

TEACHING CLEVELAND STORIES

*people and periods from
Northeast Ohio's past*

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1ST PRINTING: April 2013.

ISBN 978–1–300–77368–9.

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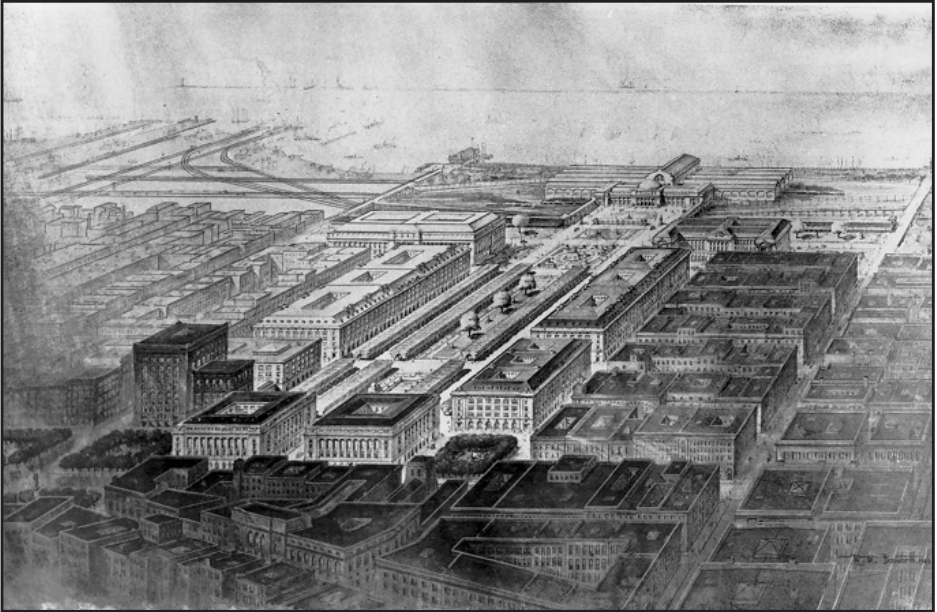
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Bird's-eye view of the 1903 Group Plan by Daniel Burnham.
Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

CLEVELAND: ECONOMICS, IMAGES, AND EXPECTATIONS

JOHN J. GRABOWSKI

INTRODUCTION

Why do cities grow, thrive, and sometimes fail? What holds them together and makes them special places — unique urban landscapes with distinctive personalities? Often we fix on the “image” of a city: its structural landmarks; the natural environment in which it is situated; or the amenities of life which give it character, be they an orchestra or a sports team. Even less tangible attributes, including a reputation for qualities such as innovation, perseverance, or social justice, come into play here. Image, however, is often a gloss, one that hides the core of the community, the portion of its history that has been central to its existence. Many would like to see Cleveland, both now and historically, as a “city on a hill,” one defined by many of the factors noted above. Yet Cleveland’s image is, to an extent, a veneer. Underneath that veneer is the economic core that led to the creation of the city and that has sustained it at various levels for over 200 years. Without it, the veneer would not exist. The fact that today, aspects of Cleveland’s veneer have merged into its economic core represents a remarkable historical transformation.

Cleveland’s Public Square is perhaps the best place to begin, in examining the history of Cleveland and the interrelationship between economic reality and image. On the northwest quadrant of the square, a statue of Tom L. Johnson reminds one and all that Cleveland was in the forefront of the Progressive movement at the turn of the twentieth century. Johnson, whose governmental reforms led to his characterization as “the best Mayor of the best-governed city in the United States,” symbolizes so much of our civic patina — well-organized Progressive improvements, ranging from the chlorination of water to the creation of what is now United Way.

Just to the north of the Johnson statue is the First Presbyterian (Old Stone) Church, a monument to the role that religion has played in regional history, from its involvement in the anti-slavery movement to the establishment, by various religious groups, of orphanages, educational institutions, hospitals, and hundreds of other charitable endeavors.

Looking toward the east from the Johnson statue, one can see the south end of the Mall, a landmark of the national City Beautiful movement, and the Metzenbaum Courthouse, a reminder of justice and jurisprudence in the community. Slightly to the south, on the southeast quadrant, stands the Soldiers and Sailors Monument, testimony to the role northeastern Ohio played in the American Civil War, one in which the community's core beliefs, ranging from those relating to what we now call social justice to the place of private charity in times of crisis and need, were as important as its military and economic contributions.

In one sense, a good quick look at the Public Square indicates that Cleveland is a special place — and, indeed, in many ways, it is. Some may want to think that it is indeed a city on a hill, an example for others. That, perhaps, it has been and continues to be. But, as we complete our visual circuit, by coming to the southwest quadrant, we are brought back to the founding reality of the community. There stands the statue of General Moses Cleaveland, the revered founder of the city that bears his name. He stands tall, staff in hand, the archetypical colonial father figure. Yes, he was the community's founder and also a Revolutionary War veteran and a lawyer. That we remember, but what we often forget is that Cleaveland was also an investor. He was one of fifty-six members of the Connecticut Land Company, whose interest in Connecticut's Western Reserve was predicated on profit, rather than altruism. Cleaveland's intent in coming to the city that now bears his name was not to settle, but to survey. Cleaveland and the partners in the company had purchased 3.4 million acres from the state of Connecticut. That land, its "Western Reserve," was a remnant of its old colonial claims that it managed to retain after the formation of the United States. Stretching 120 miles west from the border of Pennsylvania, it constitutes much of what we consider today as northeast Ohio.

Surveying was the first step in making what was wilderness into a marketable commodity. Cleaveland would return to Connecticut some three months after his arrival at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, sanguine about the company's ability to make a profit from its investment. The Public Square, upon which these observations are focused, was part of the profit scheme — a communal commons, grazing land for the animals of the first settlers, and a nice touch of home, since the town commons was so much a part of the New England

heritage of Cleaveland and those he expected to follow him as purchasers, rather than sojourners.

FROM REAL ESTATE VENTURE TO MERCANTILE CENTER TO INDUSTRIAL METROPOLIS 1796–1920

Moses Cleaveland's expectations for the community that bore his name (his surveying crew named it in his honor in 1796 — its spelling would later be simplified to Cleveland) went unfulfilled for nearly two decades. Indeed, the real estate venture of the Connecticut Land Company did not meet its investors' immediate expectations. Land in the Connecticut Western Reserve sold slowly and settlement in its "capital" Cleveland languished for over two decades. It appeared that all had overlooked a number of critical economic and business factors. There was no easy way to get to the Reserve from the eastern seaboard and, indeed, there was better, more accessible open land along the way, mainly in western New York state. Then too, there were questions about the legal title to the land. Moreover, there were lingering fears that the British (just across Lake Erie in Canada) might try to reclaim the trans-Appalachian west from the recently independent United States. Cleveland had an additional problem — the lands near the mouth of the Cuyahoga River were infested with mosquitoes. Those who attempted to settle in what is now the Flats came down with malaria and soon moved away to higher lands east of the small settlement. The sales situation became so desperate that Oliver Phelps, one of the prime investors in the venture, nearly ended up in a debtors' prison.

It would be easy to accuse the investors of a lack of foresight and planning. Indeed, that was somewhat the case. The company built no roads to provide easy access to the area, nor did it provide for any of the basic amenities of life. It simply surveyed and sold the land. Buyers were on their own after they made their purchases. Yet, two of the investors' core beliefs about the land were correct. They knew that there was a huge desire for better land among people in New England and that this desire would continue to grow, as the population expanded. They also knew that water was a key factor in colonial settlement — not only for growing crops, but even more importantly for transportation. Waterways, natural and man-made, were the best and cheapest means of transport for people and goods at the turn of the nineteenth century. Cleveland had that advantage and, indeed, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin had identified the site on the shore of Lake Erie as one of commercial and strategic importance.

Eventually, when issues of land title were cleared and when the end of the War of 1812 calmed fears regarding any future British invasion, the settlement

of Cleveland accelerated. In 1820, 606 people lived in a community that had had a population of only 57 a decade before. Ten years later, in 1830, the population was 1,075. More importantly, by that time Cleveland was at the northern end of a major public works project, the construction of the Ohio and Erie Canal. Begun in 1825 and completed in 1832, the canal connected Cleveland, on the shores of Lake Erie, to Portsmouth on the Ohio River. More importantly, this was but one link in a global chain of waterways that stretched from European ports to New York and then via the Hudson River and the Erie Canal to the Great Lakes. From Portsmouth, trade continued via the Ohio River to Cincinnati, St. Louis, and eventually New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico.

Investors and entrepreneurs quickly realized that Cleveland presented enormous opportunities. It became a transshipment point for manufactured goods from Europe and the eastern U.S. to the rapidly developing Midwestern frontier. It also was a point where commodities produced on the farms in the Midwest could be purchased wholesale and then brokered to buyers in Ohio and the East. What Moses Cleaveland had envisioned as a mercantile town serving farmers and farm communities in the surrounding area soon became a mercantile town with trade extending far beyond the immediate hinterland. The ways in which location and transportation spurred economic growth were multiple. As the population continued to increase, land prices in the city rose, and land speculators prospered. Builders and tradespeople arrived to serve the community's needs and artisans and laborers came to make consumer products and to take on the heavy work of unloading and loading boats and clearing additional land. Farmers also settled in areas that are now a part of the twenty-first century city's suburban landscape. While the earlier settlers were mostly from New England and New York, those who followed, beginning in the 1820s, were in large part immigrants from Europe. By 1860, on the eve of the American Civil War, Cleveland had a population of 43,417, of which over 40% was of foreign birth, largely from Ireland, the British Isles, and the German states and principalities.

New migrants to the city, whether from abroad or the rural hinterlands, supplied not only labor and skills, but often brought with them ideas that would continue the transformation of the community. Several deserve to be singled out because of their impact on the area's economic development.

Alfred Kelley, a lawyer who migrated from New York in 1810, played the principal role in advocating for the Ohio and Erie Canal and overseeing its construction. As noted earlier, that project positioned Cleveland for growth on a scale far beyond that expected by its founders. The potential of the community attracted young entrepreneurs, one of them being John D. Rockefeller, who moved to the area in 1853. Following his graduation from Central High School,

he attended a local business college and then became a bookkeeper in a commodities house. With its canal and lake transport systems and, by the 1850s, a growing network of rail connections, Cleveland had evolved into a major trading center for grain, cloth, salt, and various other commodities central to life in the mid-nineteenth century. Rockefeller would eventually become a partner in his own commission house, just before the Civil War. That conflict, which vastly increased the need for commodities, such as food, wood, and wool, provided the basis for his fortune, a fortune that increased exponentially, when he began to deal with a new commodity, oil.

Rockefeller's interest in oil can be seen as one of the key moments in the area's transformation from a mercantile to an industrial city: that is, from an economy in which goods are bought and sold, to one in which they are manufactured. Central to that transformation were new, disruptive technologies. Key among them were railroads. Railroads freed the economy from dependence on water transport (which was unusable in the winter) and poor roads and inefficient horse and wagon transport. It was a railroad linking Cleveland to the oil fields of Pennsylvania that helped to make Rockefeller's new industry possible, along with the development of new methods to "crack" raw petroleum, by separating it into constituent components, such as kerosene and paraffin, each of which provided important new fuels for lighting. The need for sulfuric acid in the cracking process lured chemist Eugene Grasselli to Cleveland in 1857, thus laying the basis for a chemical industry that would later make possible the paint and varnish manufacturing companies led by Henry Sherwin, Edward Williams, and Francis Glidden.

The rail network, which expanded enormously in the 1850s, allowed two other migrants to further transform the economy. David and John Jones had learned ironworking in the Dowlais Mill in Glamorganshire, South Wales. They brought their skills to the United States, first practicing their trade in Pennsylvania. In 1857, they opened their own mill in Newburgh, just south-east of Cleveland. The mill was situated along the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad, which provided access to coal from southern Ohio and iron ore from the upper Great Lakes region via the port of Cleveland. The growing needs of the railroads for iron rails and other iron products was central to the economic equation that linked immigrant skills with raw materials and transportation.

As was the case with Rockefeller's commission business, the Civil War served to catalyze industrial development in Cleveland. It also created a cadre of very wealthy individuals, whose political and economic influence over the community would continue for decades. Crisfield Johnson, in his 1879 history of Cuyahoga County, succinctly noted: "the war found Cleveland a commercial city and left it a manufacturing city. Not that it ceased to do a great deal of

commercial business, but the predominant interests had become the manufacturing ones.” During the war, the city’s population increased by nearly one third, from 43,417 in 1860 to 67,500 in 1866.

Industry would become Cleveland’s *raison d’être* during the post-Civil War period and remain at the core of its economy for nearly a century. The patterns of migration and entrepreneurship evidenced in the years before the war would be replicated and multiplied decade after decade. New products — nuts, bolts, screws, sewing machines, bicycles, automobiles, and even aircraft — would be flowing from the city’s factories by the 1920s. New disruptive technologies, such as electrical power, would challenge old and established ones, as inventors such as Charles F. Brush created dynamos and electric arc lighting for the city. As industry grew to dominate the economy, it also drove the concurrent development of banking and corporate law.

The city’s post-Civil War industrialization coincided with major changes in migration patterns, both globally and within the United States. By the 1880s, the predominant movement out of Europe had shifted from the northern and western parts of the continent to the central, eastern, and southern sections. Cleveland, which had begun to diversify from its New England roots with the addition of Irish, German, and British-born individuals to its population in the years before the Civil War, now saw the arrival of Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Slovenes, Croats, and dozens of other nationalities and ethnicities to its population. By the mid-1870s, the equality that had been promised to freed African Americans in the post-war South had been replaced with new forms of oppression and economic hardship. They began a mass movement out of the South, known as the Great Migration, during the latter years of the nineteenth century, arriving in northern industrial cities at the same time as thousands of European immigrants. What Cleveland offered, as did many other industrial cities in the north, was economic opportunity and the promise of equality.

The labor needs of the city’s growing industries were huge. By 1920, they employed 157,730 people and produced products valued at over one billion dollars. Cleveland’s industrial production ranked fifth among American cities and, coincidentally, its population of nearly 800,000 ranked it fifth, as well. Of that population, two-thirds were of foreign parentage or foreign birth, representing twenty-nine distinct nationalities. This transformation had occurred, essentially, in one century, from 1820 to 1920.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF UNEXPECTED CHANGE AND THE CREATION OF IMAGE

By 1920, Cleveland already had in place many of those attributes that now comprise part of its contemporary image. It had established major cultural institutions, including the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Cleveland Orchestra. It had begun to address environmental issues with a growing system of parks and parkways. Its Community Chest, the forerunner of United Way, had unified and systematized charitable giving, and the Cleveland Foundation, the first community trust in the world, served as a paradigm for modern philanthropy. Within the realm of education, its public school system was well on its way to national recognition, and Western Reserve University and the Case School of Applied Sciences anchored the academic-cultural district that had become known as University Circle. Its system of government and the manner in which government worked with business were viewed as a progressive model for the nation, one that had created the Group Plan of public buildings and had, after some contention, modernized and systematized its urban transit system.

