

## **Rockefeller, Religion, and Philanthropy in Gilded Age Cleveland**

**Kenneth W. Rose and Darwin H. Stapleton, Rockefeller Archive Center**

Religion is a well-compartmentalized element of modern American history, referred to and recognized as an aspect of culture, and even of politics, but today usually ranked below what Thomas Bender has called the “holy trinity of race, class and gender” when historians discuss the character of American society.<sup>1</sup> Scholarship in the history of philanthropy, ranging from the narrative of Robert Bremner to the critiques of Peter Dobkin Hall, have identified religion as a fundamental motivational force, yet “quite clearly,” as Hall himself has noted, “the scholarship of philanthropy has given religion remarkably short shrift.” Such scholars have “assumed disinterested benevolence on the part of donors,” Barry Karl and Stan Katz have argued, “but did not feel required to demonstrate it.”<sup>2</sup> This has been especially true of the religious context of the philanthropy of John D. Rockefeller, arguably the greatest philanthropist in American history.<sup>3</sup> Even Ron Chernow’s recent block-buster biography of Rockefeller does not identify a specific connection between Rockefeller’s religious impulses and his particular philanthropic acts.<sup>4</sup> That most of Rockefeller’s philanthropic activity in the first sixty-one years of his life was focused on Cleveland, and that Rockefeller philanthropy remains a touchstone for studies in this field, makes it appropriate to attempt to examine the intersection of religion and philanthropy in Rockefeller’s career.

Cleveland was John D. Rockefeller’s primary home from his childhood until 1884, when he moved his family to New York City, and it was his secondary residence for thirty more years when he summered in Cleveland. From 1855, when he recorded his first donations of nickels and dimes, until the turn of the century, Cleveland was the city on which Rockefeller focused his

benefactions, although New York City certainly received an increasing share of his gifts after 1884. The only city that rivaled Rockefeller's residences for his philanthropic attention was Chicago, where, by reason of his Baptist affiliation, Rockefeller endowed and supported the University of Chicago.<sup>5</sup>

Cleveland could be a focus of Rockefeller's philanthropy because there was a certain synergy between Rockefeller's rise as a businessman and philanthropist and the rapid growth of Cleveland. Rockefeller entered business in 1855 as a clerk, became a commission merchant just three years later, and in the midst of the Civil War grasped the growth potential of the newest market commodity, petroleum, and staked his career on it. Quickly mastering the business, he purchased his first oil refinery in 1863 and within a decade was in unquestioned control of the rapidly growing petroleum industry. For a time in the 1880s he made Cleveland the center of refining in the United States, while he invested his profits in myriad aspects of the city's economy, including banks, railroads, buildings, and real estate.<sup>6</sup>

Cleveland could absorb much of the philanthropic largesse from Rockefeller's rapidly growing wealth because the city that had a population of about 43,400 in 1860 grew to 381,000 in 1900, fueled not only by the petroleum boom but also by the mushrooming iron and steel industry, the new electrical industry, and the machine tool industry. The employment demands of these industries, as well as associated industries such as rail and water transportation, created enormous employment opportunities that were filled not only by migrants from other areas of the United States, but by massive immigration from Europe. From 1860 to 1900, Cleveland grew into a city teeming with newcomers – about one-third foreign-born – many of whom struggled with problems of employment, housing, health and recreation. Cleveland in the latter 19<sup>th</sup> century was heir to all of the opportunities and ills of industrial agglomerations.<sup>7</sup>

In some ways Rockefeller may well have remained “a country boy in the city” throughout his life, as David Freeman Hawke has argued.<sup>8</sup> But this country boy certainly was not hostile to city life in the way that many 19<sup>th</sup>-century Americans were. Indeed, his ledgers, letterbooks, and correspondence reveal a man trying to engage from a religious perspective some of the problems of urban life in the two cities that he called home – Cleveland and New York City. In 1885, for example, a year after moving to New York, Rockefeller confided to his primary philanthropic advisor, the Rev. G.O. King, “[W]hen I see the multitudes here flocking into the churches where assistance is needed, I can but feel that New York City is one of the greatest missionary fields in the world.”<sup>9</sup>

That Rockefeller did not share many rural-born Americans’ aversion to the city is illustrated by his acceptance of the idea of locating the major Baptist university in the growing city of Chicago. In his influential study of the state of Baptist education in the West in 1888, the Rev. Frederick T. Gates found that the existing eleven western Baptist schools were each so poorly located that “the area of their attractive influence in their respective states” was small. None of the small-town schools was significant enough to attract students from far away. The result was that many of “the ablest and most promising” Baptist youths were going to the schools of other denominations or, even worse, to state-supported schools, which Gates characterized as “the State Higher Schools of Irreligion.”<sup>10</sup> Gates noted that the existing Baptist schools in the West were poorly financed, so that buildings on the campuses of these western colleges were “few, small[,] . . . cheap, inadequate and old,” while western Baptist professors, on average, were paid about half the salaries of their eastern colleagues. But the “great and fatal difficulty” for Western Baptist education lay “in the unfortunate locations chosen for our institutions.” With the exception of the college in Des Moines, Baptist colleges were located in “small obscure towns . . .

. . . far removed from the centres of our western life and western means. . . . out of the sight and interest of our wealthy men.” The solution Gates put forth was “to found a great college, ultimately to be a university, in Chicago.” “Chicago is the heart of the West,” Gates argued, “the fountain of western life,” and the city alone would “lift so far aloft a Baptist college as an intellectual and religious luminary, that its light would illumine every state and penetrate every home from Lake Erie to the Rocky Mountains.”<sup>11</sup> In this view, cities were not just the products of the forces of economic and social development but crucial to the moral and spiritual progress of man.

If cities were an attractive venue for Rockefeller’s philanthropy, he always saw his benevolence in terms of his bedrock religious faith. Clearly Rockefeller’s commitment to the church derived from his mother’s unalloyed Baptist faith, which from his childhood, as Ron Chernow has aptly phrased it, gave Rockefeller “an abiding sense that the professing Christian had to be a soldier armed against all Secular temptation.”<sup>12</sup> Rockefeller never lost that viewpoint and throughout his lifetime went about providing protection for those who apparently were without the armor that he possessed.

