

11.0 Political/Social Welfare

11.1 Introduction

This section deals with social organizations, including the Public Works Administration, the Works Progress Association, and the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, along with other mid-century political and social policies including housing projects and urban renewal. As a result of policies promoting racial segregation, civil rights protests and riots also occurred in sections of Cuyahoga County during this time period.

11.2 Local Social Organizations

The 1930s was a time of regeneration in America's social and political sphere. As the country was recovering from the Great Depression, socioeconomic policies set forth by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal program were put in place to alleviate the financial crisis brought on by the Stock Market Crash of 1929. The Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, later known by the Public Works Administration (PWA), began in June of 1933 as one of the nation's first policies enacted to promote private-sector employment and stabilize the economy through infrastructure development. The PWA was responsible for funding the construction of public infrastructure and buildings.

The Works Progress Administration (WPA), established in September of 1935, sponsored a variety public works projects administered by the Division of Engineering and Construction and the Division of Professional and Service Projects to help stabilize the American economy through job growth. The WPA provided jobs to unemployed and unskilled workers, including those associated with the arts by hiring artists, musicians, actors, and writers. The WPA funded the Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP) and created the Federal Art Project (FAP) to couple art installations with publicly funded projects. In Cleveland, murals often depicted a "Cleveland Scene", illustrating city life focused on the

waterfront, transportation infrastructure, and blue-collar industries (Donnelly 2013:62).

When the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) was established in 1933, it was the nation's first local housing authority. The first public housing projects were funded through the PWA, owned by the Federal government, and operated by CMHA. Ernest J. Bohn, who briefly served in the Ohio General Assembly and was city council chairman of the Committee on Housing, was director of CMHA from its founding until 1968 (Keating, et al. 1995:228). Bohn had a conflicting tenure as director, regarding unfair housing policies that stemmed from racial segregation and discrimination. CMHA sustained exclusionary housing practices, as did many other metropolitan housing authorities in the United States. By implementing "racial tokenism" through their tenant policies, CMHA could maintain housing segregation without having an official race policy (Donnelly 2013:58).

Construction on the first three housing projects, began in 1935 and concluded in 1937, and included Outhwaite Homes, located between East 40th and East 46th streets and Scovill and Woodland Avenues; Cedar-Central Apartments, between East 22nd and East 30th streets and Cedar and Central avenues; and Lakeview Terrace, located at West 28th Street near the Main Avenue Bridge (Miller and Wheeler 1997:141). The construction of these 1,849 low-income housing units was directly linked to the declining condition of Cleveland's rental-housing market, where landlords of privately-owned buildings would refuse to maintain and repair properties accommodating poor and black residents because these city-dwellers had such limited housing options (Michney 2007: 943). Of the three public housing estates, as they were called, both Cedar-Central Apartments and Lakeview Terrace were constructed with the intention of white-only occupancy, while Outhwaite was

built to house Cleveland's African American residents (Michney 2007:935).

CMHA's first official housing project was Valleyview Homes (ca. 1940), in which the organization functioned as both the owners and operators of the estate. Valleyview Homes was constructed on 32-acres in the Tremont neighborhood, located on the south side of Cleveland, where Starkweather Avenue meets West 7th Street (CPD 1940:16). The second official CMHA public housing development was Woodhill Homes, completed in 1941 at the former site of Luna Park, a once popular amusement park that closed in 1931 (Donnelly 2013:61). Woodhill Homes, bound by Woodhill Road and Mt. Caramel Road, and Woodland Avenue S.E. and East 110th Street, cost an estimated \$3,500,000 and covered 26 acres of land, which was comprised 63 unadorned buildings and a large community garden block (CPD 1939a:11; Donnelly 2013:61). A third estate, Carver Park Apartments, was also completed ca. 1940. Carver Park Apartments was constructed strictly for black occupancy, while Valleyview and Woodhill Homes only allowed white families to rent units. Historical documentation of Carver Park is limited, with no advertisements found in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, affirming CMHA's concerns over publicizing black-concentrated estates and, in the same regard, their refusal to integrate public housing sites.

Prior to the construction of Valleyview Homes, the site was partially-vacant and included an undeveloped hillside, a deteriorating playground, and about 250 dilapidated homes (CPD 1940:16). The families displaced by the construction were reintegrated into the community once Valleyview Homes opened for tenancy. Work began ca. 1939, with one- and two-story brick rowhouses to be occupied by 582 families. Units were an average of \$20.50 for a four-bedroom unit. These new rowhouse building types replaced apartment-type dwellings that, to date, had been common in public housing developments. Advertised as modern, comfortable dwellings with 72

buildings occupying only 16 percent of the entire site, the project was said to be an "uplift to the neighborhood", and include numerous gardens and playgrounds, as well as a community building and residential units decorated and furnished by the WPA and Goodwill Industries (CPD 1939b:16).

