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LOCATIONAL HISTORY OF PARKS IN THREE UPSTATE NEW YORK CITIES

Samto Wongso
Department of Geography
Colgate University
Hamilton, NY, 13346

ABSTRACT: *This project investigates the relationship between the history of urban park-thinking in the United States and the locational history of park development in three cities in upstate New York: Utica, Syracuse and Buffalo. Cranz's (1982), Cranz & Bolan (2004) and Tuason's (1997) works are used to frame the analysis of the significance of park eras to spatial characteristics of urban parks. An inventory of parks for each city, containing information regarding names, creation dates, and characteristics, was created and analyzed chronologically. The results of this study demonstrate how locational characteristics of urban parks in those three cities had evolved overtime between 1800 and 1990 roughly in the manners captured in Cranz's (1982), Cranz & Bolan's (2004) and Tuason's (1997) frameworks. They also help to refine the existing American urban park history frameworks by identifying an additional park planning era, the Public Square Era, and an earlier beginning year and locational characteristics of the Sustainable Park Era.*

Keywords: *locational history, urban parks, park-planning*

INTRODUCTION

In a classic study of urban parks, Galen Cranz (1982) discusses how parks have been perceived and developed in American cities in different historical periods. She categorizes the history of American urban park thinking into four distinct eras: The Pleasure Ground (1850-1900), The Reform Park (1900-1930), The Recreation Facility (1930-1965), and the Open Space System (1965 and after). Cranz's (1928) periodization of urban parks is valuable from the historical geography perspective considering that one fundamental question that urban historical geographers are interested in answering is the relationship between historical context and geographical or locational characteristics of different urban features. How do internal and external factors affect spatial patterns of the subject of study over time? As an illustration, Chris Philo (2004), a historical geographer at the University of Glasgow, demonstrates that, in England and Wales, changes related to how people perceived madness and its best treatment from Medieval times to the 1860s had significant geographical implications for the siting of mental health institutions. There is a strong historical connection between social constructions of madness and geographical patterns of where mental institutions were located, which Philo (2004) labels an exercise in "locational history." His research is just one of many studies that suggest spatiality to be strongly tied to historical context.

Cranz (1982), in fact, does provide some suggestions regarding distinct general locational characteristics of parks from each of the four eras. As an example, during the Reform Park Era, Cranz (1982) mentions "Ideally, a playground would be located near cheap and quick transportation systems. But topographical considerations of the location, the size, shape, boundaries, and character of the land, also were considered rational and legitimate criteria for site selection."[1] For the Open Space System era, she describes how "competition for land, particularly with freeways and housing, was greater than ever before, so open-space ideology rationalized the mini-park, the playlot, and the vest-pocket park, small parks that could be tucked into irregular, unusual, inexpensive sites that had been rejected in prior eras."[2] Moreover, studies of park development in other American cities, like Seattle and Boston, show the collective influence of politics, economics, and culture in different historical periods producing parks with different characteristics and geographical patterns (Dooling et al., 2006; O'Connell, 2009).

The association between the history of park-thinking and the locational history of urban parks is elaborated even further in Julie Tuason's (1997) article, "Rus in Urbe: The Spatial Evolution of Urban Parks in the United States, 1850-1920." She offers her own version of park-thinking or park-planning eras: the Victorian Era (1840-1890) and the Progressive Era (1890-1920). Similarly, Tuason (1997) also proposes some general spatial characteristics of parks typical of those two park-planning periods.

In this research project, I study the relationship between changes in American urban park-thinking and the locational history of park development in three cities in upstate New York --Utica, Syracuse and Buffalo-- which had similar trajectories of historical economic development and population growth, but differed in population size (Table 1.). I use Cranz (1982), Cranz and Bolan (2004) and Tuason's (1997) works to frame my analysis of the significance

of park eras to locational characteristics of urban parks. Whereas most studies have focused on selected parks in individual cities, this research identifies overall geographical patterns of park development from a comprehensive inventory of city parks. The locational characteristics that I focus on in this study are size and centrality or peripherality. The main research questions in this project are:

(1) What are important locational characteristics of parks developed in different eras of park planning in Utica, Syracuse, and Buffalo?
(2) How do they resemble or differ from those spatial characteristics suggested by Cranz (1982), Cranz and Bolanz (2004) and Tuason (1997) in their studies of the history of urban parks development?

Table 1: Historical Population of Utica, Syracuse, and Buffalo

	Utica	**Svracuse**	**Buffalo**
1850	17.565	22.271	42.261
1900	56.383	108.374	352.387
1950	100,489	220,583	580,132

To a large extent, this research attempts to extend Cranz, Bolan and Tuason's studies by applying their frameworks (Figure 1), applied chiefly to large cities, in smaller cities and testing them within each city, instead of merely across cities. There is a large body of literature on parks in major cities in the United States, like New York City, Seattle, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia (Tuason, 1997). In fact, Cranz (1982) mainly draws her conclusions using examples from New York City, Chicago, and San Francisco and assumes that park development in smaller cities must have followed those of the big cities. In contrast, I look into park development in three cities of different sizes: small, medium, and moderately large. Although Tuason (1997) does look at park developments in smaller cities, her research focuses more on park development trends across cities than within the cities themselves. My study examines how parks spread both within and across upstate New York cities over time. In addition, I carefully examined the spatial characteristics of all parks from the early 19th century to the late 20th century instead of merely citing anecdotal historical examples or drawing conclusions from a selected number of parks from major cities, as do Cranz (1982) and Tuason (1997). In shorts, this research offers a complementary approach to studying the history of American urban park thinking.