At an early age Rockefeller took an active role within the Erie Street Baptist Church, where he was baptized in 1854. By the fall of 1858 — before his twentieth birthday — Rockefeller was clerk of the church, recording the minutes of the meetings of the trustees. By September 1860, at age 21, John D. Rockefeller’s name appears in the minutes as a member of the board of trustees. His first recorded action as a trustee came in a meeting on February 25, 1861, when he “moved . . . that a subscription paper be circulated among the membership of the church by the Trustees, to raise \$118.00” to pay off the church’s debt and the “balance due for repairs to date.”<sup>13</sup> This effort to encourage a broader range of church members to assume part of

the financial responsibilities for the church was to become typical of Rockefeller's approach to both church leadership and charity work.

In September 1862 he proposed a new system of fundraising. Previous fundraising committees had been appointed to raise funds for maintenance and repairs around the church, but "Brother Rockefeller" now proposed that a committee be appointed "to act with the Treasurer in visiting the membership of the Church and get them to pledge what amt. they are willing to give towards [spreading] the gospel." Spreading "the gospel" meant finding ways and means of bringing the wayward into institutions and organizations that would nurture both body and soul, through social mission activities that historians generally associate with the "social gospel movement." Rockefeller's active leadership, as well as his growing wealth, helped expand the benevolent work of his church in the quarter-century after 1859. On March 3, 1884, the church that could barely raise \$118 to pay its debts in 1862 appropriated annual gifts of \$300 each to four national and regional organizations, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the American Baptist Missionary Union, the Ohio Baptist Education Society, and the Ohio Baptist State Convention.<sup>14</sup>

This widening geographical stage should not blind us to the fact that Rockefeller continued to be active on the local stage in Cleveland. Indeed, in such matters as temperance work and support for the YMCA movement, Rockefeller was active on local, regional, and national levels at the same time. As his charity index cards show, Rockefeller provided significant support for the Cleveland YMCA -- nearly \$73,000 over thirty years -- and modest support for the local railroad branches and the facility in East Cleveland, while at the same time contributing to the YMCA training school in Springfield, Massachusetts; and to YMCA branches in Duluth, Minnesota; Greenpoint, New York; Brooklyn, New York City, and the

Bowery; Oil City, Pennsylvania; and a branch for African-Americans in Richmond, Virginia.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly in temperance work Rockefeller supported the cause at various levels. With the support and collaboration of his wife, who was described as “an untiring worker for the temperance cause,” he made charitable gifts to the National Temperance Society and provided funds to the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) to support its work in the state of Ohio. But he gave the largest total to support the Cleveland branch of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, beginning in 1884.<sup>16</sup>

The focus of the WCTU was promoting abstinence from alcohol, not temperance, and its underlying goal and measure of success was always the conversion of souls to Christian obedience.<sup>17</sup> In 1874 members of the Non-Partisan WCTU in Cleveland established three “friendly inns” that were to offer a liquor-free environment to rival the saloons in poor working-class neighborhoods in Cleveland. Rockefeller supported the Central Friendly Inn with nearly \$14,500 over twelve years, and he served on the building committee to erect a new inn in 1888. When it opened, the new facility included a men’s reading room, a cooking school, a kitchen garden, a sewing school, and a chapel for use as a Sunday school and for the work of a visiting missionary. With its variety of services the Central Friendly Inn evolved into one of Cleveland’s first settlement houses.<sup>18</sup>

Rockefeller also provided monthly stipends or salaries to at least five women working for the temperance cause. One of those workers, F. Jennie Duty, was a major figure in the Central Friendly Inn.<sup>19</sup> In addition to temperance workers, Rockefeller also on occasion paid the salaries of missionary workers in Cleveland. One such worker was S. Louise Patteson, a stenographer who Rockefeller employed in January 1888 as a missionary for the Peoples Tabernacle Church in Cleveland. Patteson’s personal situation in 1888 has a certain modern ring to it. In addition to

doing part-time mission work for Rockefeller, Patteson reported that one day a week she worked for Mrs. Louisa Southworth, a local suffrage activist, and another day each week she worked for the Rev. H.A. Schauffer, a missionary serving the Czech community and founder of the Slavic Bible Readers' Home. She made of point of telling Rockefeller that she also had a son at home who required her attention when he was sick, thus interfering with her work schedule.<sup>20</sup>

The mission work that Patteson undertook with Rockefeller's support involved teaching classes at the church, transcribing sermons for publication and other clerical work, and mostly visiting sick and troubled members of the church and residents of the neighborhood, including "irregular" Sunday school students. She was, in some ways, a friendly visitor for the church. She sent Rockefeller several monthly reports that briefly describe the family circumstances of those in her charge. When she found one church member in distress on February 15, 1888, for example, she "called at [the] Infirmary office to solicit 1 ton of coal for her." Three days later she visited the home of another church member whose son Albert attended the primary department at the church but was "very unruly." Patteson "solicited . . . [the mother's] attention in this matter." That same day she visited the home of a brother and sister who attended Sunday School at the church but found that their "parents [were] not Christians." In the home of another pair of brother-sister Sunday school students she reported succinctly that she found that the father was "careless and indifferent, [and the] Mother dead." On February 29 Patteson visited the home of a "Catholic girl [who] attend[s] . . . our S[unday] S[chool] against her mother[']s will. Her mother kindly but firmly refused to give consent." On the other hand, she visited the home of "five Bohemian children" who attended the Tabernacle Sunday school; their "parents [were] ex-Catholics" and presumably content to have their children attend the school. She also encountered a woman at the corner of Bond and St. Clair streets that she described as a

“backslider, [who] keeps Grocery & card store open on Sunday. [She] Acknowledged it was wrong & promised to try & close hereafter on Sabbath and go to church.”<sup>21</sup>

By July 1888 Patteson realized that the key to effective case work is quality, not quantity. Tallying her visits to eight people in sickness, three in trouble, eight irregular Sunday school scholars, four new scholars, and one visit to the infirmary office, Patteson noted that the total of twenty-four visits “seem like a small number, but [she reported] more effective work done in them than was formerly done in twice that number.” “I used to measure my usefulness by the number of visits I made,” Patteson wrote, “but am learning to measure it by the kind of visits made.”<sup>22</sup> No matter how the results were measured, Rockefeller’s philanthropy was characterized by such small-scale efforts until the turn of the century when, at Frederick Gates’ urging, Rockefeller moved away from primarily “retail” philanthropy and into “wholesale” philanthropy.