Architects of the 568-unit, white-only occupancy, Woodhill complex was the firm of Abram Garfield (President James A. Garfield's son), Harris, Robinson & Schaefer with decorations and furnishings provided by the WPA (Donnelly 2013:61). With compositional techniques derived from Beaux-Arts style architecture, the Woodhill Community Center building marked the center of the estate in which the residential buildings "radiated symmetrically from the central axis, pivoting toward the community center, or faced each other – engaging with the surrounding streets" (Donnelly 2013:62). Elements of the International architectural style were reflected in the community building, with the use of "bold forms, terraces, and stark lack of ornament" (Donnelly 2013:62). The community center held "a large gymnasium-auditorium, nursery school, and meeting rooms" (CPD 1941:1). Much of Valleyview Homes was demolished in 1990 to make way for the construction of I-490 with the remaining buildings torn down in 2004 to make way for the Tremont Pointe housing project. The Woodhill complex still exists in its original location and maintains its function as a Cleveland public housing complex. In 1995, CMHA conducted a major rehabilitation effort on the complex. This resource is recommended for future survey to assess its historic integrity.



Figure 11-1. Valleyview Homes, 1940 (Cleveland Press Collection, Michael Schwartz Library, Cleveland State University).

11.3 Wartime Workers in Cuyahoga County

The City of Cleveland, like many other northern United States cities, experienced a dramatic population increase during World War II to accommodate booming wartime industries and their associated enterprises. Both African Americans and Appalachian whites traveled north seeking wartime employment (OHC 2017f). Both demographic groups left the South with the hope of finding better jobs and achieve a higher standard of living (Johnson 2006:7). Although many African Americans and Appalachians moved to northeast Ohio, Appalachians were found to have migrated to Akron, rather than Cleveland, because Akron’s rubber manufacturers specifically sought them out, particularly when the Southern mountain states fell into economic plight in the 1950s and 1960s (Johnson 2006:16). By 1970, almost half the population of Akron was of Appalachian heritage (Johnson 2006:16-17). Because Appalachian migration was so limited in Cleveland, the remaining sections will focus on the African American population.

As observed in the population statistics presented in Table 4, the Second Great Migration resulted in large numbers of African

Americans from the south migrating to northern cities between 1940 and 1970. By the end of the First Great Migration, between 1910-1940, the total black population accounted for almost 10 percent of the total population of Cleveland; however, by 1970, that number increased to almost 40 percent and an overall population increase of approximately 200,000 African American residents. “In-migration”, as the movement was also called, was particularly difficult for African Americans because they arrived in cities where they were overtly treated as outsiders, facing judgment and displacement based on their race. While blacks were treated a bit more humanely in the north than the south, institutionalized segregation and discrimination was prevalent in Cleveland (Michney 2007:937).

Table 4. Cleveland’s Black Population v. Total Population between 1900 and 1970 by Decade

Year	Total Population	Black Population	Black Percentage %
1900	381,768	8,448	2.21
1920	796,741	34,451	4.3
1930	900,492	71,899	8
1940	878,336	84,504	9.6
1950	914,808	147,847	16.83
1960	876,050	250,818	27.42
1970	750,903	287,841	38.33

Source: *Black Americans in Cleveland*, Russell H. Davis; 1972

African Americans who came from the south to Cuyahoga County seeking wartime employment came with a variety of challenges. While more employment opportunities were available in the north with higher wages they were typically paid less than whites and were not able to make “significant inroads into well-paid, better paying skilled war production jobs until the available white (male) workers had been

placed" (Michney 2007:936). A CMHA report in 1944 stated:

"Because the work was unpleasant, heavy, dirty, hot, and with low wages, practically no one would take a foundry job except in-migrant Negroes. Because of the nature of the work the turnover in personnel was staggering" (Michney 2007:936).

Due to the influx of in-migrant workers, housing for wartime workers was difficult to find. Prior to entering World War II, 90 percent of blacks in Cleveland were concentrated in a small downtown corridor that stretched Cedar and Central avenues from East 14th Street to East 105th Street (Michney 2007:937). The pressure to find housing during the war was exacerbated by Cleveland's deteriorating housing stock and wartime demands making it difficult to secure materials for necessary repairs, particularly for black tenants who "had to devote a proportionately larger share of their income toward rent for inferior accommodations" (Michney 2007:937).

