended the community at large.

Today, the Bond Hill Welfare Association is recognized in the city of Cincinnati as one of the strongest and possibly largest organizations of its kind in the city. The growth of the Association as to membership and accomplishments was possibly most noticeable four years ago when Mr. John J. Behle served as president. At this time the improvement of Reading Road, Dale Road, and many other major improvements were experienced. Mr. Lou R. Foster who succeeded Mr. Behle is at present most capably fulfilling the position as president, and activities and accomplishments of the Association are continually progressing. Citizens of Bond Hill have never failed to recognize the efforts of all those who have taken the lead making Bond Hill an outstanding suburb of Cincinnati.

At this writing the full list of past presidents of the Bond Hill Welfare Association has not been completed but in the very near future the Bond Hill Welfare Association plans to have a special meeting celebrating "Past Presidents' Night" and fond recollections will be recalled.

The Bond Hill News edited by Mrs. H. Richard Whittington is the official organ of the Association and is regarded as one of the finest Welfare papers in Hamilton County.

Appendix 6: Additional information concerning Henry Watkin

The Final Days of Henry Watkin

In May 1887, Watkin met with Lafcadio Hearn one last time. The young author stepped off a train from New Orleans for a few hours to see his old friend before continuing on to New York. Watkin and Hearn continued corresponding till Hearn's death in Tokyo, Japan in 1904, detailing in letters the events and concerns of their lives. By 1886 Watkin had moved his printing press to Longworth Avenue, downtown, where his daughter Effie was also living and possibly working with him making rubber stamps (see accompanying Watkin Family directory listings). The entry in the 1892 *Williams' Cincinnati Directory* reads in large print: "WATKIN HENRY, Established 1853; Steam Book and Job Printer; also Manufacturer of Rubber Stamps, 26 Longworth; Residence, Pleasant Ridge."

In 1887, the Watkin family began living in Pleasant Ridge at Laurel Cottage, a home built next door to Henry Fry's Sunflower Cottage.⁸⁹ (*Williams' Cincinnati Directory* 1893-1900). Although Watkin resided alternately in the West End and Pleasant Ridge he continued to maintain professional contacts and personal interests in Bond Hill. In 1891, the Directory shows him living in Bond Hill and in 1894 the home Watkin was building there was completed. Watkin is absent from the Meeting Minute records of the Village of Bond Hill from 1884 to 1903, but records of the Bond Hill Civic Association reveal that Watkin was printing membership cards for the organization as late as September 29th 1893 (Bond Hill Civic Association 1893). Only a year or so later, at approximately 70 years of age, "an accident befell Mr. Watkin" (*Cincinnati Enquirer* 1910, Bronner 1908, 102). Details on the nature of the accident could not be located. That same year, Watkin's father-in-law, Henry Fry also fell ill and passed away near where the Watkins lived.

By the turn of the century Watkin was known as the oldest practicing commercial printer in Cincinnati. But either because of health or his advancing years Watkin left more and more his work to his apprentice Frank Vehr. By 1902, Watkin had ceased printing entirely, and could instead be found selling "novelties" at the corner of 4th and Race in the Neave Building (*Williams Cincinnati Directory* 1902). That year, Watkin retired, sold his press to his apprentice printer, Frank H. Vehr



Figure 63: Laurel Cottage, 1904. This magnificent home, built by Henry Fry in the late 1880s and early 1890s, was built on the grounds of Fry's Sunflower Cottage in Pleasant Ridge. With a few exceptions, from 1887 to 1906, the Watkins lived here neighboring the Fry family, a period encompassing the retirement (1893) and death (1895) of Henry Fry, the master woodcarver. (1890, Iowa State University Archives, Dorothy McClelland Papers)

⁸⁹ Sunflower Cottage, unfortunately, no longer stands; it was demolished in the 1950s to make room for an apartment complex. A photo of Sunflower Cottage can be found on page 41 in Jennifer L. Howe's chapter on Henry and William Fry in *Cincinnati Art-Carved Furniture and Interiors* (2003). See Figure 68 for a current image of Laurel Cottage.

(1859-?), and set about on a journey from Cincinnati to New Orleans following the exact same route Lafcadio Hearn had journeyed a quarter century prior.

From 1903 to 1909, Watkin worked at an office at 127 Opera Place with Vehr, and it was there that he likely penned his *Reminiscences*, a manuscript now lost but referred to in Nina Kennard's biography, *Lafcadio Hearn* (Kennard 1912, 65).⁹⁰ In 1905, Watkin collaborated with a Covington reporter, Milton Bronner, in publishing his 30-year correspondence with Lafcadio Hearn. Their book, *Letters from the Raven*, was published in 1907 and soon went through successive reprints.

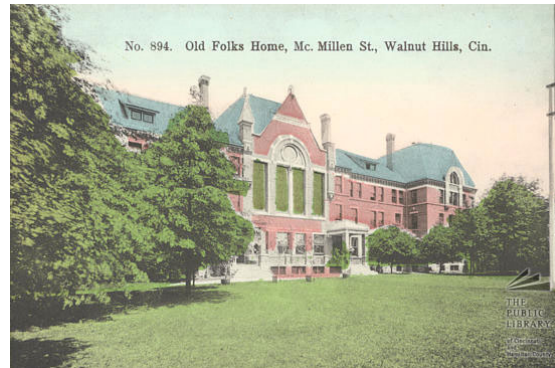


Figure 64: The Old Folks Home at 1312 McMillan St., the Watkin family's final residence in East Walnut Hills (courtesy of the Cincinnati Public Library Memory Project).

It is unclear what Henry or Laura's health or economic situation was in 1903 or 1904 when they were admitted into an assisted living facility for the aged and indigent, the Old Folks Home on McMillan Street (Letter to Hearn 1904, Annual Report Old Folks Home 1906).⁹¹ As Watkin's old partner Charles Stebbins remembered, Henry Watkin was not one to put away his money in savings. Effie Watkin, at the age of 46, also came to live at the Old Folks Home to help take care of her parents.

Henry Watkin died of exhaustion at 4 o'clock in the morning of Monday, November 21, 1910 at the age of 86. Two days later he was cremated in a service attended by his friends and family. Four years later, Laura passed away on a Saturday morning, June 20, 1914, and was also cremated (Hepsie Watkin Churchil 1934, Kennard 1912, Annual Report Widows Home 1914). Their daughter Effie Watkin never married. After her parents' deaths she remained at the Old Folks Home until her passing in 1944 at the age of 87. Whatever became of the Watkins' ashes is unknown although they may very well be scattered at Walnut Hills Cemetery in Cincinnati.

⁹⁰ Frank H. Vehr handled book orders for Watkin's *Letters from the Raven* (H. Watkin 1908). As with so many of Watkin's friends, Vehr also seems to have been interested in spiritualism, having penned with his wife, Clara Vehr, the work, *Cupology: how to be entertaining, interesting facts for both young and old ; toasts - gems, how to tell age* (1904).

⁹¹ An auction on Ebay, January 2005, revealed the signature and seal of a Henry Watkin on papers pertaining to the North Staffordshire Permanent Economic Benefit Building Society, a cooperative building association in the UK. The signature appears to be somewhat similar to Henry's signature from 1870 but it is hard to imagine Watkin would be active in a building association in the UK while living in Cincinnati in his sunset years. However, if this was indeed Watkin's signature then his activities in the cooperative movement involving Bond Hill may actually be only a hint of in a lifetime of efforts involving community building.

Works concerning, written, or printed by Watkin (1853-1912)

Dyer, Sidney. *The Grave of Ben Bolt*. Cincinnati: H. Watkin, printer, [between 1853 and 1880?].

Woodworth, Samuel. *The Old Oaken Bucket : which hung in the well*. Cincinnati: H. Watkin, printer, 1853?
Note: Probable imprint date from Blanck. One of a lot of songsheets printed by H. Watkin in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Tuttle, Through H. *An Outline of Universal Government, : being a general exposition of the plan of the universe, by a society of the sixth circle. To which is added a lecture purporting to emanate from the spirit of Benj. Franklin, on the philosophy of spiritual intercourse, and the reasons why spirits disagree in their communications*. Cincinnati [Ohio]: Stebbins & Watkin, printers, 245 Fifth Street, South side, 1854.

Kincaid, P.R. *The Arabian Art of Taming and Training Wild & Vicious Horses*. s.n.!, Cincinnati: Henry Watkin, printer, 1856.

Barras, Charles M. *The Modern Saint : an original comedy in three acts*. Cincinnati: H. Watkin, printer, 1857, c1856.

Watkin, Henry. *The Arabian art of taming and training wild and vicious horses: Under the written directions of a sheik of the Bedouin Arabs*. Cincinnati: Henry Watkin, printer, 1857.

Wolfe, N.B. (Napoleon Bonaparte). *Letters on Diseases of the Throat and Lungs : and a historical essay on medicated inhalation, as a therapeutic agent in treating consumption, asthma, bronchitis, nasal catarrh, sore throat, etc. etc. etc*. Cincinnati: H. Watkin, printer, 1859.

Griffin, G.W.H. *Poor Old Slave*. Cincinnati: H. Watkin, [between 1860 and 1870].

Waldack, Charles. *Treatise on Photography*. Cincinnati: H. Watkin, printer, 1865.

Smith, P. *Copying and enlarging pictures, coloring, retouching, etc*. Cincinnati: H. Watkin & Co., 1869.

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Magee, James H. *The Night of Affliction and Morning of Recovery : an autobiography*. Cincinnati: Henry Watkin, printer, 1873.

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Directory Listings for the Watkin Family (1853-1914)

| Date | Henry Watkin (work) | Watkin Family (home) | Laura Ann Fry Watkin (work) | Effie Watkin |
|------|--|---|-----------------------------|--------------|
| 1853 | 211 Richmond | n/a | n/a | |
| 1854 | 245 W. 5th St, south side (Henry Watkin and Charles M. Stebbins) | n/a | n/a | |
| 1855 | 245 W. 5th St, south side (with Stebbins) | n/a | n/a | |
| 1856 | 245 & 247 W. 5th St. | possibly 311 Elm Street | seamstress, 311 Elm St. | |
| 1857 | 227 W. 5th St. | 229 W. 5th St. | n/a | born |
| 1858 | 227 1/2 W. 5th St. | Delhi Township (southwest of Cincinnati) | n/a | n/a |
| 1859 | 227 W. 5th St. | 440 W. 8th St. (probably a typo, should be W. 5 th , same as Laura Watkin) | 441 or 440 W. 5th St. | n/a |
| 1860 | northwest corner of 5th and Row | southeast corner 5th and W. Row | n/a | n/a |
| 1861 | northwest corner Central Ave and 5th (Also a Henry Watkins, fruit stand, 243 Central Ave. same?) | Carthage (Corwin Farms?) | n/a | n/a |
| 1862 | 140 W. 3rd St. | Carthage (Corwin Farms?) | n/a | n/a |
| 1863 | 140 W. 3rd St. | Carthage (Corwin Farms?) | n/a | n/a |
| 1864 | 139 and 141 W. 3rd St. | Carthage (Corwin Farms?) | n/a | n/a |
| 1865 | n/a | n/a (Corwin Farms?) | n/a | n/a |
| 1866 | 60 W. 3rd St. | Carthage (Corwin Farms?) | n/a | n/a |
| 1867 | 230 Walnut | Carthage (Corwin Farms?) | n/a | n/a |
| 1868 | Henry Watkin & Co., 230 Walnut (Henry Watkin and Joseph Maddock) | Lockland (Corwin Farms?) | n/a | n/a |
| 1869 | Henry Watkin & Co., 230 Walnut | Carthage | n/a | n/a |
| 1870 | Henry Watkin & Co., 230 Walnut | Carthage | n/a | n/a |

| | | | | |
|------|---|--|---|---|
| 1871 | Henry Watkin & Co., 230 Walnut (Also a Watkins ----, printer, northeast corner 4th & Race, same?) | Carthage, Corwin Farms, 2 ½ miles from Carthage, 100 acres, leasehold (<i>Cincinnati Daily Gazette</i> 3/20/1871) | Laura Watkin, b.h. River Road, 21st Ward (same as Laura Ann Watkin?) | n/a |
| 1872 | Walnut & 5th | Carthage | n/a | n/a |
| 1873 | northwest corner 5th and Walnut | 195 W. 4th St. | n/a | n/a |
| 1874 | northwest corner 5th and Walnut | 195 W. 4th St. | dressmaker, 195 W. 4th St. | n/a |
| 1875 | 119 W. 5th | 195 W. 4th St. | 195 W. 4th St. | n/a |
| 1876 | 119 W. 5th, Room 7 | Bond Hill | bds. 165 Elm | n/a |
| 1877 | 119 W. 5th | 374 W. 6th St. | 374 W. 6th St. | n/a |
| 1878 | 119 W. 5th | Bond Hill | n/a | n/a |
| 1879 | 119 W. 5th | Bond Hill | n/a | n/a |
| 1880 | 119 W. 5th | Bond Hill | boarding with Alfred Hodge family, Kansas City, Missouri | boarding with Alfred Hodge family, Kansas City, Missouri |
| 1881 | 119 W. 5th | Bond Hill | n/a | n/a |
| 1882 | 119 W. 5th | Bond Hill | n/a | n/a |
| 1883 | 217 Walnut | 309 Race St. | n/a | n/a |
| 1884 | 217 Walnut | 309 Race St. | 309 Race | n/a |
| 1885 | 217 W. Court | Bond Hill | n/a | n/a |
| 1886 | 26 Longworth | Bond Hill | n/a | n/a |
| 1887 | 26 Longworth, rubber stamps | Pleasant Ridge | n/a | n/a |
| 1888 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| 1889 | 26 Longworth | n/a | n/a | 26 Longworth |
| 1890 | 26 Longworth | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| 1891 | 26 Longworth | Bond Hill | n/a | n/a |
| 1892 | 26 Longworth, "WATKIN HENRY Established 1853; Steam Book and Job Printer; also, Manufacturer of Rubber Stamps" | Pleasant Ridge | n/a | n/a |
| 1893 | 26 Longworth | Pleasant Ridge, Sunflower Ave. | n/a | n/a |
| 1894 | 26 Longworth | Pleasant Ridge, Sunflower Ave. | n/a | n/a |
| 1895 | 26 Longworth, between Vine and Race | Pleasant Ridge | n/a | n/a |

| | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|---|-------------------|--|
| 1896 | n/a | Pleasant Ridge | n/a | n/a |
| 1897 | 22 Longworth | Pleasant Ridge | n/a | n/a |
| 1898 | 22 Longworth | Pleasant Ridge | n/a | n/a |
| 1899 | 22 Longworth | Pleasant Ridge | n/a | n/a |
| 1900 | 22 Longworth | Pleasant Ridge | n/a | n/a |
| 1901 | 127 Longworth | Pleasant Ridge | n/a | n/a |
| 1902 | 210 Neave Building, Novelties | Pleasant Ridge | n/a | n/a |
| 1903 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| 1904 | Office, 127 Opera Place | Old Folks Home (1312 McMillan Street) | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home |
| 1905 | n/a | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home |
| 1906 | Office, 127 Opera Place | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home |
| 1907 | Office, 127 Opera Place | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home |
| 1908 | n/a | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home |
| 1909 | Office, 127 Opera Place | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home |
| 1910 | deceased | deceased | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home |
| 1911 | deceased | deceased | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home |
| 1912 | deceased | deceased | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home |
| 1913 | deceased | deceased | Old Folks Home | Old Folks Home |
| 1914 | deceased | deceased | deceased | Resident of the Old Folks Home till her death in 1944 |