The results of this study demonstrate how locational characteristics of urban parks in those three cities had evolved overtime between 1800 and 1990 roughly in the manners captured in Cranz's (1982), Cranz & Bolan's (2004) and Tuason's (1997) frameworks. They also help to refine the existing American urban park history frameworks by identifying an additional park planning era, the Public Square Era, and an earlier beginning year and locational characteristics of the Sustainable Park Era.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Each of the urban park thinking eras in Cranz' represents different government and/or public perceptions about the importance of parks in American urban landscapes. In the Pleasure Ground era, landscape architects, most famously Frederick Law Olmsted, tried to design parks that imitated nature. Parks were "meant to be pieces of the country, with fresh air, meadows, lakes, and sunshine right in the city" (Cranz, 1982). In the Reform Park Era, parks were seen as a tool for social reform, providing many different types of both active and passive recreation for people of different ages and classes. It was the time when playgrounds began to proliferate in cities throughout the country (Cranz, 1982). During the Recreational Facility period, parks became widely seen as basic needs for everybody in cities, for whose provision the government was responsible (Cranz, 1982). Lastly, the Open Space System responded to changing demand for parks, especially after the middle class had mostly moved out of the city center to the suburbs. In contrast to the previous periods, the modern city needs parks chiefly for purposes of imagery and inspiration (Cranz, 1982). Cranz (1982) asserts that her periodization of park development is generalizable to all American cities because the development of American urban parks has been remarkably homogeneous.

While the locational characteristics of parks created during each park planning era are not the focus of Cranz's (1982) study, her research suggests some hypotheses about their typical spatial characteristics. During the Pleasure

Ground era, Cranz (1982) proposes, parks were large, and some were sited in the periphery. Those peripheral parks were located adjacent to major horsecar and streetcar routes for reasons of accessibility. Cranz (1982) maintains that new parks during the Reform Park Era were mainly in the forms of playgrounds. In general, they were small and scattered throughout the city, often located next to schools, to serve various dense neighborhoods, implying they could be in both the center and the periphery. During the Recreational Facility Era, the locational characteristics of parks were similar to that of the Refrom Park Era, but their sizes varied more. Playgrounds that were even smaller than Reform Park's playgrounds and medium-size sports fields were created. (Cranz, 1982; Cranz & Bolan, 2004) Playgrounds tend to be even smaller and medium-size recreational facilities, mainly sports fields, were created. Lastly, the Open Space Era featured tiny parks (¼ to 1½ acre) with irregular shape in inexpensive sites throughout the city.

In a follow-up study, Cranz and Bolan (2004) proposed a more recent era in urban park planning, beginning in 1990, named Sustainable Park. They describe that this new type of park offers solutions to ecological problems as ecological problems has become one of our biggest social concers. Elements of sustainable parks include native plants, permeable surfaces, ecological restoration of streams or other natural systems, and self-sufficiency with regards to material resources. Regarding locational characteristics, sustainable parks vary in sizes. They do not mention anything about their locations relative to the city center or city limit.

Tuason (1997) does not assert anything substantially different from Cranz (1982), but she is undeniably more explicit in her locational characterization of parks in each period. The timeline provided in her paper covers only two periods: The Victorian Era and the Progressive Era. In terms of locational characteristics, she explains that parks in the Victorian Era (1840 to 1890) were large in area, usually several hundred acres each, and they were located at or beyond the periphery of the built-up area of the city because planners anticipated city expansion. Meanwhile, in the Progressive Era (1890 to 1920), parks, mostly playgrounds, were small (1 to 10 acres) and widely distributed throughout the city. Also, they were located within considerable distance from existing large parks. By comparing Tuason's (1997) two park eras with Cranz's (1982) first two parks eras, we can reasonably say that the Victorian Era and the Pleasure Ground Eras are more or less synonymous, and so are the Progressive Era and the Reform Park Era, though it is necessary to notice the ten-year gap between Cranz (1982) and Tuason's (1997) periodizations. Both scholars seem to have measured the time-span of each era as only approximate rather than sharp beginning and end points.

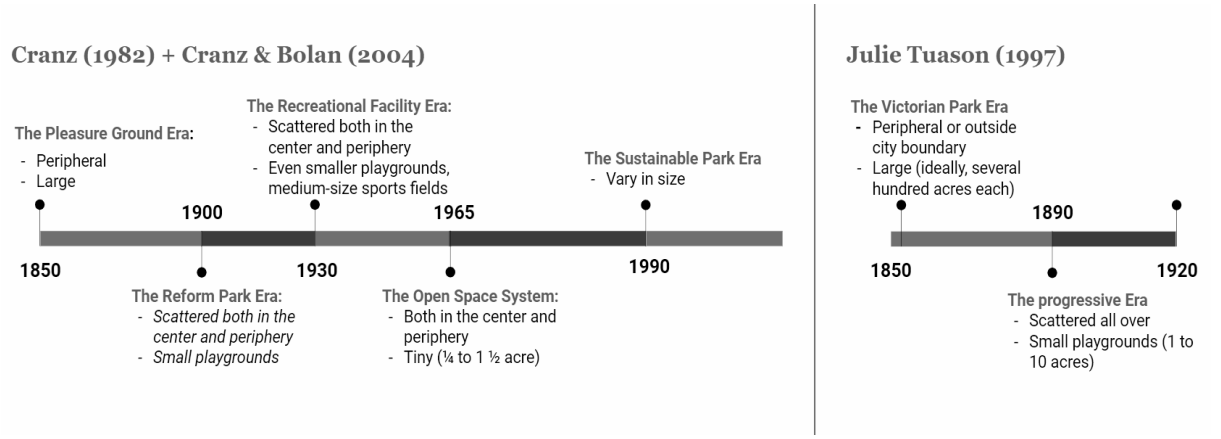

Figure 1. Summary of Cranz (1982) and Tuason's (1997) urban park periodizations.