Even then, however, Rockefeller cherished the sort of personal ministry to the morally and spiritually needy that temperance workers like Duty and missionaries like Patteson provided. The faith-based moral reform charity and philanthropy that Rockefeller practiced in Cleveland throughout the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s soon ran afoul of a more scientific approach to charity and philanthropy that a new generation of urban reformers began to promote and which Rockefeller and his advisors soon championed. As Cleveland developed new social welfare organizations and institutions in the 1880s and 1890s, Rockefeller became a benefactor of many of them, but -- with the possible exception of Alta House, in which one of his daughters was involved -- never with the same interest and personal commitment as with the faith-based organizations. Many new Cleveland institutions counted Rockefeller among the largest of their annual donors, and although many solicited his personal interest and advice, none received the

personal service and interest he had earlier given to his church, its missions, and temperance work. Yet at the same time that a larger share of his increasing wealth went to social welfare, medical, educational and other charitable purposes in Cleveland, Rockefeller continued to provide support for churches, ministers, and missionaries. Even when the Rev. J.D. Jones, the colorful one-armed missionary in charge of the Floating Bethel Mission, became embroiled in a bitter conflict with the proponents of scientific, organized charity, Rockefeller refused to withdraw his support for the Floating Bethel's work.<sup>23</sup> For Rockefeller, it seems, the more personal, faith-based charity practiced by the likes of Rev. Jones had its valuable place among the more efficient and bureaucratic apparatus of scientific charity.

Rockefeller's charity index cards offer a useful overview of his charitable giving in the last forty years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Rockefeller created an index card for each individual or institution on whose behalf he made a donation; this card was used to record the date and amount of subsequent donations to this cause. Rockefeller also recorded the person to whom the donation was sent. Taken as a whole, these cards and their entries make it possible to trace the communities within which Rockefeller the donor moved and operated, both nationally and in Cleveland.

These cards indicate that in the forty years between 1863 and 1903, John D. Rockefeller made donations to 1,494 institutions and individuals. (See Table 1.) The beneficiaries of these gifts included 678 individuals, 124 (18%) of whom were ministers or missionaries; fourteen laypeople also received gifts for religious purposes, so that fully one-fifth of the individual beneficiaries of Rockefeller's charity were related to the church. Rockefeller listed no purpose on the cards of 470 (69%) individuals to whom he sent gifts. Among the 816 institutional recipients of Rockefeller's charity were 357 churches and missionary organizations, representing

43.7% of all institutional beneficiaries. The majority of these – 227 (63%) – were Baptist institutions, but 130 were other or unspecified denominations. Rockefeller also aided 34 Baptist schools and universities through the American Baptist Education Society during this time. Taken together, churches and missionary organizations, ministers and missionaries, and laymen who received donations for religious purposes counted for one-third of the beneficiaries of Rockefeller's charity during the last half of the 19th century (495 of 1,494 or 33.13%).

As one might expect, individuals and institutions in both Cleveland and New York City were prominent among Rockefeller's beneficiaries. In Cleveland, Rockefeller made donations to 136 organizations between 1863 and 1903. These gifts totaled \$1,618,028.24. (See Appendix A for a list of these institutions and individuals.) When one compares Rockefeller's giving nationally to his giving in Cleveland, one finds that Rockefeller gave more freely to a wider range of institutions in Cleveland than he did nationally. (See Table 2.) Churches and missionary organizations were more heavily represented among his beneficiaries nationally than in Cleveland. This is consistent with the evidence from the correspondence, which suggests that Rockefeller's reputation as a philanthropist spread first among Baptists at the national level and among Clevelanders in general, so that he received more appeals from those two communities.

But John D. Rockefeller's largest single act of philanthropy in Cleveland in the nineteenth century was the purchase and donation to the city of a large park for public recreation, an act that has not heretofore been understood in its religious context. Like many rapidly-growing industrial cities of the United States, Cleveland's enormous physical expansion after the Civil War was commercially-driven and minimally-planned — reserving green spaces was distant from the thoughts of most of those engaged in the buying and selling of land, which was one of the best financial investments available. By the early 1890s the city had only a few odd

patches of public parkland — including the original New England-style public square set aside in 1796, and a promenade on the embankment of the city’s reservoir — even though since the 1860s some visionary citizens had called for the establishment of a system of parks for the public good.<sup>24</sup> Jephtha Wade, a Clevelander whose wealth came from the Western Union telegraph combine, established his own park on the eastern fringe of the city in 1872, but although it was open to the public (and was donated to the city in 1882) it was designed for carriage rides, not for recreational activities by the masses.<sup>25</sup>

In 1893 the state of Ohio authorized cities to create park commissions with borrowing authority, and Cleveland “adopted [its] first general plan for park development,” and commenced what is regarded as “the most critical decade” in Cleveland’s acquisition of park land.<sup>26</sup> That same year one of Rockefeller’s business associates approached him about “the park and boulevard situation in Cleveland,” and Rockefeller pledged “to do [his] part toward the enterprise.”<sup>27</sup> The next year, one of the new commissioners, realtor Charles H. Bulkley, met Rockefeller at his home in New York City to ask for \$300,000 to purchase a substantial tract between Wade Park and a tract on the shore of Lake Erie to the north. Rockefeller responded positively, but asked to keep the matter quiet, presumably to prevent land prices from skyrocketing.<sup>28</sup> Acquisitions of land with his support proceeded over the next two years, and on Bulkley’s death another prominent Cleveland realtor continued the relationship with Rockefeller.<sup>29</sup>