Sources: Williams' Street Directory, Census 1880, newspaper articles, Henry Watkin's Press



Figure 65: Laurel Cottage today: 3168 Mapleleaf Avenue, in Pleasant Ridge, Cincinnati, Ohio

Additional images related to Henry Watkin



Figure 66: Aerial photo of tiny Pitsford, England, four miles north of Northampton in Northamptonshire, central England. Henry Watkin grew up here in the 1820s and 30s before moving to London in the late 1830s or early 1840s. (ukvillages.co.uk 1999)

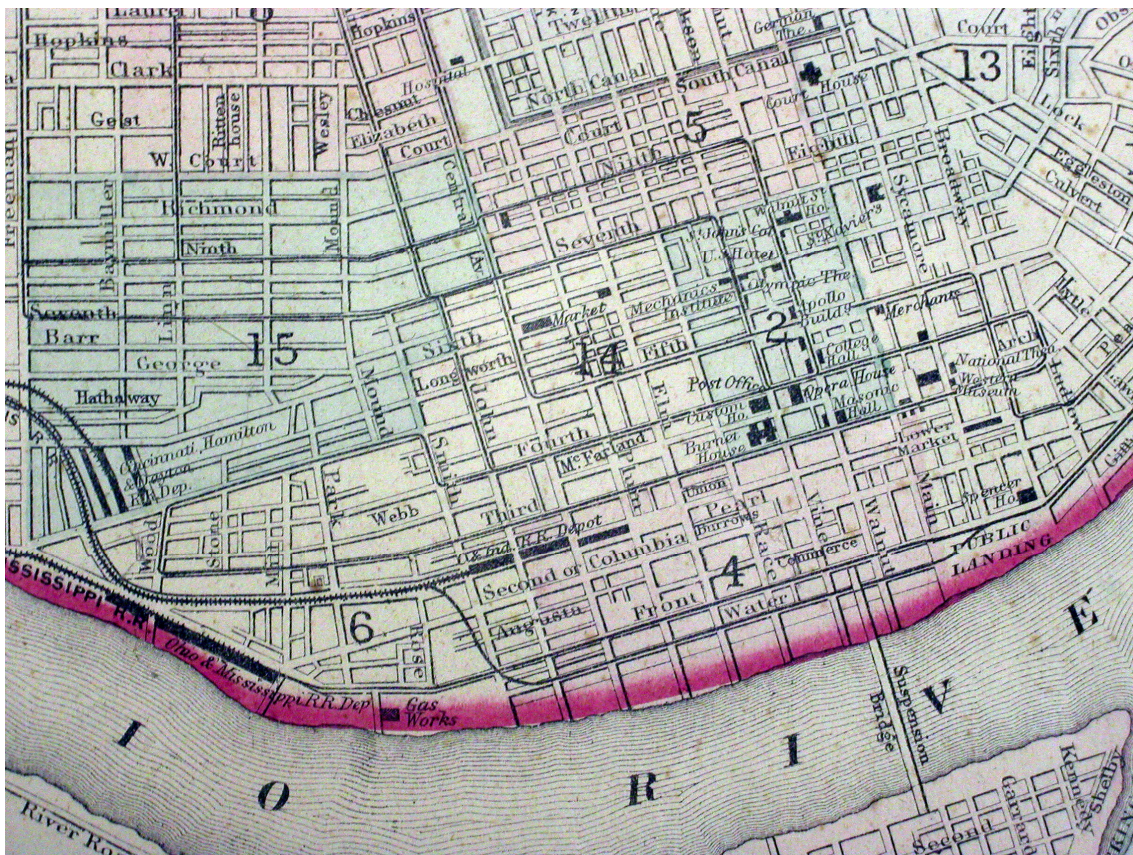


Figure 67: 1874 Map of Downtown Cincinnati (S. Augustus Mitchell 1874, Courtesy of Adrienne and David Varady)



Figure 68: "One of the Rooms in Laurel Cottage, 1904." Note the portraits of Laura Ann Fry Watkin and a young Henry Watkin on opposite sides of the piano, enlarged below (probably wedding portraits from 1853).
(*Dorothy McClelland Papers*, courtesy of Iowa State University Archives).





Figure 69: Effie Maud Watkin (1857-1944), daughter of Henry and Laura and Fry Watkin. Effie's childhood and adolescence in northeastern Millcreek Township witnessed the creation of the Bond Hill community and its transformation. According to her cousin, Hepsie Watkin Churchill, as a teenager Effie would often walk with her father and Lafcadio Hearn on the way to her classes at the Art Academy. (Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Toki Koizumi).

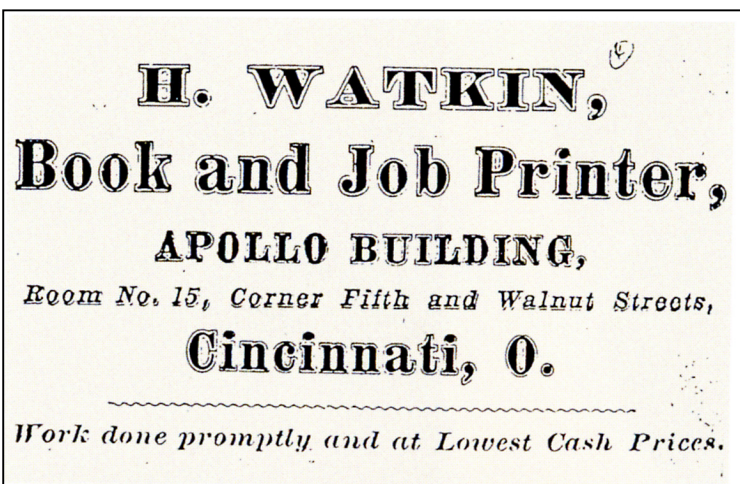


Figure 70: Business Card of Henry Watkin, circa 1872-1874 (Courtesy of Mr. And Mrs. Toki Koizumi).

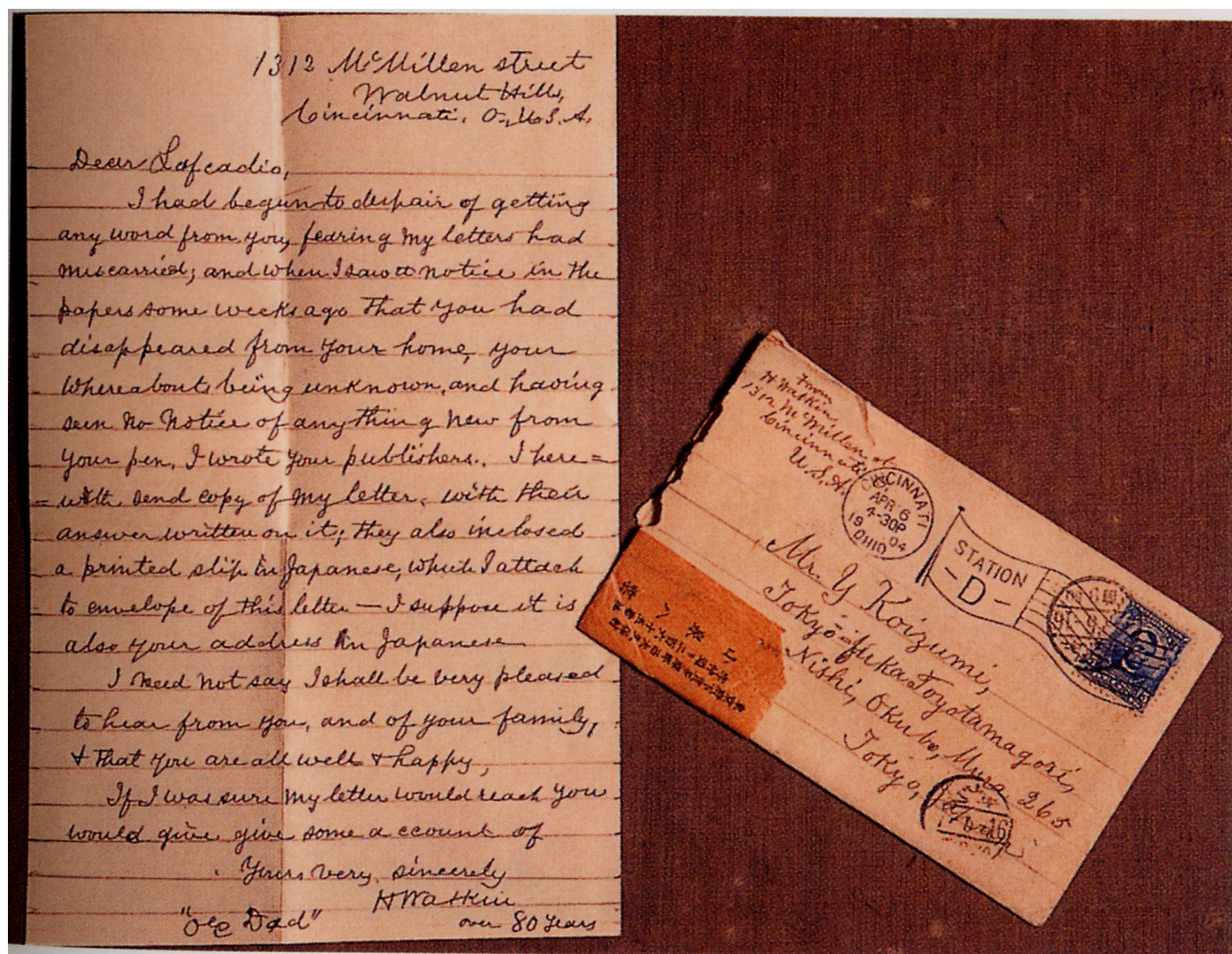


Figure 71: Letter from Henry Watkin to Lafcadio Hearn, post dated on April 6, 1904 concerned over lack of correspondence. Watkin has just one month before turned 80 years old. Lafcadio Hearn died in Tokyo only a few months later on September 26, 1904. (Courtesy of Mr. And Mrs. Toki Koizumi)

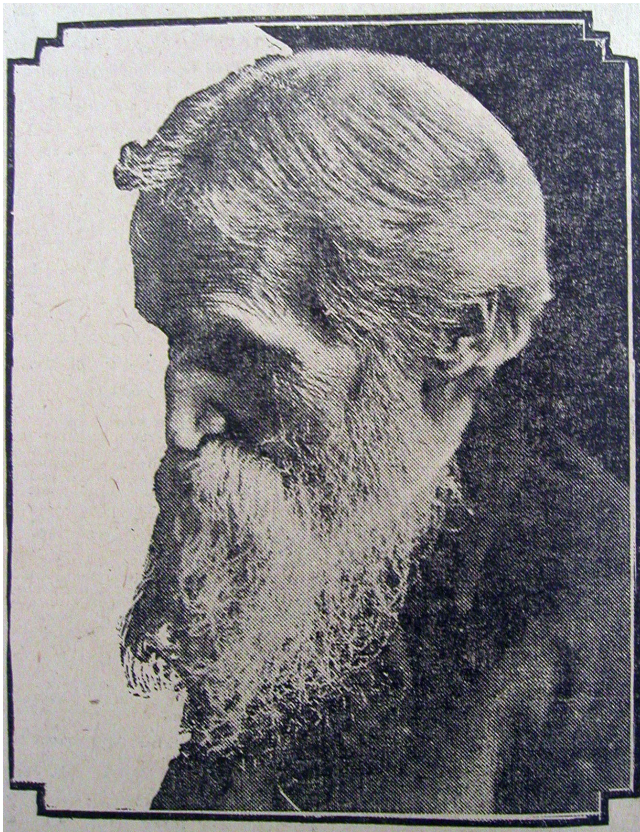


Figure 72: Henry Watkin, circa 1910.
Newspaper photo from Watkin's obituary
dated November 21, 1910 (*Cincinnati Post*
1910)



Figure 73: Printer's bench and cabinets from Watkins printing shop, purchased by
Frank Vehr in 1902 (Courtesy of Vehr Printing, 2005).

The Dorothy McClelland Papers

Following news of my research, Dr. Kinji Tanka googled the keywords “Laura Fry” and “Hearn” and came across a new collection of material, the Dorothy McClelland Papers, only recently made available at the archives of Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa (MS 266, Box 5, Folder 23, Iowa State University Archives). I contacted the archive and they sent me copies of the material relating to Henry, Effie and Laura Ann Fry Watkin. How did this information end up in Iowa? The Iowa State archivists note:

Dorothea Bryan was born December 6, 1897 in Japan, where her parents were missionaries. She returned to the United States when she was in the seventh grade and lived in Wooster, Ohio. There she completed preparatory school at Wooster Academy and attended Wooster College for two years. She then transferred to Ohio State University to complete her undergraduate degree. She married Iowa State College (University) professor John B. McClelland in 1923.

After she had moved to the United States, Mrs. McClelland became interested in reading Lafcadio Hearn's writings because they reminded her of Japan. Her interest in Hearn's books led her to a study of the biographies written about him. During her study, she found that there were good things about each biography, but there were also errors in each one. The materials in this collection were gathered in the course of her research. Dorothea McClelland donated these materials to the Department of Special Collections on July 19, 1993. She passed away in Virginia on August 10, 1995. (Iowa State University Archives 2004)

Below are my transcriptions culled from the pages of McClelland's “Tenri Notes.” These are reminiscences of Hepsie Watkin Churchill (1861-?) regarding her uncle Henry Watkin. Becky S. Jordan, an archivist at Iowa State University writes, “These appear to come from letters of Mrs. [Hepsie Watkin] Churchill to her cousin, Effie Maud Watkin. The letters may have been made available to Mrs. McClelland by P.D. Perkins, a Hearn biographer” (Jordan 2004). Perkins in turn appears to have received Hepsie's correspondence from Effie Watkin herself. “Tenri” refers to the Tenri Municipal and University Library in Tokyo which contains an archive of Hearn manuscripts and correspondence, but it is unclear why the notes are labeled so. Also confused in the text are whether the notes are McClelland's or McClelland's transcriptions of Perkins' notes of his conversations with Effie Watkin. Additions to the text to help it flow more clearly appear in brackets without italics. Notes appearing in parentheses appeared as such in the original text.