METHODOLOGY & DATA SOURCES

Even though the phrase "urban park(s)" may be used to refer to various green features or recreational places in cities, my analysis of urban parks are limited to those types of facilities that fulfill several criteria; they are not privately owned and accessible to the public; people visit them for recreational purposes; they are outdoor facilities. These criteria are not necessarily explicitly mentioned in any of the texts that provide the theoretical framework for this study, but they capture well which type of urban parks are being included or excluded in those studies, and, therefore, they provide a reasonable scope for this comparative geographical historical research of urban parks.[3]

I began by gathering names of all parks from the early 19th century to the first half of the 1990s. Then, I collected information about their sizes, dates of creation, locations, and types from various sources, including official

reports by the Park Department in each city, websites of the Park & Recreation Departments, blogs, historical newspapers from Fulton Search database, and old maps of those cities. When these sources did not provide the exact date of creation of a specific park, I compared and contrasted lists of parks on several reports or maps from different periods to obtain an approximate time of creation. The sizes of parks were mainly found from official historical park and recreation reports. When the information regarding the size of a particular park was not available from those documents, I estimated its size using the "Measure Distance" tool on Google Maps.

In determining the peripherality of a park, I created shapefiles of park locations and city limits for each city on ArcGIS, and conducted an analysis using the "Buffer" tool. I decided that a park was located in the periphery if it was within a specified distance (500 m for Utica and Syracuse, 1000 m for Buffalo) of the city limit or outside the city limit. The buffer zone from the city limit for the Buffalo case is twice as large as Utica and Syracuse's because the distance from the city center to the city limit in Buffalo is twice as great as that of Utica and Syracuse. The peripherality of a park was analyzed in relation to the appropriate city boundary at the time of its creation as political boundaries of cities are not static. Historical city maps provided information related to changes in the political boundary of each city overtime.[4]

To decide whether a park is a public square, Pleasure Ground Park, playground, vest-pocket park, or a nature preserve/trail, I visited the listed parks virtually using Google Maps and finding relevant historical newspaper reports of each park from the Fulton Search database. Historical newspapers about many of the parks that are available online often describe explicitly the intended function of newly established parks.

My preliminary inventories included 59 parks in Utica, 100 parks in Syracuse, and 160 parks in Buffalo. However, the final lists contained 36 parks in Utica, 61 parks in Syracuse, and 73 parks in Buffalo that were chronologically ordered. I excluded those parks that no longer exist as a result of, for example, urban renewal. Parks with unknown dates of creation were removed from the lists. Most of them are small vest-pocket parks and playgrounds that are poorly documented. Medians, parkways, and unnamed small circles and triangles were also not included because they are not open spaces where people would typically go for recreation.

Lastly, a chronologically ordered inventory of parks for each city with their names, creation dates, sizes, distances from city limits, and types as shown on Table 2, Table 3, and Table 4 was created. Using the chronologically ordered inventory of each city, I was able to estimate the beginning and end of a park-planning period through identifying the times when shifts in locational characteristics and types of park occured. Lastly, I compared my findings of the geographical or locational characteristics of parks from different times with those park characteristics mentioned by Cranz (1982) and Tuason (1997) to determine how their historical framework aligns with or differs from the historical development of parks in these three upstate New York cities.

URBAN PARKS DEVELOPMENT HISTORY

Utica

This study identified eight parks that were developed in Utica before 1900. Three of them- Chancellor Square, Steuben Park, and Johnson Park- were developed before 1850. The parks created in this period were relatively small, mainly one acre or below. All of them, except one privately donated park in 1897, were in the form of public squares or monuments at major intersections. In terms of their locations relative to the city limit, all of the parks, excluding Watson-Williams Park, were considered central based on my methodology. All of these parks, except one, do not share any of the spatial characteristics of Pleasure Ground or Victorian Era parks, which are big and located in the periphery. Instead, they are better described as "small squares landscaped in a formal Beaux-Arts style" (Cranz, 1982). Watson-Williams Park, created in 1897, may be viewed as a smaller-scale Pleasure Ground park because of its peripheral location and relatively large size among all of the earlier parks. Nevertheless, the dominance of public squares during this period can be reasonably interpreted as Utica having not entered the Pleasure Ground/ Victorian Era of park-planning yet, at least not until the creation of Watson-Williams Park.

By the turn of the century, Utica was building both Pleasure Ground parks and playgrounds instead of just small public squares.[5] The shift is reflected in not only new parks' names but also in their sizes and locations. Unlike many of the parks that came beforehand, the names of none of the newly established open spaces in this period contained the word "square." Also, parks created in this period were larger. The city's biggest parks, such as Roscoe Conkling Park, T.R. Proctor Park, and F.T. Proctor Park, were all acquired and built at this time. Even the small parks from this era are still bigger than the majority of parks from the 19th century. One very pronounced characteristic of parks from this period is their peripheral location. Only one out of the twelve parks was not within 500 m of Utica's city limit. In short, the locational characteristics of newly developed parks in Utica largely match the suggested locational characteristics of parks in the early two periods of both Cranz (1982) and Tuason's (1997) frameworks.

Table 2. Inventory of parks in Utica (PS= Public Square; PG= Pleasure Ground; P= Playground; PP= Passive Pocket Park; NP= Nature Preserve).