Rockefeller’s Forest Hill estate was just a few miles to the east of the future park, and while traveling to the Standard Oil offices to the west in downtown Cleveland he passed directly through the area under discussion, so he knew it well. It was next to the location of what was to become known as the University Circle district of Cleveland, the focus of the city’s cultural life

— the future Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland Orchestra, and Cleveland Museum of Art, among others — but at the time Rockefeller knew the future park district as a focal point of the temperance movement in Cleveland. In the 1870s one of his partners in the oil business, William H. Doan, lived in the area, and personally purchased and closed the major tavern in the district; another resident of the area, Liberty Holden, then replaced it with an alcohol-free family hotel. (When Rockefeller was asked his view on the replacement for Bulkley on the park commission, he apparently recommended Holden.<sup>30</sup>) The WCTU installed one of its two public ice-water fountains at the same place. The decision to purchase a joint tract of land for both Case School of Applied Science and Western Reserve University in the area in the early 1880s, an effort to which Rockefeller was a major contributor and whose advice on the subject was solicited at an early point, seems likely to have been based in part on the area's freedom from the temptations of alcohol.<sup>31</sup> In addition, the idea of creating a contemplative green space appealed personally to Rockefeller. He loved to lay out new trails and drives on his own property that would create interesting views and prospects. He described landscape gardening as his "special hobby," and tried to get others to appreciate the vistas he had obtained at Forest Hill.<sup>32</sup> The relatively unspoiled character of the Doan Brook valley next to the school property was a perfect venue for the landscaper's art.

Thus, it was perfectly consistent both with his own views and with the existing character of the area that when Rockefeller's acquisition and donation of the park to the city was made public at Cleveland's centennial celebrations in 1896, the major condition of his gift was that the city could never authorize the sale of alcoholic beverages in the park. Rockefeller's other two conditions were that first the donated land should be used for public parks and public drives only, and that the city should spend \$600,000 for improvement of the new park within two years

of the gift.<sup>33</sup> Those two provisions simply showed Rockefeller's hard-headed business sense regarding the security of his public investment, but the third provision revealed the deeper social and religious purpose of his gift. It stipulated that Cleveland "shall not at any time permit any saloon or any place for the sale of liquors, malt, vinous or spiritous, upon said premises, or any part thereof, nor shall it permit any such liquor to be sold thereon, but shall forever prohibit and prevent the same."<sup>34</sup> Rockefeller's requirement suggests that he agreed with one of his fellow Clevelanders who two decades earlier had argued that "for the miserable wretches who frequent liquor saloons and other dens of iniquity...a public park would have no charms," and with Frederick Law Olmstead's contemporary statement that New York City's Central Park would have "a distinctly harmonizing and refining influence upon the unfortunate and most lawless classes of the city – an influence favorable to courtesy, self-control, and temperance."<sup>35</sup>

The religious motivation of Rockefeller's gift was ratified by an address given by the Reverend Charles F. Thwing in October 1896 to the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce at a special meeting commemorating Rockefeller's gift. J.G.W. Cowles, Rockefeller's second agent for the purchase of the park land, was president of the Chamber, as well as one of Rockefeller's compatriots in temperance work.<sup>36</sup> Cowles probably had invited The Reverend Thwing to speak because Thwing was president of Western Reserve University, whose campus was (as we have noted earlier) adjacent to the new park. After an appreciation of Rockefeller's benevolence, Thwing spoke of the virtues of contemplating carefully-designed landscape, particularly on "the use of nature for the sake of the comfort and happiness and elevation and improvement of man," and argued that the "interpretation of nature as seen through the park, as seen through nature in the park or roadway or common, leads to [understanding] the spiritual significance of this material world." Ultimately, Thwing concluded, "through these material things we may come

into communion with Him who lies behind them all and who has made them each, and made them each beautiful in His time.”<sup>37</sup> While the park movement in late 19<sup>th</sup> century American cities generally emphasized contemplation of ordered landscape as an antidote to the stress of frenzied urban life, Rockefeller’s gift went further, connecting it to a vision of temperance and religious reform.<sup>38</sup>

## **Conclusion**

We have documented the religious thrust of John D. Rockefeller’s Cleveland philanthropy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century because it helps to clarify the intent of much of what he did in the first few years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when he created three great institutions, The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the General Education Board, and the Rockefeller Foundation, all headquartered in New York City. Similar to his approach in Cleveland, through these institutions he hoped to promote improvement in human welfare, particularly health and education, with the end result being “progress in morality and religion.”<sup>39</sup> Rockefeller philanthropy was very cognizant of the problems of urban-industrial America, and the vehicles of his giving tended toward alleviation and amelioration of some of the most pressing problems of his time. But in giving, Rockefeller’s vision was always fixed on personal salvation, whether that of the recipients of his giving, or his own.

**TABLE 1.**  
**STATISTICAL PORTRAIT OF THE CHARITIES INDEX CARDS OF JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER,**  
**CA. 1863-1903**

<u>Category</u>		<u>Number of</u> <u>Beneficiaries</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>Category</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>Total</u>
<b>INSTITUTIONS</b>				
Churches & Missionary Organizations		357	43.75	23.89
Social Welfare & Moral Reform Organizations		165	20.22	11.04
Schools & Universities		103	12.62	6.89
Medical & Health Care		39	4.78	2.61
Promotion of Knowledge (museums, libraries, lyceums, science societies, expeditions, etc.)	23	2.81		1.54
Culture and the Arts		20	2.45	1.34
Memorials (Statues, portraits, memorial funds, etc.)		20	2.45	1.34
Civic Life, Public Policy & Politics		18	2.20	1.20
Emergency Relief		16	1.96	1.07
Public Safety, Military Organizations & Veterans Groups		13	1.59	0.87
Fairs & Entertainments		8	0.98	0.54
Conservation/Environment		6	0.74	0.40
<u>Other</u>		<u>28</u>	<u>3.43</u>	<u>1.87</u>
<b>TOTAL INSTITUTIONS</b>		<b>816</b>	<b>99.98</b>	
<b>INDIVIDUALS</b>				
No purpose indicated		470	69.32	31.46
Ministers & Missionaries		124	18.29	8.30
Charitable purpose		24	3.54	1.61
Educational purpose		19	2.80	1.27
Social Welfare & Moral Reform- Related purpose	18	2.65		1.20
Laypersons for Religious purpose		14	2.06	0.94
<u>Musical purpose</u>		<u>9</u>	<u>1.33</u>	<u>0.60</u>
<b>TOTAL INDIVIDUALS</b>		<b>678</b>	<b>99.99</b>	
<b>TOTAL BENEFICIARIES</b>		<b>1,494</b>		<b>99.98</b>