All of these markers of civilization and forward-thinking were consequences of the enormous changes the community had undergone in the previous century. They came about both because the wealth generated during that period supported their creation and, in many instances, because they addressed major social and economic issues that arose in the wake of industrialization. If many of the inventions and industrial processes that moved Cleveland forward could be viewed as disruptive in the technological sense, so too were their effects on the community. Equally disruptive was the rapid growth in population and size of the city — far beyond that which had occurred in the eighteenth century. Compounding all of this was the diversity of the population. The only tools the community had at hand to deal with such issues in the early years of change were those that derived from the social and religious structure of the relatively homogeneous pre-industrial communities of colonial America.

When the community began to expand during the 1820s and 1830s, it turned to such traditional systems to deal with issues such as poverty, health care, the need for public education, and general civic well-being. Those systems, in substantial part, were carried over within the New England model on which the city was based. Charity, for example, emanated largely from the church. Later, as was usual in early America, a community poorhouse was opened to house the indigent. It was one of the few governmental contributions to what we now call social welfare. But as the city grew larger and, importantly, religiously and demographically diverse in the 1840s and 1850s, the problems grew both in scale and complexity. Orphan homes, which became common in

the nineteenth century (replacing the tradition of relatives taking in children) multiplied: not only because of a larger number of orphans, but also because of religion. By the 1860s, Cleveland would have separate agencies for Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish orphans. When it became necessary to take care of the elderly, the poorhouse, which had in part taken the place of the family, was augmented and eventually replaced by homes for the aged. In Cleveland, these were subdivided by religion and ethnicity. By century's end, the city had homes for the Protestant, Catholic, African-American, Scottish, German, and Jewish aged.

Continued growth and diversification of population also challenged established forms of community governance. Cleveland, which officially became a village in 1815 and then a city in 1836, was bound by state regulations in regard to how it could structure its government. The state-dictated structure was ideal for small communities, but not flexible enough for growing urban centers. As the city expanded in the years after the Civil War, it struggled to accommodate growing needs for police and fire protection, for adequate operating revenues, and for a truly representative legislative structure, within the bounds those regulations imposed. By the end of the nineteenth century, many saw Cleveland, and other growing industrial communities, as divorced from the rurally focused state government.

Growth also had severe consequences for the environment. The city's waterfront was given over to the railroads in the 1850s; its river became a convenient dumping ground for industrial waste products. In 1881, Mayor Rensselaer Herrick characterized the Cuyahoga River as "an open sewer through the center of the city." The lake, which comprised the chief source of drinking water, became increasingly polluted — so much so that, by the early twentieth century, the water intake had to be placed 26,000 feet offshore to insure a clean supply of water. Within the city, living conditions worsened as migrants and immigrants arrived in ever larger numbers. The city's population would, for example, more than double in the twenty years between 1900 and 1920. Although part of the increase came through the annexation of surrounding communities such as Glenville, the bulk was from in-migration, which put a severe strain on housing and infrastructure, such as water and sewers. The Haymarket and Lower Woodland, two areas close to the central city, were not only severely overcrowded, they were environmental wastelands. Yards and parks were nearly nonexistent. Outdoor privies remained the rule and bathing facilities were rare — in the sixteenth ward, home to 7,728 people, there were only eighty-seven bathtubs. One immigrant Italian mother, upon being given flowers by a social worker, noted that they were the first she had seen in America. Perhaps that was an overstatement, but it was nonetheless true that Cleveland, which

had prided itself on being called “the Forest City,” had in fact been losing many of its trees to airborne pollution for years. The quick and easy solution was to replace the trees with hardier species and not to deal directly with the main issue. At this point in the city’s history, the need to do business trumped all calls for smoke abatement or ending the use of the river as a disposal system for local industry.

Beyond these specific issues, perhaps the overriding consequence of the city’s rapid growth was the challenge it presented to the sense of Cleveland as a single community. That it had been, albeit for a relatively short period in the early 1800s, but by the 1840s there were already divisions. As industry and commerce grew, the Flats, that area along the river, became the least desirable residential area in the city. Known as the “under the hill” district, it was home to the poor, a number of whom were Irish Catholics. The houses of the wealthier residents, in contrast, were located on top of the hill in what is today’s Warehouse District. A separate city, the City of Ohio, existed across the river valley, a fairly formidable obstacle to cross at that time.

The situation would be far more complex by the early 1900s. Dozens of migrant and immigrant neighborhoods grew up around the manufacturing plants in which the immigrants worked. The plants generally were sited on the rail lines that spread away from the central city. In an era before cheap, relatively quick public transportation became available, people lived where they could walk to work. Migration chains created a preponderance of one nationality or another in these areas. The neighborhoods were largely self-sufficient, with their own churches or synagogues, and stores selling familiar goods, in which the owners spoke the language of the district. Cleveland was, in reality, a series of communities defined by ethnicity, religion, and economic status, and the communities’ names — Karlin, Warszawa, Praha, Dutch Hill, Little Italy, Big Italy, Poznan — testified to their particularistic identities. To many observers, they were foreign entities sitting within an American city.

These factory neighborhoods existed in stark contrast to Euclid Avenue, whose mansions housed the individuals made wealthy by the burgeoning industrial economy. The homes on Euclid Avenue stretched for miles, from the eastern edge of downtown nearly all the way to University Circle. A youngster from the lower Woodland Avenue immigrant neighborhood marveled at the structures, when he was on a field trip sponsored by a local social settlement. He thought the houses were all schools, since the only building he knew of that rivaled the homes in size was his school.

Underneath these very visible differences was a major fault line, one which stretched through every industrial city in the United States. It was the line that

divided labor and capital. Beginning in the 1870s, Cleveland witnessed a number of strikes, many accompanied by violence. Workers at Rockefeller's Standard Oil refinery struck in 1877. Two violent strikes occurred at the Cleveland Rolling Mills in 1882 and 1885, and in 1899, troops were called out to control a strike on the city's streetcar lines. Such struggles over the rights of labor and capital usually had political overtones, with some individuals advocating governmental and economic solutions from outside the American system. Socialists and anarchists were involved in the Standard Oil and Rolling Mill strikes. Indeed, there was a growing "radical" segment in the city's population. Charles Ruthenberg ran credible campaigns for mayor as a Socialist. Socialists in the Czech community established a newspaper, a summer camp, and a gymnastic organization. A young, mentally unbalanced Polish-American from the Warszawa neighborhood, Leon Czolgosz, fancied himself an anarchist and in 1901 assassinated President William McKinley. Events such as these unnerved many Clevelanders and raised the specter of a social revolution. Indeed, one Clevelander wrote a novel, *The Breadwinners*, which focused on a labor revolt in the mythical city of Buffland. The author was John Hay, a former secretary to Abraham Lincoln, and the husband of Clara Stone, a daughter of railroad magnate Amasa Stone. Like his in-laws, he was a resident of Euclid Avenue.

RESPONDING TO CHANGE, CREATING THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL CITY

Cleveland was not alone in confronting the consequences of industrialization. It was a national crisis. Excesses of wealth characterized the American Gilded Age. Labor violence, poverty, and a sense of a lost national identity were hallmarks of the period from 1870 to World War I. Historian Robert Wiebe has characterized this period as one in which Americans engaged in a "search for order" — that is, ways to create cohesion within a geographically huge and increasingly diverse nation-state and to make rapidly evolving systems of charity and governance, as well as emerging professions, more orderly. What is remarkable about Cleveland is the manner in which it pursued its own search for order. Its success in coming to terms with the new "urban normal" during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was nationally recognized, then and today. That success remains part of the city's image.

As was the case in its industrial development, several individuals can be seen as representative of the city's approach to reform in what we term the Progressive Era.

The pivotal figure is Tom L. Johnson, whose statue, as noted at the beginning of this essay, now stands on the city's Public Square (a second statue of Johnson can also be found on the grounds of the Western Reserve Historical Society). Johnson was an entrepreneur and his interests lay in urban transportation. He was one of many individuals who capitalized on the need to provide effective transportation in America's growing cities. That transport took the form of street railways — initially horse drawn, then cable driven, and finally electrically powered. By the time he arrived in Cleveland around 1883, Johnson had become wealthy through investments in street railways around the country — possible at that time, since such enterprises were private, not municipal. It was a lucrative but often shady business, for entrepreneurs such as Johnson needed to secure legislative permission to build and operate street railway franchises. That permission often came only after bribes were paid and deals were struck with the right politicians. Johnson could work the system as well as any man — and he became very wealthy doing so. But Tom L. Johnson had what might be called a conversion experience, and as a consequence he became an outspoken advocate of reform. He read the works of the single-tax reformer Henry George and began to question the system that had made him wealthy. He entered politics, in order to effect the reforms he believed in. He served two terms in the U.S. House of Representatives and, in 1901, became the mayor of Cleveland, serving in that office for eight years.

Johnson worked to secure the municipal ownership of utilities, including urban transit, and he espoused the concept of professionalism in governance. He filled his mayoral administration with people who had expertise as managers, rather than political connections. His appointees included a young lawyer from West Virginia, Newton D. Baker, and Peter Witt, a former foundry worker and union advocate. Together, Johnson and his cabinet reformed the police force, modernized the water supply system, updated the prison system, and forwarded the cause of municipal ownership. He constantly challenged the state-mandated structure for municipal governance and pushed for home rule — that is, the right of a city like Cleveland to structure its own government to best meet its needs. Nationally recognized journalist Lincoln Steffens wrote, "Johnson is the best Mayor of the best-governed city in the United States."

While Johnson often offended the wealthier segment of the population, a group to which he belonged and with which he associated, that segment of the population was nonetheless also moving toward reform, most notably in the area of philanthropy. As wealth grew in the city in the mid-nineteenth century, those who had acquired it often donated some of it to benefit the community. Much of this followed in the tradition fostered by the religious groups to which the wealthy belonged. However, the scope of their gifts far exceeded what had

once been considered as normal charity. John D. Rockefeller, a Baptist, was a prime example. He began to make charitable donations from the time he received his first pay as an employee of the commission merchants Hewitt and Tuttle. As he grew wealthier, his gifts increased in both number and size. Eventually, his fortune would become the basis of a foundation that systematized the distribution of funds. Unfortunately, he was by that time no longer a full-time resident of Cleveland. Other similar, individual charitable endeavors were numerous. Jephth Wade gave part of his private parkland to the city. William J. Gordon did likewise. Members of the Severance family helped create the rich cultural life that the city still enjoys, through their donations to art and music. The Mather family was at the forefront in the support of higher education at Western Reserve University, health care at what would become University Hospitals, and assistance to the inner city with gifts to settlement houses such as Hiram House and Goodrich House. Those who had achieved wealth and status supported the increasing needs of the city, be they educational, social welfare, or cultural. While some of these gifts derived from the particular donor's religious affiliation and beliefs and others from a particular cultural avocation, such as music or fine art, all were given in a time before tax deductions provided a fiscal reward for personal altruism.

Yet the needs of the city were so vast that the wealthy felt hard pressed as to where to place their benevolence. Judgment as to what was worthy, effective, and legitimate needed to be made, when request after request came to the doors on Euclid Avenue. A system was needed — and Cleveland's leading industrialists and entrepreneurs were strong advocates of rationalized processes of production and what would become "scientific management." They would apply that mindset to charitable giving, as well, and in doing so create another historical landmark for the city.

This drive for efficiency in production and modernization in industrial processes was strongly reflected in the city's Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber, as a modern progressive body, helped transform the city as much as did Johnson's administration. The Chamber served as the principal advocate to foster economic growth in Cleveland, and its minute books from the early twentieth century indicate how rationally and methodically it approached this goal. But the members of the Chamber also realized that business could not prosper in a community that was not healthy, cohesive, and politically stable. They needed to provide a viable alternative to counter proposed solutions, such as socialism. To this end, they proceeded to attempt to organize, stabilize, and regularize the workings of the often chaotic city. The Chamber's Committee on Benevolent Associations, established in 1903, would develop into the Community Chest and eventually the United Way campaign, which

unified charitable giving and also rationalized (through the Cleveland Welfare Federation) the distribution of the funds it raised. In addition, the Chamber created the basis for housing code legislation, which would help end overcrowding and shoddy construction. Its activities also encompassed a committee to study the need for bathhouses in an inner city largely devoid of indoor plumbing.

Although often violently in disagreement, the businessmen represented by the Chamber and the Johnson administration often shared goals. Certainly, business interests fought Johnson on the issue of municipal ownership. Indeed, Johnson's ardent support of municipal transit and the staunch opposition to it would cost him his mayoral career and even arguably lead to his early death. Yet, the desire on the part of both parties to find a workable solution to the problems of the industrial city often placed them in partnership. The Group Plan, which resulted in the construction of the Mall (which replaced a decrepit section of the city with a nationally significant grouping of public buildings), was one such example, as was the desire to replace politicians in municipal administrative positions with experts who could rationally manage the functions held by the government. This alignment between sometimes starry-eyed political reformers and the business community of Cleveland has endured, albeit with some rough passages, for over a century.

Recognizing this drive for a system to manage the urban city provides the key to understanding what happened in Cleveland at the turn of the twentieth century and during the next two decades. One can find examples of Taylorism, or scientific management, everywhere. Frederick Goff, a banker who played a leading role in establishing the Cleveland Trust Company through the consolidation of an assortment of regional banks, also rationalized the system of philanthropic bequests. His Cleveland Foundation set a standard for melding multiple bequests into an independently administered fund that could be used to deal with larger issues and to insure that those funds met the needs existent at any given time within the community. William Stinchcomb, an engineer for the city's Parks Department, took a holistic view of parks and created a unified system now referred to as the Emerald Necklace, a series of parks encircling the Cleveland area. Even social work, once the purview of individuals with a strong desire to help their fellow citizens, became regularized, when Western Reserve University established its School of Applied Social Work to train those who wished to serve.

It was with these systems — a rationalized approach to civic issues and a public-private partnership — that Cleveland entered the 1920s. Implicit was an assumption that the industrial economy upon which the community had built its own city on a hill would endure. However, within four decades, that

notion would, as was the case with the assumptions made by Moses Cleaveland and the early pioneers, be tested by the development of unforeseen economic changes — in this instance, the development of a truly globalized economy.

MANAGING LEGACY AND LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

In 2009, a century after the height of the Progressive Era reforms, Cleveland, with an estimated population of 431,363, ranked as the nation's 43rd largest city, two steps above its rank in 1840, when it had been the country's 45th largest city. Its primary employment areas were in health care, research, and the service economy. Industry, while still apparent, was no longer the key economic underpinning of the city. Ranked among the most poverty-stricken areas in the nation and characterized by a problematic racial divide, it seemed that the city had moved back in time, rather than forward. What had happened — how had the Progressive reformers followed Moses Cleaveland in misinterpreting the community's future? Or had they?