Year	Name	Type	Size (ac)	Per*	Year	Name	Type	Size (ac)	Per*
1811	Chancellor Square	PS	3.5	No	1923	F.T. Proctor	PG	50	Yes
1827	Steuben	PS	1	No	1925	Goldbas	P	4.7	Yes
1849	Johnson	PS	1	No	1931	Mary	P	0.65	No
1880	Fort Schuyler Monument	PS	0.1	No	1931	Edward Hirt	P	1.25	No
1897	Oneida Square	PS	0.1	No	1931	Quinn	P	4.4	No
1897	Watson-Williams	PS	6.6	Yes	1935	Jones	P	1	Yes
1899	Bagg Square	PS	0.45	No	1935	Wankel	P	10	Yes
1899	Kernan	P	1	No	1955	MLK/ Wager	P	2.5	No
1908	Addison-Miller	P	15.3	Yes	1955	Gilmore	P	0.45	Yes
1908	Horatio Seymor	P	14.66	Yes	1957	Jefferson	P	3.5	Yes
1908	Seymour	P	4.5	Yes	1960	General Herkimer	P	0.15	No
1908	Thomas Spriggs	P	1	Yes	1961	North Utica	P	50.3	Yes
1909	Cooper-Bigelow	P	2.4	Yes	1863	Greenman Estate	P	27.81	Yes
1909	Roscoe Conkling	PG	385.5	Yes	1969	Albany	P	0.3	No
1909	T.R. Proctor	PG	71	Yes	1970	Utica Marsh	NP	213	Yes
1913	Lincoln	P	3.8	No	1975	Hanna	PP	0.5	No
1913	Margaret	P	1	Yes	1975	Trino	PP	0.9	No
1921	Pixley	P	5.5	Yes	1978	Kopernik	PP	0.4	No

*Peripheral location

The trend of creating both Pleasure Ground parks and playgrounds shifted to only creating playgrounds after 1923, so I identify 1923 as the time when Utica entered a new era in park-planning. In that year, the city added its last Pleasure Ground park, F.T. Proctor Park. In the next several decades after 1923, the city only developed either small playgrounds that were less than 5 acres or medium-sized sports fields that were between 10 and 50 acres.

Between 1930 and 1965, newly created parks are all playgrounds with varying sizes and locations. The smaller playgrounds are playlots for children, while the bigger ones are sports fields. Some of the small playgrounds-- Mary, Gilmore, and General Herkimer-- are smaller than one acre. Playgrounds with such small sizes were unprecedented. On the other hand, the city also acquired large sports fields: North Utica and Greenman Estate. They are still smaller than the city's Pleasure Ground parks, but they are larger than the already existing sports fields towards the end of the period. Whereas the distribution of parks previously seems to mainly reflect the expansion of the City of Utica, recreational facilities were equitably distributed throughout the city fabric between 1930 and 1965. Unlike in the previous period when nearly all parks were sited in the periphery, playgrounds were sited in both the center and the periphery. Also, a locational investigation of these parks' locations using Google Maps showed that several of them, like Gilmore Park, Jefferson Parks, and General Herkimer Park, are playlots that are tucked next to schools or housing projects in different parts of the city.

According to the inventory of parks in this study, Utica continued to create small playgrounds after 1965, but two new types of parks were also established in this period. The first one is the passive vest-pocket park, and Hanna Park and Kopernik Memorial Park belong to this category. Both of them are green open spaces with no play area. Hanna Park has a water fountain in the center and lawn chairs for people to relax. Kopernik Memorial has a memorial statue in the middle of the park. Therefore, they do not belong to the playground category of parks. Instead, they are most similar to the public squares from the 19th century. These parks undeniably have the suggested small size characteristic of Cranz's Open Space Era parks. Since Utica's Open Space Era parks were created after 1975, I argue that the Open System Era in Utica began in 1975 rather than 1965.

The other new type of park is the nature preserve, which is represented by the Utica Marsh, established in 1970. Spatially, the park is large and peripheral. In fact, Utica Marsh is the second biggest park in Utica today. Utica Marsh is a restored Wildlife Management Area that seems to fit into the Sustainable Park's characteristics described in Cranz and Bolan's (2004) article.

Syracuse

Before 1850, parks in Syracuse were mainly in the form of small public squares or triangles at major street intersections. Fayette Park, created in 1827, was the very first park in Syracuse. It was initially called the Center

Square, and it was literally the center of the city. As Syracuse expanded, Forman Park and Washington Square Park were built at the city's new major intersections.

Such a pattern of park development seems to persist in the second half of the century, through the 1880s. More pocket squares, even smaller than their predecessors, were created. Previously, an acre seems to have been the minimum standard for the size of a square. However, after 1850, several of the new squares were only about 0.1 acre. Locationally, these small squares were distributed in areas around the city center. None of them were within 500 meters of the city limit. One park that stands out from the list is the privately donated Walnut Park. The park was the largest and farthest away from the city center of all.

Table 3. Inventory of parks in Syracuse (PS= Public Square; PG= Pleasure Ground; P= Playground; PP= Passive Pocket Park; NP= Nature Preserve).