**TABLE 2.**  
**ROCKEFELLER GIVING TO ALL INSTITUTIONS AND TO CLEVELAND INSTITUTIONS,**  
**CA. 1863-1903**

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number of Institutions</u>		<u>% of Institutions</u>	
	<u>National</u>	<u>Cleveland</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>Cleveland</u>
Churches & Missionary Organizations	357	51	43.75	37.50
Social Welfare & Moral Reform Organizations	165	40	20.22	29.41
Schools & Universities	103	12	12.62	8.82
Medical & Health Care	39	7	4.78	5.15
Promotion of Knowledge (museums, libraries, lyceums, science societies, expeditions, etc.)	23	2	2.81	1.47
Culture and the Arts	20	8	2.45	6.03
Memorials (Statues, portraits, memorial funds, etc.)	20	3	2.45	2.21
Civic Life, Public Policy & Politics	18	3	2.20	2.21
Emergency Relief	16	1	1.96	0.74
Public Safety, Military Organizations & Veterans Groups	13	5	1.59	3.68
Fairs & Entertainments	8	1	0.98	0.74
Conservation/Environment	6	2	0.74	1.47
<u>Other</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3.43</u>	<u>0.74</u>
<b>TOTAL INSTITUTIONS</b>	<b>816</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>99.98</b>	<b>100.17</b>

## APPENDIX

### JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER'S DONATIONS TO CLEVELAND INSTITUTIONS, ca. 1863-1903 LISTED BY CATEGORY

The following is a list of 136 organizations in Cleveland, Ohio, to which John D. Rockefeller made charitable contributions between about 1864 and 1903. These gifts total \$1,618,028.24.

This list is derived from a review of the Charities Index cards in the John D. Rockefeller Papers at the Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York. The dollar amounts are taken from the index cards as well; these calculations appear to be Rockefeller's own, and they have not been recalculated for this project. The dates represent the year of the first and last contribution to a given recipient; gifts were not necessarily given continuously during the period indicated.

This is by no means a definitive list of Rockefeller's contributions in the Cleveland area. First, the list covers only a limited period of time, and it appears to be incomplete for the 1870s. Secondly, it includes only institutions and individuals that are identified on Rockefeller's index cards as being in Cleveland, or ones which are easily recognizable as Cleveland institutions by someone familiar with Cleveland's history. Some relevant institutions and people undoubtedly have been overlooked.

#### CHURCHES & MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS (51)

Bethel Cleveland 1864-1881	\$ 3,777.00
Bohemian Mission (Cleveland, Ohio) 1883-1893	\$ 850.00
Broadway Baptist Mission, 1879-1895	\$ 1,165.00
Christ M.E. Church, 1879	\$ 250.00
Christian Endeavor Convention (Cleveland) 1894	\$ 250.00
Cleveland Baptist City Mission, 1894-1900	\$ 46,264.57
Cleveland Baptist Union, 1878-1892	\$ 7,539.00
Cleveland Bible Readers Home, 1890	\$ 500.00
Cleveland Floating Bethel, 1882-1902	\$ 5,085.50
Cleveland Sabbath Commission, 1881	\$ 50.00
Cleveland Sunday Union, 1902	\$ 200.00
East Cleveland Baptist Church, 1901	\$ 25.00
East Cleveland Methodist Church, 1886	\$ 200.00
East End Baptist Church, 1892-1903	\$ 17,179.62
German Baptist Publishing Society, 1887-1889	\$ 3,700.00
Erie Street Baptist Church [church projects], 1883-1888	\$ 4,964.40
Erie Street Baptist Church--Sundry donations	\$ 43,876.40
Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, 1880-1903	\$168,977.94
Euclid Avenue Baptist Church--Poor fund	\$ 1,242.60
Euclid Avenue Baptist Church--Ladies Society, 1882-1890	\$ 468.00
Euclid Avenue Baptist Church--Sunday School Orchestra, 1883-1890	\$ 949.50
Euclid Avenue Baptist Church--Sexton, 1888-1892	\$ 60.00
Euclid Avenue Christian Church, 1888	\$ 500.00
Euclid Avenue Congregational Church, 1886-1887	\$ 1,000.00
First Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio 1879	\$ 50.00
German Baptist Church (Case Avenue) 1883-1886	\$ 4,868.20
Music Hall Missionary (Cleveland, Ohio) 1887-1888	\$ 400.00
Judson Mission Society (Cleveland, Ohio) 1884-1890	\$ 35.00
Lake View Congregational Church, 1890-1902	\$ 1,450.00

Lake Wood Baptist Church	\$ 4,490.00
Logan Avenue Baptist Church, 1884-1888	\$ 11,175.00
Madison Avenue Congregational Church, 1888	\$ 300.00
Olivet Chapel, 1885-1887	\$ 400.00
Pilgrim Congregational Church, 1894	\$ 500.00
Plymouth Congregational Church, 1881-1899	\$ 2,810.00
St. Marks Episcopal Church (West Cleveland, Ohio) 1901	\$ 250.00
Scoville Avenue Baptist Church, 1863-1879	\$ 2,995.00
Scranton Avenue Baptist Church, 1893	\$ 300.00
Second Baptist Church (or Euclid Avenue Baptist Church), 1868-1882	\$ 22,015.08
Second Presbyterian Church, Cleveland, 1880	\$ 300.00
Superior Street Baptist Church, 1878-1902	\$ 6,975.00
Tabernacle Cleveland, 1878-1884	\$ 1,850.00
Third Baptist Church, 1885, 1889	\$ 465.00
Trinity Baptist Church, 1878-1882	\$ 1,050.00
Trinity Baptist Church (Newburgh), 1900-1901	\$ 5,500.00
West Side Baptist Church, 1865-1889	\$ 328.50
Willow Mission Chapel, 1892	\$ 1,000.00
Willson Avenue Baptist Church, 1878-1901	\$ 8,025.00
Willson Avenue Methodist Church, 1884	\$ 100.00
Windermere Presbyterian Church, 1897	\$ 100.00
Woodland Avenue Presbyterian Church, 1879, 1891	\$ 750.00