(Tenri)
1222 Fern St. No. 6a
Feb 9 1934
Dear Effie [→ Perkins from "Hearn"]
have found few clippings
concerning Hearn's life.
Have not yet been able to get
Uncle's letters to go them.
You wrote me of letters from
Mrs. Lady Nina Churchill.
Years ago when I first came to
N.O. there was a family here with
3 daughters. Their daughters were
all prominent. (The family was named
Risland) as social debutantes here.
One of them later wrote to Uncle
about Lafcadio Hearn. Her name
was Chy. Ris. but was. She was
living somewhere on Long Island
there was another sister named
Nina Risland & I've forgotten
the name of the 3rd. [Margaret]
wonder if Mrs. Churchill might
be Mrs. Watkin's sister as they
both knew Hearn.
You asked in one of your letters
where Uncle was born. He was born
March 6, 1824 the youngest son of
Wm. Watkin & Mary Hobson at

Figure 74: A Page from Dorothy McClelland's Tenri Notes (courtesy of Iowa State University Archives, 2004)

Letter from Effie (to Perkin?), November 4, 1933, with notes by McClelland or Perkins.
This letter likely contained the photographs shown in figures 21, 65, and 70.

Henry Watkin, d. November 21, 1910

Letter from Effie:

Might like to hunt Will(iam) Chamberlin(up.) [sic] write to Denver Printing Co.
Denver, Colo.

Effie talk[s] about home:

[Regarding figure 67, "One of the Rooms in Laurel Cottage, 1904"]. Old fashioned portraits on wall side piano are [Effie's] parents. Carved Furniture from studio of Henry L. Fry. Effie attended Cincinnati Art Academy – tells of walking in 4th St. one day with L.H. and her father.

P.S. Cousin in New Orleans [Hepsie Watkin Churchill] is daughter of William Ward Watkin, really a New York girl moved to New Orleans after her marriage.

Notes on Letter from Effie (to Perkin?), undated (possibly continued from notes written on the above letter dated November 4, 1933). The following may refer to a novel by Effie Watkin, perhaps submitted to the Denver Printing Company, mentioned above.

~~Unfavorable conditio[n] is Spiritual article audience unruly.~~ [sic]

Effie says:

Finally I drifted into some desire – to write a story too, of course the story was very immature and Daddy would not have it put into book form so I had to set it aside. The picture represents the heroine, and I named her "Angela Melbourne" has 17 chapters and some real pretty ideas in it. anyone who was gifted as a writer could take the story and make a pretty story out of it. I made a great mistake in writing childhood just below the picture – especially since I wrote it so badly [(?)] but you will be able to remove it. There is absolutely no reason for it to be there. I wrote it just before I had it mailed. Wish that I would have sent it in a frame and under glass – but mat I had over it was rather large.

[McClelland or Perkins notes:]

says she [Effie] was named for Whittier's Maud.

Hephzibah Watkin, [Effie's] aunt. (Mrs. Churchill) birthday in August.

Letter from Hepsie Watkin Churchill to Effie Watkin, February 9, 1934

1222 Fern St., New Orleans, Louisiana

February 9, 1934

Dear Effie (-> Perkins from "Hepsie")

Have found few clippings, Ernestine will type. Have not yet been able to get Uncle's [Henry Watkin's] letters to there [(?)].

You wrote me of letters from English lady, Nina Kennard. Years ago when I first came to New Orleans there was a family with 3 daughters. Their daughters were all prominent (The family was named Bisland) as social debutantes here. One of them later wrote to Uncle about Lafcadio Hearn. Her name was Elizabeth Bisland Whetmore. She was living somewhere on Long Island. There was another sister named Nina Bisland and I've forgotten the name of the 3rd [Margaret]. Wonders if Mrs. Kennard might be Mrs. Wetmore's sister as they both knew Lafcadio Hearn.

You asked in one of your letters where Uncle was born. He was born March 6, 1824, the youngest son of William Watkin and Mary Hobson at Pitsford, four miles from town of Northampton, England. Came to U.S. sometime between 1845-1850. lived in Cincinnati in 1853 when he had a bookstore and printing business and met and married Laura A. Fry daughter of Henry L. Fry. Watkin came to U.S. from London at home of his Uncle Rev. Andrew G. Fuller and only a few days ago I was reading an old letter to me from Uncle Fuller in which, "I was so glad to have news of your Uncle Henry of whom I was so fond. – but had not heard of him since he left us 35 years ago." The date of Uncle Fullers letter [1880] made 35 years ago 1845. So I presume he came to U.S. then and located first to New York and then drifted to Ohio. – married May 20 (26?) 1853. This same year my father visited uncle and aunt in Cincinnati. – I was thinking of you February 4th,

L[ove]. Cousin Hepsie.

Letter from Hepsie Watkin Churchill to Effie Watkin, March 1, 1934

1222 Fern St., New Orleans, Louisiana

March 1st, 1934

Dear Effie:

Have mailed you the clippings [on Lafcadio Hearn, from the *New York Mail* (1907) and the *New York Times*, Jan. 25 1908], I wrote them out myself. My clippings are in a scrapbook I keep with Uncle's *Letters from the Raven* – didn't ask girls to copy them and type because of Hearn's remark –

Enclosing snapshot of Hepsie, Ernestine and Millicent.

Watkin was living at Pleasant Ridge, Ohio when Lafcadio Hearn sent pictures of wife and child from Japan. That was when Hespia [sic] who was visiting Henry Watkin first heard of Lafcadio Hearn,

Mrs. [Laura Ann Fry] Watkin said: "He was actually repulsive and I never could see nor understand what your Uncle saw in the man to admire."

Aunt was daughter and sister of artists. Hearn's disfigurement repelled her. News of house, wife, and baby appealed to Aunt and she felt differently towards her in Japan.

My Uncle was a deep thinker, well read, philosophical and a great lover of the proper use of words. Time has proved that his faith in the boy's talent was well founded.

My son-in-law and daughter are Dr. and Mrs. R.J. Perkins living in Washington, DC. (Mrs. E.J.) Hespia [sic] W. Churchill

Reminiscences of Hespia Watkin Churchill, 1934

Reminiscences

100 years ago* my grandmother (Mrs. William Watkin) [Mary Hobson Watkin] was a comparatively young widow living in Pitsford (small village near Northampton) England where she owned rental property that provided for herself and seven small children. William (2nd child), Hephzibah (4th) and Henry (5th) are concerned with what probably caused Henry to befriend Lafcadio Hearn when he met him.

One day William was throwing stones (as boys will) in the road in front of his home; Hephzibah was standing at the garden gate watching him. "See me skim one over the house" – Instead it struck Hephzibah in [the] eye. A moment of play was turned to horror. The eye had to be removed and she was disfigured for life.

A year or two later Henry, in [the] same road, hitched a ride in wagon loaded with hay. Driver switched his long whip backward to frighten [the] boy off. [The] whip cut across [the] boy's eye. Again blindness was feared, fortunately he did not lose eye, but did have 'cast' in it and for life used only one good eye. He grew to manhood – a tall fine looking fellow but with that disfigured eye – probably sensitive about it. Children and grandchildren taught importance of eye care.⁹²

Henry never had a son and when the lonely boy Lafcadio Hearn appealed to him there was the slight tie of English birth but strongest of all was the sympathy and understanding pity called forth by that afflicted eye and its blindness causing him to

⁹² This passage seems to imply that Henry Watkin had grandchildren, but probably refers to the children of his brothers and sisters. According to all other available records, Effie Watkin, his only child, died unmarried.

wish to help the boy, drawing him out in conversation, seeing there in the boy's unusual mind and finally leading to the tie of "Dear old Dad" and his "Gray haired boy."

Hepsie W.W. Churchill, 1934

(Mrs. E.T. Churchill)

Hephzibah W. Watkin, daughter of William Watkin, mentioned above

* grandfather [William Watkin] died in 1830.

** My Uncle was 45 when he first met Hearn

Notes on Reminiscences of Hepsie Watkin Churchill, 1934 (continued)

The following appear to be notes by McClelland based on further recollections of Hepsie Watkin.

Hepsie [was] grateful for P.D. Perkins giving her something to think of after 2 years of invalidism. Says Henry Watkin used magnifying glass to cope (?) too. In 1902, Henry Watkin went to New Orleans and chose same route Lafcadio Hearn had taken. Hearn found just [the] person he needed who would gently chide his mistakes and help him over his faults – for Uncle could be very firm without being harsh.

He has told me of this 19 year old boy – how he recognized his gentle (illegible), breeding and genius as soon as he talked with him despite his trampish appearance. I have heard him remind my aunt of this, that he was an unfortunate boy of good family, who with home and encouragement would make his own way.

How these books of Lafcadio Hearn have brought memories of Uncle with his great voice and even temper, Pagan or Christian, taking good from each and rejecting that which did not appeal to his reason or sense of justice. Oh, how many such arguments and talks he and I have had! Knowing the traits of character and his background and then reading Lafcadio Hearn's life from 7-19 when he met Uncle, I can value as perhaps no one else can, what my Uncle must have been to him, with his peculiarities and unusual religious ideas. He met in Henry Watkin the first person who listened to these ideas with kindly interest, who could lead him and in conversation meet him in these subjects as well as direct his thoughts. From experience of maturer [sic] man's mind pathos of Hearn's. At last, at last I am attracting a little attention in England. What a satisfaction he must have felt over this.

[Additionally,] Hep says: There existed a jealousy among [Lafcadio Hearn's] fellow workers that one so insignificant and apparently inferior should surpass them in writing ability.

Letter from Abby Jo Marsh to Mrs. McClelland, August 12 (no year, possibly 1934)

[Widows Home] 1310 E. McMillan, Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, Ohio
August 12, [1934?]

Dear Mrs. McClelland,

I have asked Effie about her family and she says that two friends of Mr. Hearn brought him to her father's shop and asked him to help him – Effie was away at school and doesn't know how long Mr. Hearn lived with them. He had a half-brother she thinks – but isn't real sure. Her mother's name was Laura Fry before she married Mr. Watkin. She had no sisters – only one brother – William Fry – and a half brother, Richard Sloan. Her father went in the train to his shop in town. Her mother's brother – William Fry had a large family – Hereward was the first, Harold, Wilford, Nicholas, Birthold, Gerth, Rosa, Laura, Mary, and Lilli Fry Fisher, who is a well known artist.

I have no use of my right hand and use my left only – it is quite a task for me to write –

Sincerely,
Abby Jo Marsh

Appendix 7: Reconstruction Era Building Associations 1867-1880

| Business Name | Charter/ Registrati on Number | Original Filing Date | Status | Location / County / State |
|--|--|----------------------------|--------|-------------------------------|
| THE CENTRAL AVENUE LOAN AND BUILDING COMPANY | 547 | Oct 22 1803 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI GERMAN BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 1 | 672 | Aug 11 1867 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CINCINNATI GERMAN BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO.2 | 673 | Mar 12 1868 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI GERMAN BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO.3 | 674 | Jun 03 1868 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI GERMAN BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 4 | 675 | Jul 18 1868 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI GERMAN BUILDING ASSOCIATION NUMBER FIVE | 676 | Aug 11 1868 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI HARUGARI BUILDING ASSOCIATION | 689 | Nov 14 1868 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CINCINNATI TURNERS' BUILDING ASSOCIATION | 781 | Nov 27 1868 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CINCINNATI GERMAN BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. VI | 677 | Jan 25 1869 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CINCINNATI GERMAN SOUTH-WEST-END BUILDING ASSOCIATION | 679 | Feb 22 1869 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CARTHAGE BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATION | 485 | Mar 30 1869 | Dead | Carthage, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI GERMAN BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 7 | 678 | Apr 15 1869 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE BRIGHTON BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI | 336 | Apr 26 1869 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |

| | | | | |
|--|------|----------------|--------|----------------------------------|
| BUCKEYE BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF GREEN TOWNSHIP | 375 | Apr 28 1869 | Dead | Cheviot Co. Of Hamilton |
| THE CINCINNATI GERMAN BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. ONE (1) | 680 | Oct 07 1869 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CINCINNATI IRISH BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 1 | 699 | Dec 01 1869 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CO-OPERATIVE LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. ONE OF HAMILTON COUNTY OHIO | 1100 | Nov 10 1870 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE ATHLETIC BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 144 | May 16 1871 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI ENTERPRISE BUILDING ASSOCIATION | 661 | May 26 1871 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI MUTUAL BUILDING ASSOCIATION | 719 | Jun 12 1871 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| BRIGHTON BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 2 | 337 | Jun 20 1871 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI IRISH BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 2 | 701 | Jun 22 1871 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| BISMARCK BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI | 266 | Jun 30 1871 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| COTTAGE HILL COOPERATIVE LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. TWO OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 1113 | Sep 02 1871 | Dead | Cincinnati, Conversion, Ohio |
| THE BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATION OF GLENDALE | 405 | Oct 5 1871 | Dead | Glendale, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE COLORED PEOPLES BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF HAMILTON COUNTY | 965 | Jan 23 1872 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CAMP DENNISON BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF HAMILTON COUNTY | 438 | Apr 25 1872 | Dead | Camp Dennison, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE COTTAGE HILL LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF HAMILTON | 958 | Mar 26 1872 | Dead | Cincinnati, Conversion, Ohio |

| | | | | |
|---|------|----------------|--------|----------------------------------|
| CO-OPERATIVE LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF OAKLEY, HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO | 1101 | Jun 01 1872 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE AMERICAN DEPOSITORY AND PERMANENT BENEFIT LOAN AND BUILDING SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 89 | Sep 30 1872 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| GOSHEN BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATION | 1833 | Oct 22 1872 | Active | Mechanicsburg, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE ATHLETIC BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 2 OF CINCINNATI | 145 | Mar 10 1873 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE BRIGHTON BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 3 | 338 | Jul 22 1873 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| ALLEMENIA LOAN AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 55 | Oct 09 1873 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CEDAR GROVE LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION | 498 | Mar 23 1874 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| AMERICAN BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI | 88 | Jun 12 1874 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CEDAR GROVE LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION NUMBER TWO | 499 | Sep 23 1874 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI TURNER BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 2 | 785 | Oct 15 1874 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE THIRD WARD BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI, STATE OF OHIO | 3783 | Dec 30 1874 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CORWIN TERRACE LAND & BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 1108 | Jan 06 1875 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE ATLANTIC BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 3 OF CINCINNATI | 146A | Feb 26 1875 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE TWENTY FIRST WARD LOAN AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 3935 | May 05 1875 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| 13TH WARD LOAN AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 3790 | May 28 1875 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |

| | | | | |
|--|-------|----------------|--------|-------------------------------|
| FIFTH WARD BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 1509 | Jun 25 1875 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE "CENTRAL BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 2" OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 531 | Jul 27 1875 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| ACME LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF PRICE'S HILL | 7 | Aug 18 1875 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CITIZENS BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 818 | Sep 02 1875 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| FIRST GERMAN BUILDING AND SAVING ASSOCIATION OF RE | 1540 | Oct 28 1875 | Cancel | Reading, Hamilton, Ohio |
| BROWNE STREET LOAN & BUILDING ASSOCIATION | 355 | Nov 03 1875 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE BALD HILL BUILDING & LOAN ASSOCIATION | 174 | Dec 1 1875 | Cancel | Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CITY BUILDING LOAN AND DEPOSIT ASSOCIATION | 841 | Jan 31 1876 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE BURNET WOODS PORK LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 52845 | Apr 01 1876 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CORRYVILLE BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 2 | 1106 | Apr 13 1876 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE BALD HILL LAND & BUILDING ASSOCIATION | 175 | Apr 19 1876 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CORWIN PLACE LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION | 1109 | Jun 14 1876 | Dead | Hamilton, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CINCINNATI ENTERPRISE BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 2, OF | 665 | Jul 27 1876 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CHAMPION BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 565 | Aug 23 1876 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| COLUMBUS BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 1 OF CINCINNATI | 982 | Aug 29 1876 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE BISMARCK BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 2 OF CINCINNATI, OHIO. | 267 | Nov 16 1876 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |

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|--|-------|----------------|--------|-------------------------------|
| THE ARKANSAS COLONY LAND AND BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 122 | Dec 02 1876 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| ELEVENTH WARD LOAN & BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 1346 | Dec 11 1876 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI COLLEGE HILL & VENICE RAILROAD LAND & BUILDING COMPANY | 644 | Apr 24 1877 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| 11TH WARD BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO 2 OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 1347 | May 02 1877 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CAMP WASHINGTON BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO.1 | 439 | May 31 1877 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE ATLANTIC BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 4 OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 147 | Jul 27 1877 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CINCINNATI BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 1 | 622 | Oct 23 1877 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI BUILDING COMPANY | 53065 | Dec 19 1877 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CELTIC BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI | 508 | Feb 05 1878 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CINCINNATI BUILDING AND DEPOSIT ASSOCIATION | 624 | Apr 03 1878 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CONCORDIA BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI | 1070 | Jul 19 1878 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE BANNER LOAN & BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 190 | Dec 16 1878 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| THE CINCINNATI BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 1, OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 625 | Feb 12 1879 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| BELLEVUE BUILDING ASSOCIATION OF CINCINNATI, OHIO | 235 | Mar 04 1879 | Cancel | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| CITIZEN'S BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO. 2 | 820 | Mar 10 1879 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |
| BROWNE STREET BUILDING ASSOCIATION NO.2 OF CINCINNATI OHIO | 356 | Apr 19 1879 | Dead | Cincinnati, Hamilton, Ohio |

Appendix 8: *The Story of Annexation* (Hamilton County Research Foundation, 1955)

The Hamilton County Research Foundation

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GEORGE H. PALMER

September 1, 1955

Board of Trustees,
Hamilton County Research Foundation,
400 Hotel Metropole, Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Sirs:

The information contained in the following report was compiled in 1953 by Mr. James L. Kealing and Mr. Dale E. Armstrong under the supervision of Mr. Worth N. Yoder, Jr., the then Secretary of the Hamilton County Research Foundation. It was later revised and supplemented by Mrs. Lowell F. Hobart, Jr.

The selection of this topic was prompted by the general awareness of a serious problem confronting Metropolitan Cincinnati as well as many other cities throughout the country. It arises out of the industrial and residential expansion which followed the economic upheaval of the thirties and the readjustment period at the conclusion of the Second World War.

The general public has become increasingly aware of the complications resulting from increasing costs of city operations, from the demands for additional services by local governments, from increased school enrollments, and from the urgent need for additional school facilities.

The effort to find a workable solution has been impeded as might be expected by the existence of differing political views.

This report is designed to examine the problem, to set forth its background, and to suggest several solutions with particular emphasis on annexation.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT D. LEGGETT *Secretary*

THE STORY OF ANNEXATION

THE METROPOLITAN PROBLEM

American cities, generally, face a problem of government directly related to their unanticipated population and industrial growth. Dynamic community expansion has resulted in the multiplication of smaller fringe areas that pose both technical and political problems of government and administration for the parent area as well as for themselves. While most of this growth has been without specific intention to form new communities, in many cases there have been immediate motivations for cheaper taxes, more open living, better schools, and particularly the desire for more personal and direct control of their local affairs, with closer community living.

The communities that have arisen around our great cities have been of various types. In some cases they were founded long ago as completely separate entities, and the natural processes of their growth as well as that of the parent city have brought them together, at times with the larger one completely surrounding the other. Such satellites, except for their separate legal identities and resultant escape from metropolitan responsibilities are as much a part of the city as are various communities within the city limits. So much are they a part of each other for business, social and civic activities that it is difficult to tell where one begins and the other leaves off.

Other satellites, founded more recently, are to a large extent "flights from the city." Some are known as "bedroom suburbs" which levy taxes only for such municipal services as are necessary to maintain peaceful, pleasant and convenient residential living. Still others are tax havens for industry. Some of this type existed as municipalities for many years prior to the establishment of industries which, entering the metropolitan area for labor and market reasons, selected the suburb over the core city primarily for site advantage, and only incidentally because of savings in local taxes. Other industrial suburbs incorporated around or annexed existing industries to capture ready and immediate sources of revenue which would not be theirs except for the existence of the larger community.

CINCINNATI'S PROBLEM

Cincinnati shares the problems of corporate growth in a way similar to many other American cities, and like them is seeking a way to solve them with equity and practicality. The city (1950 pop. 505,000) contains 70% of the population and 66.6% of the real estate wealth of Hamilton County (1950 pop. 726,000). The city also covers the major portion of the total area of the county. Although the portion of Hamilton County lying outside of Cincinnati is comparatively small, it presents a multiplicity of governmental units that are bewildering. There are 10 cities, 21 villages and unincorporated areas of 13 townships. Twenty-nine of these areas are contiguous, with completely artificial boundaries. In perhaps only two cases (Harrison and Loveland) are they sufficiently distinct in economy and separateness not to be classed as parts of greater Cincinnati. This hodge-podge of governments, with all of their jurisdictional limitations in a single urban community creates major financial, administrative, and political problems for the whole area.

Most easily seen, and most often stressed are the financial inequities which ensue, especially in those communities that have captured the taxes of heavy industries, some of which enjoy extremely low tax rates while adjacent communities must pay burdensome rates.

An outstanding example is the village of Evendale (600 pop,) which was recently incorporated to include the giant General Electric plant (12,000 employment), which has the low tax rate of \$2.00 per \$1000.00 of assessed valuation, while its neighbor, Lincoln Heights, lacking industry or other valuable property to provide adequate services at a reasonable figure, must pay its rate of \$10.08. This gross inequality is further compounded by the fact that Evendale itself contains parts of four school districts with school levies of \$3.76, \$9.46, \$12.78, and \$22.64. Cincinnati's school and municipal levies, on the other hand, are \$12.92 and \$11.08, respectively, the latter being the second highest municipal levy in Hamilton County (Aug. 1955).

Some of the suburban officials publicly like to attribute the difference between theirs and Cincinnati's tax rates to local "efficiency". The difference in tax rates, however, is due primarily to the wide divergence among the municipalities in assessed valuation per capita and to the fact that Cincinnati furnishes a number of services enjoyed cost-free by the rest of the County as well as paying for all of the very costly traffic and other services for the downtown section and for the slum areas of the City. The City pays the only substantial local share of the costs of the proposed expressways.

Cincinnati directly subsidizes in addition, the Art Museum, the Zoo, and the Symphony, as well as the municipal airport and, at great expense, the General Hospital, all of which are used and enjoyed by both citizens and suburbanites. Following World War II the City bore the overwhelming bulk of the local outlay for veterans' emergency housing, which undeniably should have been a truly community-wide project. Though the City did not request support from the other municipalities, only one other community, Indian Hill, directly aided the program. That village donated \$1,000. To cite another example, Cincinnati's costly milk inspection (\$50,000 per year) is utilized cost-free by the City of Norwood, whose ordinances permit the sale in that city of any milk approved for sale in Cincinnati.

The City maintains a comprehensive park system (annual cost: \$700,000 including no property acquisition or debt service) available free to residents of the entire community. Some of the most wealthy satellites maintain no parks and, of course, contribute nothing to the costs of policing the crime-breeding slums. The suburbanites often contend that the latter problem is strictly for Cincinnati to solve since, after all, the slums are in Cincinnati and not in the suburbs. However, the residents of the fashionable Cincinnati community of Hyde Park are almost as distant from the slums as are the residents of the equally fashionable suburb of Wyoming. The slums are a menace to the whole community and are the moral responsibility of both the citizens of Wyoming and the residents of Hyde Park.

The truth of this statement has received limited recognition by the establishment on January 1, 1948 of a County Welfare Department, which has assumed most of the burden of local public assistance and some similar programs for the entire county. The creation of the County Welfare Department was a major step toward more equal distribution of metropolitan burdens among all community residents. But even here the most vigorous supporters of the present County policies do not contend

that Cincinnati, paying two-thirds of the County taxes, receives a like proportion of the County Governments total expenditures on local projects for public welfare.

Some other attempts, in addition to the establishment of the County Welfare Department, have been made to solve urban problems on a county-wide basis. The county park system and the public library are supported by taxes on all property in Hamilton County. The county park system does not, however, include Cincinnati's city parks. Consequently the City finds itself exclusively supporting one system and paying two-thirds of the support of an additional system. Both systems are used by residents of the whole county.

Other "county" programs, such as the police radio net and the identification bureau, are basically for the satellites as well as for the unincorporated areas, but not for Cincinnati, which of course helps support the programs. A County financial contribution to the solution of a problem facing the entire community is rarely an unmixed blessing for Cincinnati. Recently, for example, when the City of St. Bernard was opposing the construction of the Mill Creek Expressway through its territory, the County Commissioners donated \$100,000 toward the cost of relocating St. Bernard public utilities in the path of the Expressway. On the basis of local taxation, Cincinnati of course paid, in addition to its own millions for expressways, two-thirds of the County contribution while St. Bernard paid less than 1.5 per cent, which was that city's only financial contribution to the highway.

The county on the contrary provides a number of services either exclusively or principally for the benefit of the unincorporated areas. Among these are police protection, road (and even some street) maintenance, zoning, building inspection, and some health services. Although Cincinnati pays for the largest share of some of these services it only benefits indirectly from them to the extent that an improvement anywhere in the community benefits the entire community. The unincorporated areas, which receive the indirect benefits of similar City services as well as the direct benefits of other services of course pay nothing to the City.

The tax and cost-distribution inequities in Greater Cincinnati are probably inevitable as long as the patchwork of governments exists and as long as the county assumes, as a substitute for real unity, only a portion of the costs of programs truly metropolitan in scope.

The artificial city limits also create, in addition to the tax inequalities, the "fringe area" housekeeping problems which exist in the unincorporated but urbanized areas adjacent to the City and to the satellite municipalities. Among the fringe-area problems are poor streets, inadequate water service, inadequately planned subdivision development, inadequate schools for an expanding population, and substandard garbage, police, and fire services. The list could continue.

Unlike the tax inequalities, the other fringe-area problems are not caused by duplication or multiplicity of governments. They are caused by the absence of any one agency having the ability to provide services for the area, or, in other words, by the absence of government. The townships and the county are unfitted legally, financially, and practically to provide a really comprehensive list of the "municipal" services needed in rural areas undergoing the transition to residential and industrial suburbs. The problems are not peculiar to Cincinnati's fringe but exist at the boundaries of almost all cities, large and small. The only exceptions are cities located in counties rendering municipal services through county-wide taxation, those surrounded by other cities or by both cities and geographical

barriers, and cities which have very recently absorbed large sections of the fringe (Fringe Area Conditions and Relations, John C. Bollens, 50 Public Management XXXII, March, 1950). Cincinnati of course does not qualify as one of the exceptions.

In some of greater Cincinnati's fringe areas the residents have either inadequate water services (insufficient or nonexistent pressure at some times) or no central water service of any type. In some cases, residents of new subdivisions must buy water for their private cisterns by the tank-truck load. Some residents must rely on volunteer fire departments which are often inadequate, particularly during the hours when the volunteers are away from their localities at their places of employment. Some of the largest and most modern industrial plants in the community are in theory protected only by these small, inadequately manned, and sometimes distant volunteer units. Of course the industrialists do not worry greatly over the likelihood of their plants burning to the ground: the Cincinnati Fire Department, it is safely and inexpensively assured, would obviously not stand by and watch a factory burn to the ground.

The fringe area schools also present an unfortunate problem. The fringe's increasing population requires well-planned, major school-construction programs. One of the suburban townships is divided among thirteen school districts, none of which is legally or financially capable of meeting the needs of the area as it becomes more intensively developed.

The townships, which are unable to provide all of the municipal services necessary to an urban area, possibly hamper the long-range solution of the fringe-area problem by providing just enough of the essential services to prevent the residents from seeking a complete and permanently satisfactory solution. (The township trustees state that the state legislature has been "very generous" in granting the townships special powers to undertake services financed by special assessments.) When the township services become deplorably inadequate, the residents often decide to incorporate a new village to provide the needed services. Since the fringe-area problem is essentially one of lack of services resulting from lack of government, the fringe residents have seen in village status a ready solution to their problems. Since 1939 seven new villages have incorporated in Hamilton County.

While some of the villages may solve the fringe-area problems to their own satisfaction (which is often scaled down to meet the limited financial capabilities of the villages), lack of coordination on zoning, planning, and on municipal and school services prevents them from solving the problems in a manner calculated to promote the long-range best interests of themselves or of the entire community. In addition, the villages in no measure solve the problem of financial inequalities which exist in the Greater Cincinnati community.