Year	Name	Type	Size (ac)	Per*	Year	Name	Type	Size (ac)	Per*
1827	Firefighters	PS	1.2	No	1922	Wadsworth	P	7.67	Yes
1839	Forman	PS	1.3	No	1925	James Pass Arboretum	PG	13.8	Yes
1839	Washington Square	PS	3.22	No	1925	Mcchesney	P	4.13	Yes
1859	Armory Square	PS	1	No	1927	Elmwood	PG	65	Yes
1867	Billings	PS	0.14	No	1928	Bruce Street	P	0.25	Yes
≈1860	Leavenworth	PS	3.5	No	1929	Sunnycrest	P	45.9	Yes
≈ 1860	Ashland	PS	0.15	No	≈ 1930	Grace & Messena	P	0.45	No
1868	Grosso	PS	0.9	No	1920-57	Westmoreland	P	2.28	Yes
1870	Walnut	PS	4.4	No	1920-69	Sheridan	P	1.2	Yes
1873-95	Amos	PS	0.12	No	1933	Pitts	P	0.07	No
1880	Hanover Square	PS	0.1	No	1935	Loguen	P	1.5	No
1886	Burnet	PG	88	Yes	1935	Pulasko & Kusciusko	P	0.77	No
1890	Westminster	PG	4.78	No	1938	Morningside Heights	PG	38	No
1895	Columbus Circle	PS	0.16	No	1940	Comfort Tyler	P	3.22	No
1897	Union	PS	3	No	1941	Homer Wheaton	P	11.4	Yes
1898	Lincoln	PG	19.23	No	1942-57	Sherman	P	2.2	Yes
1900	Onondaga Upper	PG	67	Yes	1949	Meachem Field Valley	P	19.2	Yes
1901	Schiller	PG	37.4	Yes	1951	Skiddy	P	2.75	No
1905	Schlosser	P	0.25	No	1957	Barry	P	15.3	Yes
1907	Onondaga Lower	PG	15.6	Yes	1958-73	Highland	P	0.83	No
1909	Frazer	P	5.7	No	1967	Heath	NP	30.6	Yes
1910	Clinton Square	PS	0.55	No	1969	Cummings Field	P	4.66	Yes
1910	Kirk	P	33	Yes	1970	Rand Tract	NP	95	Yes
1910	Faldo	P	0.225	No	1971	Onondaga Geddes	P	0.9	No
≈ 1915	Van Duyn Field	P	12.15	Yes	1977	Ormond Spencer	P	7	No
≈ 1915	Alvord	P	0.35	Yes	1983	Roesler	P	2.63	No
≈ 1915	Eastwood Hgt	P	4.5	Yes	1987	Franklin Square	P	0.9	No
≈ 1915	Gray Avenue	P	0.5	Yes	1990	Mckinley	P	7.77	No
≈ 1915	Huntington	P	4.65	Yes	1992	Perseverance	PP	0.4	No
1920	Lewis	P	3.15	Yes	1994	Stone Throwers	PP	0.1	No
1921	Thornden	PG	76	No					

*Peripheral location

After 1886, a transition in park-planning era in Syracuse is apparent in the type of parks added to the list. Larger parks with more irregular shapes and peripheral locations were established. Looking at their sizes, locations, and shapes it is inarguable that they were designed and planned differently from the former parks, and they fit well into the Pleasure Ground Park categorization. If we connect the shift of spatial characteristics to Cranz and Tuason's frameworks, Burnet Park, which was established in 1886, seems to mark the beginning of the Pleasure Ground Era or the Victorian Park Era in Syracuse. However, it is also important to note that, during this period, the city still created two more small public squares, Columbus Circle and Union Park. Therefore, it may be more appropriate to characterize this time frame as a transitional period in Syracuse when the city developed both small public squares and large Pleasure Ground parks.

The twenty new parks between 1900 and 1930 were a mixture of different types of parks. They had varying sizes, shapes, and locations. In size, they range from 0.25 acre to 65 acres. The variety of types of parks being developed at the time suggests that there was no one dominant kind of park-thinking in Syracuse in the first three decades of the 20th century. The four biggest parks, Schiller Park, Elmwood Park, Thornden Park, and Sunnycrest Park, all have very similar spatial characteristics to Burnet Park, Lincoln Park, and Onondaga Upper Park from the previous era. It is apparent that those three big parks and Onondaga Lower Park (an expansion of Onondaga Upper Park) were designed as Pleasure Ground parks. The fact that the creation dates of these four parks span over the three decades indicates that the influence of Pleasure Ground Era's park-thinking was not over yet. Likewise, a careful examination of the locations of small parks in relation to street showed that the city continued to create small public squares until about 1915. Alvord Park, Schlosser Park, and Clinton Square were all located at intersections of streets or along major roads.

Taking into account all of the different types of parks being created, the transitional period of the city creating both public square and Pleasure Ground parks seems to continue until around 1909 when Syracuse created its first playground, Frazer Park. Then, between 1909 and roughly 1915, the city developed all these three types of parks. Roughly in 1915, Syracuse entered another period when it created mostly playgrounds, while still establishing a few more Pleasure Ground Parks.

In terms of location, unlike in the previous era when the majority of parks were in the city center, 15 out of the 20 parks were either within 500 meters or outside of Syracuse's city limit in 1900. I found that the significant change of centrality of parks' locations could be attributed to the fact that the city created fewer public squares and more peripheral Pleasure Ground parks and playgrounds.

In the next three decades, while there was no one dominant set of spatial characteristics of the new parks (parks with varying sizes and locations were created), nearly all newly created parks in Syracuse between 1930 and 1965 were playgrounds. As in Utica, their different sizes are more reflections of which type of playgrounds they are, playgrounds for small children or sports fields. Locationally, they were not as peripheral as those from the previous period, with nearly half of them not within 500 meters of the city limit in 1920. The small playgrounds are pretty dispersed in both the center and periphery of the city, whereas the large sports fields were all in the periphery.

There are many similarities between park development in Syracuse and in Utica after 1965. In this period, Syracuse kept developing playgrounds with varying sizes, seeming to continue beyond the 1990s, but it also created two new types of parks. As in Utica, nature preserve parks began to be established in Syracuse in this period. The 30.6-acre Heath Park and 95-acre Rand Tract Park are both peripheral nature preserve parks that were created in 1967 and 1970 respectively. Syracuse also began to develop small passive vest-pocket parks in this period: Franklin Square Park, Perseverance Park, and Stone Throwers Park. However, such parks did not emerge until around 1990, according to my inventory of data. Further study would be needed to confirm when passive pocket parks began to be established.

Buffalo

Only two parks were developed in Buffalo before 1870: Niagara Square and Lafayette Square. Niagara Square was the focal point of Buffalo when the city was first established in the early 19th century (Kowsky and Francis, 2013).

The period between 1870 and 1900 may be characterized as the Pleasure Ground Era in Buffalo's park development history. The number of parks in Buffalo increased significantly, and the spatial characteristics of those parks that belong to the park system, to a large extent, conform to Cranz and Tuason's spatial characterizations of the Pleasure Ground Era and Victorian Era parks. In this period, Frederick Law Olmsted designed the city's famous park system and created six major Pleasure Ground parks: Delaware Park, Front Park, Humboldt Park, Cazenovia Park, South Park, and Riverside Park.[6 7] These parks are large. In fact, Delaware Park, Cazenovia, and South Park are still among the biggest parks in Buffalo today. There is no other period in Buffalo's park-planning history when the city created as many large parks.