It can be argued that, by 1920, the community's industrial era had only one more decade to endure. Cleveland's industries may have roared during the 1920s, but they nearly collapsed during the Great Depression of the 1930s. At times during the Depression, as much as 30% of the workforce was unemployed. While the Depression was the ultimate working person's crisis, it also served, under the guidance of the Roosevelt administration, to provide the impetus to legitimize the worker's right to unionize. When jobs returned, they often came with wage levels and benefits that labor had long sought. Only with the advent of World War II did full employment return. Highly unionized industrial jobs survived after the war, supported in large part by the fact that major global competitors, both prior (Germany) and potential (Japan), had been decimated by the conflict. However, by the late 1960s, Cleveland, along with other industrial centers in the Great Lakes region, began to lose jobs to more competitive locales both within and outside the United States.

Certainly, the civic and business leadership of the 1920s could not have clearly foreseen the future — otherwise they would have sold short in 1929 and reinvested heavily in the late 1930s. But there were signs all around them that presaged enormous and challenging changes in the years to come, changes whose general nature could be divined to some extent, even if the specific debacle of the market crash and the subsequent temporary renaissance of Cleveland as an industrial city could not have been predicted. And, by and large, the leadership remained oblivious to these signs.

That impending change was exemplified in the careers of Mantis J. and Oris P. Van Sweringen, real estate dealers, who not only created Shaker Heights as a landmark in American suburban development, but also reshaped the core of the downtown area, with the construction of the Terminal Tower complex. Essentially, the Van Sweringens were the successors to the Connecticut Land Company. They bought, developed, and sold vast tracts of land outside of the central city. They were not alone: real estate was a booming local industry in the early twentieth century, both because the city's growing population needed new home sites and also because many people were, by this time, striving to escape the central city. While such individuals' motivations can never be clearly defined, they rested upon the desire for something better — better in the sense of greener, in the sense of larger, and in the sense of being away from the unpleasant, which might be categorized as smoke, pollution, and people not like them.

What was even more important about these new suburban developments is that they were planned to be separate from Cleveland. The city's growth during the later nineteenth century came about, in substantial part, through the annexation of previously independent outlying communities. Those communities wanted to link to the city and its services. Yet, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, four major communities — East Cleveland, Lakewood, Cleveland Heights, and Shaker Heights — were established as separate corporate entities along Cleveland's borders. In the decades that followed, particularly after World War II, the creation of discrete suburban communities would increase substantially. The process was and remains a rejection of the central city based, one might argue, on its political culture, its polluted landscape, and the nature of its population.

Transportation, the key component enabling suburban expansion, also presaged a different future for Cleveland. For nearly a century, Cleveland's industrial hegemony was virtually locked in by its access to water transport and major rail lines. However, by the late 1920s, automotive and truck transport had grown in importance. By the 1930s, new roads and highways were being built, some with the aid of federal WPA dollars. After the war, the network would expand enormously with the construction of the interstate system. Now freer to relocate, many industries left for more modern facilities in the distant suburbs or, often, for the lower wage rates and non-unionized labor available in southern states. Eventually, some would decamp to places outside the boundaries of the United States.

The city's leadership during the 1920s also witnessed the beginning of a major demographic change in the city, one that would challenge its attempts to promote harmony and cooperation among its many ethnic communities.

Ironically, the process of building harmony within a diverse population was apparently well underway during the 1920s, symbolized most tangibly by the establishment of the Cleveland Cultural Gardens. While many American cities promoted a strong 100% American agenda during World War I and the decade thereafter, Cleveland stood apart, by creating public programs that allowed various communities to retain and celebrate aspects of their heritage in a public manner. They included folk festivals near the Cleveland Museum of Art, the accumulation of a strong folk arts collection by that agency, and the series of Cultural Gardens stretching along what was then called Liberty Row, as a memorial to Clevelanders who died in the war. All were initiatives sanctioned by either the local government or those who oversaw the community's cultural agenda.

The real irony of this was that the movement to Cleveland of Europeans, whose cultures were the focus of these programs, began to wane at the outbreak of World War I and then was largely ended by restrictive immigration legislation in the early 1920s. Their place as laborers was taken up, in substantial part, by African American migrants. Cleveland's black population grew as a consequence of the Great Migration from the South. It stood at 2,062 in 1900, increased to 8,447 a decade later, and by 1920 had risen to 34,451. Within the next decade, it would more than double, to 71,899. African Americans had always been present in the region. Indeed, during the antebellum period, the city's New England roots made it a bastion of antislavery sentiment and a stop on the Underground Railroad. At that point, Cleveland was a place where a free African American was treated with reasonable equality. Within four decades after the Civil War had ended, this tolerance was being eroded by growing racial bias. When large numbers of blacks arrived in Cleveland during and after World War I, they found themselves segregated into the Cedar Central area, with their economic opportunities limited by prejudice. Absent European migration and given the increasing need for workers during the Second World War, the black population again expanded during what is known as the Second Great Migration, growing to 147,850 in 1950, and rising to 250,818 at the beginning of the 1960s. The racial division in the city, combined with a declining economy, led to the Hough riots of 1966 and the Glenville shoot-out of 1968, the most intense episodes of communitarian violence in the city's history. At that time, the Cultural Gardens, adjacent to both neighborhoods, lacked a site that specifically honored African-American heritage.

Racial tension, out-migration to the suburbs, and the loss of industry made the 1960s and 1970s one of the most complex periods in the city's history. Cleveland's population peaked at 914,808 in 1950. Twenty years later, it was 573,822. During this same period, the population of Cuyahoga County,

excluding Cleveland, rose from 474,724 to 924,578. Manufacturing employment reached its highest point in 1969, and then declined by one-third over the following twenty-one years. The impact of out-migration and loss of industry on tax revenues was considerable. In 1978, the city defaulted on \$14,000,000 in loans to six local banks.

In many ways, the decades of the 1960s and 1970s were as significant an historical watershed for the community as the decades centered on the Civil War. Both marked transitions, each of which was problematic. While, in retrospect, one can see the switch to an industrial economy as the beginning of a local golden age, it needs to be remembered that wrenching change occurred because of this shift. We easily forget about farmers and skilled independent producers, such as shoemakers, blacksmiths, and seamstresses, whose livelihoods were damaged or destroyed by industrial production. Indeed, we celebrate the image-building consequences — governmental reform, private-public partnership, philanthropy, modern social services, and a strong cultural infrastructure — which were catalyzed by disruptive industrialization.

In many ways, but not all, these community assets have assisted the city and region in moving forward in their search for a new economic basis and social stability. Tangible entities, such as community centers and foundations — most particularly, the Cleveland and Gund Foundations — have played significant roles in areas, such as neighborhood redevelopment, the fostering of intercultural relations, and the provision of feasibility studies or seed funding for entrepreneurs and businesses. Importantly, some of the not-for-profit entities created by the wealth of the industrial period have emerged as major players in the new economy. Modern health care, perhaps the key “industry” in twenty-first-century Cleveland, has its roots in voluntary organizations, such as the Ladies Aid Society of Old Stone Church, and the benevolence of industrialist-philanthropists, such as Samuel Mather: the former laid the groundwork and the latter then helped secure the funds for the growth and modernization of what is now University Hospitals of Cleveland. Cultural institutions, such as the orchestra, art museum, and natural history museum, help to make University Circle a tourist destination, at a time when tourism and the service industries that support it are seen as critical economic contributors to post-industrial Cleveland. Additionally, non-industrial entities, such as corporate law firms and banks, which were created to serve the industrial expansion, continue as active and important components of the service economy.

It can also be argued that the intangible aspects of the city’s image can catalyze actions that benefit the community in times of crisis. Despite the intense local racial divide in the twentieth century, a tradition of liberality seems to have continued. It led to the establishment of fair employment practices

legislation in the late 1940s; played a significant role in the election of Carl B. Stokes as mayor — the first African American mayor of a major U.S. city — in 1967, and underpinned the creation of organizations such as the Lomond and Ludlow associations, which worked to insure desegregation and a balanced population mix in two neighborhoods in the once exclusive suburb of Shaker Heights. Altruism seems almost ingrained in the community's psyche. Some would claim it derives from the tradition of stewardship brought to the region by the early Protestant settlers from New England. Today, thanks to that tradition, fortified by similar impulses in the Catholic, Jewish, and non-Judeo Christian communities, and abetted by a variety of federal laws, Cleveland and northeastern Ohio are home to dozens of philanthropic foundations, both private and corporate.

Yet, the issue posited at the beginning of this chapter still looms for Cleveland and northeastern Ohio. Cities are economic entities, and those attributes of civilization that come to make up their public image or persona are the consequences of vibrant economies. The wealth created in Cleveland and northeastern Ohio during the region's industrial apogee was enormous, so much so that it has continued to support culture, charity, and education up to the present. The question remains as to how long the residue of that wealth can continue to support communal needs and cultural amenities, and also whether prosperity generated by the evolving medical and service economy can make up for any loss and, secondarily, even increase the legacy generated by the industrial period. There is reason to be sanguine here, for if one carefully reads the names on new buildings in educational, cultural, and medical complexes, one sees a shift to surnames that do not reflect the heritage, both ethnic and entrepreneurial, of nineteenth-century industrialists. Rather, they belong to individuals whose migration stories are more recent and whose fortunes were created, in part, in real estate, building, and finance.

If there is one matter that tends to lessen this sanguinity, it is the matter of definition — definition of the community in terms of legal boundaries and demographic composition. The essential economic substructure of the community tells us that "Cleveland" is more than the area within the city's borders. Interestingly, the broader economic community today roughly fills the outline of what Connecticut held as its Western Reserve. Similarly, the amenities of Cleveland, the city, are enjoyed by an audience that lives throughout the region — sports teams belong to residents not only of Cleveland, but all of northeastern Ohio, as do its orchestra, art museum, and other cultural treasures. Major health care providers centered in the city operate branches throughout the region. Despite this regional unity based on economics and shared amenities, there is still a struggle to develop a coordinated approach to governance,

education, and policy. The movement toward regional government, which began in the 1930s, is an unfinished item from the early post-Progressive agenda. There have been successful efforts toward regionalism in the park system, water and sewage, and public transit, which have extended such services beyond the city's boundaries. However, the economic, ethnic, and racial divisions that endure within Cleveland and its surrounding communities complicate any move to a system of governance that would have pleased those who made Cleveland an efficient city and a national model some one hundred years ago.

The Public Square of Cleveland has, true to its New England origins, endured as a communal area for over two centuries. It has been, in turn, a village commons, the "Monumental Square" of a growing mercantile center, and the busy hub of the fifth largest city in the nation. Yet, it has remained geographically intact through major and, for many individuals, cataclysmic changes in the community's economy. It is surrounded by buildings that seem to show that the city and the community can deal with vast demographic change. First Presbyterian Church stands near the Metzenbaum Court House, named after a Jewish U.S. Senator; near the Square are the Lausche State Office Building, named after a Slovenian mayor, governor, and senator, and just beyond it, the Stokes Federal Courthouse, named after another mayor, the grandson of a slave. These buildings have a potent symbolism, one that is reflected even more strongly in the diversity of the crowds who come to the Square on July 4th to hear the annual open-air concert by the world-famous Cleveland Orchestra. These symbols augur for what needs to come next to insure that the community survives. It is not so much the move to a new economic base: that is already largely underway. It is the need to move beyond the parochial and to construct a functional regional community — a twenty-first century Western Reserve, which identifies with its economic cohesiveness and fully accepts, rather than simply celebrates, its global heritage.



Lorenzo Carter (1767–1814).
Drawing by Morgan Jordan.

THE MAN WHO SAVED CLEVELAND

MICHAEL D. ROBERTS & MARGARET GULLEY

Cleveland in the summer of 1797 was hot, thick with malaria, and filled with perilous swamps. Creeks, rivers, ponds, and the lake invited drowning. Poisonous snakes slithered across the narrow Indian trails and lurking in dense forests were the natives themselves, strange and fearful creatures to the aspiring pioneers.

The winter here offered even more treachery. Snow as high as a horse's head and packs of snarling wolves threatened travelers. The ice and wind could freeze a careless man to death before he could contemplate his demise.

That fall, as the surveyors of the Connecticut Land Company prepared to return east before the harsh weather set in, only four families remained to endure winter's wrath. The work had not gone well and the investors were upset because the land company was far behind schedule. While the city would be named after the surveying leader, Moses Cleaveland, he would never return, likely because of the trouble with the land company and the hardship of that summer.

Remaining behind would be the guardian of those families and ultimately the settlement itself, Lorenzo Carter. Considered a legend even in his day, Carter was a frontiersman who, when thrust into danger and travail, always seemed to emerge and prevail.

Yet today, he is barely celebrated. Time has cast a shadow on his rugged and outspoken spirit, while illuminating the more urbane Moses Cleaveland. The truth is that, for those first few critical years, Carter was the only thing holding the settlement together.

To this day, some maintain that the city should bear Carter's name rather than that of Cleaveland.

The founding of the city was no easy adventure and what happened in the summer of 1797 illustrated the challenges that were confronted and the role played by Lorenzo Carter in the fledgling community.

Aside from the difficulties that the swamps and forests posed, the land company workers fell victim to a fever that caused dysentery and fits, rendering them exhausted and unfit for work. The illness brought death as well, as more and more of the settlers and workers succumbed to the disease.

There began an exodus back to the east and the settlement appeared in jeopardy as most of the original settlers moved away from the lake and river to higher ground toward the south. At one point, the Carter family were the only white inhabitants of Cleveland proper.

A tough, dark, complicated man, direct in his speech, with riveting blue eyes and black shoulder length hair, Carter possessed extraordinary skills in hunting and woodcraft. He could communicate with the Native Americans and his appearance and demeanor appealed to them.

At six feet, muscular, yet as nimble as a forest creature, Carter presented an intimidating figure. His ability with ax, rifle, knife, and fists was widely known. His contemporaries referred to him as the Major, or the Pioneer. Indians thought him possessed of magic and able to kill an animal with his rifle without piercing the skin.

With no medicines available to aid the suffering surveyors, Carter turned to the Indians for help. They showed him that a blend of dogwood and cherry bark would achieve similar results as quinine in easing the fever of malaria.

Carter became ill, but never succumbed to the disease. He and his wife, Rebecca, treated many in the plague-filled community. He hunted game for those who lay sick with fever, enabling many to survive.

This demonstration of courage and knowledge most likely kept a flickering flame of community alive, for it would have taken years for Cleveland to develop as a location of any prominence had the fever been more ravaging.

How Carter came to the shores of Lake Erie was a story that many in the newly constituted United States shared. The lure that drew them was a future that would be governed by the freedom which had become the foundation of the new nation.

Carter grew up in Connecticut, the son of a Revolutionary War veteran who died of smallpox when Lorenzo was 11. As a child he was fascinated by the library in Warren, Connecticut — an interest that would be rekindled years later in Cleveland. After his mother remarried, the family moved to Vermont, where he learned to ride, hunt, shoot, and track wild animals.