**SOCIAL WELFARE & MORAL REFORM ORGANIZATIONS (40)**

Alta House, 1899-1903	\$ 68,811.23
Charity Organization Society, Cleveland, 1882-1899	\$ 8,350.00
Cleveland Associated Charities, 1900-1902	\$ 1,500.00
Cleveland Association 1863-1866	\$ 4.55
Cleveland Day Nurseries, 1884-1894	\$ 600.00
Cleveland Day Nursery & Kindergarten Association, 1894-1901	\$ 43,039.78
Cleveland Educational & Industrial Union, 1889-1893	\$ 170.00
Cleveland Fireman's Pension Fund, 1894	\$ 100.00
Cleveland Fresh Air Fund, 1889-1902	\$ 400.00
Cleveland Fund for Crippled Children, 1900-1901	\$ 200.00
Cleveland Humane Society, 1881-1903	\$ 2,055.00
Cleveland Infant's Rest, 1891	\$ 50.00
Cleveland Loan Exhibition--Relief of Poor, 1894-1895	\$ 200.00
Cleveland Maternity Home, 1891-1902	\$ 1,275.00
Cleveland Men's Home, 1893-1896	\$ 450.00
Cleveland Orphan Asylum, 1869-1881	\$ 83.20
Cleveland Police Pension Fund, 1898	\$ 50.00
Cleveland World	\$ 500.00
East Cleveland Temperance Work, 1892	\$ 6.17
Eliza Jennings Home for Incurables, 1889-1897	\$ 15,993.39
Friendly Inn, Central, 1879-1891	\$ 14,484.68
Friendly Inn, River Street, 1879-1881	\$ 325.00
Friendly Inn, St. Clair Street, 1879	\$ 50.00
Hiram House, 1898-1904	\$ 12,100.00
Home for Aged Colored People, 1902-1903	\$ 700.00

Invalids Home, Cleveland, 1887-1903	\$ 200.00
Jones Home for Friendless Children, 1903	\$ 4,075.00
News Boys Home, Cleveland, 1878, 1882	\$ 12.00
Nightingale Society (Cleveland, Ohio) 1890-1891	\$ 50.00
Old Ladies Home, Cleveland, 1879-1888	\$ 1,085.00
Retreat, 1878-1893	\$ 2,286.00
Salvation Army Rescue Home, 1895-1905	\$ 600.00
Temperance Work, Rocky River, 1881-1885	\$ 100.00
Women's Christian Temperance Union Nonpartisan, Cleveland, 1884-1903	\$ 26,865.00
Women's Exchange, 1894	\$ 25.00
Women's Home, 1869	\$ 5.00
Women's Relief Fund, 1898	\$ 50.00
YMCA-Cleveland, 1867-1901	\$ 72,969.66
YMCA-Cleveland, Railroad Branches, 1879-1899	\$ 700.00
YMCA-East Cleveland Branch, 1882	\$ 20.00

#### **SCHOOLS & UNIVERSITIES (12)**

Central High School Gymnasium, 1882	\$ 15.00
Cleveland Art School (Western Reserve Academy), 1884-1903	\$ 4,610.00
Cleveland Central High School--Library, 1897	\$ 50.00
Cleveland College of Physicians and Surgeons, 1900	\$ 10,000.00
Cleveland High School, 1898-1901	\$ 1,084.85
Cleveland Homeopathic College, 1891-1896	\$ 17,000.00
Cleveland Normal Training School (library), 1896	\$ 50.00
Cleveland Public School(Art Education Society), 1898-1899	\$ 600.00
Cleveland Training School, 1885-1886	\$ 1,000.00
Industrial School, Cleveland, 1892-1902	\$ 7,260.28
Jones School for Children, 1891	\$ 50.00
Western Reserve College, 1881	\$ 2,500.00

#### **MEDICAL & HEALTH CARE (7)**

Cleveland Huron Street Hospital, 1899-1901	\$ 5,200.00
Homeopathic Hospital (Huron Street, Cleveland, Ohio) 1869-1899	\$ 8,530.00
Lakeside Hospital, 1894-1900	\$ 21,722.10
Rainbow Cottage, 1894-1901	\$ 175.00
St. Clair Street Hospital, 1896	\$ 500.00
Willson Street Hospital, 1869	\$ 25.00
Womens and Children Dispensary, 1882-1902	\$ 5,799.98

#### **PROMOTION OF KNOWLEDGE (museums, libraries, lyceums, science societies, expeditions, etc.)**

Historical Society, Cleveland, 1882	\$ 50.00
Western Reserve Historical Society, 1892, 1899	\$ 10,400.00

#### **CULTURE AND THE ARTS (8)**

Arion Quartette (Cleveland) 1895	\$ 25.00
Cleveland Amateur Orchestra, 1889	\$ 25.00
Cleveland Fowler School for Piano, 1898	\$ 100.00
Cleveland Philharmonic Orchestra, 1892	\$ 300.00
Cleveland Quintette Club, 1892	\$ 25.00

Cleveland Vocal Society, 1891-1901	\$ 2,210.00
Ladies Musical Association, 1886-1890	\$ 1,250.00
Music Hall (Cleveland, Ohio) 1886	\$ 5,000.00

**MEMORIALS (3)**

Moses Cleveland Monument, 1888	\$ 100.00
Garfield Monument Fund, 1882	\$ 1,020.00
Soldiers Monument (Cleveland) 1868-1869	\$ 53.00