Private and public building owners responded to the housing shortage in Cleveland by splitting up single and double apartments into 'kitchenettes' to create shared bathroom and cooking facilities to allow for greater, albeit much denser, occupancy (Michney 2007:937).

One editorial in Cleveland's black-run newspaper, the *Call & Post*, on January 18, 1941, described living conditions as inhumane, proclaiming, "no community can permit a large number of its citizens to be ill-housed without paying the price for their neglect." In these communities, it was found that unsanitary dwellings and ignored concerns from renters resulted in a lower quality of life. Increased crime and the declining health of black residents were found to be directly correlated to the unsuitable, slum-like, housing conditions (Michney 2007:938).

11.4 Temporary and Semi-Permanent Public Housing

The federal government's approach to remedy overcrowded housing facilities in Cleveland was to introduce defense and temporary wartime housing projects. Efforts by CMHA to do the same resulted in public housing extensions as 'defense housing.' Here, CMHA offered 'graded-rents,' where a percentage of a defense worker's income would go towards the cost of housing. The Outhwaite Homes Extension, completed in 1941, was the first CMHA to offer graded-rents. "By the end of 1942, defense workers had priority in all CMHA estates, and graded rents were the standard policy" (Michney 2007:939).

Temporary wartime housing was a common solution to the housing concerns caused by increased populations in northern cities during World War II throughout the country. Enacted in 1946, the Lanham Act of the Emergency Defense Housing Program was initiated to remedy the housing issues, along with other community needs, associated with an influx of wartime work for defense industries. Financed by the federal government, and managed by city-specific housing authorities, temporary units were constructed hastily, using sub-par materials and providing the bare minimum necessary for habitability. The idea was for these structures to be removed following the war, which provided CMHA with the opportunity to use temporary dwellings to "meet the continuing need within the respective communities", as CMHA Director Ernest Bohn said in reference to black wartime workers. Bohn's efforts to continually oppress blacks was successful and, while limited to the war years, CMHA's permanent housing facilities was limited to mostly white occupancy (Michney 2007:937).

Many city officials realized that CMHA's temporary wartime housing efforts did not meet the current needs. During World War II, the federal government's solution to the overabundance of in-migrant wartime employees in Cleveland was to set up mobile

homes managed by CMHA on sites near the Cedar-Central and the Kinsman-East 79th Street areas, called Kinsman Homes and Woodland Dwellings (Michney 2007:943). Kinsman Homes was the first to open in January 1944 after the “completion of 12 of 20 temporary mobile war housing units.” Rent cost \$32 per month, including water and electric utilities, for a two-bedroom unit with a joint living and dining room and a kitchen with a combined laundry tub and ice box (CPD 1944:6). Tenants were required to purchase their own hot water heaters, kerosene for the kitchen stove, and oil for space heaters. Kinsman Homes was the first temporary mobile home site in the country, and grew to contain 120 mobile units and a playground. By 1945, 447 more temporary mobile war homes were completed in Cleveland (Michney 2007:943).

A total of 440 semi-permanent homes were planned in 1943 for Seville Homes, which were to be constructed within existing African American enclaves. City officials, including Ernest Bohn of CMHA, deemed these communities as “negro slums,” and therefore, could be raised to make way for further public housing developments (Michney 2007:944).

African Americans residing in these areas and opponents of the project disagreed with Bohn’s statements, and made several unsuccessful attempts to stop the development. Not everyone who opposed the Seville Homes project empathized with African Americans, however. Many white residents of nearby communities, such as Maple Heights and Garfield Heights, foresaw the potential post-war failures of the project and believed that blight was inevitable (Michney 2007:944). These negative sentiments derived from the knowledge that these semi-permanent residences were not built to last. The assumption that black occupancy, coupled with the inevitable deterioration of Seville Home buildings, would lower property values within adjacent communities. By 1944, the first 150 homes of the controversial Seville Homes public housing project were ready for occupancy (Michney 2007:945). “Ultimately

outlasting the war for more than a decade, surviving newsletters from these improvised communities leave the impression that they were remarkably well-planned, organized, and cohesive, with a variety of recreational and social offerings” (Michney 2007:946). Kinsman and Seville Homes had a community center that offered various athletic, recreational, educational, and social activities, while residents of Woodland Dwellings had access to similar services through local athletic facilities (Michney 2007:946).