In 1789, Carter married Rebecca Fuller and appeared destined to become a Vermont farmer. But Ohio fever — enticing stories of the opportunity that lay to the west in the land of “New Connecticut” — seized his imagination. Sometime in either late 1795 or early 1796, he set out with a companion to see this beckoning territory.

Carter’s reconnoitering of the Cuyahoga River gave him a vision of potential prosperity, for he returned to Vermont determined to relocate his family in the Western Reserve. They left Vermont with his brother-in-law, Ezekiel Hawley (sometimes called Holley) and his family, and wintered in Canada, arriving here on May 2, 1797.

He was 30 when he returned to the Cuyahoga River, well seasoned in the ways of the wild. Carter was more than a woodsman, though, having an aptitude for enterprise, construction, farming, and the technology of the day.

Over time, it would take all of Carter’s considerable skills to save the settlement from starvation, fear of Indians, and disease. Later, as the colony grew, the community turned to him as a leader to such an extent that, before laws were codified and courts established, he was the law.

He built a log cabin that summer of 1797, on the river just north of what is now St. Clair Avenue. The land for it cost \$47.50. The cabin was described as being pretentious and topped with a garret. This expansive log structure served the community in multiple ways. It was a town hall, the school house, a tavern, and a place for travelers to seek shelter. It was a place to learn news, albeit old news, for the passage back to the east coast could be as long as three months.

The cabin was a malodorous place, smelling of smoke, sweat, the aroma of food cooking in the hearth, and sometimes blended with the odor of New England rum. Virtually anyone who passed by was welcome and the nearby Indians would peer in with curiosity.

Rebecca Carter did not like Indians loitering around the cabin. She was terrified of them and often would cry out in fear if they surprised her. She ran and hid behind a wood pile if she saw them approach.

More than once, Lorenzo would catch a mischievous Indian harassing his wife and threaten him with physical harm, which he could deliver swifter than any man in the settlement.

The cabin hosted the first wedding in the colony on July 4, 1797, when Mrs. Carter’s household worker was married. In 1801, the cabin held the first formal dance that would take place in the colony in celebration of July 4. There were more than 30 in attendance and a mixture of maple sugar, water, and whisky was served to the revelers, who danced to the squeal of a fiddle.

Contemporary accounts of Carter describe him as a man of principle, but not without prejudice. He made no secret of his dislike of black people, although he could not abide slavery. One account of the time illustrates the complexity of the man:

A black man named Ben had survived a shipwreck nearby on Lake Erie in 1806. The man, nearly frozen to death, was taken to Carter's tavern, where he was fed and treated for frostbitten toes. Carter and his wife nursed the man back to health. That fall, two armed men from Kentucky arrived, claiming that the man was an escaped slave. Carter told the two that he would only consent to the black man's departure if the slave made the decision to return on his own volition. What took place at this point is not clear, but accounts say the slave departed with the two Kentuckians only to be stopped at gunpoint a few miles away by two of Carter's men, who held the two at bay, while the black man made his escape. He later found freedom in Canada.

Carter's achievements in the early years of the community were remarkable. Seeking to create regular commerce toward the east, he built a 30-ton vessel called the *Zephyr* that travelled the lake coast, trading furs and transporting grindstones. Historians credit him with officially opening the port of Cleveland and beginning a shipbuilding trade that in 50 years would be the largest in the nation.

The vessel enabled the struggling frontier town to receive much needed staples like salt, iron, tools, leather, groceries, and clothing. Again, Carter's intrepid ingenuity served the community as a whole.

A craftsman seemingly of infinite ability, he built the first two-storey frame house on Superior, only to see it burn down when children began to play with fire amidst the wood chips. Carter would also suffer the tragedy of having his son, Henry, 10, drown in the Cuyahoga River. In all, he sired nine children.

In 1802, after obtaining a license for four dollars to run a tavern, Carter built yet another structure. He had purchased 23.5 acres of land, 12 of which fronted on what is now West 9th Street. Here he built a block house that would gain fame as the Carter Tavern and it served as the first hotel in Cleveland.

Carter complained of the land company prices, which seemed continually to decline, dropping from \$50 an acre to \$25, at one point.

Carter was elected a captain in the militia in May of 1804, but the election was contested by those who claimed that he was ineligible for the office, because he gave liquor to the voters and threatened to turn the savages on the community if not elected. Apparently, nothing became of the charges, but the

challenge served to show the disaffection between the pioneers and the newcomers. In August, Carter was elected major, a title he carried for the rest of his life.

The clashes between Carter and the increasing number of easterners who had invested in the Connecticut Land Company were frequent. The newcomers resented Carter's influence, position, and prestige.

Carter had such a reputation as a fighter that strangers hearing of his prowess would travel here, perhaps to best him in a brawl. Those who knew him said that he was never known to lose a street fight.

The first indictment recorded in the Western Reserve was in 1803 and was noted as being against "Mr. Carter, the pioneer, for an assault upon James Hamilton." Friends attested that Carter was not a quarrelsome person and would only fight if he was insulted. One can only guess what the dispute was regarding Hamilton.

He also had a reputation in contemporary histories of being a man who helped the unfortunate and obliged neighbors and strangers. A drink could always be had at his tavern.

Liquor was a commodity that played an important role on the frontier. It was not only to drink, it could be bartered as currency. Sadly, one of its more important uses was to quell the natives who had a taste for spirits, but could not manage its excesses. Carter was a practiced producer of alcohol and equally adept at manipulating the Indians with it.

In 1798, when a Seneca medicine man was accused of malpractice in the death of the wife of an Indian from another tribe, the husband stabbed him to death, causing the potential for tribal warfare.

Already the Chippewas had donned black war paint and were off in the forest issuing blood curdling oaths and behaving in the most fearsome manner.

Carter, recognizing that any fighting could get out of control and the violence spill over into the white community, ameliorated the dispute by having a neighbor brew two gallons of whiskey. Since the capacity of the still was only two quarts daily, it took some time to yield the liquor. The danger was so dire that Carter did not sleep for two nights, according to his son Alonzo.

The Chippewas and Ottawas traditionally celebrated in the spring and one year they traded furs with Carter for whiskey. When they drank the first lot, they traded for more, and so on, until the band of natives became drunk. A calculating Carter decided to cut the whiskey with water, while continuing to barter with the braves.

Upon coming to their senses, the Indians realized that the spirits had been diluted and became enraged. Nine of them attacked the Major's cabin. He fought them off with a fire poker, driving them to the river and their canoes. Later, a party of Indian women came to make peace with Carter. Thankfully, the women had disarmed the braves, before the drinking bout had begun.

By 1810, following the purchase of land on the west bank of the Cuyahoga River from the Indians, Carter and his son bought a piece of land near the river's mouth. There they built the Red House Tavern and established a farm.

Carter had his vision of justice and administered it in the colony in a manner that brought him acclaim by his fellow citizens. In 1812, When an Indian brave, an acquaintance of Carter's, was found guilty of murder, it was Lorenzo who escorted him to the gallows on what is now Public Square. He gave the condemned man whiskey to numb his fear and saw to it that he was properly dispatched. Such was justice on the frontier.

That year, Carter discovered he was suffering from a form of cancer on his face. The indomitable Major travelled to Virginia, where physicians told him his disease was untreatable. He returned and unable to accept his fate, secluded himself in his room at the tavern, crying out in pain and refusing the ministrations of his wife, who remained outside his door throughout the ordeal. It was a humbling end for a man so robust and heroic.

After his death, Carter's half brother, John A. Ackley, would write:

Many stories are told of Major Carter, some are true, and many that are not true. He was the man for a pioneer, with strength of body and mind, but not cultivated. His maxim was not to give an insult, nor receive one, without resenting it, and the insulter generally paid dear for his temerity. With all his faults, his heart was in the right place and was as ready to avenge a wrong done to the weak as one done to himself.

Carter died on February 14, 1814, at the age of 47, and is buried in Erieview Cemetery, just left of the gate on East 9th Street. Everyday, hundreds of cars pass a few yards from his grave, oblivious of this remarkable man and what he did in that dark and dangerous beginning. But for him, there may never have been a great city on the spot it is.



Hungarian immigrants celebrating the sunflower harvest in Cleveland, 1913.

IMMIGRATION

ELIZABETH SULLIVAN

Cleveland long has been a city of steel and autos, a city that boomed with ore men, oilmen and corporate titans and then busted not long after the oil price shocks of the 1970s helped push steel onto life support. It's a city whose burning river sparked the cleanup of all the Great Lakes, a place that's finally willing to spark the reinvention of itself through biotech, high-tech, wind energy, green jobs, and medicine.

But through all these years — even going back to 1796 when Moses Cleaveland and his team of land speculators arrived as descendants of English settlers — it's also been a city of immigrants and migrants. Immigrants from England, Germany, Ireland, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary, from the Ottoman Empire, and Lebanon, from the South, including the great African-American migrations of the early 1900s, from Lithuania, Latvia, Belarus, Puerto Rico, and Mexico, from the Czech Republic, Romania, Ukraine, Russia, and Italy, from Albania, the ex-Yugoslavia, Guyana, and Jamaica, from Korea, China, and India, from Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and South Africa, from scores of other nations, and from a mix of religions, Judaism to Lutheranism, Catholicism to Buddhism.

These continuing waves of new arrivals helped set Cleveland's cultural tone. They established its first hospitals, houses of worship, and other institutions. They settled neighborhoods that bear their marks to this day in architecture and urban landscapes.

Immigrants stoked the great open hearth furnaces of Cleveland's steel mills and sewed the fabrics that made the city an early center of the garment industry. They worked the docks and the railroads. They brought a multi-ethnic flavor to city politics — ward heelers heeling by last name and country of origin — but they also created one of the great, high-octane metropolises. They did that through the sheer audacity of what it means to be an immigrant, to leave the familiar place of home and family to find a new start — and then to work together, organizing sometimes by national origin, by family roots, by religion,

by language to help seed the small businesses and family stores that propelled jobs from the factories to the street corners.

At one time, Cleveland was home to so many Slovenians that it was the largest “Slovenian” city in the world, surpassing Ljubljana, capital of present-day Slovenia; to so many Hungarians that it was the second largest “Hungarian” city in the world, after Budapest; and to three times as many Slovaks as lived in Bratislava, now capital of an independent Slovakia but that, in 1910, was a largely Germanic and Hungarian city.

They brought their art and music with them: Following the Hungarian and Slovak factory workers to Cleveland were Roma musicians who for decades made Cleveland the New Orleans of the north, their rousing musicians’ funeral processions and plaintive nightclub Gypsy music part of the stimulating mixture of peoples, cultures, and religions that gave the city its flair.

So, too, the progenitors of Cleveland’s diverse button-box accordion and polka music, with Polish, Italian, Czech, German, and Croatian styles, but whose most important heir was Frankie Yankovic and his Cleveland-style Slovenian polka. Yankovic was the son of Slovenian immigrants who’d met in a West Virginian lumber camp and moved to the Collinwood neighborhood of Cleveland in the early 1900s, reportedly after his father’s bootlegging business came to the attention of West Virginia police. It was in Cleveland that the young Yankovic learned the accordion from one of the boarders his father took in to supplement the family’s income from construction work and, later, a hardware store. The National Cleveland-Style Polka Hall of Fame was established in Euclid in 1987, the year after Frankie Yankovic became America’s first recipient of a Grammy for polka music.

The Cleveland Public Library showed the adaptability that was to make it one of the country’s foremost research libraries by quickly adding foreign-language collections to its offerings, starting with German, and then Yiddish, Italian, Hebrew, Czech, and Polish by the early 1900s — expanding rapidly into other languages, from Hungarian and Romanian to Vietnamese and Swahili. According to the *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, the city’s library system was the first in the country to include Belorussian language materials, starting in 1973; by 1995, its foreign-literature offerings, with books in 45 languages, as well as a variety of foreign-language periodicals, tapes, and cassettes, were, according to the online Cleveland encyclopedia article by Jerzy J. Maciuszko, posted at ech.cwru.edu, the most extensive for a public library in the United States.

The presence of so many diverse peoples and religions, and their connections to home countries, also made Cleveland a bridge to world politics. It

was in Cleveland that Czechs and Slovaks came together in 1915 to agree, via the Cleveland Pact, on a union of what was to become Czechoslovakia. Then there was the rise to leadership positions within Cleveland's Jewish community of two influential rabbis who were fierce Zionists, Rabbi Barnett Robert Brickner of the Anshe Chesed congregation and, especially, Lithuanian-born Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, who led the Temple in Cleveland for more than four decades. Their intense advocacy for the state of Israel helped win U.S. and U.N. support for creation of a Jewish homeland.

Later in the 20th century, financial support from some ethnic groups in Cleveland became a factor in nationalist movements back home, from the IRA and the Irish nationalist cause against the British in Ireland, to the 1991 Croatian independence struggle. The significance of Cleveland contributions drew to Cleveland two Croatians who later became Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman and Stipe Mesic, as well as Gerry Adams and others from Sinn Fein's top political leadership in Northern Ireland.

Today, as Cleveland tries to reinvent itself as a smarter, savvier, more highly educated, more adaptable 21st-century city, it must not dismiss or overlook the core energy and drive that defines the immigrant experience. Immigrants still are helping to make our neighborhoods tidier, livelier, and more diverse. They are bringing economic focus and jobs. Immigrants — particularly highly educated immigrants, but also entrepreneurial family groups and immigrants who continue to act as a bridge to their home countries for attracting businesses and investors — may be the most overlooked economic drivers, both in Cleveland and the nation, of urban revitalization and future wealth.

Cleveland can do much — and much, much more than it's doing now — to attract and nurture this sort of immigrant. Indeed, such immigrants already are effecting change in Cleveland. If you look closely, you may find them transforming a neighborhood near you.

HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION IN CLEVELAND

As long as Cleveland was a sleepy backwater, it attracted few immigrants apart from those early settlers, who descended largely from original English colonists.

But the Ohio and Erie Canal, which opened in the early 1830s, made Cleveland the important terminus of an economic lifeline extending deep into the country's heartland and linking the city into a nationwide water transport network. Helped by industrial innovations from steel barons who pioneered what could be called the Cleveland system of manufacturing, in which factories no longer had to be located right next to mines or other sources of raw

materials, but could take advantage of water transport to move heavy cargo and finished goods long distances, Cleveland boomed.

The expansion of the railroads reinforced the city's manufacturing might, including in chemicals and oil refining — as did the Civil War, with its demands for iron and steel. Cleveland's population exploded, growing almost 90-fold from 1830 to 1870, the year John D. Rockefeller incorporated his Standard Oil company in Cleveland.

From a tiny hamlet modeled on small New England villages with their central squares, Cleveland had transformed into the nation's 15th largest metropolis by 1870, with nearly 93,000 residents. And it was still growing.

In 1920, with a population that had ballooned to nearly 800,000, Cleveland was the nation's 5th largest city. The early decades of the 20th century were the halcyon days of the city's economic power, nationally and internationally, a time during which immigration success paralleled economic success.