The political detriment to Cincinnati of the multiplicity of unsolved fringe problems may prove eventually to be the most serious aspect of the metropolitan problem. The residents of middle and upper financial-class bedroom suburbs, which have grown so rapidly during recent years, are citizens who, for the benefit of Cincinnati, should contribute greatly to the leadership of the political life of the city as they now lead its social, financial, business, and charitable activities. The suburbanites generally seem to be somewhat more civic minded than the average Cincinnati (though not more than the Cincinnatians living in selected communities within the city). In the 1953 municipal elections in which there were heated issues in Cincinnati and few issues in any of the suburbs, only 61 per cent of the Cincinnati registered voters cast ballots as against 68 per cent in the ten satellite

cities. The ratios of total population to total ballots cast reflects even greater to the credit of the suburbs: 38 per cent for the suburbs, 30 per cent for Cincinnati, (No figures are available on the number of persons unregistered but otherwise eligible to vote.)

The loss to Cincinnati's civic life of the suburban citizens is obvious. It has not been uncommon recently for mayors of Cincinnati to announce the names of intended appointees to city boards or commissions, then to discover that the persons selected were not residents of the central city, and therefore, could not serve. The rules governing the city-owned University of Cincinnati recognize the artificiality of the city limits by providing that directors may live in any part of Hamilton County (Cincinnati City Charter, Art. VI, Sec. 1).

The cost of elections in the many political subdivisions is another great drain on the public purse. At the present time there are about 600 elected officials in Hamilton County, and there may be as many as a thousand candidates for these offices. It is not only difficult to finance so many elections but it is still more difficult to find suitable candidates.

A city does not create itself; nor does it create its problems. Both are created by the citizens. The citizens of Greater Cincinnati can solve their metropolitan problems in any manner they choose. Or, they can choose to do nothing.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

To meet the many problems of the multiplicity of governments a number of solutions have been proposed; the chief ones are as follows:

(a) Incorporation of More Cities and Villages.

This can be considered a solution of the fringe problems only in those cases in which the villages have adequate revenues to supply at least the basic requirements of local government. Unfortunately, some of the new villages and even some of the old ones lack the industrial tax base considered necessary for permanently sound financing and therefore, further incorporation adds to the problem of multiple government.

(b) Functional Consolidation.

This has proceeded to a considerable degree in Hamilton County in relation to waste collection, welfare, and water, but it is spotty and still does not touch many important areas, such as gas and electricity, private housing, and taxes.

(c) City-County Consolidation.

This involves basic changes in the Ohio Constitution, and the surrendering of many local jurisdictions. It has been attempted several times but each proposal has been defeated. There seems to be at the present time very little sentiment for it or organized citizen interest.

(d) Borough System.

This would involve a reduction of governments within the county, and has been suggested as a way out of the dilemma. But it also involves basic changes in state law, which are unlikely to be approved.

(e) Metropolitan District.

This would create a new governmental structure for some special purpose, and still would not touch the problem of coordinating general services.

(f) Metropolitan Government.

This would create a new governmental unit including not only all the county, but areas beyond it if in the metropolitan periphery, even crossing state lines if necessary, such as would be the case with parts of northern Kentucky in relation to Cincinnati. This proposal would not only involve basic state law, but federal law also, and while theoretically appealing presents such practical political difficulties as to seem beyond immediate consideration.

(g) Annexation.

This would present a gradual way of enlarging the area of city government and thereby reduce, gradually, the number of small local governments, without necessitating change in state law.

LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND FOR ANNEXATION

Ohio's statutes divide annexations into two general classes: incorporated municipalities and those of unincorporated township territory. The first general annexation law, passed in 1868, provided for annexation of incorporated places by a vote of the citizens of both affected municipalities, with the Council of the surviving city having the power to waive a vote of its citizens. In the case of unincorporated territory, the law provided for annexation upon passage of an annexation ordinance by the city council and approval by the county commissioners. Although the residents of the unincorporated area had a right to appear at the county commissioners' hearing, they had no absolute power to block the annexation.

Generally, the law regarding annexation of unincorporated places has been changed to make annexation more difficult. In 1941, after the beginning of the vigorous city campaign for annexation and after the County Commissioners had shown great reluctance to grant annexations, the law was tightened to provide that in addition to the previous requirements there would have to be popular approval in the area affected. Still later (1947), the process of annexation was made more difficult by requiring not just the favorable vote of the affected area, but of the whole township as well. In later sessions of the Legislature in 1951 and 1953, still other, but unsuccessful, attempts were proposed to make annexation more difficult. In 1955, a bill was passed requiring that where school districts are split in annexations, the State Superintendent of Schools will decide in which school district the area

will be. The effect of this is to harm annexation, since districts so situated would be voting for annexation without knowing where their schools would be, thereby leaving in doubt one of their principal reasons for annexation. In 1955, also, the process for incorporation of cities has been made slightly more difficult, so that this method of preventing annexation should now be somewhat less used.

All of the various moves to tighten the annexation law have had the constant approval throughout the years of the Hamilton County delegation in the legislature. It is likely that partisan political considerations have entered substantially into their decisions, since the outlying districts with their many public officials constitute an integral part of the dominant party support. In any event, whatever the reason, the City of Cincinnati has not had the support of the Hamilton County delegations in annexation legislation favorable to the city.

ANNEXATION GROWTH IN CINCINNATI

Traditionally Cincinnati has considered annexation the solution to its satellite problem. Cincinnati's growth, unlike that of most cities, has been characterized by the integration of numerous small villages and cities. In recent years, however, Cincinnati's annexation program has been slow, and has been related more to unincorporated areas.

ANNEXATION OF INCORPORATED AREAS

Prior to 1915, Cincinnati grew primarily by annexing established villages and cities. Organized opposition to annexation was almost unknown before 1890. With little effort, the City kept pace with its population growth by expanding from its original 3.8 square miles in 1819 to 25.45 square miles in 1890. In the 1890's, with the rise of open political corruption in Cincinnati, opposition to annexation crystallized in the neighboring communities. The 1868 annexation law, since it allowed annexation of an incorporated village or city only if the voters of the community approved, was not effective in the face of such active opposition.

Consequently, in April (1893), the Legislature, at the request of Cincinnati's political boss, passed a new law to provide for annexation when approved by a combined vote in the annexed and annexing cities. Of course, the votes of Cincinnati always swamped the votes of the suburb so the absorption of incorporated areas continued. In 1896, under the combined voting law, Cincinnati annexed Clifton, Avondale, Westwood, Riverside, and Linwood. Since the law provided for annexation of cities of one class by cities of a higher class based on population, it became obsolete when the courts ruled that such legislation was special and therefore invalid. (Cincinnati, then the largest city in Ohio, was the only city in grade 1, class 1.)

After 1902 the City again had to rely on a favorable vote in the outlying community to secure annexation. Consequently, the City began to stress service advantages, such as water and cheaper streetcar fares, as inducements to annexation. The City adopted a policy (allowing for some previously existing exceptions) of not providing water service to areas outside the City. Only a few of the suburban communities had any water service at that time; most of the residents had their own private wells. Very few of the outlying communities, poorly financed in most cases, could have undertaken the expense of building water systems. The transportation problem was equally difficult

for the suburbs. The traction companies dealt separately with each town through which the tracks passed, and the outlying communities were unable to agree among themselves or with the companies on fares, schedules, and related matters. Cincinnati, which had an ordinance providing for five-cent fares throughout the City, presented the only hope of a united front.

A campaign of civic-minded businessmen; the City's policy of withholding water service; and the desire of the suburbanites to secure five-cent streetcar fares resulted in the annexation of seventeen cities and villages between 1903 and 1914. Most of the businessmen and their organizations -- the Industrial Bureau, the Businessmen's Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Federated Improvements Association -- supported annexation through public statements, newspaper releases, their own publications and, no doubt, through unrecorded political dealings (*Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, Feb. 19, 1910).

As a result of these activities a number of the communities, particularly the down-river villages and Millcreek township (unincorporated) even sought annexation for the additional purpose of solving their otherwise impossible financial problems. The citizens of Hyde Park, Winton Place, Evanston, Bond Hill, California, Delhi, Mt. Washington, Mt. Airy, Saylor Park, College Hill, Madisonville, Carthage, Hartwell, Pleasant Ridge, Fernbank, Oakley, and Kennedy Heights -- all independent municipalities --voted to join Cincinnati. In addition, the City annexed 11.2 square miles of unincorporated territory during the same period. So eager were some of the suburbanites for annexation that they annexed to their own villages long strips of land making the villages adjacent to Cincinnati and therefore eligible for annexation, although Elmwood Place and, by an almost unanimous vote (509 to 10), Cheviot decided to go it alone, more or less. Cheviot had been receiving city water without annexing.

In its campaign for annexation, Cincinnati leaders met greatest opposition from some of the officials of the suburban towns. The original 1868 law, while not necessitating the local village council's approval of the annexation itself, did provide for the council's approval of a referendum for annexation. Politicians unwilling to abolish their own jobs occasionally refused in their councils to order the elections and had to be voted out of office before the citizens could secure annexation. To remove permanently the obstacle of reluctant politicians, the Cincinnati business groups and political boss had the law amended to allow citizens of cities and villages to initiate annexation proceedings by petition.

From 1910 on, organized opposition of politicians, particularly in Norwood, invented a new method of defeating annexation. When an adequate number of Norwood voters petitioned for annexation referendum, the city council, fearing the outcome of a vote, delayed action until a sufficient number of voters could be pressured into withdrawing their names from the petitions. The courts held the withdrawals allowable; consequently, annexation never reached a vote in Norwood. The St. Bernard officials followed a similar procedure though the annexation proponents never were as strong in the community as they were in Norwood. Since 1910 the practice of inducing petition signers to withdraw names has been standard procedure among organized opponents on annexation.

With the annexation of Kennedy Heights in 1914, the movement to take in incorporated places died. The reluctance to annex was enhanced by the City's virtual abandonment in the 1920's of its policy of not selling water to outsiders. Groups of real estate developers began laying mains and connecting

them to the Cincinnati supply. The mains were financed by bonds to be paid off from assessments against the benefited property, but guaranteed by the credit of the entire county.

In the 1930's the financial difficulties of small communities which once induced them to seek annexation were greatly reduced, strange to say, in spite of the Depression. A state constitutional amendment lowering local real estate taxes and a state sales tax were adopted at that time. Part of the revenues from the sales tax (and from the financial institutions tax) were earmarked for the Local Government Fund, which was distributed to the counties on the basis of population, and, under a recent amendment, on the basis of population and assessed valuation. The counties in turn distributed the money to the local governments on the basis of "need," which was otherwise undefined by the statute. Since a number of the suburban communities suffered from chronic financial troubles, their "need" prompted the county to give them a disproportionate share of the aid, thereby saving them from either bankruptcy or annexation; this distribution still keeps some of the suburban communities afloat, to some extent.

In only one village, North College Hill, has any serious annexation effort recently been made. Twice in the 1930's North College Hill residents advocating union with Cincinnati were stymied by skillful opposition forces. The first attempt ended with a negative vote being cast in a very close referendum.

In 1938 strong annexation sentiment again developed in the village. The factors bringing the issue to a second climax centered around the elected officials. These officials were said to have been lax in administering the village finances and had engendered bitter resentment among some of the residents. Not feeling able to overcome party loyalties to these officials, these residents decided that a non-partisan attempt to end the existence of the village presented the only permanent solution. The local politicians who had previously supported annexation this time opposed it, but a petition of 40 per cent of the voters legally required the reluctant council members to initiate annexation proceedings by calling for a referendum. Legalistic tinkering by the local officials discouraged the petition signers, who within a few months gave up the whole project. Since the failure of the last effort in North College Hill no serious attempt has been made by either Cincinnati or the suburbs to join with the City any incorporated village or city.

ANNEXATION OF UNINCORPORATED AREAS

Ohio law relating to annexations has always been somewhat more difficult for unincorporated areas since it required the approval of the County Commissioners, regardless of the wishes of the parties at interest. In spite of this, considerable progress was made by Cincinnati in annexing such territory up until 1930; since that time not only has the approval of County Commissioners been more difficult to obtain but the basic law itself has been made more stringent. To counteract this influence the city during the 1940s decided to furnish water in such outlying areas only on pledge of the users to agree to annexation when initiated by the City. It is alleged there was a gentlemen's agreement (1946), that the County Commissioners would agree to such annexations on petitions signed by 51% of the voters of the area affected, provided water rates were not raised for five years. However, since the city raised water rates in city and county in 1950, the Commissioners refused annexations and a deadlock ensued, resulting in Court action by the Commission to prevent the City from enforcing water-annexation agreements. The net result of this condition was that the whole process of annexation of unincorporated territory was considerably slowed down and little territory annexed. Recently,

however, there have been changes, through agreements which probably will change the opposition of the County Commissioners to a marked degree.

IMPORTANT FACTORS IN ANNEXATION TODAY IN CINCINNATI

Today there are various factors working for and against annexation of outlying communities.

Among the most important not favoring annexation are:

- (1) Desire of residents of outlying districts to escape city problems which have grown with the years. By being outside of the City limits they believe they can "get away from it all."
- (2) A feeling of closeness to own local officials, most of whom the residents know personally, as well as a fear of loss of identity in being part of the larger community.
- (3) Lack of understanding about the method of electing Councilmen in Cincinnati, and a feeling their vote won't count.
- (4) Lack of assurance from Cincinnati on specific services in specific places, in event of annexation.
- (5) Uncertainty about total costs and whether or not the move will be to their financial advantage, including tax rate, value of services received, and utility rates.
- (6) Desire of certain business interests to escape city regulation in regard to health, building, and gambling.
- (7) Desire of certain industries to get lower property taxes.
- (8) Vested interests of local public officials who would be eliminated in annexation.
- (9) Alleged favoritism of County Commissioners to outlying sections as against the interests of Cincinnati or the whole county.

Factors favoring annexation are:

- (1) Prospect of better services such as fire, police, garbage, streets, for annexed areas.
- (2) Desire for lower total costs for householders including tax rates and utilities.
- (3) Desire for better educational advantages.
- (4) Opportunity to participate in political life of the larger community on which their social and economic life depends;
- (5) Feeling of obligation to pay for all services, direct and indirect, obtained from the city.

RECENT POLICIES AND STATUS OF ANNEXATION IN CINCINNATI

After a lull in annexation between 1914 and 1940, the city became aware of the increasingly difficult problems in outlying communities and embarked again upon a definite program for annexation. A Citizens' Committee appointed by the Mayor in 1940 prepared as a report to Council and the public a booklet "Let's Unite," which showed the financial benefits to the fringe area of union with Cincinnati. The report was not followed up with a public relations campaign or with other action. With the report completed, the committee considered its work ended. At best, while the report did present an accurate picture of the financial advantages of annexation, it resulted in no progress. At worst, the publicity given the committee crystallized opposition which could have been met if the enthusiasm generated by the committee's appointment had been carried into an actual annexation campaign.