11.5 Urban Renewal

As expected, much of the temporary mobile war housing stock, as well as many permanent and semi-permanent buildings were noticeably deteriorating by the late 1940s. The federal urban renewal program came out of the Housing Act of 1949, in an attempt to address urban blight, and continued through freeway development in the United States, as a result of the Federal Highway Act of 1956 (Miller and Wheeler 1997:160). In post-war, post-industrial Cleveland, the decline of urban neighborhoods stimulated suburbanization, as mostly white middle-class Clevelanders fled the squalor of the city to build a new life in the Cuyahoga County suburbs.



Figure 11-2. 1955 view of the Cedar Apartments Extension urban renewal project (Cleveland Press Collection, Michael Schwartz Library, Cleveland State University).

The socioeconomic decline of the post-war city drew the attention of city officials who deemed run-down urban areas ‘ghettos’ or ‘slums,’ simply because of the demographic residing in those communities. The growing concern of the physical, social, and economic downgrade in 1950s Cleveland provided the government with an opportunity to impose eminent domain for the demolition of dilapidated building stock. The effects of eminent domain were quite destructive to the social and economic welfare of low-income citizens living in these blighted areas. Notwithstanding, urban renewal encouraged leveling these communities for redevelopment and was done without regard to the displacement of countless residents. While construction of public housing was initially used to relieve the city of dilapidated buildings and infrastructure, urban renewal created large-

scale improvements to the dwindling economy of the metropolitan area; however, urban renewal projects resulted in social repercussions, including the dismantling of entire, long-standing communities.

Urban renewal projects in the city combined commercial and residential developments but often focused on one type of land-use over another. As many of the housing-oriented urban renewal plans, such as the Longwood, Garden Valley, and University-Euclid projects, cleared land in areas city officials deemed blighted so new housing developments could be constructed (CPD 1958a:14-A). CMHA directors Ernest Bohn and his successor Irving Kriegsfeld imbedded public housing into urban renewal plans. When Bohn retired in 1968, Kriegsfeld attempted to transform CMHA with a series of staff and policy changes, which were not welcomed by city council officials (CPD 1969a:7-B).

The first urban renewal project in Cleveland, “Area B”, later called Longwood, began in the Central neighborhood, near CMHA’s Outhwaite Homes ca. 1955. This area, between East 33rd Street and East 40th Street, and Scovill and Woodland avenues, was leveled for the urban renewal project, offering a blank slate for the new construction to begin. By 1958, 836 housing units were erected, as well as new church buildings, replacing those that were previously demolished. According to the October 5, 1958 issue of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, a shopping center was to be built on the corner of Scovill Avenue and East 40th Street (CPD 1958a:B-1). Within a year the Longwood Plaza shopping center was complete, with an advertisement in a September 1959 issue of the same newspaper promoting the opening of the A&P grocery store in the plaza (CPD 1959a:28). The total project cost was expected to exceed \$13 million dollars (CPD 1958a:B-1).

Garden Valley’s urban renewal project cost \$30 million dollars, involved many levels of land acquisition, and contained a variety of building

uses. Work began in 1957 on the project, which encompassed 247 acres fronting East 79th Street, south of Kinsman Road. Its location in the Kingsbury Run gully necessitated the clearance of CMHA's Kinsman Homes temporary wartime mobile units discussed above. The urban renewal venture contained a 'finger park', roughly 500 private dwellings, 732 CMHA housing units, a new school, a shopping center, and a large playfield accommodating tennis, basketball, baseball, and football facilities (CPD 1958a:B-1). Unfortunately, the project was not well-kept as an October 1963 article in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* disclosed the declining condition of unsanitary and unkempt Garden Valley properties, which led to a 25 percent vacancy rate and increased vandalism. "Buildings had been allowed to run down, including broken windows, defaced walls and banisters torn off their moorings in hallways. Halls were dirty, grounds littered with broken glass and little effort made to landscape" (CPD 1963a:21).

One of the more controversial urban renewal projects in Cleveland was the University-Euclid plan. Introduced in 1960, the plan roughly extended from East 55th to East 117th streets, and from Chester to Superior avenues, and was to operate under a \$16 million federal grant (CPD 1965b:1). University Circle, part of Case Western Reserve University's campus, and the Hough neighborhood constituted a large portion of the project area. In phases, the project commenced, with the first phase focused on expanding University Circle through the construction of new institutional, medical, and cultural buildings (CPD 1965c:25-A). The latter phases were intended to redevelop the residential communities in the Hough area, beyond University Circle; however, the minority community in Hough witnessed large-scale land acquisition through eminent domain without much redevelopment progress (CPD 1965c:25-A). Redevelopment occurred slowly and was eventually halted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1966, leaving the Hough landscape with countless abandoned buildings and vacant land parcels (CPD

1972:10-A). The collapse of the project angered residents of the neighborhood, and was a contributing factor to a series of riots that occurred in the Hough area in July 1966 (Keating, et al. 1995:163).