Immigrants were attracted not just by jobs, but by earlier waves of immigrants who brought familiar foods and other cultural attributes with them. Yet immigration was not just a mirror for Cleveland's power. Immigrants themselves also enhanced the city's economic prospects through their work ethics, craftsmanship, deep sense of social and religious structure, and other skills. Many of Cleveland's earliest hospitals were started by German church groups, including the former German Hospital in Fairview Park, now Fairview Park Hospital, and Lutheran Hospital on the near West Side. So were its breweries.

Well-educated dissidents from the unsuccessful 1848 revolutions in Europe and their descendants put their distinctive mark on the intellectual life of Cleveland. One such was physicist Albert Abraham Michelson, whose Jewish family emigrated in 1855 from Strelno, Prussia (later Strzelno, Poland), when he was a toddler, settling first in Western mining camps. In 1907, Michelson became the first American to win a Nobel Prize in the sciences, for his physics experiments at Cleveland's Case School of Applied Science, measuring the speed of light.

The skills of old-world craftsmen can still be seen in the stonemasonry of Lake View Cemetery monuments, many carved by Italian masters who settled in nearby Murray Hill, and the incredible carved wood, iron, and stone work and murals of the city's ethnic houses of worship, from the intricately carved imported German white oak installed in the 1890s that decorates the interior of the old St. Stephen's Church on West 54th Street — a church for which German craftsmen used locally available wood and iron in place of traditional stone interiors, according to *Cleveland Sacred Landmarks* by Cleveland State University researchers — to the elaborate carvings and hand-hewn red oak pews lovingly

created by Polish craftsmen for the Shrine Church of St. Stanislaus in the Little Warsaw section of Slavic Village. Not to mention the massive stone blocks hoisted by Italian immigrant brawn that in the 1950s became St. Rocco's Church on the West Side.

Sadly, some ethnic churches with their hand-carved woodwork, marbles, and distinctive stained glass and murals were closed as part of the 2009–2010 retrenchment by the Cleveland Catholic Diocese, in which 50 Roman Catholic parishes in the diocese were closed or merged because of declining numbers of worshippers. The closures were an especially poignant commentary on the relative loss of population in neighborhoods of Cleveland originally settled by immigrants; affected parishes were home to some of the city's oldest Catholic churches built by Eastern European immigrants between 1880 and 1930 — a period when the owners of Cleveland's mills actively recruited Czech, Polish, Croatian, and other migrants.

Yet the city's diverse artistic heritage finds ongoing expression in a variety of ethnic arts displays — from the folk-art, costumery, and ceramics of the Romanian Ethnic Art Museum on the West Side, the Hungarian Museum in Tremont, and the Czech and Slovak Bohemian Hall on Broadway to the annual Cleveland Fine Art Expo of African-American and ethnic art. A thousand years of Jewish culture in Europe, largely eradicated by the Holocaust, is celebrated not just in the city's temples, but also in the Maltz Museum of Jewish Culture in Beachwood.

The city's revitalized cultural gardens along Martin Luther King Jr. Drive from Lake Erie to University Circle now include a restored statue of Marie Curie by Polish sculptor Frank L. Jirouche, an arresting stainless steel bowl-like sculpture entitled “Hearth” that was unveiled in 2008 by Azerbaijani artist Khanlar Gasimov, and, next to it, the local Armenian-American contribution, the 2009 geometric “Alphabet” sculpture by architect Berj Shakerian.

But immigrants to Cleveland didn't just impact the city's religious life and its arts and intellectual culture.

TAMMANY CLEVELAND

The tight-knit nature of some immigrant groups also translated into influence on city politics, with the Irish in particular adept at turning numbers into political clout. Robert E. McKisson, Cleveland mayor from 1895 to 1898, although himself descended from settlers of probable Scots-Irish derivation who'd arrived in northern Summit County early in the 19th century, ran one of the country's earliest — albeit, shortest-lived — political machines based upon the tight-knit Irish immigrant community.

Even after that machine unwound at the end of the 19th century, ethnic political power persisted through ward heelers from neighborhoods of immigrants, whether Polish, Italian, Irish, or Hungarian. The ethnic loyalties were reinforced by the tendency of many immigrants to follow in the wake of friends, neighbors, or family, effectively transporting village and kinship loyalties to Northeast Ohio.

Most Irish immigrants to Cleveland, for instance, came from one county in Ireland — Mayo — and many of them were from the even tinier Achill Island off the Mayo coast. In 1995, when *Plain Dealer* reporter Mike O'Malley asked school children in one classroom on Achill Island to raise their hands if they had family members in Cleveland, almost every child raised a hand. A plaque on the wall of a Catholic church on the island thanked donors to the church's 1964–1965 restoration, “especially our exiles in Cleveland.”

The tiny hamlet of Aitaneet in the Bekaa valley of present-day Lebanon exported most of its sons and daughters to just a handful of destinations — Cleveland, Montreal, or Detroit.

Likewise, many of Cleveland's Italian immigrants traced from a small number of towns in Sicily and the Campania and Abruzzi regions. Gene P. Veronesi in his 1977 book, *Italian-Americans and their Communities of Cleveland*, cites Josef Barton's seminal 1975 study of differing patterns of immigration to Cleveland as indicating that half of all Italian immigrants to the city arrived from just 10 villages in southern Italy. That was in contrast to Romanian and Slovak migration patterns to Cleveland, in which such relationship chains were relatively rare.

For the Irish and Italians and some other immigrant groups, such as Croatians and Slovenians who came from relatively small Balkan enclaves, the propinquity of origin and destination helped solidify political power, and perpetuate ties with the “old country.”

John J. Grabowski of Case Western Reserve University and the Western Reserve Historical Society, the area's leading expert on immigration and settlement patterns in Cleveland, has charted how these migration chains impacted Cleveland area neighborhoods, for decades drawing waves of related immigrants to certain addresses, intersections, and city areas. These ranged from “Dutch Hill” and “The Angle” — the city's oldest Irish neighborhood — both on the West Side, to the St. Clair (Croatian, Slovenian, and Serbian), Kinsman (Jewish), Cedar Central (African-American), and Buckeye (Hungarian) neighborhoods on the East Side.

In Lakewood, the “Bird's Nest” neighborhood was created more or less as a company neighborhood by the old National Carbon Company (later Union

Carbide), which in the 1890s laid out the streets named for birds, as part of a recruitment drive of Slovak factory workers.

Some of these settlement patterns persist to this day. The St. Clair neighborhood east of downtown continued to attract Balkan immigrants from Serbia, Albania, Bosnia, and Croatia throughout the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s.

Although the Buckeye neighborhood near Shaker Square now is largely African-American — four of every five residents — 2 percent still listed Hungarian ancestry in the 2000 census.

Politicians with eastern European roots continue to exercise influence: Joe Cimperman, first elected to Cleveland City Council in 1997, is a first-generation Slovenian — as was former Ohio Governor Frank Lausche decades before him. Lausche became the first Cleveland mayor of eastern European descent, when he was elected in 1941.

Former Cleveland mayor and seven-term (as of 2010) congressman Dennis Kucinich is a second-generation Croatian, while the politician who unseated Kucinich as Cleveland mayor, George Voinovich, who then became a two-term Ohio governor and two-term U.S. senator, is descended from Slovenes and ethnic Serbs from Croatia.

Immigration continues from eastern Europe to this day, notably Germans, Romanians, Russians, Italians, and Poles following co-nationals to Cleveland.

In the early 20th century, area steel mills also began recruiting in the Western Hemisphere, primarily in Mexico.

Large-scale Puerto Rican migration to Cleveland and Lorain began after World War II, when area auto and steel plants such as National Tube Company, later part of U.S. Steel, recruited heavily in the Commonwealth, whose residents have been U.S. citizens since 1917 (many serving in the U.S. armed forces in both world wars and in every war since).

As of 2008, the U.S. Census Bureau estimated that more than 34,000 people of Puerto Rican heritage or birth lived in Cuyahoga County, making it the 28th largest county for Puerto Rican residence in the United States — and the primary reason the U.S. Justice Department demanded in 2010 that Cuyahoga County begin printing all election ballots in both English and Spanish.

But large blocs of immigrants also have come from the Palestinian territories, Jamaica, Vietnam, Ukraine, China, the Philippines, India, Guatemala, Somalia, West Africa, Bosnia, and Iraq — to mention only some.

The Cuyahoga County Board of Elections began providing Russian- and Chinese-language speakers in some voting districts. And despite the U.S.

Justice Department's focus on the voting rights of Spanish-speaking voters of Puerto Rican descent, the Cleveland neighborhood with the highest percentage of residents with deficient English skills in the 2000 census was the Little Asia neighborhood of Goodrich/Kirtland Park on the near East Side, where Chinese and other East Asian languages are the impediment. That neighborhood ranked first in Cleveland in 2000 both in number of foreign-born residents and in number of Asian immigrants, the bulk from mainland China.

NO WELCOME MAT FOR IMMIGRANTS

All has not been smooth sailing for new arrivals to Cleveland, even in the years when immigration boomed. Immigrants to Cleveland confronted discrimination in housing, employment, and education, and attempts by some white Protestant groups to acculturate other groups, both linguistically and religiously. Often, immigrants experienced infighting within their own immigrant communities over ideology and religion.

The Cleveland Encyclopedia, prepared for the city's Bicentennial in 1996, says that bilingual education was offered in Cleveland public schools as early as 1870 — not for altruistic reasons, but as an attempt to induce the city's large Germanic population to abandon nationality schools taught only in German and to assimilate to English-language education instead.

Protestants sent “missions” into ethnic neighborhoods while the city's Catholic diocese, under its first bishop, French-born Louis Amadeus Rappe, resisted in the late 19th century setting up ethnic parishes — until lobbying of Rome by the city's Germans and Irish ended the prohibition. By 1908, *The Cleveland Encyclopedia* reports, more than half the city's Roman Catholic parishes were “nationality” parishes, rather than neighborhood ones.

Adding to the diversity were the early 20th-century migrations of African Americans to Cleveland, seeking the opportunities denied them in a South constricted by Reconstruction and later Jim Crow. This wholesale migration, following the rail lines north, established in Cleveland what scholar Kimberly Phillips called “Alabama North,” in her award-winning 1999 book of that name, describing the impact of this migration chain. It indelibly affected neighborhoods from Central to Mount Pleasant. More than half of all southern blacks in the Great Migration northward in 1916–1918 came to just five cities, Phillips writes — Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Pittsburgh.

African Americans brought with them their Southern customs, cooking, music, and values, including a focus on the church and family as the center of the community. They also made Cleveland a locus of black intellectual life,

ranging from author Charles Chesnutt, born in Cleveland in 1858, to Langston Hughes, who in the early part of the 20th century boarded in a number of homes on the East Side of Cleveland, as he worked for his education.

But by 1915, reversing earlier, more liberal trends, black migrants to Cleveland faced a backlash of intense prejudice in finding homes, jobs, and cultural and educational acceptance. Unlike the assimilation efforts aimed at most immigrants, African Americans faced closed doors and extreme segregation, from beaches to neighborhoods, schools, and educational avenues of mobility. The effects of this segregation remain painfully apparent to this day in the many Cleveland neighborhoods that are more than 95 percent African-American.

Cleveland's ethnic enclaves also boiled with rivalries that reflected conflicts in home countries. These were seen in Cleveland Slovaks' successful 1902 veto of the Hungarian community's attempt to build a statue on Public Square honoring Hungarian nationalist Lajos Kossuth — the statue was built at University Circle instead. Slovaks had successfully mobilized against the monument by lobbying many of the Cleveland region's Slavs, whose countrymen had been absorbed into the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Immigrant Jews of German origin who favored more liberal tenets and assimilation confronted, sometimes uncomfortably, newer arrivals from eastern Europe with more conservative religious notions, and deeper social needs.

Serbian Orthodox Christians split down the middle into an anti-Communist church that opposed anything emanating from then-Communist Yugoslavia and those who still looked to the home-country church for guidance. This split was resolved only by the wave of Serbian nationalism that arose during the 1990s Yugoslav wars.

IMMIGRATION AS AN ECONOMIC DRIVER

In the America of the early 21st century, immigration has become a negative word, often paired with the adjective “illegal.”

Yet this attitude obscures the real trends in U.S. immigration, ignores the stabilizing, family-friendly, and entrepreneurial nature of most immigrants, and diminishes the positive impact that immigrants can make, especially in communities such as Philadelphia that have worked hard to attract well-educated, well-heeled immigrants, who can make an immediate economic difference.

Recent studies of immigration trends by think tanks as diverse as the conservative Hoover Institution and Rand Corporation and the liberal Brookings Institution suggest that only in states such as California that are overwhelmed by very poor immigrants with low educational attainment has immigration

become a net drain on the economy. One inference from these findings is that a smarter economic strategy would be to do more to erase discrimination and to lift other barriers to productive employment for these poorer immigrants, including a greater investment in education, thereby making them net contributors.

Yet immigration is changing. In many if not most U.S. cities, the studies suggest, a new generation of what might be called new-economy immigrants is expanding economic opportunities for all residents by creating new companies, revitalizing neighborhoods, driving the new innovation economy, and attracting investments from overseas.

So even as the stereotypical view persists that immigrants take jobs from native citizens, immigration is changing fundamentally into a value-added proposition.

The Brookings studies in particular suggest that post-1990 immigration has drawn educated immigrant groups not just to cities such as Philadelphia, Boston, and Indianapolis, which have specific programs to lure them, but also to Cleveland, where the city's emerging power in biotech and affordable neighborhoods close to Cleveland State University and Case Western Reserve University have attracted clusters of highly-educated immigrant Indians, Chinese, and others. Immigrants within these clusters then lure other immigrants to provide the food and services they crave. And these new-economy immigrants, initially drawn by educational opportunities, later team to start their own firms, including the next generation of high-tech startups.

In the 2000 census, the Cleveland neighborhood with the highest percentage of foreign-born residents — 14.5 percent — was the University Circle area around CWRU, the Cleveland Clinic, and University Hospitals. (The top five non-native nationalities living there were Chinese, Indian, Russian, Japanese, and Thai, in that order.) More than three-quarters of this population had immigrated since 1990, in contrast with the city's older immigrant neighborhoods, such as South Collinwood, where 41 percent of the foreign-born arrived before 1965.

In marked contrast with their 19th-century counterparts, these new-economy immigrants tend to think globally in how they see their roles, their firms, and their personal opportunities. That's certainly true of Japan-born, CWRU-educated physicist Hiroyuki Fujita, who in 2006 started Quality Electrodynamics LLC in his CWRU lab, making parts for Magnetic Resonance Imaging machines. Now headquartered in Mayfield Village, QED is one of the Cleveland region's biotech success stories. Yet Fujita didn't draw inspiration from the old Cleveland manufacturing system. Instead, as he told Mary Vanac

of Cleveland's *Medcity News* in a 2010 interview, he drew the model for his firm from one of Japan's early globalists, the entrepreneur-philanthropist Kazuo Inamori, who in 1959 founded a Kyoto ceramics company that was to become the electronics giant Kyocera.