**CIVIC LIFE, PUBLIC POLICY & POLITICS (3)**

Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, 1894-1900	\$ 1,050.00
Cleveland Municipal Association, 1899-1900	\$ 750.00
Law and Order Association, Cleveland, 1882-1886	\$ 130.00

**EMERGENCY RELIEF (1)**

Cleveland Tunnel Disaster, 1898	\$ 50.00
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**PUBLIC SAFETY, MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS & VETERANS GROUPS (5)**

Cleveland Grays, 1889-1893	\$ 1,310.00
East Cleveland Volunteer Fire Department, 1901	\$ 50.00
Fifteenth Regiment (Cleveland, Ohio) 1878-1879	\$ 65.00
First Cleveland Troop 1879	\$ 50.00
Grand Army of the Republic (National Encampment, Cleveland) 1901	\$ 5,000.00

**FAIRS & ENTERTAINMENTS (1)**

Viaduct Celebration (Cleveland, Ohio) 1878	\$ 25.00
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**CONSERVATION/ENVIRONMENT (2)**

Cleveland Parks, 1900	\$183,797.50
Rockefeller Park, 1896-1898	\$627,908.56

**OTHER**

Lakeview Cemetery, 1899-1903	\$ 23,015.00
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<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,618,028.24</b>
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## NOTES

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1. Thomas Bender, "Venturesome and Cautious': American History in the 1990s," *Journal of American History* 81 (October 1994): 995.
2. Peter Dobkin Hall, "The History of Religious Philanthropy in America," in Robert Wuthnow, Virginia A. Hodgkinson and Associates, *Faith and Philanthropy in America: Exploring the Role of Religion in America's Voluntary Sector* (Washington, D.C.: Independent Sector, 1990), p. 38; and Barry D. Karl and Stanley N. Katz, "The Unintended Logic of the Philanthropic Foundation: Foundations and Ruling Class Elites," in Jack Salzman, ed., *Philanthropy and American Society: Selected Papers* (New York: Center for American Culture Studies, Columbia University, 1987), p. 63. See also Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Peter D. Hall, *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector and Other Essays on Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Nonprofit Organizations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). Barry Karl's forthcoming work on charity will also illuminate this subject.
3. Some aspects of religion in Rockefeller's philanthropy have been examined in Kenneth W. Rose, "John D. Rockefeller's Philanthropy and Problems in Fundraising at Cleveland's Floating Bethel Mission and the Home for Aged Colored People," *Ohio History* 108 (Summer-Autumn 1999), pp. 145-161, as well as "John D. Rockefeller, The American Baptist Education Society and the Growth of Baptist Higher Education in the Midwest" (1990) accessible online from <http://www.rockefeller.edu/archive.ctr/ac.rro.html>, and "Why a University for Chicago and Not Cleveland? Religion and John D. Rockefeller's Early Philanthropy, 1855-1900" in Gladys Haddad, ed., *From All Sides: Philanthropy in the Western Reserve* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Studies Symposium of Case Western Reserve University, 1995), pp. 30-41. The latter essay also is accessible online from <http://www.rockefeller.edu/archive.ctr/ac.rro.html>.
4. Ron Chernow, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller* (New York: Random House, 1998), pp. 237-242, 467-500. It is fair to say that Chernow puts Rockefeller's philanthropy in the context of religious institutions, but does not discuss how Rockefeller's religious views shaped his philanthropy.
5. Richard J. Storr, *Harper's University, the Beginnings: A History of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).
6. Among other records of Rockefeller's investments, see Ledger C, 1875-1879, John D. Rockefeller Papers, Rockefeller Family Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York.
7. Thomas F. Campbell and Edward M. Miggins, eds., *The Birth of Modern Cleveland, 1865-1930*. Western Reserve Historical Society Publication no. 167 (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1988); David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds., *Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1986). For a view of Cleveland's

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growth in the context of the urbanization of the Midwest, see Jon C. Teaford, *Cities of the Heartland: The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Midwest* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993).

8. David Freeman Hawke, *John D.: The Founding Father of the Rockefellers* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), p. 99.

9. Rockefeller to the Rev. G.O. King, December 8, 1885, JDR Letterbooks, vol. 9, p. 24.

10. "The frequently fatal influence of the State universities on the religious life of their pupils, is acknowledged by all Christians who are well informed," Gates argued. "They are certainly raising up a race of infidels to become the leaders of our western life." Gates, "The Need for a Baptist University in Chicago, as Illustrated by a Study of Baptist Collegiate Education in the West," in the Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 2 Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Educational Interests Series, box 102.

11. Gates, "Need for a Baptist University in Chicago."

12. Chernow, *Titan*, p. 20.

13. "Erie Street Baptist Church Trustee Records," a volume of minutes of trustees' meetings, located in the Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 2 Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller Papers series, box 43, folder 341. Rockefeller signed the trustees' minutes as "Clerk" beginning on October 6, 1858 and ending on August 25, 1859. William Rockefeller appears to have served two terms as church clerk, from October 1859 to August 30, 1861.

14. "Erie Street Baptist Church Trustee Records."

15. See the Charity Index cards for the YMCA in the Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 1, John D. Rockefeller Papers, Financial Material Series.

16. Undated newspaper clipping attached to Anna S. Prather to John D. Rockefeller, 4 January 1884, JDR Office Correspondence, box 32, folder 242.

17. Marion J. Morton, "From Saving Souls to Saving Cities: Women and Reform in Cleveland," in Thomas F. Campbell and Edward M. Miggins, ed., *The Birth of Modern Cleveland, 1865-1930* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1988), pp. 328-29.

18. F. Jennie Duty to John D. Rockefeller, April 18, 1888, with an enclosed circular, Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 1, John D. Rockefeller Papers, Office Correspondence, box 13, folder 98; and "Friendly Inn Social Settlement," in *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, ed. by David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 425-426.