The largest commercial and institutional urban redevelopment projects in Cleveland consisted of the St. Vincent Center expansion, Erieview I and II in the immediate downtown areas, and the construction of Cuyahoga Community College's downtown campus. Achieved under the guise of slum clearance, each of these undertakings caused immense frustration among the African American population, who was forcibly removed from these communities because the plans did not account for the relocation of residents. Local residents were frustrated by the plans because, while to some extent intended for their use, they were constructed without any regard to community opposition and/or community input (Kasper, 2017).

The "Area C," also called the St. Vincent Center, urban renewal project comprised of the 118-acre site between Central and Woodland avenues, from East nineteenth to East 33rd streets (CPD 1958a:E-1). Work began in the fall of 1959 to extend the St. Vincent Charity Hospital and construct additional institutional buildings, one of which was to be the headquarters of the Boy Scouts County Council. Approximately 1,690 African American families living in dilapidated buildings were displaced, and their homes were destroyed to make way for new housing intended for higher-income tenants. Less than one-third of the families forced to relocate were offered public assistance, and the new housing units that were to accompany the hospital's urban renewal plan were never built (Kasper 2017). Furthermore, the original 1865 St. Vincent Hospital building was partially demolished to make way for the hospital's expansion. The original brick building exhibited elements the Second Empire architectural style through verticality, molded cornices supported by brackets, extensive corbeling, and Mansard roofs with dormer

windows. Modern movement style concepts were used for the hospital's new institutional buildings, seen through the use of block forms, brick veneer on exterior walls, and strip windows (Cleveland Memory Project 2017c).

The Cuyahoga Community College's downtown campus was completed in 1969 on 40 acres of land acquired and developed through urban renewal. The \$38.5 million campus was to be a "culmination of 7 years of planning and 3 years of construction" (CPD, 1969a:6-AA). The campus, filled with buildings clad in brick veneer and precast concrete, bisected Scovill Avenue at East 24th Street and was in proximity to the Longwood urban renewal development. The project angered those residing in the area prior to construction because while the college provided educational opportunities to lower-income individuals, it did so without consideration of those that were displaced (Miller and Wheeler 1997:164).

Erievue I and II completely changed the appearance of Downtown Cleveland, adopted by the city in 1960. As the largest, most expansive urban renewal project in Cleveland, it took 12-years to complete and cost \$217 million. Upon land acquisition and clearance, much of the space was for the construction of public and commercial buildings; however, residential development also occurred. Erievue I focused on commercial development, while Erievue II's plan focused on residential development (Miller and Wheeler 1997:164). Erievue I and II urban renewal plans were designed by I.M. Pei & Associates, a world renowned architectural firm that imagined soaring, International style skyscrapers with "a series of intertwining lower-level buildings" (CPD 1973:12-A). Unfortunately, the undertaking necessitated the removal of certain city landmarks, such as the Ohio National Guard Armory, the Auditorium Hotel, and dozens of other stores, shops, and restaurants. Furthermore, plans for Erievue II were never fully completed and, because the undertaking was so large, Erievue II was mostly absorbed into the already overwhelming Erievue I

project; which would later be referred to as, simply, Erievue (Miller and Wheeler 1997:164).

Erievue I, bound by East 6th and 12th streets, and Chester and Lakeside avenues; and Erievue II, bound by East 14th and East 17th streets, and Memorial Shoreway to Superior Avenue, introduced numerous International style public buildings to the downtown area (CPD 1964a:8). Some of the buildings erected in the style include, the 40-story Erievue Tower, the 30-story Federal Office Building, and the 20-story Bond Court Office Building. These government buildings exemplify the International style through features, such as, steel frame construction, glass curtain walls, and flat roofs (CUY 84031, CUY 84041, CUY84681). Erievue Tower was completed in 1964 by Turner Construction, and designed by the architect firm Harrison & Abramovitz, who incorporated a large plaza and reflecting pool in their plans (Miller and Wheeler 1997; CUY 84681). Construction for the Federal Office Building (1966) was designed by Dalton, Dalton, & Associates, architects, and constructed by Frank Briscoe Co., contractors (CUY 84031). Architects for the Bond Court Building (1971) was the firm of Skidmore, Owings, & Merrill and the building was erected by Tishman Realty & Construction Co. (CUY 84041).