While only half of these large parks were located in the city periphery according to my methodology as the rest were not within 1000 meters of the city's political boundary, a closer examination of the density of the built-up area in Buffalo reveals that these parks were actually at the edges of built-up areas in Buffalo in that period. In the second half of the 19th century, Buffalo was an overbounded city, meaning that its political boundary covers a much larger area than its actual built-up area. Unlike in Utica and Syracuse where city boundaries expanded gradually over time, the extension of Buffalo's city limits happened much more dramatically. In 1854, the geographical area located within the city limit increased by nearly 40 square miles, which was more than ten times the original size, in anticipation of future growth. Thus, for a long time after the dramatic expansion of the city limits in 1854, there was

Table 4. Inventory of parks in Buffalo (PS= Public Square; PG= Pleasure Ground; P= Playground; PP= Passive Pocket Park; NP= Nature Preserve).

Year	Name	Type	Size (ac)	Per*	Year	Name	Type	Size (ac)	Per*
1805	Niagara Square	PS	1.9	No	≈ 1949	Roosevelt	P	5.5	Yes
1831	Lafayette Square	PS	0.8	No	≈ 1949	Shoshone	P	15.7	Yes
1873	Delaware	PG	359	No	≈ 1950	Dewey	P	4.3	No
1873	Front	PG	32.0	No	≈ 1950	Fr. Conway	P	13.8	No
1873	MLK, Jr.	PG	56.0	No	≈ 1960	Glenny	P	8.5	No
1876	Columbus	PS	3.8	No	≈ 1960	Hank Nowak	P	3.7	No
1894	Cazenovia	PG	203	Yes	≈ 1960	Hillery	P	9.4	Yes
1894	South Park	PG	155	Yes	≈ 1960	Ramsdell	P	2.0	Yes
1899	Riverside	PG	37.0	Yes	1963	J.H. Williams	P	6.0	Yes
1907	Moselle Street	P	0.7	No	≈ 1962	John F. Kennedy	P	21.5	No
≈ 1908	Lanigan	P	4.1	No	> 1965	Erie Hills	PP	1.8	No
≈ 1910	Hennepin	P	6.7	Yes	> 1965	Fireman's Park	PP	1.1	No
≈ 1910	Arlington	P	0.7	No	> 1965	Minnesota Linear Park	NP	15.0	Yes
≈ 1910	Willert	P	2.3	No	> 1965	Sisti	PP	0.3	No
≈ 1910	Sperry	P	2.9	No	> 1965	Allison	P	2.1	No
≈ 1910	Seneca Indian	P	1.6	Yes	> 1965	Manhattan	P	15.4	No
≈ 1915	Sheldon Park	P	1.2	Yes	> 1965	4th St	P	7.7	Yes
1915	Emerson Young	P	15.2	No	> 1965	Five Flags Park	PP	1.1	No
1919	Butler	P	2.7	Yes	> 1965	Durant	P	3.0	No
≈ 1920	Houghton	P	52.0	Yes	> 1965	Eddie Dawson	P	1.9	No
≈ 1925	Collins	P	2.5	No	> 1965	George Washington	P	3.5	Yes
1927	Mulroy	P	7.6	No	> 1965	Maritime Memorial	PP	0.4	No
1930	Schiller	P	37.0	Yes	> 1965	Sole	P	0.3	Yes
≈ 1932	Brookdale	P	2.2	Yes	> 1965	Walden	P	20.8	Yes
1932	LaSalle	P	33.0	Yes	> 1965	Franczyk	P	15.6	No
≈ 1935	Okell	P	6.4	Yes	> 1965	Bristol Emslie	P	0.3	No
≈ 1935	Scajaquada	P	3.8	No	1966	Kingsley	P	2.2	No
≈ 1935	Lang-Weber	P	2.0	Yes	1969	Florida Northland	P	1.9	No
1935-60	Rev. J Eckridge	P	1.7	No	1970	Trinidad	PP	3.9	No
1935-60	Bailey-Moreland	P	2.2	No	≈ 1970	Cathedral	PP	0.5	No
1935-60	Barrett	P	2.5	Yes	1972	Tifft	P	20.1	Yes
1935-60	H. D. Taylor	P	3.4	No	1972	Tifft Farms	NP	264	Yes
1935-60	Lincoln	P	2.3	No	1972	McCarthy	P	36.6	No
1935-60	Redmond	P	8.6	No	1978	Naval and Veteran's	PP	2.5	No
≈ 1938	Mungovan	P	16.2	No	≈ 1985	Jesse Kregal Trail	NP	13.5	No
1941	Emerson	P	6.9	No	≈ 1990	Perkins	P	2.5	No
1948-60	Broderick	P	2.8	Yes					

a large gap between the city limit and the built-up area in Buffalo. From Figure 2, we can observe that the parks mainly lie beyond the area with dense street grids. Furthermore, Olmsted's deliberate decision to place his parks in peripheral locations is also reflected in the sites of the additions to the system about two decades later. Cazenovia Park, South Park, McClellan & McKinley Circles, and Riverside Park were all located in the southernmost section of Buffalo, within 1000 meters of the city limit.

The turn of the century marked the end of the Pleasure Ground Era in Buffalo. Between 1900 and 1930, the city developed playgrounds with varying sizes and locations. The three biggest from this period-- Schiller, Emerson Young, and Houghton parks-- were designed as playgrounds and sports fields, not Pleasure Ground parks (The Public, 2016).[8] Buffalo also began to create parks that were smaller than an acre, like Moselle Street Park and Arlington Park. These newly created parks in this period were widely distributed throughout the city, with half of them in the center and the other half in the periphery.