19. The other temperance workers to receive Rockefeller funds were Anna Edwards, J. Ellen Foster, M.E. Ingersoll, and Anna S. Prather. F. Jennie Duty was a veteran temperance worker

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who was devoted to the Central Friendly Inn. Between 1878 and 1895 she received more than \$5,000 as salary from Rockefeller to support her temperance work, with an additional \$600 in presents for her personal use. More than a decade of her correspondence with Rockefeller (1882-1894) is preserved in Rockefeller's papers, and like many of his correspondents, she mixed personal matters with business matters in her letters to him. By May 1893 this devoted temperance worker on Rockefeller's payroll was desperately seeking an interview with him. "I feel your kindness for nearly twenty years in making it possible for me to do W.C.T.U. work has placed me under obligation to you to mention an important change in my life before it is publicly known," she wrote. After toiling for decades in the temperance movement, Duty had been approached with a business proposition by the promoters of "Eucrazy, the cure for Alcoholism." The promoters proposed to form a joint-stock company, to license the product from the national company and to treat alcoholics — at \$75 per treatment — in the Cleveland area. Duty invested \$3,000 in the company and was paid for the use of her well-known name to endorse the product. Duty explained to Rockefeller that she was torn by the idea of profiting financially from her temperance career, but that she had family members who needed her financial support and, moreover, thought the move might be good for the temperance movement. "I have for years felt, as thousands of other temperance workers now believe, that Alcoholism is a disease (sometimes acquired often hereditary), as well as a vice, and that it therefore should be treated as any other disease." She had thoroughly investigated the promoters' claims of success and was convinced of their validity, she explained. Especially impressive was the fact that Eucrazy had never produced "hurtful results," unlike its main competitor, the Keely cure. Duty hoped that Rockefeller would endorse Eucrazy and invest in the company. In August 1893 she asked Rockefeller to stop sending her monthly checks for her temperance work, since she had gone into business and had resigned her position as chairman of the Central Friendly Inn. Rockefeller still sent her small checks as gifts during the holidays, and she continued to be associated with the Central Friendly Inn, writing in January 1894 to explain how the inn came to be in debt. By then she was manager of the Northern Ohio Eucrazy Company. See Duty to Rockefeller, May 5 and 11, 1893, and especially the two letters dated May 17, 1893, Rockefeller Family Archives, RG 1, John D. Rockefeller Papers, Office Correspondence, box 13, folder 98.

20. S. Louise Patteson to George D. Rogers, Rockefeller's secretary, March 2, 1888, Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 1, John D. Rockefeller Papers, Office Correspondence, box 31, folder 235. Patteson was a stenographer who was praised by Mrs. W.A. Ingham as an example of Cleveland's "able, self-sustaining women." *Women of Cleveland and Their Work* (Cleveland: W.A. Ingham, 1893), p. 350. On the Rev. Schauffler, see his entry in the online *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* at <http://ech.cwru.edu/Scripts/Article.asp?ID=SHA>.

21. Patteson, "Report of Missionary Work for People's Tabernacle Church (Music Hall), February 1888," Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 1, John D. Rockefeller Papers, Office Correspondence, box 31, folder 235. Emphasis in the original.

22. Patteson, "Report for Mr. J.D. Rockefeller of Missionary Work Done in June 1888," and letter dated July 14, 1888, Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 1, John D. Rockefeller

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Papers, Office Correspondence, box 31, folder 235. Emphasis in the original.

23. See Rose, "John D. Rockefeller's Philanthropy and Problems Fundraising at Cleveland's Floating Bethel Mission and the Home for Aged Colored People," *Ohio History*.

24. David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 752; *Annals of Cleveland* 50 (1867): 415-16; 57 (1874): 439, 440.

25. *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, pp. 752, 1021. The exact date of the creation of Wade Park is uncertain; the earliest certain reference that the authors have seen is in a letter of September 1873: Randall Wade to J.H. Wade, 28 September 1873, folder 5, box 1, Wade Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.

26. *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, p. 752.

27. Charles F. Brush to John D. Rockefeller, 9 April 1893, and memorandum, n.d. JDR Office Correspondence, box 5, folder 43.

28. "Dictation by Mr. Rockefeller, May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1894," JDR Office Correspondence, box 6, folder 45.

29. J.G.W. Cowles to John D. Rockefeller, 30 December 1895, Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 2, Real Estate Interests series, "Cleveland Boulevard, 1895-1897" folder, box 3.

30. Holden was also Bulkley's brother-in-law.

31. Darwin H. Stapleton, "Religion, Reform, Race (and Rockefeller): Cleveland History Viewed Through the Lens of Philanthropy," in Gladys Haddad, ed., *From All Sides: Philanthropy in the Western Reserve* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Studies Symposium of Case Western Reserve University, 1995), p. 21.

32. John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (Tarrytown, NY: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1984), p. 34. The first edition of this work was published in 1909.

33. Rockefeller made this second provision easier for the city by donating most of the \$600,000 himself, the largest single gift being \$338,270.12, given a year after creating the park: Receipt from J.G.W. Cowles, 20 July 1897, "Cleveland Boulevards, 1898-1904" folder, box 3, Real Estate Interests series.

34. "Know all men by these presents, that I, John D. Rockefeller...", "Cleveland Boulevards, 1898-1904" folder, box 3, Real Estate Interests series.

35. *Annals of Cleveland* 57 (1874): 440; F.L. Olmstead, quoted in Stanley K. Schultz, *Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800-1920* (Philadelphia:

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temple University Press, 1989), p. 158.

36. E.g., J.G.W. Cowles to John D. Rockefeller, 12 April 1899, Rockefeller Family Archives, Welfare Interests-General series, box 44, folder 476. This folder documents Rockefeller's support of the Ohio Anti-Saloon League. Cowles was one of Rockefeller's real estate brokers from the latter 1870s: see Ledger C, above.

37. "Proceedings: General meeting of The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1896. Special order, parks and boulevards," "Cleveland Boulevards, 1898-1904" folder, box 3, Real Estate Interests series.

38. Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1982), pp. 7-10. See also M. Christine Bayer, *Dreaming the Rational City, The Myth of American City Planning* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1983), pp. 17-18, 36-39.

39. John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (Tarrytown, NY: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1984), p. 104.