The East Woodland and Gladstone, also known as "Area O," urban renewal projects focused on the development of manufacturing sites near existing industrial rail lines. The East Woodland industrial renewal plan, proposed in the late 1950s and approved in 1960, encompassed the area between East 71st and East 79th streets, and Nickel Plate Road, Platt Avenue, and the Pennsylvania Railroad (CPD 1958a:B-1). Like other urban renewal plans, the East Woodland project put pressure on the existing residential community by slating their neighborhood for demolition to make way for new development. The purpose of the East Woodland industrial renewal area was to convince manufacturing companies to continue

operating near downtown Cleveland, rather than outsourcing labor or moving to the suburbs (Saplak 2017). The Gladstone industrial renewal project area was similar in scope to the East Woodland project, including the demolition of a long-standing residential buildings. The Gladstone project extended from East 22nd to East 55th streets, from Woodland Avenue southward to Nickle Plate and the New York Central Railroad. The East Woodland and Gladstone industrial renewal projects were ultimately unsuccessful, as both sites experienced economic declines and decreased land values compared to pre-renewal levels (Miller and Wheeler 1997:162).

As with many urban renewal projects across the country, these plans had varying degrees of success. As discussed above, some plans were never fully realized even after demolition of standing buildings occurred while others ultimately provided new opportunities to the surrounding area. All projects resulted in changes to the extant landscape, including the erection of new buildings and structures, changes of land uses, and construction of new highways and interstates. Some of the changes led to more city residents relocating to the surrounding suburbs since the construction of new roadways meant more convenient routes between outlying homes and downtown businesses. While urban renewal projects were controversial then and some remain so today, their impacts upon Cuyahoga County cannot be overstated.

11.6 Civil and Political Unrest

Overt violations of civil liberties endured by African Americans between 1940 and 1970 resulted in mass protests for civil rights. Infuriated by unfair treatment and constant oppression, African Americans in the United States became more active in ending legal racial segregation in the 1950s and 1960s. Sentiments towards blacks became increasingly intolerant in the early twentieth century, which inspired many to push towards legally changing national laws created to further discriminate the

minority racial group. Efforts to overcome this plight was largely through protests inspired by the desegregation of schools, as it was the first legal step towards improving civil liberties.

In Cleveland, black residents struggling with discriminatory housing and urban renewal policies, encouraged inhabitants of the Hough neighborhood to change the dynamics of their declining communities. In the 1940s and 1950s, Hough experienced demographic changes when it shifted from a majority white middle-class to a majority black working-class neighborhood. By 1960, 75 percent of the Hough neighborhood, bounded by Superior and Euclid avenues, and East 55th to East 105th streets, was occupied by African Americans (Miller and Wheeler 1997:166).

Buildings in Hough were rapidly deteriorating, and affluent families were relocating to suburban areas through Cuyahoga County. By 1960, approximately 30 percent of black-occupied housing in the Hough and Central areas of the city was substandard or dilapidated with some people living in attics and basements of buildings as well as sheds and garages due to insufficient housing options (Moore 2002b:20). Simultaneously, Hough's black community grew larger, perpetuated by the displacement caused by the University-Euclid urban renewal plan. Concerning Hough's African American residents was congestion due to overcrowding, dilapidated infrastructure, and overall neighborhood neglect by landlords and city officials. These issues were highlighted in an July 18, 1965 article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer titled "Hough Folk Sweep Streets Because City Hall Won't" (CPD 1965d:13-AA). Moreover, housing stability was ignored by landlords who transformed single-family homes to multi-unit apartments, which increased their rental incomes while adding to the overcrowding problem of the area. Also, by the mid-1960s, 25 percent of Cleveland's population, who relied upon welfare assistance resided in Hough (Miller and Wheeler 1997:167). Overall, more than 84 percent of recipients of the Aid to Dependent Children

program and 72 percent of those receiving welfare assistance lived in predominantly black neighborhoods of Cleveland (Moore 2002b:21).