Brookings studies of the impact of such immigrants suggest that the communities that are best able to attract and retain new-economy migrants will see a huge economic spin-off in job creation and innovation. These impacts can happen organically, but Bookings notes that Philadelphia has greatly accelerated them, using a welcome center to recruit and retain immigrants.

Yet even as Philadelphia and other cities worked hard in recent years to attract immigrants, Cleveland lagged, without the political will and vision to make similar moves, and with Cleveland Mayor Frank Jackson late to the table on the immigration issue. Fortunately the Cleveland area's Jewish community — which helped assimilate tens of thousands of Russian Jews and has successfully used immigrant ties to Israel to attract Israeli medical businesses to locate in Cleveland — in mid-2010 stepped forward with a strategic study and plan to establish an International Welcome Center in Cleveland.

At the same time, immigrant Eddy Zai of Pepper Pike was setting up the Cleveland International Fund to take advantage of a U.S. program that offers green cards, a step toward citizenship, to foreign investors who sink substantial sums in depressed parts of the United States. Zai recruited potential Cleveland investors in countries as diverse as England, India, and China. The result: a \$20 million initial investment in 2010 in the Flats East Bank project, a critical component of that project's financing. Zai expected to pull together millions more in immigrant investments for that East Bank redevelopment as well as for health-care opportunities, real estate, and movie-making efforts in Cleveland.

Zai's personal story of immigrant success may, unfortunately, have been necessary to counteract perceptions overseas that Cleveland is not welcoming to immigrants. That view has gained currency in China, in particular, because of the prominent opposition of Cleveland-area politicians such as Senator Sherrod Brown to recent free-trade deals and aspects of U.S. trade relations with China.

These perceptions may be inaccurate — the Cleveland region relies heavily on exports to support tens of thousands of jobs in steel, metalworking, chemical, appliances, large machinery, and other industries, and Brown says he supports free but fair trade. The city continues to welcome immigrants, with the help of the networks of prior immigrants, who tend to form entrepreneurial as well as political and cultural bonds.

However, such perceptions underscore how critical it is for a metropolis to be seen as a player on the international stage — not simply as a place where the barricades are up.

The truth is that Cleveland is competing successfully in the tech-oriented immigrant bazaar, thanks to its bio-med and university anchors and the entrepreneurial dollars that have been attracted by state-supported Third Frontier seed money. But how far it has to go was made clear by a recent book, *Immigrant, Inc.*, by Cleveland authors Richard T. Herman, an immigration lawyer, and Robert L. Smith, a *Plain Dealer* reporter.

Herman and Smith subtitled their 2010 book *Why Immigrant Entrepreneurs Are Driving the New Economy (and how they will save the American worker)*. The authors' numbers are striking:

- Immigrants make up 12 percent of the total U.S. population but “nearly half of all scientists and engineers with doctorate degrees.”
- Nearly one-fourth of Silicon Valley startups during the computer boom of 1980–1998 were started by immigrants from India and China.
- Immigrants helped launch an astounding 25 percent of all new technology and engineering firms nationwide from 1995 to 2005. That figure was higher in California (39 percent), New Jersey (38 percent), and Massachusetts (29 percent). In Ohio, it was 14 percent.
- In 2006, noncitizen immigrants were listed as inventors or co-inventors of 24 percent of U.S.-filed international patent applications. That compared with 7 percent in 1998.

Herman and Smith contrast Cleveland City Hall's closed door to immigration policy with the open door of Philadelphia, which “welcomed 113,000 immigrants between 2000 and 2006,” while Cleveland lost “another 7 percent of its population and became almost entirely native-born.”

Fortunately, the Brookings studies suggest that cities can quickly alter their immigration profile through astute policies.

In this regard, Cleveland, where many pre-1965 immigrants retain ties to the “old country,” has assets that other cities do not. In its most vibrant neighborhoods, the city retains the character of an ethnic mixing pot. And diversity can mean a big payoff in neighborhood revitalization.

Cleveland Council Member Matt Zone, for instance, attributes the recent development successes in the Detroit-Shoreway neighborhood that he represents on the West Side — the neighborhood that has seen construction of one

of the biggest concentrations of new housing in Cleveland, and the advent of trendy eateries and restored theaters as part of the Gordon Square Arts District — to planners' efforts to retain economic, racial, and ethnic diversity. A small Italian neighborhood complete with backyard bocce courts exists side-by-side with upscale homes for young professionals. Subsidized housing was included in the planning, and the neighborhood should get a further boost by plans to turn the West Shoreway into a more pedestrian- and bike-friendly mall, with easier access to the Lake Erie shorefront.

No major ethnic or racial group dominates in Detroit-Shoreway, with 23 percent of residents listing Hispanic heritage, 18 percent African-American, 13 percent Irish, 12 percent German, and 7 percent Italian in the 2000 census. And the neighborhood continues to attract immigrants — with more than 1,000 foreign-born residents as of 2000, the largest numbers from Romania, Mexico, Italy, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

Immigrants don't just seed new businesses. They're also a key driver of population growth — highly desirable in an advanced industrial nation such as the United States that has a low birth rate, since it helps assure that jobs will be filled by working-age people supporting social programs, even as the native-born population ages. The importance of immigration as a population driver was underscored in 2009 when, in part because of declining immigration tied to the Great Recession, the U.S. birthrate dipped to its lowest level in at least a century, 13.5 births for every 1,000 people.

In 1900, according to the Brookings Institution, Cleveland was the nation's fifth most important immigrant gateway city, with nearly 33 percent of its population foreign-born.

In 2006, it wasn't even in the top 10.

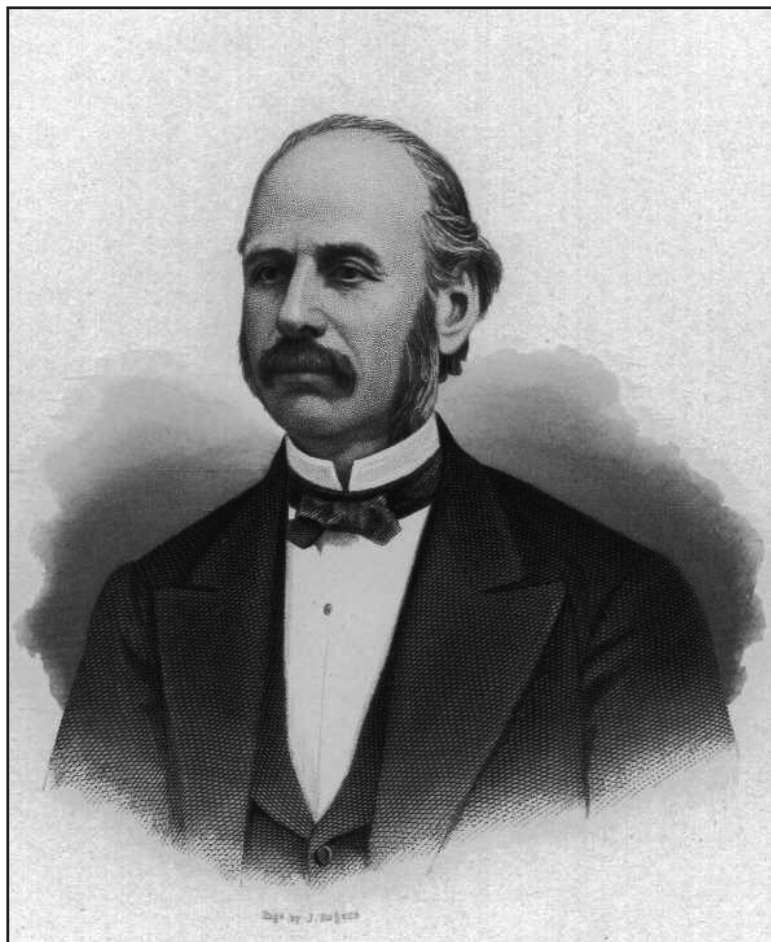
But that can change.

Philadelphia — the country's third largest immigrant gateway in 1900 — initially fell as fast and as hard as Cleveland, to become another rusty former gateway and aging industrial city fallen on tough times. Yet Philadelphia changed that trajectory through policies focused on attracting immigrants to revitalize neighborhoods and seed jobs, doubling its foreign-born population after 1970, with 45 percent growth in the 1990s alone.

Cleveland can do the same — or better, building on assets it already has.

It not only can, it must.

Immigration isn't a negative word. It's a word that spells opportunity, growth, jobs, and the future. It has done that for Cleveland before. It can do so again.



Amasa Stone (1818–1883).

THE HEART OF AMASA STONE

JOHN VACHA

On the afternoon of May 11, 1883, the usual decorum of Cleveland's "Millionaires' Row" was barely disturbed by a single muffled gunshot. It came from the rococo mansion of industrialist Amasa Stone. Entering an upstairs bathroom, a servant discovered the master of the house lying partly dressed in the bathtub, a .32 revolver by his side and a bullet in his heart. There were some unforgiving souls who thought it should have been done half a dozen years earlier.

One of his contemporaries was reputed to have predicted that, while Stone may have been the richest man in the city, he would have its smallest funeral. He left an estate estimated at \$6 million. His family, unwilling perhaps to risk fulfilling the second half of that prophecy, restricted his burial service at Lake View Cemetery to relatives only.

Except for one tragic miscalculation, Stone by most measures left behind a lifetime of enviable achievement. He had built and run some of Ohio's principal railroads. His business ventures in railroads, banking, and manufacturing gained him one of the great fortunes in an age of great fortunes. Cleveland had gained its preeminent institution of higher learning largely at his behest, and his two daughters enjoyed well-connected marriages.

As did so many early Clevelanders, Stone came to the Western Reserve from New England. He brought skills highly in demand for a growing city, having experience in engineering and construction. In fact, there was already a job waiting for him in the Forest City.

Amasa Stone, Jr., was born in 1818, the ninth of ten children of Massachusetts farmers. Those siblings provided him with two rungs on what a 19th-century Currier & Ives print depicted as "The Ladder of Fortune." He left farm work behind when seventeen, to begin an apprenticeship in construction with his older brother, Daniel. Within two years, he was able to buy out his apprenticeship and set about building homes and churches on his own.

By 1840, Stone joined his brother-in-law, William Howe, inventor of a unique bridge truss designed to support heavy loads over short spans. They employed it to construct the first railroad bridge over the Connecticut River. Stone soon purchased the patent rights to the Howe truss for all New England and corrected a suspected weakness in its design. His reconstruction of a hurricane-destroyed bridge across the Connecticut River in only forty days cemented his reputation as New England's foremost railroad contractor.

Within another year, Stone was setting his sights westward beyond New England. He formed a partnership with Frederick Harbach and Stillman Witt to build the northern half of the Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati Railroad. It had been an ill-starred venture originally chartered in 1836, but almost immediately stunted in the cradle by the Panic of 1837. In order to keep their charter from being revoked, its directors at one point had resorted to the expedient of employing only a single worker with a shovel and wheelbarrow on the right-of-way.

Harbach, Stone, and Witt undertook to complete the troubled CC&C Railroad, taking part of their compensation in the form of stock. Because of the risk, they were able to demand a higher than normal fee, betting in effect on the road's success and the resultant growth of Cleveland. The Cleveland-to-Columbus leg was opened on February 17, 1851. It proved an instant success and provided the basis of its makers' fortunes.

An industrial empire was in the making south of the Great Lakes; Cleveland was one of its centers; and Amasa Stone was one of the empire builders," noted one historian. Stone was offered the position of superintendent of the CC&C at a salary of \$4,000. He and his two partners then proceeded to build the Cleveland, Painesville, and Ashtabula Railroad, a job completed in 1852. Stone was a director on the boards of both roads and became president of the CP&A in 1857. Stone had brought his family to Cleveland in the spring of 1851. With his wife, the former Julia Gleason, it included a son, Adelbert, and daughter Clara. Another daughter, Flora, was born shortly afterward. They became members of the prestigious First Presbyterian (Old Stone) Church on Public Square. In 1858 Stone manifested his position among the city's elite by building an imposing new mansion on Euclid Avenue — one of the earliest residences on what would become nationally celebrated as "Millionaires' Row."

With all his construction experience, Stone naturally took a hand in the building of his own home. Underneath all the inevitable gingerbread of the Victorian era — bays and balustrades, corbels and belvederes — it rested on the stolid, practical values of a self-taught engineer. Outer walls nearly two feet in width were insulated by an eight-inch hollow space between their inner and outer surfaces. A reputed 700,000 bricks went into the rearing of the structure. Running water, gas fixtures, and central heating were among its modern

amenities. Stone's library, dedicated more to business than to books, featured a fireproof recess for his desk, papers, and safe.

To all outward appearances, the Stone mansion conformed to the Italianate Villa style dominant along early Millionaires' Row. A grand central hallway divided the formal from the family rooms, all finished with paneled ceilings, rosewood or oak doors, and fireplace mantels of Vermont marble. All was unveiled to the city's fashionable set, and "old settlers" as well, at a housewarming hosted by the Stones early in 1859.

Stone meanwhile was broadening his business ventures in railroads and other fields. He built the Michigan Southern road, which was later linked with the CP&A as the Lakeshore Railroad. Together with several other business leaders, he built the short but vital Cleveland and Newburgh line to service Cleveland's burgeoning industrial valley. One of those nascent industries was the Cleveland Rolling Mill, in which Amasa was an investor and his brother Andros president. Amasa Stone also invested in the Western Union Telegraph Company being organized by Clevelander Jephtha Wade. He was a director of several banks and president of the Second National Bank, giving him an influential voice in the growth of the region's industries.

By the time of the Civil War, Stone was clearly one of his city's movers and shakers. Abolitionist in sentiment, he had supported the nomination of Abraham Lincoln by the Republicans in 1860. When Lincoln stopped in Cleveland on his way to Washington the following year, eight-year-old Flora Stone greeted the President-elect with a bouquet of flowers. With the coming of war, Lincoln turned to her father for assistance with problems of military supply and transportation. On the home front in Cleveland, Stone joined a committee to distribute relief funds for the families of local Union volunteers. When recruiting fell off later in the war, he recommended that another committee be formed to raise \$60,000 for bounties to encourage volunteers and thus spare Cuyahoga County from subjection to the military draft. He was an active supporter of Union candidate John Brough for governor in 1863, ensuring Ohio's continued support for the war.

About the only thing Stone begrudged the Union cause was the service of his only son. Described as personable and unassuming, Adelbert Stone was an ardent Republican in sentiment, with a strong desire to enlist in the Union Army. His father was grooming him for better things than cannon fodder, however, and decreed that "Dell" should go to Yale instead to study engineering. Weeks after the last guns of the Civil War were silenced, a telegram from Yale informed Stone of the death of his son. While on a geological field trip, he had drowned in the Connecticut River, scene of his father's early exploits.