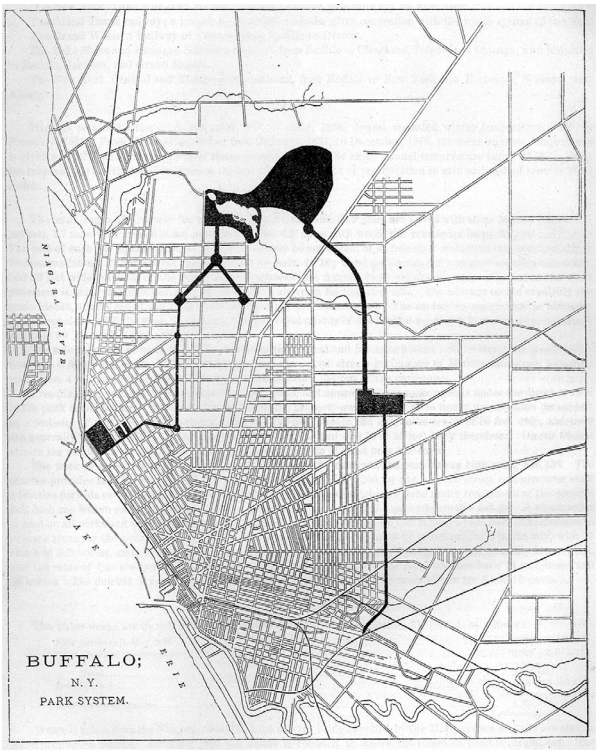

Figure 2. Buffalo park system map, 1880 (Source: BuffaloResearch.com).

Between 1930 and 1965, there was no considerable change in park-development in Buffalo. The spatial characteristics of parks created in these years are more or less the same as those from the previous 30 years. New parks in Buffalo were still in the form of playgrounds and sports fields of various sizes. It is interesting that the park development in Buffalo demonstrates the same pattern with the other two cities of creating large sports fields around 1960s. Roughly in 1962, Buffalo developed the 21.5 acre John F. Kennedy Park right next to a school. Buffalo developed several more such large sports fields after 1965. A seemingly crucial aspect of park locations in this period is equitable distribution. New playgounds and sports fields were sited throughout the city fabric, both in the center and peripheral locations. Whether the locations of these parks were carefully planned by the government or not, they covered most sections of the city that seemed to be underserved by parks from the previous periods.

The spatial patterns of newly created parks in Buffalo after 1965 resemble those of the other two cities. Buffalo kept developing playgrounds with various sizes after 1965, but it also began to developed passive vest-pocket parks and several nature preserves or trails. Because creation dates of most passive vest-pocket parks in Buffalo are not documented, at least from all of my data sources, I could not provide an estimate of when exactly this type of park began flourishing in the city. Additionally, like in Utica and in Syracuse Buffalo established a large nature preserve, Tifft Farms Nature Preserve, in 1972. These parks were located all over the city, but their locations seem to be strongly correlated to their sizes, with small vest-pocket parks in the center and larger parks more in the periphery. This can be an indicator of the increasing competition for land in the city center, which is mentioned in Cranz's discussion of the Open System Era chapter.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

While Cranz (1982), Cranz & Bolan (2004), and Tuason (1997) identify locational characteristics of different types of urban parks accurately, their frameworks are not as precise in predicting the locational histories of urban parks in these three cities (Figure 3). The locational history of urban parks in Buffalo indeed seems to follow the timeframe provided by theoretical frameworks fairly closely between 1850 and 1965. However, the locational characteristics of urban parks developed in both Utica and Syracuse in that time frame deviate from the frameworks

to a certain extent. In both cities, Pleasure Ground parks were not established until close to 1900. Instead of between 1850 and 1900, large and peripheral Pleasure Ground Parks in Utica and Syracuse were all created roughly between 1900 and 1930, at the same time when small playgrounds were flourishing throughout the cities. Considering Syracuse and Utica are relatively smaller cities than Buffalo, this finding raises a question of whether the difference in sizes may be a factor causing the time lags. This can also be a manifestation of unique interactions between the politics, economics, and culture of park planning in different American cities as described by Dooling, Simon & Yocom (2006). It is important to note, though, that the similarity between Buffalo's locational history of urban parks with that the time frames provided on the frameworks may derive from the fact that Buffalo had one of the most comprehensive park plans among American cities at the time, and the plan was developed by Olmsted himself. (Kowsky & Olenick, 2013).