One effect of the annexation publicity and of the 1.2 square miles of annexations in two years was an increase in the organized nature of the opposition to unity. Though the County Commissioners had never been particularly favorable to annexation, their first vigorous public blast against the new program came in the fall of 1940 after the election of new Commissioners. They accused the City of coercing annexations by withdrawing fire protection to the outside areas.

The organized and effective nature of the opposition, the default of the citizens' committee, and the futility of mere public relations - in fact the basic failure of the City's entire annexation program - indicated that specific inducements might promote annexation faster than had appeals to the civic spirit of the suburbanites. Consequently, in 1941, the City adopted the policy of only allowing water service to new outside customers who, in their land deeds, committed themselves and their successors in title to petition for annexation when requested to do so. The hope was that people would annex to secure City water service. The suggested water policy was to be basically similar to the police, fire, garbage collection, and street light policies: service for residents, none for outsiders. The water annexation agreements were not to be enforced until 1946, at the termination of a twenty-year City-County water contract.

The outbreak of war in 1941 diverted Cincinnati's attention from annexation and other normal city affairs to other pressing matters. From 1942 until 1945 the City annexed only one-half of one square mile. Since new home construction was virtually halted during most of that period, the end of the war found Cincinnati with a situation only slightly worse than in 1941, but also without an improved and established annexation policy for the building boom which followed.

In 1946 the City hired, for the first time, a full-time annexation agent, an assistant city solicitor in charge of annexation. While he endeavored to promote good public relations, he relied primarily on the water-annexation agreements. With this full-time annexation solicitor in the field and with the strength of the water-annexation agreements, Cincinnati was able to annex more territory in four years than it had taken in during the previous twenty years. The annexation solicitor attributed most of his success to the water policy.

The opposition to the water-annexation agreements prior to 1949 was limited generally to adverse comments, principally from township and county officials, but also included the Chamber of Commerce, as harmful to entry of new industry. At this time, however, there began a series of

disputes, set off by a raise in Cincinnati water rates after the development of the new waterworks expansion. This increase was based on a cost survey and allowed the City a 5% return on capital invested for outside service.

The County Commissioners shortly thereafter rejected an annexation petition by signers of water-annexation agreements and announced the County's intention to turn down all future petitions by such signers. In justifying their action, the Commissioners said that the City had violated a 1946 gentlemen's agreement not to raise rates until May, 1951.

Legal and tactical maneuvers between the City and the county ensued, with the City unwilling to abandon water-annexation agreements and the county unwilling to sign contracts for water service or permit annexation of areas with contracts with such a clause. Various suggestions for solution of the impasse were suggested but none met approval. It was not until January 1955, that the City and county agreed on a new schedule of rates for city water to county residents over a thirty-year period, with the county commissioners agreeing to consider each annexation petition on its merits. Consequently, at the present moment the long controversy seems to have been resolved and water-annexation contracts are no longer a stumbling block to future city development. Water costs for county residents, while greater than for city residents, are generally thought to be equitable.

The City has also increased other attractions for annexation. The City Utilities Department, with the approval of the City Manager and Council, secured from the Cincinnati Gas & Electric Company a rate schedule making annexation advantageous to outsiders. Until recently the utility rates in various parts of the county followed no determined pattern but resulted merely from the various bargains negotiated between the company and the respective municipalities. The present schedule provides for lower rates in Cincinnati with progressively higher rates in the suburbs, generally the most distant suburbs paying the highest rates. While some suburbanites consider the new rate schedule unjust discrimination, the rates can be considered entirely fair. Apart from any annexation considerations, Cincinnati pays a disproportionate share of the costs and in most cases pays the entire costs of rate negotiations, economic surveys, and litigation. The other communities watch Cincinnati's progress, then just string along.

The new street railway franchise adopted in 1952 provides that suburban riders must be charged at least as much as Cincinnati riders. In many instances, they pay slightly more. Another provision of the franchise allows the City's Director of Utilities to veto any company proposal for a new line running both inside and beyond the city limits. Proper use of the veto provision will prevent the subsidization of suburban lines by Cincinnati riders.

While the effects on annexation of these utilities policies are only indirect, they nevertheless do add to the advantages of living in Cincinnati. Utility rate differentials between Cincinnati and the suburbs have an effect on living costs similar to differences in tax rates. In the case of gas and electric rates, however, great numbers of suburbanites for some reason fail to consider lower utility bills as offsetting higher tax bills. Though the City has stressed this point during annexation campaigns, the salesmanship may have failed in this respect.

The policies of the Safety Department (Police, Fire, Traffic Engineering) seem difficult to assess with regard to annexation. As stated previously, prior to 1941, the Department had numerous fire-

protection contracts with both individuals (including corporations) and communities outside the boundaries. In 1952 the City adopted an ordinance allowing fire protection to outlying areas on a fee basis. Communities may have either standby service for two mills or full protection for four mills. The outside residents feel that this charge is unreasonably high; consequently, there have been few takers. The Department also operates an emergency ambulance service not available to outsiders. This policy has been bitterly resented by some suburbanites, but the City has no plans to extend the service outside the boundaries.

Another agency concerned with the City's future expansion is the City Planning Commission. The Commission was responsible for drafting the "Cincinnati Metropolitan Master Plan" for the entire metropolitan area in both Ohio and Kentucky. Adopted in 1948, the plan calls for the construction of parks, expressways, police and fire stations and for urban redevelopment on a broad scale over many years. The general policy of Cincinnati City Council has been to promote the plan by adopting each year a capital improvements program looking ahead five years. The suburban communities are less concerned over the progress of the Plan. When the Master Plan was in process of formation, the City made an effort to secure the cooperation, ideas, and suggestions of the suburban communities. That they did not cooperate is a matter of record. The suburban officials contend that the City had all but completed the Plan before calling them in and then said, "Here it is, now take it." The City contends that from the outset the City solicited the active cooperation of the other communities but that after the first few meetings no one showed up and "we were forced to proceed alone." What actually happened is in doubt. However, the Cincinnati taxpayers picked up the check at a cost of \$330,000.

The Master Plan does not favor areas expected to annex over areas thought unlikely to join. The plan ignores municipal boundaries in proposing expressways and similar improvements. It has operated on the assumption that the many municipalities and the County will somehow fall into agreement on each phase of the Master Plan when the time comes for action. (Unfortunately, the small areas have been more willing to block provisions of the Plan than to support them.)

The Planning Commission's philosophy, that all areas should be treated equally, has obvious merits: the entire Metropolitan area should be developed and improved no matter what governmental structure exists. The shortcomings of a City policy treating all areas equally are also obvious: the more the City does to improve the outside area, the less likely is annexation or other unity. Consequently the less likely is the orderly and comprehensive development which is the very goal of the Planning Commission.

In regard to short-range planning, the Planning Commission officially enters the picture only at the last minute - after the County Commissioners approve the annexation and after the City Council asks the planners whether the City should accept the area. The Planning Commission is consulted unofficially, however, in advance of the annexation campaign, and the approval of Council is largely a routine matter. At the present moment the Commission is in the process of developing a new and better policy in relation to annexation.

Lack of time often prevented the annexation solicitor from planning his campaigns so that petitions were circulated near the peak of annexation interest. He often found himself without adequate time

to resell persons who, having signed petitions, subsequently withdrew their names either before the hearing or during a postponement ordered by the commissioners.

The necessity of the Solicitors moving from one area to another instead of seeing through a campaign in one area at a time, gave some residents an impression of indecision by the City. Such an impression naturally damaged the City's sales efforts.

Aware of the lost effort and other disadvantages of working only small areas, the annexation solicitor, with the approval of the City Solicitor, decided late in 1950 to concentrate major efforts on a few large areas. The opposition had many advantages under such a policy. An incorporation movement could always be started. An injunction could generally be secured more readily in a large area. There was greater chance of including more violent opponents of annexation or some friends of the township politicians. Also a large annexation is "worth" enjoining. Recontacting and keeping track of the persons withdrawing from the petitions is extremely difficult in a large area. Perhaps most important is that large areas unlike the small ones cannot be as freely selected to include a majority of persons known to favor annexation. On the positive side, a large annexation, once accomplished, constitutes real progress. In spite of great effort, however, to date no large area has been annexed.

While the City's annexation progress during 1946-54 was not spectacular, it was encouraging. Only the Assistant City Solicitor and his volunteer helpers among the suburban residents have really exerted themselves on behalf of annexation. The energy exerted by persons having particular reasons to work against annexation was many times as great as the energy exerted for annexation. With equal effort on each side, with vigorous support of City Council and civic groups, the City might have shown more progress during those years than was the case.

Since the fall of 1954, the City has changed its mode of organizational promotion of annexation. The office of annexation solicitor was abolished and its functions transferred to an Assistant to the City Manager, who combines annexation activities with other duties. Emphasis also has been transferred somewhat from the legal to the engineering and planning aspects. Another new policy is also the order of the day inasmuch as the City no longer "promotes" annexation in initiating annexation proceedings. The office operates as a service agency to those communities that are interested in annexation, by supplying them with factual data on costs, services, and operations in the particular communities affected. This policy is calculated to dispel the notion that Cincinnati wants to grab outside communities, and at the same time gives them very specific data on what the change would mean, thereby meeting a need greatly felt in the past. How effective this policy will be is not yet ascertainable, but it is true that there has been more outlying community interest recently than for many years.

In addition to a better climate of opinion due to changed city policy for securing annexation, outlying communities have themselves generated more interest in annexation for a number of other reasons, in the past year. First of all, with the enactment of the earnings tax in Cincinnati, real property in the city will not have to bear most of the tax burden of municipal costs, as is still the situation in outlying communities. They are in the position of paying tax in Cincinnati where most of them work without having access to a similar tax source for their own communities. Their only recourse for additional revenue is to tax real estate at a higher and higher rate, thereby narrowing if

not exceeding the differential between their rate and that of Cincinnati.

Not only is their actual tax situation less favorable, but all costs for services have steadily gone up. They are particularly concerned with school costs. As a part of Cincinnati, they would automatically be a part of the Cincinnati School District. As a separate part, they are forced to meet extremely high costs, especially since most of the families in the outlying districts have many children of school age; nor are the Cincinnati schools available, after 1958, even on a tuition basis. So this acute school situation, with the tax situation, has during the past year, aroused new interest in annexation to Cincinnati, and in a number of communities there are well organized and vocal groups promoting the idea, with the likelihood of several actually annexing in the near future.

The program of the city for annexation does not at the moment seem to be receiving substantial citizen interest. While there has been a revival of the former Deupree Committee founded in 1952, it is engaged in such long-range study of metropolitan problems, as not to be of immediate value. Most other citizen groups do not seem at the moment to be concerned with the problem, and therefore the City's efforts do not receive the supplemental citizen help that has been so important a factor in the past.

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing review we may draw certain conclusions:

- (1) Annexation has been the traditional mode of growth for Cincinnati which has come from an area of 3.8 to approximately 76 square miles through the process, and can proceed without further legislative change.
- (2) Other plans for meeting growing metropolitan problems involve such extensive legislative changes as to offer little if any immediate help.
- (3) Since the settlement of the water issue, more amicable relations exist between the city and county, which probably will result in actual consideration of each annexation proposal more nearly on its merits in the future.
- (4) The recent announcement that the Cincinnati Board of Education would cooperate in making school surveys preliminary to annexation will be a force in predisposing communities to annex, for getting better schools, a most pressing problem.
- (5) The changed tax situation and advantageous utility rates for the City make annexation more attractive to outsiders than in the past.
- (6) A continuance by the City of its detailed studies for purposes of annexation and correlation of all city activities of planning, finance and service to attract local communities to annex will be necessary to achieve the desired growth.
- (6) More sympathetic attention of the Hamilton County delegation in the Ohio legislature will be needed to prevent further stumbling blocks to annexation.

- (7) Active citizen interest is a prerequisite to a strong annexation movement, as shown by past experience, but at the present time little such organized interest seems to exist.

HOW CINCINNATI EXPANDED

It is interesting to note that of the 2.2859 square miles annexed between 1941 and 1950, 2.019 square miles have been annexed since 1946. It was in 1946 that the City of Cincinnati adopted a full-time annexation program. Therefore, in those four years more territory has been annexed than in the twenty years preceding 1946.

In 1950 the City of Cincinnati annexed .6711 square miles. This represents more territory annexed in any one year since 1913 with the exception of 1940 in which year .733 square miles were annexed to Cincinnati.

Since 1950, although there has been some change in city policy, annexation still seems to be proceeding at a fair rate.

| YEARS | AREA ANNEXED SQUARE MILES | TOTAL SQUARE MILES |
|--------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1802 | | 3.88 |
| 1802 to 1850 | 3 | 6.88 |
| 1851 to 1870 | 13.811 | 20.691 |
| 1871 to 1880 | 4.539 | 25.23 |
| 1881 to 1890 | 0.22 | 25.45 |
| 1891 to 1900 | 1.1.591 | 37.041 |
| 1901 to 1910 | 14.097 | 51.138 |
| 1911 to 1920 | 20.061 | 71.199 |
| 1921 to 1930 | 0.565 | 71.764 |
| 1931 to 1940 | 1.362 | 73.126 |
| 1941 to 1950 | 2.2859 | 75.4119 |
| 1951 to 1955 | 1.1757 | 76.5876 |

Bibliography

Notes

The extant literature by which the history of Bond Hill is constructed is extensive and, following traditional historiography, can be divided into two general types: primary and secondary source records. Sources that appear “first in time” such as letters, census surveys, real estate advertisements, legal cases, photographs, maps, and newspaper articles, are primary sources (Leedy and Ormrod 1985). Secondary sources are sources synthesized from primary sources. Notes on these sources are published here for the main purpose in aiding the future local historian in following up on this research.

In collecting sources for this paper, I attempted to exhaust every available archive in Cincinnati and contacted other archives and libraries in other cities as far away as Japan. But closest to home, the Bond Hill branch library proved to be an excellent resource for oral histories. The Main branch of the Cincinnati Public Library has a local history index in the History and Genealogy Department and also microfilm of the original Census surveys. Unexpectedly, the Music Department housed the separate neighborhood news clippings file. The Main Branch’s Rare Book department includes a copy of Henry Watkin’s printer’s engravings as well as a database of local postcards. Additionally, the University of Cincinnati has a variety of local Cincinnati newspapers available on microfilm and the University’s Archives and Rare Books holds the archives of the Village of Bond Hill, including the minutes from the years 1884 to 1903. The Library Company of Philadelphia held the Constitution and By-Laws of a contemporary building association.