Of heavysset build, with a straight, well-formed nose, and full mustache and beard trimmed to medium length, Stone projected an appearance that brooked no opposition. His eyes were deeply set under heavy brows and a receding hairline. "Stone was never constitutionally fit to accept domination for he considered dominion to be his own prerogative," wrote his biographer. As president of the Lakeshore Railroad, he had insisted on using an iron Howe truss manufactured by the Cleveland Rolling Mill, to replace the bridge at Ashtabula. When advised by an engineer that the beams were inadequate for the length of the span, he got a new engineer and did it his way.

Stone's leadership was evident in Cleveland's civic as well as business affairs. He presided at the banquet to celebrate the opening of a new Union Depot on the lakefront, which he had helped design and build. He and Wade led in the incorporation of the Northern Ohio Fair Association to promote agriculture, industry, and, incidentally, trotting races. He joined other investors in the founding of the Union Steel Screw Company, which pioneered in the manufacture of wood screws from Bessemer Steel. One of his principal charitable projects was the establishment of the Home for Aged Protestant Gentlewomen.

With the marriage in 1874 of his older daughter Clara, Stone acquired a son-in-law to compensate in part for the loss of his natural son. John Hay had already distinguished himself as a writer, diplomat, and secretary to Abraham Lincoln. Stone built a mansion for Clara and her husband next door to his own on Millionaires' Row, telling neighbors with heavy-handed jocularly that he was "building a barn for his Hay." Later Hay would employ the gift to host a celebrated reception for Ohio-born writer William Dean Howells, inviting his father-in-law to mix with such luminaries as President Rutherford Hayes and General James Garfield. Stone's younger daughter Flora did as well as her sister, marrying the rising Cleveland industrialist Samuel Mather. Stone seemed to have scant social life outside of family and business, however. For the most part, it consisted of quiet dinners and evenings with such neighbors and business associates as John and Antoinette Devereux.

Outside that close circle of family and friends, Stone cut a far from popular image in Gilded Age Cleveland. "Almost everybody feared Stone's arbitrary ways, his harsh temper, and his biting tongue," wrote the historian on Case Western Reserve University, who provided a possibly apocryphal but nonetheless revealing illustration. No love was lost between the sponsors of the originally separate institutions, Stone and Leonard Case, Jr. A single tract of land was to be divided between Case School of Applied Science and Stone's legatee, Western Reserve College. Case preferred the western half, but knowing his antagonist, let out that he wanted the eastern section. The ploy worked: Stone

insisted on the eastern half for Western Reserve, and Case thus acquired his real if unspoken preference.

One local businessman who managed to resist the habitual command of Stone was young John D. Rockefeller. Stone had been an early investor in Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company and a director of the Lakeshore Railroad, when it granted Rockefeller secret rebates, which led to Standard's dominance in the fledgling oil industry. As a member of Standard's board, however, Stone assumed elder statesman airs which Rockefeller, twenty years his junior, found irksome. When Stone asked for an extension after letting an option to buy additional stock expire, Rockefeller refused to grant the favor. Thus affronted, Stone sold off his previous holdings; Standard survived and prospered nonetheless.

On top of that private rebuff, Stone suffered an even greater public humiliation. During a raging blizzard on the night of December 29, 1876, a westbound Lakeshore train approached the bridge over the Ashtabula Creek gorge — the same one Stone had built against the advice of his engineer. Only the lead locomotive made it to the other side. As the span collapsed, the second locomotive and eleven cars with 164 passengers and crewmen plunged seventy feet into what one newspaper headlined as "The Valley of Death!" Those not killed in the fall were exposed to fires started by the stoves in the passenger cars. Only eight escaped injury, and the death toll reached eighty-nine.

There were numerous postmortems on the disaster. An Ashtabula County coroner's jury, while paying lip service to his good intentions, placed primary responsibility directly on Stone. Also held responsible, for failure to adequately inspect the bridge, the Lakeshore Railroad was assessed for damages of more than half a million dollars. Another investigation was undertaken by a joint committee of the Ohio General Assembly. In consideration of Stone's health, they questioned him in his personal library. Against at least one eyewitness account, Stone maintained that the bridge's failure was due to the train's derailment. The committee was less easy on the road's chief engineer, Charles Collins, who had deferred to Stone on the bridge's construction, but admitted under intense questioning that he had never closely inspected the structure afterwards. Only hours after the hearing, the distraught Collins took a revolver and committed suicide. (It was the right thing to do, concluded many, but the wrong man had done it.) Stone, an object of general vilification, sought refuge in a trip to Europe. Some believed that Stone had never recovered from the death of his son; most certainly, he never recovered from the opprobrium of the Ashtabula Bridge disaster. In addition to those afflictions, he was also plagued by business worries. Nationwide strikes broke out while he was in Europe, including employees of his Lakeshore Railroad. He couldn't have been reassured by news from his son-in-law John Hay in Cleveland that, "Since last

week the country has been at the mercy of the mob. The town is full of thieves and tramps waiting and hoping for a riot, but not daring to begin it themselves."

Following his return, Stone embarked on the principal benefaction of his civic career. In 1880, he offered half a million dollars to Western Reserve College in nearby Hudson, Ohio, on condition that the college relocate to Cleveland. He also called upon other Clevelanders to provide grounds for the campus. As a memorial to his son, he specified that the school should alter its name to Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, although the university historian, C. H. Cramer, speculated that the underlying real reason for the gift was "the necessity for some kind of propitiation" for the Ashtabula Bridge tragedy. Together with the simultaneous establishment of the Case School of Applied Science, Stone's gift provided the foundation for what ultimately became known as University Circle.

Undoubtedly, the memorialization of his son was the last bit of satisfaction Stone was able to squeeze out of life. He had resigned from the board of the Lakeshore Railroad, following its absorption by the Vanderbilt railroad interests, unable, as his biographer put it, to "withstand the transfer of major command decisions from Cleveland to the Vanderbilt offices in New York City." Strikes had broken out at the Cleveland Rolling Mill in 1882, and several Midwestern steel companies in which he was involved had failed. His health broke down completely under these stresses and whatever internal demons tormented him.

"I have not been to my office for some time," Stone wrote to Hay, who was in Europe himself at the time. "Nervous frustration seemed to be my first misfortune and sleeplessness has followed." Two weeks later, following yet another night of insomnia, he took his revolver into the bathroom and finally was able to find rest. Stone's widow and daughters devoted a considerable part of their inheritance towards redeeming the magnate's reputation. Two years after his suicide, they donated John LaFarge's Amasa Stone window to the restored sanctuary of Old Stone Church, following the fire of 1884. In 1910, the year the Stone mansion on Millionaires' Row was torn down to make way for a Euclid Avenue department store, they provided for the erection of Amasa Stone Chapel on the campus of Western Reserve College, adjacent to the college's Adelbert Main Building. From Stone's old Union Depot, they salvaged a carving of Stone's head and incorporated its stern image into the façade of the Gothic structure. They set it above the eastern portal, facing away from the old Case campus.



Marcus Alonzo "Mark" Hanna (1837–1904).
Photograph, c. 1903, courtesy of the Ohio Historical Society.

MARK HANNA:

THE CLEVELANDER WHO MADE A PRESIDENT

JOE FROLIK

If Marcus Alonzo Hanna, the 19th-century Cleveland entrepreneur who made his fortune in the Gilded Age and then turned his attention, energy, and prolific talents for innovation and fundraising to Republican politics, wandered into the Boston campaign headquarters of 2012 GOP presidential candidate Mitt Romney, he might feel surprisingly at home with the mechanics of electing a President. That's because his fingerprints are all over the way the GOP — or any other political party — spreads its message. But it's the ideological message of so many modern Republicans that might seem out of date to the man who helped reinvent the party more than a century ago. Hanna, for all of his political and business sophistication, was at heart a pragmatic Midwestern guy who, according to biographer Thomas Beer, served his many guests the finest champagne, but drank water himself. His approach to campaigning ran down the middle of the road because that's the route he thought led to victory.

And winning, in business or politics, was what mattered to Mark Hanna. Hanna worked his campaign magic without the aid of computers or the Internet or broadcast media, of course. Yet many of the practices that still define campaigning in the age of social media and micro-targeting were introduced or refined by Hanna during his political tour de force: the 1896 campaign to put William McKinley, his friend and fellow Ohioan, in the White House. He used polling techniques, albeit primitive ones, to monitor the pulse of the campaign, especially in states he thought could swing either way. He ordered the production of 200 million pamphlets, newspaper inserts, and other pieces of literature — at a time when there were barely 14 million voters in the United States. Much of it was issue-oriented and targeted particular market segments, such as German-Americans or “colored” voters. He dispatched 1,400 surrogate speakers to spread a unified GOP message, some of them toting newfangled devices to enthrall audiences with grainy moving pictures of McKinley.

When McKinley turned down Hanna's suggestion to imitate Democratic rival William Jennings Bryan and take his campaign to the country in person, the resourceful manager arranged to bring the country to McKinley. Between mid-summer and Election Day 1896, some 750,000 people traveled to William and Ida McKinley's modest home on Market Street in Canton to hear a few words from the former congressman and governor of Ohio. Many came by train, taking advantage of special deep-discount fares that Hanna had negotiated with the railroad barons, who shared his antipathy for Bryan's populism. The pro-Democrat *Cleveland Plain Dealer* acidly observed that, thanks to Hanna's deal-making with the railroads, going to Canton was "cheaper than staying home."

All of this innovation required boatloads of cash, and Hanna excelled at raising it. Before 1896, most presidential campaigns were run through the political parties and relied on tithes from patronage workers. Hanna had broken into politics in Cleveland by raising cash from his fellow businessmen to help elect President James Garfield in 1880, and 16 years later, he took the art of the ask national. He tapped not just the railroaders, but tycoons of every stripe, by stoking their fears of financial catastrophe if Bryan and his "free silver" platform prevailed. The result was a war chest that has been estimated at between \$3.5 million and \$10 million, in an era when newspapers sold for a penny. One of Hanna's Cleveland Central High School classmates — a rather successful oilman named John D. Rockefeller — reportedly kicked in \$250,000. But Hanna did more than invent the modern political campaign in 1896 — though give some credit for that to Bryan, too. The Democrat took to "the stump" out of economic necessity, ended up traveling 18,000 miles to give hundreds of speeches, and along the way changed American expectations of those who seek the presidency.

Along with the equally pragmatic and more politically savvy McKinley, Hanna basically reinvented the Republican Party. The coalition they forged made the GOP America's dominant party from 1896 until Wall Street collapsed in 1929. The only Democrat to break the Republican hammerlock on the White House in those years was Woodrow Wilson. He did it twice, first in 1912 when the GOP split along personality and ideological lines. But even as an incumbent who had kept the U.S. out of the horrific war in Europe, Wilson barely eked out a second term in 1916. When Warren Harding, another Ohio governor, ran for President in 1920, he spoke of returning the country to "normalcy," a response to war, of course, but also an appeal to recall the good times associated with the Republican era ushered in by McKinley and Hanna.

Ohioans had seen a nation that was being changed by immigration, urbanization, and industrialization and sought to invite this new America into the

Republican fold. In its own way, that was a pretty radical idea. For three decades, the GOP had looked backwards. Its leaders played up their ties to Lincoln and Grant and the heroes of the Civil War. They made little effort to attract the newcomers pouring into America's cities. On one of the great hot-button issues of the age, they often tilted toward the prohibitionists, whose movement had a decidedly anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, anti-city undercurrent. Nor did they show much sympathy for the emerging labor movement, which was also rooted in America's fast-growing cities. McKinley and Hanna set out to change that. "1896 was the year that McKinley and Hanna tried to redefine the Republican Party," GOP strategist Marshall Wittman told the *Washington Post's* David Von Drehle in a 1999 interview. "Instead of rehashing Reconstruction and the Civil War, McKinley offered an appealing image to new immigrants, rising entrepreneurs and working folks."

The country was gripped by a ravaging depression as the campaign began, so McKinley hardly needed to demonize the Democrats who controlled the White House (incumbent Grover Cleveland was not seeking a third term). But that wasn't his nature anyway. McKinley was, like Ronald Reagan, a natural optimist. He billed himself as "an advance agent for prosperity." His central pitch was a call for high tariffs to protect American industries from foreign — which in those days meant European — competition. Strong domestic producers, he argued, would pay better wages and lift all boats. McKinley and Hanna used that prospect to appeal to urban working class voters. They had little use for divisive social issues such as immigration, temperance, or union bashing. Make no mistake. They were conservatives and very pro-business, especially Hanna who thought government, capitalists, and labor should work hand-in-hand. But they were also "Big Tent" Republicans, more interested in who they could bring into the fold than in ideological purity. They sowed the seeds of the center-right Main Street Republicanism that — despite frequent and often bitter internecine battles with harder-edged conservatives — defined the party for most of the 20th century.

To Hanna, a lifelong friend of the original Rockefeller Republican, that might not sound like cause for celebration. Hanna had been born in Ohio's Columbiana County in 1837. His father Leonard was a doctor and his mother Samantha had been a schoolteacher. The Hannas were an entrepreneurial bunch. Leonard and his brothers ran a successful grocery in what's now the city of Lisbon, and before Mark's birth, they had invested heavily in a canal they hoped would link the community to the Ohio River. The effort failed, leaving Lisbon economically isolated. Poorer, but undaunted, the Hannas started a grocery business in burgeoning Cleveland, and Leonard moved his family there in 1852.

Mark graduated from Central and enrolled at Western Reserve College, but was soon booted out for bad conduct. He went to work in the family business — the Hannas were expanding from a wholesale grocery to a freight-hauling firm — and never looked back. Because the Hannas were outspoken Republicans and Lincoln supporters, Mark wanted to enlist, along with many of his friends, when the Civil War began. But his mother, correctly sensing that Leonard Hanna was in declining health — he would die in 1862 — persuaded her oldest not to go. Younger brother Howard enlisted instead. Mark stayed behind to run the business and, according to Beer in his 1929 book, *Hanna*, to become a one-man entertainment committee, whenever friends returned home on leave.

He could afford it, because the war was good for the Hannas' company and for cities such as Cleveland. Factories expanded overnight. There was constant, growing demand for food and raw materials from the West. "It was a boom," wrote Beer, "timed to the pulsations of cannons and rifles on the Virginia border." Cleveland's population grew by 155 percent during the 1860s, and it became a major link between the resources of the Great Lakes and the still-dominant consumer base of the East Coast.

Hanna set aside commerce briefly in 1864, when his National Guard regiment was summoned to active duty to help defend Washington against a rumored Confederate attack. The Perry Light Infantry saw action that July when Gen. Jubal Early drove 10,000 rebels to the outskirts of the capital. Hanna missed the fighting, because he was escorting the body of dead soldier back in Ohio. The unit was mustered out of service in August, and a month later, Hanna married Charlotte Augusta Rhodes, the daughter of another Cleveland merchant clan. One big difference between the Rhodes family and the Hannas: Charlotte's people were ardent Democrats. Despite that barrier — the way partisanship spills into every walk of life is another element of contemporary American life that Hanna might find familiar — his father-in-law Daniel Rhodes eventually came to admire Hanna's drive to succeed. Not that everything he touched turned to gold. Right after the war, Hanna bought a refinery and a steamship. In short order, the refinery burned and the ship sank; neither reportedly was insured. Hanna was nearly broke. Biographer Herbert Croly observed that all he had gained during his first decade in business was experience. That changed dramatically, after Daniel Rhodes invited him into his family's business in 1867. Hanna the dynamic salesman rushed all around the Great Lakes, using advertising — the copywriter was often Hanna's brother-in-law, historian James Ford Rhodes — to push its products. Rhodes and Co. prospered, even during difficult economic times in post-war America. Its primary

holdings were in steel, iron, and coal, and it was through those mining interests that Hanna met William McKinley.