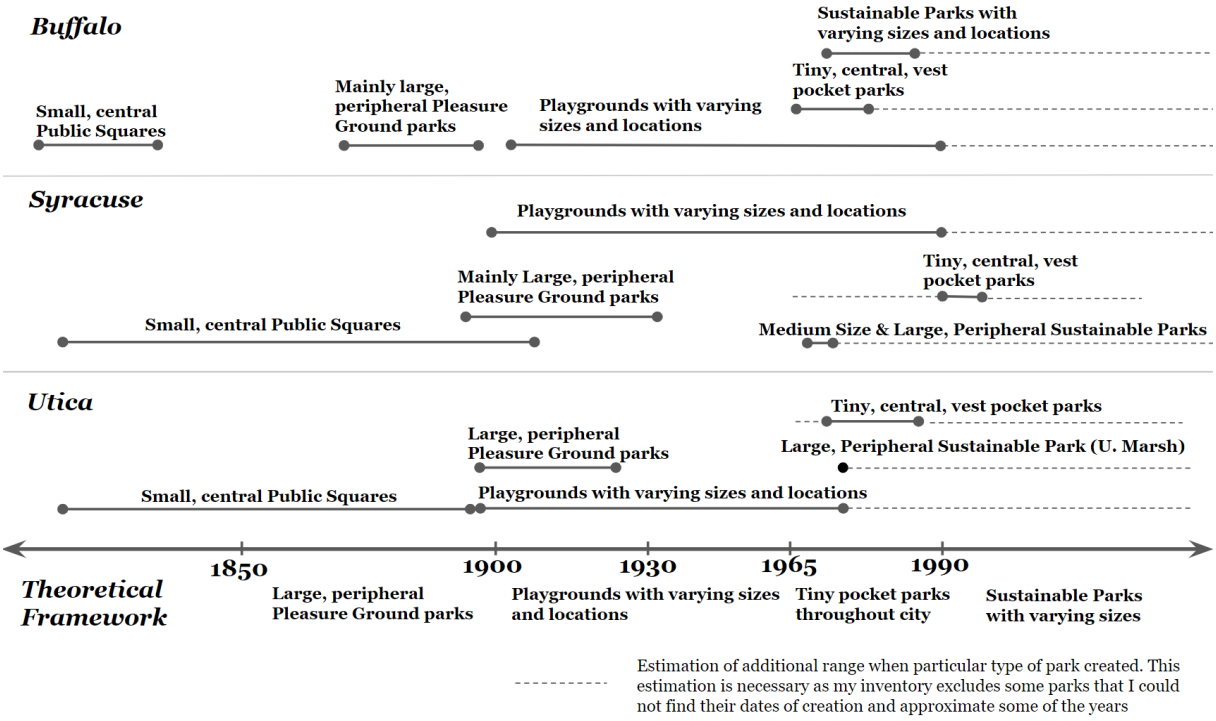

Figure 3. Locational characteristics of parks being developed in each city in different time ranges from 1800 to 1990 in comparison with the theoretical framework of this study.

Cranz and Bolan (2004) also seemed to propose a fairly delayed beginning date of the Sustainable Park Era. All three cities in my case studies established nature preserves and/or nature trails that fit into the category of Sustainable Park since roughly 1970, not 1990. I would argue that 1970 is probably a more accurate starting year of the Sustainable Park era as Cranz and Bolan (2004) determined their year based on when leading landscape architecture journals began to feature many sustainable parks in their publications rather than the actual years when those parks emerged in American cities. Additionally, my investigation of the locational characteristics of sustainable parks in the three cities confirms that sustainable parks vary in sizes from roughly just 15 acres to hundreds of acres. Regarding peripherality, they are mainly located in the city periphery.

Not less important, this study identifies a potential additional park planning era that is not captured in the existing frameworks. As shown in Figure 4, small public squares in city centers were the predominant form of public space or parks in the 19th century. Surprisingly, Tuason (1997) does not mention anything related to those public squares that came before large parks. While Cranz (1982) does mention such types of open spaces briefly in her book saying, "Before the municipal park movement, city parks were typically small squares landscaped in formal Beaux-Arts style," she does not elaborate on the point beyond that and completely excludes them from her four periodizations. My datasets show that six such public squares were established in Utica, at least ten of them in Syracuse, and two in

Buffalo before 1900. The seemingly significant presence of these public squares, especially in smaller cities like Utica and Syracuse, indicates that it would be appropriate to add another park-planning periodization before Cranz's Pleasure Ground Era and Tuason's Victorian Era, in a period that could be called the "Public Square Era."

In a larger picture, my close examination of locational characteristics of urban parks in three upstate New York Cities provides a concrete illustration of how changes in social constructions of the functions of urban parks and geographical patterns of where urban parks were located are intertwined to a large extent. The changing perceived roles and meanings of parks in the United States have undeniably driven the establishment of different types of parks-- public square, Pleasure Ground park, playground, vest-pocket park, sustainable park-- that have different spatial characteristics in the American urban landscape. Even though the existing theoretical frameworks of urban park thinking may need some refinements, and they may not give a highly accurate portrayal of urban park development in different American cities year by year, we can definitely observe a general trend of park development history that roughly follows the type and locational sequences presented in the frameworks.

A follow-up study could address some limitations of this project, including missing creation dates for many small playgrounds and vest-pocket parks and methodology to decide whether a park is in the center or periphery. Many small parks that were created in the second half of the 20th century are not included in my inventory because I could not find their creation dates from my sources. Consequently, my identification of the beginning of the Open Space System era to be not precise. Moreover, as described in the previous section, the case of newly established parks in Buffalo in the second half of the 19th century demonstrates a limitation in my way of determining the centrality or peripherality of a park's location. The extent of the built-up area seems to be a more appropriate variable to use to determine the peripherality of a park rather than the city's political boundary.

Future studies should observe other locational characteristics more closely, such as proximity to schools, public housing or major avenues, slope, elevation, and shape. Also, since the time frame of this study ends in 1990, future studies should investigate the dominant locational characteristics of parks that have been established more recently, and analyze how they compare with the characteristics associated with Sustainable parks or other types. A study on spatial characteristics of recently established urban parks can be valuable for understanding an aspect of how American cities are evolving today.

ENDNOTES

[1]See p.83 in Cranz (1982)
[2]See p.143 in Cranz (1982)
[3]None of the texts used to frame this study provide clear or explicit definitions of the term "park."
[4]I identified 2 major expansions of the political boundary in Utica, 3 in Syracuse, and 1 in Buffalo during the study period.
[5]Unless specified, the word "playground(s)" in this paper refers to both playground(s) for small children and sports fields. Sports fields have recreational facilities for older people, such as baseball diamonds, basketball fields, soccer fields, etc.
[6] Humboldt Park is now known as Martin Luther King Jr. Park
[7] The park system that Olmsted planned consisted of different types of parks: pleasure ground parks, circles, and parkways. However, as described in the previous section, my lists of parks exclude circles and parkways
[8]Search for coverage from Buffalo Evening News in 1925 about Emerson Young and Houghton parks on Fulton Search (https://fultonsearch.org/)

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