Primary Sources

An exhaustive exploration of primary sources was integral to this project. Where no comprehensive synthesis yet exists of Bond Hill’s history, one can be constructed from available data. One historical lead may often reveal another. Tangents, which may at first seem trivial, turn out to be relevant. To glimpse a pattern amid the chaos of data takes intuition and luck. Sometimes upon deeper investigation a lead is revealed to be a false positive. The following summaries of primary source categories provide rich veins of data each requiring careful mining and analysis.

Oral Histories

J.G. Olden. *Historical Sketches and Early Reminiscences of Hamilton County, Ohio*. 1882.

Printed by Henry Watkin, this is an oral account of the history of Hamilton County and the Mill Creek Valley by one of the oldest residents of Millcreek Township at the time. While Olden provides no information on Bond Hill, he talks a great deal about the prominent people in the Mill Creek Valley and the origin of local place names. Olden’s history provides

important details on the story of the settlement in the late 18th century including the tale of the murder at Bloody Run.

Charles Ludwig, *Playmates of the Towpath: Happy Memories of the Canal Swimmers Society*. 1929.

Charles Ludwig, a reporter for the *Cincinnati Times-Star*, collected first hand accounts, articles, and many photographs of the canal that ran from Lockland to Cincinnati. By 1928, not only had the canal been drained and the recreational space enjoyed by four generations of children and adults been lost, but also the rail line intended to replace it looked as though it would never be built. Information on the Canoe Club of Cincinnati located on the periphery of Bond Hill at the Miami-Erie Canal is included, and is the only source I have been able to find on this prestigious country club. This reference is rich with firsthand accounts and deserves greater review.

George E. Patmor. *The Beginning of Bond Hill*. 1961.

Dated from advertisements on the verso of a *Bond Hill News* article, *The Beginning of Bond Hill* is an oral history by George E. Patmor, the son of one of the builders of Bond Hill, and the grandson of Amelia Huffman Minshall, whose land was purchased by the Cooperative which first established Bond Hill (Bond Hill News 1961). Located at the Bond Hill branch library, this oral history is one of the most significant pieces of primary material.

Pertinent accounts include an early religious schism following the unilateral annexation of the community's non-denominational church by the Village's Presbyterian majority; the murder, in the early 1880s, of an African-American family that worked in Bond Hill and the arson of their home by the murderers to cover up the theft and attempted sale of their bodies to the Medical College; a description of a case that almost bankrupted Bond Hill a few years before the village's annexation to Cincinnati; a listing on the next to the last page of the plumbers, bricklayers, cement mixers, and other craftsmen who built the Bond Hill village where they came to live; and the concluding poem, "In Old Bond Hill," by Eva McGrew Graff (quoted in the Introduction).

Real Estate Advertisements

Richard Nelson. *Suburban Homes for Business Men*. 1874.

In 1874, Richard Nelson, land broker, wrote in *Suburban Homes for Business Men* that cooperative land and building associations is only one strategy among a handful of others for successfully developing real estate in the 1870s, arguing that cooperatives are practical and profitable strategies for developing real estate along the new Cincinnati-Marietta rail line.

Later references to early Bond Hill rely mainly on the Fords', *History of Hamilton County, Ohio* (1881) or Nelson's, *History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County* (1894). Both Nelson and the Fords omit any mention of the Cooperative's philosophy.

Also included in this rich account are the opinions of members of the Cooperative, their reasons for locating their settlement in that particular area, the number of homes built, the names of the Cooperative officials as of 1874, the names of Bond Hill residents commuting to and fro Cincinnati, and Cincinnati-Marietta railroad ticket charges.

Whether Nelson was working to sell land, working to advertise for the railroad, or simply selling a popular book of local interest, is unknown. The book is available in reprint from the Ohio Bookstore.

Correspondence

In order to learn more about Henry Watkin, I searched via *Worldcat* and the RLG *Union Catalog* to see if any archives of Watkin were extant. I was unable to locate any of Watkin's correspondence to Hearn in archives of his close friend, Lafcadio Hearn, in Japan. A few letters were discovered in the archives of the Pierpont-Morgan Library in New York.

Using Google.com, the online search engine, I discovered the Watkin family newsletter. This newsletter and website connect Watkin genealogists from all over the world. This past March 2003, a great-grand niece of Henry Watkin posted some correspondence between her great-grandfather John and Henry, and reminiscences of her grandmother. Information in that letter led me to consider, after finding Watkin's name in the 1860 census survey of Millcreek Township, that Watkin was living on the estate of extended family, perhaps a relative of his niece's husband.

Government Documents

Certificates of Incorporation

Certificates of Incorporation are processed through the office of the Secretary of State.⁹³ The office has an excellent online database of all of the corporate entities that have registered with the State over time. From this archive one can produce a complete bureaucratic history of a corporate entity. My first search yielded the Certificate of Incorporation for the Cooperative with the signatures of Henry Watkin and his partners. The office does not charge for the retrieval and mailing of documents (a boon for the independent student historian). A second search yielded the bureaucratic histories of all the building, civic, and community associations over the last 133 years.

Census Surveys

Census surveys, available on microfilm at the Main Branch of the Cincinnati Public Library, proved to be an excellent resource for this research. The census survey of 1860 indicated that Henry Watkin was living in Millcreek Township ten years before Bond Hill was established,

⁹³ Coincidentally, the current Secretary of State of Ohio, J. Kenneth Blackwell, grew up in Bond Hill.

and six years before the Marietta-Cincinnati commuter rail line was completed. What was a self-taught English printer working in downtown Cincinnati doing living in Millcreek Township? Reference to Gilbert's 1856 map and the Watkin family correspondence suggests that Watkin lived just south of the future Cooperative subdivision on the estate of a relative, R.A. Morten. The 1860 census schedule also mentions the name of an area farmer, William Paddock, thus establishing the likely origin and correct spelling of Paddock Road. (Patmor believed that Paddock Road should be called Paddack Road after a local, Judge Paddack). More recent census information concerning Bond Hill can be obtained from the census.gov website.

Deed and Mortgage Records

Parcel ownership maps indicate who owned the land that eventually was sold to the Cooperative Land and Building Association, and of surrounding properties. However, these maps often include out-of-date information at the time of printing. Deed and mortgage records provide a more detailed chronicle of land transfers dating back to before parcel maps were published in the late 1840s. From the deed and mortgage index for sections 5 and 11 of Millcreek Township, I compiled a list of relevant land transfers to review. This list traces the ownership of the Cooperative property back through the Ferris family to the large parcel held by Mary Foreman whose father had originally purchased it from John Symmes in the late 18th century. The deed and mortgage records include details of the purchase—whether the sale was made in cash or for the value of the land in stock ownership, as well as other critical information. Charles W. Sheppard's handwritten probate court records for the original Cooperative built houses in 1981 names the first homeowners. Sheppard also describes the architectural style of many of the houses: Queen Ann, Federal, Italianate, etc. From Sheppard's notes, I learned where the original residence of Henry Watkin (1335 Ryland Ave.), as well as the names of other Cooperative members heretofore unknown, including the Village's possibly first Jewish resident, Henry Herzog.

Circuit Court Records

Patmor's oral history indicates that there were three legal cases in the mid-1890s, which almost bankrupted the small village of Bond Hill. A summary of the case *George W. Martin vs. Village of Bond Hill* (1893) was located in the Circuit Court Records of Hamilton County at the University of Cincinnati Law Library. Contrary to Patmor's account, the Martin case appears to have less to do with the destruction of Martin's hedge by the Village for the construction of a sidewalk and the subsequent flooding of Martin's property, and more to do with a culvert that had gotten blocked through the widening of Paddock Road.

Cincinnati Board of Health Report. 1878

The report describes the deplorable conditions of tenement housing in the Basin of Cincinnati from 1869 to 1878 providing a backdrop and context to the motivations and activities of the Cooperative near Cincinnati of Watkin and other Cooperative members who worked in the City.

City of Cincinnati Planning and Engineering Department Plans

A large number of plans have been reviewed for primary and secondary historical information. The large majority of these plans falls outside the scope of this paper as primary sources and are of negligible value as secondary sources. They do contain curiosities though. Ladislav Segoe's 1925 Master Plan imagines Paddock Road as the future primary road to points north instead of Reading Road.

Meeting Minutes of the Village of Bond Hill, Civic Association, and Welfare Association

Meeting Minutes of the Village from 1884 to 1903 are located at the University of Cincinnati Archives and Rare Books Library. These minutes are written in graceful cursive script and detail the activities of the village before and after incorporation up until the Village's annexation by the City of Cincinnati. Meeting Minutes of the Bond Hill Civic Association are located at the Cincinnati Historical Society. An initial review showed that, in the mid 1890s, Henry Watkin was doing printing work for the Civic Association. A more comprehensive review of this archive is needed. Regarding the Constitution and By-Laws of the *Cooperative Land and Building Association, No. 1 of Hamilton County, Ohio*, some anecdotal information from secondary sources has survived. Besides the number and cost of the acres, Henry and Kate P. Fords' history records that the Cooperative instituted temperance statutes as well as setback rules for new homes in their by-laws.

Although I have been unable to locate the constitution and by-laws of the Cooperative Land and Building Association, I have been able to find the by-laws of other contemporary co-operatives and building associations. These are insightful both as a means to understand the genre of these small pamphlets and to discover whether they have comparable laws as reported by the Fords. Additionally, the recording of any common names between the various sources might indicate cooperation among the various new enterprises.

In the archives of the Library Company of Philadelphia are the by-laws of the Welfare Association of Hamilton County, Ohio printed by none other than Henry Watkin. The Bond Hill Cooperative may be related to a cooperative that was started in Cumminsville, just south and west of Bond Hill, after Watkin's group decided to build there instead of in northeastern Millcreek Township.

Cemetery Records

Cross-referencing the names of individuals in Nelson's *Suburban Homes* with Spring Grove Cemetery's online database of burial records, I was able to discover the personal histories of some Bond Hillians. James Murray's family was struck twice in the same year when both his young children succumbed to cholera in 1874, as did 28-year-old Charlie Rose in 1878. The cholera epidemic, reported in the Enquirer throughout the summer of 1871, killed an indeterminate number of people in Cincinnati. James Murray's son, Richard, died in 1956 at the nearby Longview Asylum for the Insane. The first boy born in Bond Hill was born in 1870 to French immigrants Henry and Cecelia Erhart Denis (pronounced De-Nee). In

reflecting their passion for the new community and its future, they named him Bond Hill Denis. From Patmor's history, we learn that he drowned at the age of 15 in Broxterman's basin, one of the artificial lakes near the Miami-Erie canal, and this is verified by the Spring Grove Cemetery records. A search for Bond H. Denis's grave at Spring Grove Cemetery yielded another set of documents. Upon request, the cemetery can provide lot maps indicating the burial places of all interred persons in a single owner's lot. Bond Hill Denis was buried in a lot owned by the man who surveyed Millcreek Township for the census of 1870, Sidney S. Clark. Clark died in 1873, the year after B. H. Denis was born. Relationships between individuals may appear at first to be irrelevant but cannot be disregarded as other records might reveal their importance.

Local Newspaper Articles

Newspaper articles are a valuable resource for historical research. The Cincinnati Public Library has indexed articles in local Cincinnati papers. A keyword search of their NEWSDEX catalog unearthed articles as early as 1875 concerning important persons relevant to my research. A complete list of relevant articles can be found in Appendix 2. Though by no means complete, this list is a starting point for further research.

The Bond Hill News, a community newspaper begun in the 1910s, was published by the Bond Hill Welfare Association. A few issues from the mid-1930s can be found at the Bond Hill branch library, but so far, I have been unsuccessful in locating the paper's archive.

Another community paper, *The Millcreek Valley News*, published in Lockland, Ohio, featured stories from Bond Hill and other Mill Creek Valley neighborhoods. Aside from the clippings of Jean Singers's articles at the Bond Hill branch library, relevant articles have been difficult to locate. Microfilms of the paper dating to the early 1900s are available at the Cincinnati Historical Society. However, no index exists of printed articles.

Microfilm of the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* is available from the early 1840s at the University of Cincinnati's Rare Books and Archives. No index, however, exists of the paper's articles. In the 1870s, the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* comprised a total of only 8 pages and the suburban news was likely to fall on pages 3, 5, 7 or 8. A wealth of history is available in these pages for those with the patience and time to read them. We hope that the *Enquirer* will follow the lead of the *New York Times* and digitize their microfilm. Due to time limitations, I had to reduce my newspaper article research to the years 1870 to 1874.

Postcards, Photographs, and other Images

Online auction/flea markets are excellent sources for trawling for local archival material. Curious and pertinent artifacts occasionally surface. Since my first search query in June 2003, I have discovered a variety of relevant archives and historic detritus—finding a vintage photograph of Bond Hill's original railroad station depot, a postcard of a 1940s duplex, a

large number of children's milk glasses from Bond Hill's Berling Dairy, and a Christmas letter dated 1953 from the Bond Hill Presbyterian Church.

The Cincinnati Public Library has an online archive and database called the Memory Project where one can search for images on postcards. I found one showing the trees that Patmor spoke about which lined Myrtle (now Regent) Avenue and which were destroyed by CG&E's topping practices.

Still more images can be found in the secondary source materials described above, in particular, centennial souvenirs, and local neighborhood and municipal histories. Newspaper reprints of photographs are the only resource I have to show of Memorial Day Band Concerts in Bond Hill and the Bond Hill Athletics baseball team.

Maps and Atlases

A large number list of maps and atlases were consulted to establish property ownership, land use changes and developments, and the location of streets and buildings no longer extant. For instance, Robinson's 1882 atlas was helpful in locating the former site of the Bond Hill Railroad Depot (just off of Spencer Avenue). These maps and atlases are essential in forming a comparative study of land use changes over time. The following maps and atlases were consulted and imaged: Gilbert (1848, 1856), Philips (1865), Titus (1869), Robinson (1881), Stewart (1914), Sanborn (1904, 1917, 1937).

Street Directories

Williams' directories have been used to identify the trade, place of business or home of names associated with the Cooperative and tangential research. James H. Murray, the Cooperative superintendent (R. Nelson 1874) worked as a steamboat painter at 61 East Front Street (Williams' Cincinnati Guide and Street Directory 1874). Watkin's printing office was at the corner of 5th and Walnut Streets. Laura Watkin, Henry's wife, worked a few blocks away at 311 Race Street as a dressmaker. Though the 1869 directory does not mention particular names, a later or an earlier edition may. I, therefore, have consulted Williams' directories from 1849 to 1880 for a small number of important names.

Secondary Sources

The secondary sources on Bond Hill are incredibly valuable and numerous. Some are rare and often record data from archives of lost primary sources. Each of these sources could be categorized according to its provenance and within the context that Bond Hill is historically placed: state and county histories from the 19th and early 20th centuries, histories commemorating neighborhood anniversaries and centennials, oral histories, newspaper articles on local history, academic and scholarly research, and county historical surveys. When a bias is recorded in a historical treatment, the secondary source becomes partly a primary source reflecting the attitudes and opinions of Bond Hill at the time of its writing.