In mid-July 1966, four days of political unrest ensued. Everything from arson to gun violence was present in Hough during the riots. The National Guard was sent in to ease the uprising after four African American residents lost their lives and forty-six people, including a dozen officers, were injured. Almost three-hundred people were arrested, and millions of dollars' worth of property damage occurred (Michney 2006:415). In the aftermath, Cleveland's city officials were blamed for allowing such horrific living standards to persist, leading up to the strife. In the July 31, 1966 issue of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, an article written by black journalist, Robert G. McGruder, summed up the decrepit living situation in Hough:

"Hough is not one monolithic slum. There are neat houses and places totally unfit for human beings. The people of Hough are like the houses. There are some who live well-ordered lives and there are muggers, junkies, and prostitutes. There are con men and women for whom life holds nothing but a welfare check and a hopeless tomorrow. There are children. Hough is full of Children. They fill the streets. The sadness of the children is that their future is probably a continuation of their present. Everything – the good and the bad – goes into one bag and you call it Hough. The feeling of many Hough citizens on the riot's cause is: it happened because no one in Cleveland cares anything for us out here (CPD 1966a:A-1)."

While these sentiments were echoed among other Hough residents, not all city officials turned a blind-eye to the derelict buildings, increased crime rates, and lack of public services in the neighborhood. In November of 1967, Carl B. Stokes was elected as

Cleveland's first black mayor, and the first black mayor of any major American city. Stokes' three main campaign goals were the improve the lives of the black poor residents of the city, to provide a voice to African Americans within the government, and to prove to all residents that African Americans were capable of governing a major area. His parents were both born in Georgia and arrived separately to Cleveland during the First Great Migration (Moore 2002b:5). He grew up in the Outhwaite public housing estate, served in the United States Army, and became a prosecuting attorney for Cuyahoga County upon graduating with a law degree and passing the Ohio bar examination in 1957. Stokes founded the law firm Stokes and Stokes with his brother Louis in 1962, and went on to serve three consecutive terms in the Ohio House of Representatives (Moore 2002b:26). Louis Stokes, the first black Congressman elected in Ohio, represented a portion of Cleveland in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1969 until 1999. Carl unsuccessfully ran for mayor in 1965, but defeated Seth Chase Taft, grandson of President William Howard Taft, for the position in 1967. His victory paved the political paths for African Americans seeking high-level positions in city government (CPD 1967a:20).



Figure 11-3. Clean up efforts after the Hough Riots (Cleveland Press Collection, Michael Schwartz Library, Cleveland State University).

An unfortunate hindrance on Stokes' mayoral career occurred less than one year after he was elected. Between July 23 and July 28, 1968, violence in Cleveland triggered a series of events known as the Glenville Shootout. An exchange of gunfire between a black militant group led by Fred "Ahmed" Evans and Cleveland police officers resulted in fatalities on both sides. Mayor Stokes responded to the chaos of the Glenville Shootout by seeking assistance from the Ohio National Guard and, on July 24, ordered only black policemen and community leaders to be allowed in Glenville, restricting non-black police and guards to the perimeters of the cordoned-off area (ECH 2017qq). Mayor Stokes felt that it was imperative that the racially motivated violence in Glenville be settled in-house, as to prevent further casualties. The mayor's decisions proved to be successful towards remedying the situation in Glenville. No additional blood was shed, but because excessive acts of vandalism continued, the National Guard went back into the community, established a curfew, and within

three days, the looting and arson had dissipated (ECH 2017qq). In the aftermath of the Glenville Shootout, Mayor Stokes was reprimanded for his actions by white police officers. He was further shunned by benefactors of his mayoral initiatives because of his ingenuous affiliations with Evans, by way of the Cleveland: NOW! campaign, which had provided financial support for his political agendas (Miller and Wheeler 1997:169).

11.7 Conclusion

From the 1940s through the 1970s, the social, political, and economic welfare of the Cleveland Metropolitan area was in a constant state of fluctuation due to an increased wartime, primarily African American, population. The implementation of public housing developments and urban renewal plans drastically changed the physical and social landscape of the city. This instability devastated many urban neighborhoods and encouraged the relocation of disgruntled, upwardly mobile, city dwellers to the suburbs, causing an even greater economic decline and social divide in the city (Keating, et al. 1995:332).

When southern blacks in-migrated to Cuyahoga County for work during America's involvement in World War II, segregation and other discriminatory laws were still in place nationally, causing political strife among city officials and the incoming black population. Discriminatory housing practices and the assembly of temporary wartime housing by CMHA further perpetuated the racial injustices in primarily black communities. Urban renewal further perpetuated the racial injustices by leveling black enclaves for new development without consideration for those who were forced to relocate. City officials prefaced these decisions by promising to rebuild these communities but, instead, created an imbalance that prompted rapid socioeconomic declines. During the Civil Rights movement, advocates for equality, like Mayor Carl Stokes used politics to combat social justice. However, the unsanitary and unfair living conditions

exasperated African American residents to such an extent that tragic events, such as the Hough Riots and Glenville Shootout, transpired.

Post-1970s, the city saw a rapid decline, as the total city population fell to 573,833 in 1980, a 24.6 percent decrease between 1970–1980 (ECH 2017rr). The impetus for the population loss was the effluence of upwardly mobile inner-city residents to the suburbs resulting from the failures of urban renewal that contributed to the city's economic downturn. Into the 1980s, public-private partnerships were forged in attempts to restructure the downtown area, adopting "trickle-down" urban economic growth theories which presumed downtown development would generate jobs and increase the tax base, indirectly advancing the rest of the city. These efforts led to in an unbalanced development strategy that overshadowed neighborhood-based development, where "trickle-down" failed and the city would regress further (Keating, et al. 1995:332).

11.8 Political/Social Welfare Survey Results

11.8.1 City of Cleveland

As reviewed above, the City of Cleveland experience great social unrest during the mid-

twentieth century. The major issues revolved around equal and fair access to housing and public education for African American families. Resources related to these events included public housing developments and city schools. Many of the public housing complexes were previously surveyed on OHI forms, including the Outhwaite Homes Estates (CUY 0989106), the Cedar Central Apartments (CUY 0065606), and the Cedar Estate Extensions (no longer extant CUY 1030506). No new public housing complexes were surveyed for this project. Public schools within the city were slow to be replaced with newer buildings during this period. The Collinwood High School (CUY 0077511), which experienced momentous unrest, was built in 1907 and remains standing. The Case Elementary School (CUY 1135305) on Superior Ave. that is within the City of Cleveland School District, was constructed in 1975 to replace elementary school buildings constructed in the late nineteenth century. By this date, suburban school district enrollment numbers already peaked, and therefore, were beyond new school construction.



Plate 31. Case Elementary School (CUY1135305), constructed in 1975, 4050 Superior Ave., Cleveland.

11.8.2 Suburban Areas

As social issues meant a slow environmental change within the city limits, the expanding suburban areas needed to quickly accommodate their growing populations with necessary public services. Many areas, including, but not limited to, Brooklyn, Euclid, Garfield Heights, Lakewood, North Randall, Rocky River and South Euclid constructed new municipal buildings during this period that often-featured municipal government offices and courts along with police headquarters and/or a fire station. These multi-purpose buildings permitted most government office to

be in a central location, and they were often constructed along a major thoroughfare in the township, village, etc. for easy access for residents. Although some municipal government buildings included a fire station, other stations may be located within the municipality to ensure quick response times and adequate amounts of equipment to serve the area. For example, another fire station was needed in Maple Heights after the area north of Rockside Rd. was heavy developed with new houses in the 1950s. In 1956, a second fire station in Maple Heights was constructed on Dunham Rd. to service to up-and-coming area (CUY 1110124).



Plate 32. Rocky River Municipal Building (CUY 1158012), constructed in 1954, 21012 Hillard Blvd., Rocky River.



Plate 33. City of Maple Heights Fire Station No. 2 (CUY 1110124), constructed in 1956, 5720 Dunham Rd., Maple Heights.

11.8.3 Federal Government

The federal government also increased the number of post offices throughout the county. Post office buildings constructed after World War II were designed for the forms to follow functions of the facility. Designs were scaled back to be utilitarian with little ornamentation. Buildings had clean lines, were level to the street (therefore, exterior steps would not be needed),

and featured standard interior fixtures such as lobby windows, counters, letter boxes, and mail drops. The sites of post offices were also designed to accommodate automobile traffic, including ample parking, buildings along major roadways, and drive-thru services.



Plate 34. South Euclid Post Office (CUY 1123122), constructed in 1975, 1568 Green Rd., South Euclid.

11.8.4 Union Halls

In the political arena, unions played a large role in speaking for the working-class issues of the mid-twentieth century. Two union halls were

identified during the survey. Both were constructed for the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW), and both are located close to automotive plants.



Plate 35. UAW Local 1250 Union Hall (CUY 1143415), constructed ca. 1959, 17250 Hummel Rd., Brook Park.

11.9 Survey Recommendations

Survey identified numerous resource types associated with political/social welfare throughout Cuyahoga County ranging from schools, government buildings, and union halls. Practically every area, including the City of

Cleveland and surrounding Cuyahoga County suburbs, included some resource from the mid-century period that fit this category. Taking that into consideration, not every example was surveyed for this report in order to include a wide variety of resource types. Additional survey for this topic could include other examples of fire, police, and emergency stations, municipal buildings, and post offices.