State, County, and City Histories and Guides

With only one or two exceptions, none of the following State, County, and City histories speak at length regarding Bond Hill, but they often contain short segments on the neighborhood as part of a greater survey of Cincinnati, Hamilton County, or Millcreek Township. These sources are largely secondary, but a few present first hand accounts of recent developments or the opinions of the authors and, therefore, also include primary source data.

Daniel J. Kenny. *Illustrated Cincinnati: A Pictorial Hand-book of the Queen City*. 1875.

D. J. Kenny included in his guide a list of all the train stations and depots in and nearby Cincinnati. His summary of the Cincinnati-Marietta rail line connections includes this bit of information concerning Bond Hill: “9 miles, with about 100 inhabitants. A new place settled in 1870.”

Henry Allen Ford and Kate B. Ford. *History of Hamilton County, Ohio*. 1881.

The earliest consulted secondary source is Henry and Kate Fords’ *History of Hamilton County, Ohio* (1881). The Fords’ reference is probably the most widely consulted reference on Bond Hill’s history. Their voluminous tome was the first comprehensive Hamilton County history written and includes a review of the history of Millcreek Township and its neighborhoods—Avondale, Clifton, St. Bernard, among others, and is a virtual who’s who of the area’s German dairymen and hotelkeepers. It contains some substantiated facts about Bond Hill and the Cooperative. Some examples include: in 1880, Bond Hill’s population was 892 and since its establishment has had “good growth”; while the Cooperative was organized in 1870, it wasn’t fully organized till February 3, 1871; the by-laws of the Cooperative included a mandatory fifteen foot setback and a prohibition on the sale of liquor.

The Fords' history unfortunately introduces a number of inaccuracies. It makes the unsubstantiated claim that Bond Hill was so-named because it was situated just off of Reading Road on thirty acres of what was formerly known as "Colonel Bond's hill." (Ford and Ford 1881, 343). In fact, Bond Hill, located just off of Paddock Road, sits on land purchased from John Ferris in the late 1860s. Prior to John Ferris' ownership, the estate belonged to one M. Minshall (Gilbert 1848).

Henry B. Teetor. *The Past and Present of the Millcreek Valley.* 1882.

This reference does not mention Bond Hill, but focuses instead on the older and more established villages in the Mill Creek Valley, early valley history and lore as well as the origin of place names. Teetor, a Cincinnati lawyer, local historian, and resident of Hartwell, does his best to include accounts of the residence of every prominent landowner in the valley. Teetor's history is valuable for shedding light on the possible origin of the name Bond Hill, or at least, calling into question unsubstantiated claims in other sources. Teetor relies heavily on the oral history of J. G. Olden, transcribed and published in the same year by Henry Watkin.

Henry B. Teetor. *Sketch of the Life and Times of Col. Israel Ludlow, One of the Original Proprietors of Cincinnati.* 1885.

Like his earlier account, this book is of value for identifying place names. John Ludlow, Israel's brother, once owned the land directly west of Bond Hill on the other side of Miami-Erie Canal called, appropriately, Ludlow Grove.

S. B. Nelson. *History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio.* 1894.

Written thirteen years after the Fords' *History of Hamilton County, Ohio*, Nelson is less impressed by the work of the Cooperative writing, "a considerable degree of uniformity is noticeable in the appearance of many of the houses, due to the fact that the Building Association did not furnish a great variety of plans for its members" (S.B. Nelson, 1891, 425). He also reports on growth of the Village. Three new subdivisions to the south and west comprised "residences of a more modern type, representing a great diversity of architectural designs" (S.B. Nelson, 1891, 425). Nelson mentions there were three religious communities established in Bond Hill at the time: Catholic, Methodist, and Presbyterian.

Henry Howe. *Historical Collections of Ohio.* 1900.

Howe's entry for Bond Hill contains a short note on the neighborhood's proximity to the Marietta-Cincinnati rail line after an entry describing St. Bernard. The reference also includes the census figure for Bond Hill's population at the turn of the century—1000 persons.

Charles Theodore Greve. *Centennial History of Cincinnati and Representative Citizens.* 1904.

This reference, published in 1904, has scant information on Bond Hill, perhaps because it was annexed into Cincinnati only one year earlier.

Rev. Charles Frederic Goss. *Cincinnati: The Queen City*. 1912.

Rev. Goss writes that Bond Hill was “the result of an effort by men of moderate means to obtain suburban homes” while making mention of the Cooperative (Goss, 1912, 531).

Writers of the Work Projects Administration. *Cincinnati, A Guide to the Queen City and Its Neighbors*. 1943.

This guide is of little value and simply paraphrases what the Fords wrote regarding Bond Hill’s Cooperative by-laws. The writers of the WPA repeat Fords’ statement on the origin of Bond Hill’s name, but without further context they reinforce the notion that it was named after an early landowner.

Carl P. Eling. *Story of Reading Road: Once a Famous Stage and Mail Route*. 1964.

Written by local historian and longtime reporter for the *Millcreek Valley News*, this little known history traces the evolution of the Reading Road. After the introduction of the automobile and before the Millcreek Expressway, Reading Road was the primary highway from Cincinnati to points north. Eling’s account does not discuss Bond Hill directly but is nevertheless helpful in providing context for the local histories of northern Millcreek Township, including the story of the murder at Bloody Run and the location of Bond’s sawmill.

Cincinnati Suburban Bell Telephone Company. *Cincinnati, Queen City of the West*. 1967.

According to the guide, the area purchased by the Cooperative Land and Building Association was subdivided for the building of 60 homes. This seems to be validated by the original plat map of the village dated 1877. The guide indicates that the first church was the Presbyterian Church, founded in 1875, but failing to indicate that the church was originally non-denominational. The most interesting comments in the guide include accounts of more recent developments, for instance, the role Robert Wachendorf, a prominent Bond Hill real estate mogul played in developing the “hills and valleys he roamed as a boy.” Wachendorf helped to build the “first... decentralization of business offices in Cincinnati” (*Queen City of the West*, 1967, 87). The guide also describes the presence of Jewish institutions in Roselawn and Bond Hill, and gives a short summary of the new Bond Hill-Roselawn Community Council that had formed only two years prior in 1965.

Daniel Hurley. *Cincinnati, The Queen City*, 1983.

Hurley’s history contains a good synthesis and overview of Cincinnati history in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Hurley has a short section on the industrialization of the Mill Creek Valley in the 1870s and 1880s. While speaking mainly about Norwood and St. Bernard, his analysis of conditions in Bond Hill are similarly applicable.

Neighborhood Anniversaries and Centennial Souvenirs

St. Bernard and Elmwood Place to the south and west of Bond Hill have a historic connection to the neighborhood. All three communities bordered the Miami-Erie Canal and enjoyed recreating there. The following local histories have detailed descriptions and photographs of the Miami-Erie Canal and other developments commonly affecting both neighborhoods.

City of St. Bernard. *Fifty Years of Progress, St. Bernard 1878-1928*. 1928.

This is an excellent source of information and images regarding the Canal and the artificial lakes that surrounded it near Murray Road.

Robert H. Wachendorf. *A Brief History of Bond Hill Welfare Association and Bond Hill Playground formerly known as Berling Field*. 1935.

A summary of the history of Bond Hill looking back from 1935, this short history discovered at the Bond Hill branch library was written by one of the largest real estate developers in Cincinnati at the time, and includes some choice quotes. "Nearly all the vacant territory in and around Bond Hill has been developed into beautiful subdivisions of modern homes" (Wachendorf, 1935, 3). The souvenir also includes vintage images of the Bond Hill Rail Road Depot and Reading Road as an unpaved and rutted country road.

Mildred Schulze. *Elm Tree Days*. 1946.

Mildred Schulze was the librarian of the Elmwood Place branch of the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County in the 1930s and 40s. In this local history, she describes the nostalgia and joy of Elmwood Place children at the Canal. She includes other exceptional history as well. Henry Ruffner, a large landowner in both Ludlow Grove and Bond Hill, apparently fought the construction of the Miami-Erie Canal through his property and the deed to his property had to be rewritten to allow the land used by the canal to be returned to his estate if it were to ever cease operating. I am presently looking for this deed. In 1956, Schulze moved to the Bond Hill branch library. After compiling a number of oral histories in Elmwood Place, it is reasonable to consider that she was partly responsible for the solicitation of George Patmor's oral history in 1961, the same year as the Bond Hill library's 25th anniversary.

Jean Singer. *Bond Hill Centennial Souvenir*. 1971.

Jean Singer was an active member of the Bond Hill community before moving to Santa Barbara in the 1970s. She did extensive research on the local history of Bond Hill, interviewing old time residents and publishing articles in the *Millcreek Valley News*. A number of these clippings survive in the local history file at the Bond Hill branch library. For Bond Hill's 1971 centennial celebration, she gathered a number of these clippings and organized them as a souvenir. Singer appears to rely heavily on Patmor's oral history, but includes oral history data from others. Singer died in Santa Barbara in 1991 and is survived

by a daughter in York, Pennsylvania and a son in St. Bernard. Singer's oral history archives could not be located.

St. Bernard Historical Society. *St. Bernard Centennial Souvenir 1878-1978*. 1978.

Composed by the St. Bernard Historical Society, this collection of articles on the Mill Creek Valley history contains a wealth of information regarding the area just west of Bond Hill, including information on the 1878 Cincinnati Exposition on the grounds of what is today Ivorydale. Some excellent photographs of the Miami-Erie Can are reprinted here.

Academic literature

A number of theses have treated Bond Hill as a subject, most recently, Mark Muenzer's MCP thesis: *Contemporary Urban Renewal Applicability: A Nodal Study in the Neighborhood of Bond Hill and the City of Reading, Ohio* (1999). A number of other theses were written on Bond Hill in the 1970s, all by master and doctoral students of the School of Planning at the University of Cincinnati. None of these theses has an extensive review of Bond Hill's origin and early history.

Academic literature dealt with the role of transportation and that of local government. Carl W. Condit's, *The Railroad and the City: A Technological and Urbanistic History of Cincinnati* (1977), provides an exhaustive reference of the evolution of Cincinnati's rail networks and his footnotes include information on local streams and the Miami-Erie Canal. Zane Miller's *Boss Cox's Cincinnati* (1968) contains important historical research on 19th century suburbanization in Cincinnati, which help to better place Bond Hill and its annexation within the context of Cincinnati politics.

In Zane Miller's archives held at the University of Cincinnati's Archives and Rare Books collection, two unpublished student papers deal with the history of Bond Hill. Brenda Harvey wrote a paper entitled, *Bond Hill: The Process of Annexation to the City of Cincinnati* (1980). In 1999, Aaron Daniels wrote a paper for Miller's Laboratory in American Civilization class entitled, *Characterization of a Middle Class Neighborhood: Cincinnati's Bond Hill 1925-1960* (1999).

Additional academic research includes work on the history of suburbanization, economic theories on the geography of human settlement, Fourierist influence on American social and planning movements, and the history of the Rochdale Pioneer Cooperative movement. The classic and comprehensive treatise on suburban history is Kenneth Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier* (1985). Also consulted were *The First Suburbs*, an analysis of the development history of three antebellum Boston suburbs (Binford 1985), and *Building Chicago* by Ann Durkin Keating (1988), a look at the role of townships and other structures of government in the building of Chicago area suburbs. In general these earlier works on suburban history explain suburban development in reference to George Wehrwein's seminal article "The Rural

Urban Fringe” in the *Journal of Economic Geography* (1942), which describes the urban fringe settlements in relation to accessible transportation networks. In contrast, Delores Hayden’s recent work, *Building Suburbia* (2003), proposes an alternate thesis: the focus on the role of transportation has minimized the importance of the dreams and ambitions of the men and women who established these settlements. Charles J. Guarneri’s *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America* (1991) informs this paper on the influence of Fourierist radicals on Antebellum and Reconstruction era communities. Birchall and Holyoake describe the history and principles of the Rochdale Pioneers and their influence on cooperative housing societies.

Historical Surveys

In 1991, Hamilton County initiated a project to determine the historical assets in neighborhoods and municipalities around the county. Mainly comprised of field reports of existing structures and lots, each survey includes a short history of the neighborhood being reviewed. Bond Hill, unfortunately, was not one of the reviewed neighborhoods, though communities neighboring Bond Hill were. I reviewed the historical summaries of St. Bernard, Elmwood Place, Golf Manor, and Norwood. In the St. Bernard summary, there is a chronology of industrial development along the Miami-Erie Canal and Ludlow Grove’s recreational, orchards, and open space was destroyed. The other histories present interesting contrasts to Bond Hill.

Neighborhood Plans

During the 1970s, the Bond Hill Community Council was engaged in creating a comprehensive plan for their community. Published in 1977 by the Office of Community Administration, *Bond Hill, Existing Conditions, Study and Community Plan* included an excellent section on the history of Bond Hill’s built environment from 1860 to 1975. The maps they drew for this study seem to synthesize information from historic maps, county atlases, and Sanborn Fire Insurance maps. A draft study to the plan titled *Bond Hill Long Range Planning Committee of the Bond Hill Community Council* includes some more historical information but without the maps.

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About the Author

Aharon Varady is an environmental planner, urban historian, open source programmer, and ambient/space music DJ from Cincinnati, Ohio. Varady is keenly interested in environmental and historic preservation, pedestrian/bicycle trails, greenways, and in general, restoring the environmental and community assets lost in the 75 years of automobile oriented development.



After receiving a Bachelors degree in history from SUNY Binghamton in 1996, Varady moved to Philadelphia, worked as a programmer, and began the Philadelphia Ambient Consortium (Music and Noise), a community of ambient and space music artists and listeners from the Greater Philadelphia region. Inspired while bicycling along the Schuylkill River Park and greenway in Philadelphia, he resolved to devote himself to civic work and become an urban planner. Returning to Cincinnati, in 2004 he completed the Masters of Community Planning program at the School of Planning, in the College of Design, Architecture, Art, and Planning (DAAP) at the University of Cincinnati. *Bond Hill: Origin and Transformation* is the product of two years of study in community planning.

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Figure 75: Bond Hill School, Class of 1905.

Top Row: Robert Jenny, Earl Toss, George Erdman, Harry McDonald, Stanley Woodward.

Middle Row: Elsie Sommer, Mary Hill, Elizabeth Werner, Mariha Silver, Mr. A.J. McGreir.

Bottom Row: Mae Dean, Helen Ahlers, Dorothy White, Mary Dean Rose. (Singer 1971).