The Panic of 1873 — a global financial crisis triggered by overextended investment banks — hammered the soft coal mines of Ohio and Pennsylvania. Hanna organized many of the mine operators and urged them to meet with the nascent association of miners. Beer reports that Hanna “had no fancy name for his scheme, but he believed in what is now called collective bargaining.” Hanna thought strikes were inherently destructive, but he also felt it was foolish for industrialists to pay poor wages and sow discontent. Besides, he believed in his own innate ability to out-bargain workers, customers, or anyone else. By 1876, prices for coal had sunk to a new low. Hanna’s fellow operators slashed wages, despite his objections (and refusal to follow suit). The workers then went on strike, also against his advice. One of his partners insisted on bringing in scabs from Cleveland. There was the predictable bloody fight. Ohio Gov. Rutherford B. Hayes — who would wind up in the White House after that fall’s disputed presidential election — dispatched the militia. Shots were fired and a man was killed. Twenty-three miners were arrested for rioting. Over the objections of his political advisers, McKinley — who in 1871 had been defeated after a single term as Stark County prosecutor, but was eyeing a race for Congress — agreed to defend the miners *pro bono*. Although some of the strikers initially doubted that this handsome, well-dressed Republican could really be anything but a company spy, he became their savior. Only one miner was convicted. Hanna was not thrilled with the outcome, but he had been thoroughly impressed by McKinley’s skill and integrity.

After the trial, Hanna attended the Republican Convention in Cincinnati that nominated Hayes for President. The future power broker was then little more than an interested observer. He had begun dabbling in politics back home in Cleveland, a pastime that many of his business friends found puzzling. To them, politics was a dirty game to be avoided at all cost. Hanna tried to change their minds, arguing that the conditions in their hometown were as important as their personal fortunes. But he often found himself frustrated by the willingness of local Republican leaders to engage in vote buying and petty corruption. In 1873, he had even helped a reform-minded Democrat get elected mayor. It’s worth noting that Hanna did not limit his civic-mindedness to political matters, especially in his adopted hometown. Biographer Herbert Croly reports that in the early 1880s, Hanna was walking along Euclid Avenue, headed for lunch at the Union Club, when a colleague informed him that the Cleveland Opera House was — at that very moment — up for a sheriff’s sale. Hanna excused himself, walked into the theater and joined the bidding. By the time he sat down for lunch, he was \$40,000 poorer and the owner of Cleveland’s most

luxurious theater. Hanna brought in new management, insisted on high-quality productions and eventually made the Opera House a profitable enterprise. But Croly writes in *Marcus Alonzo Hanna: His Life and Work*, that what Hanna liked most about the Opera House was the performers who worked there. They were energetic big dreamers, larger than life personalities, qualities to which Hanna could relate in business, the arts, or politics.

Besides, Croly notes, Hanna loved to have a good time:

Throughout the whole of his life, Mr. Hanna was intensely and inveterately social. His favorite recreation consisted in companionship with other people; and even during his years of closest business preoccupation, he rarely sat down to table without a certain number of guests. On Sundays and holidays, he liked to have the house full. Moreover, he wanted to entertain, not merely his friends and business associates, but (as his mother did before him) prominent and interesting people who visited Cleveland.

The wartime entertainment committee had graduated to a bigger stage, as his wealth allowed. Good thing, because Hanna's political endeavors, at least close to home, yielded less cause for celebration.

For all his interest in politics — he even owned the staunchly Republican *Cleveland Herald* for several years — Hanna never quite mastered the art as practiced in Cleveland. He certainly never controlled the levers of powers here, as he would on the national stage. Nor did he play the game as naturally as young Tom L. Johnson did within months of hitting town. When their paths first crossed in 1879, Hanna owned one of the eight street railway systems that served the city. Johnson — a wunderkind who had run a Louisville railway at age 17, made a fortune by inventing the world's first coin fare box, and then turned a floundering Indianapolis line into a money-maker — was looking to crack the Cleveland market. According to George E. Condon, Sr., in his 1981 book, *Cleveland: The Best Kept Secret*, Johnson was just 25 when he bid for a new franchise on the city's West Side. Hanna pursued it, too. Condon says Johnson proposed the better deal, but Hanna won on a technicality: the bid specifications included a preference for existing operators.

Johnson refused to stay beaten. He purchased a rail line on what is now West 25th Street. It ended just a few blocks shy of the municipally owned tracks that linked Ohio City to downtown. The final connecting spur was owned by Hanna and his partner Elias Simms. When Johnson asked to use the Hanna-Simms tracks, they told him to get lost. So he hired horse-drawn carriages to ferry his passengers from the terminus of his tracks to the center of downtown. He also launched a public relations campaign against Hanna and Simms. City Council, even though it was generously stocked with their supporters, caved. Hanna and Simms were told to give access to Johnson or lose their franchise.

The rubber match between the two came soon after. Johnson wanted a franchise to build rail lines on the East Side. He envisioned a streetcar network uniting the city and allowing passengers for the first time to go across town for a single fare. Hanna was having none of it. He had ousted Simms from their partnership after the first defeat and had reached out to Johnson, suggesting that they combine forces. Hanna pointed out that he knew the bankers and the pols, while Johnson knew the rail business. Johnson rejected the offer because, he wrote in his autobiography, “We were too much alike.” Besides, Cleveland’s future mayor hardly needed Hanna to be his political guide.

When they squared off over Johnson’s bid for an East Side franchise, Hanna appeared at first to have the upper hand, given his deeper roots and his willingness to spread cash to favored officeholders. But Johnson again rallied public support — and he got a little help behind the scenes. Condon says Simms flipped two crucial votes against his estranged partner. About this time, Beer writes, Hanna was called a “rich busybody” at a meeting of local reformers. Frustrated and maybe a bit embarrassed at being shown up by the new kid in town, Hanna turned his attention to different political stages. He had learned that, as Beer put it, “one might quietly rule in politics without being a politician. One might be an engineer.”

In 1880, Hanna created a businessman’s club that raised money to cover Garfield’s personal expenses during the presidential campaign and also traveled Ohio raising money for Garfield. The role suited him well. Four years later — after Garfield had been assassinated — Hanna went all out trying to win the GOP nomination for another Ohioan, Sen. John Sherman. That effort failed, but at the convention, Hanna shared an apartment with McKinley, who was chairing the platform committee and being touted as a rising star. Their partnership was cemented four years later, when both were again leading the charge for Sherman.

With the 1888 convention deadlocked, a group of delegates from other states tried to persuade McKinley to seek the nomination. He said no without a moment’s hesitation, reiterating his support for Sherman. That act, by almost all accounts, sealed the deal for Hanna, who admired loyalty above all else. By contrast, Ohio Gov. Joseph Foraker briefly abandoned Sherman in favor of James Blaine. To Hanna, who had been an ally of Foraker until then, that was an act of treachery that could not be forgiven. The two remained at odds until Hanna died.

Finally in 1896, it was McKinley’s turn. Hanna — who had largely set aside his vast business interests in what had become the M. A. Hanna Co. to devote himself to this race — left no stone unturned to help his friend succeed.

Ironically perhaps, his devotion became one of the big issues in the campaign and for many years after, a burden on McKinley's political legacy.

Bryan's populism scared off many usually Democratic editors, but not William Randolph Hearst, whose silver mines would skyrocket in value if "bi-metalism" prevailed. Hearst realized that to elevate Bryan, he had to bring down McKinley. That was no easy task, given the Ohioan's squeaky-clean reputation. But Hearst and his papers saw in Hanna the perfect surrogate target.

Cartoonist Homer Davenport famously depicted Hanna as "Dollar Mark," a bloated character dressed in a suit covered with dollar signs. McKinley was drawn much smaller, as almost a child — or a puppet — under the sway of Hanna. Others depicted him — resurrecting a moniker coined by Edwin Cowles, a Republican rival in Cleveland during the 1880s, when they owned competing newspapers — as a gluttonous Roman nobleman: Marcus Aurelius Hanna.

Hearst's editorials hit relentlessly at an incident that supposedly proved McKinley was beholden to Hanna and other oligarchs: During the Panic of 1893, McKinley was presented with a bill for \$100,000 to cover bad loans he had co-signed for a friend in Youngstown. Lacking anything near that kind of cash, McKinley planned to resign as governor and return to his law practice to pay the debt. When he informed Hanna, the Clevelander would have none of it. He quickly assembled a group of wealthy friends who retired the notes. McKinley and his wife put property in a trust to repay their benefactors, but no claims were ever filed.

The attacks did not prevent McKinley from winning in 1896. Although some Republicans panicked when Bryan appeared to be riding a wave of popular support after his "Cross of Gold" speech at the Democratic Convention, McKinley and Hanna did not. They both insisted that "silver fever" would run its course before November, and they were right.

For almost a century, McKinley was chronically underappreciated by historians. That's partly because his successor, the dynamic Theodore Roosevelt, would have overshadowed almost anyone. But Hanna's role also helped diminish McKinley. Many scholars accepted the premise that it was Hanna who pulled the strings in their relationship, Hanna who ran the campaign, Hanna who told the candidate — and later the President — what to say.

More recent accounts suggest that the two were actually a complementary pair. That Hanna by 1896 understood the mechanics of campaigning better than anyone ever had. That McKinley understood the American people, the issues of the day and the interpersonal dynamics of politics better than any of his political peers. Together they reinvented the Republican Party as a more

inclusive, future-oriented coalition that looked like what America was becoming. Beer, as far back as the 1920s, insisted that Hanna, against all stereotypes, had actually been the junior partner in this endeavor, and that his affection for McKinley was so genuine that he would do whatever he thought his friend needed.

Not that the relationship was a one-way street. Once McKinley was in the White House, he helped Hanna fulfill a longtime ambition by naming the aging Sherman as Secretary of State. That opened up a Senate seat from Ohio, to which Gov. Ada Bushnell, reportedly under pressure from McKinley, quickly appointed Hanna. A year later, he was re-elected by the legislature — senators weren't chosen by the vote of the people until after 17th Amendment was ratified in 1913 — after a bitter contest at the Statehouse that reignited the animosity between Foraker and Hanna. The allegations of vote-buying, arm-twisting, and even kidnapping that swirled in Columbus during and after that contest only reinforced Hanna's negative image as a ruthless political boss.

Once in Washington, Hanna remained close with McKinley. He reportedly turned down an invitation to reside in the White House while he searched for a place to live and eventually took a hotel suite near the executive mansion. When Vice President Hobart died in 1899, Hanna took over the lease on his house, just across Lafayette Square from the White House. After some back and forth about his role in the 1900 campaign — by some accounts, McKinley delayed asking Hanna to serve as manager again, in order to show the public who was boss in their relationship — he ultimately led the re-election effort. This time, there was little doubt about the outcome. The theme of the re-election campaign, Hanna said, was simple: Leave well enough alone. The voters did and McKinley won easily.

It was his fellow Republicans who gave Hanna more cause for worry that year. The GOP bosses of New York State saw the vice presidential vacancy as an opportunity to rid themselves of Gov. Theodore Roosevelt, the Spanish-American War hero they despised. Hanna had opposed the war and defended McKinley's reluctance to enter the conflict, until the destruction of the battleship *Maine* made their position politically tenable. He distrusted Roosevelt and others he felt had been too keen to fight. The feeling was mutual. Roosevelt had famously observed of the 1896 campaign that Hanna sold McKinley "like a patent medicine."

But when McKinley opted to let the convention pick his running mate, the New Yorkers prevailed. Hanna, for once, had been caught off guard. He urged McKinley, by phone, to let him use patronage to shake loose enough delegates to derail Roosevelt. The President said no. Hanna reportedly lamented to other

GOP heavyweights that his friend was making a terrible mistake: “Don’t any of you realize that there’s only one life between that madman and the White House?” Upon returning to Washington, Hanna wrote a note to McKinley informing him that, “Your duty to the country is to live for four years from next March.”

McKinley did not. In September 1901, he was shot by an anarchist at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo. His death devastated Hanna, personally and politically. And yet, to the surprise of many, he eventually built a working relationship with Roosevelt. It was Hanna who led the Senate fight to build the trans-ocean canal in Panama, rather than elsewhere in Central America. And he devoted much time to his role as first president of the National Civic Federation, a reform effort that included the likes of Andrew Carnegie and Samuel Gompers. The organization sought to broker labor peace by taking disputes to mediation (Hanna had headed off a potentially incendiary coal strike just before the 1900 election) and lobbied for the passage of child labor laws and workers compensation programs.

Despite their truce, Hanna considered challenging Roosevelt for the 1904 nomination. Maybe he couldn’t get over his earlier animosity toward “that damn cowboy.” Maybe he wanted to show the world that he could win the big prize without McKinley. But in a maneuver that would have made Tom L. Johnson proud, Roosevelt pulled a fast one on Hanna.

Working in tandem with Hanna’s old nemesis Foraker, the President arranged for a resolution supporting his re-election to be introduced at the 1903 Ohio GOP convention. Hanna was in a bind, just as TR and Foraker had hoped. If he voted for the resolution, he would effectively end his own campaign before it started. If he opposed it, he would invite the President’s wrath before he had any organization in place. When Hanna told Roosevelt that he might oppose the resolution as premature, the President assured him that he was not requesting anyone’s support. Then he twisted the knife, adding that, of course, he knew all loyal backers of his administration would surely support such a resolution anyway.

Hanna was check-mated. He voted with Foraker and for Roosevelt. Not that it mattered. There would be no insurgency. On February 15, 1904, Hanna died of typhoid fever and was buried in Lakeview Cemetery.

He had made a fortune — the M. A. Hanna Co. lives on today as PolyOne — elected a President, and helped create a political coalition that dominated American politics for more than three decades. Not too shabby for a kid from Cleveland.



Newton Diehl Baker, Jr. (1871–1937).
Photograph, c. 1914.

CLEVELAND IN 1912:

CIVITAS TRIUMPHANT

JOHN J. GRABOWSKI

During Cleveland's long history, a number of periods and a number of specific years stand out as special. For sports aficionados, the years immediately after World War II, and particularly 1948, were "the" championship years. For economic historians, 1832, the year the Ohio and Erie Canal was completed, stands out as the beginning of Cleveland's evolution into a prosperous community with enormous potential for future development. But, what if one were to ask what year, or what period marked the point at which Cleveland became a modern city, one deserving of national emulation or the question as to when did democracy truly triumph in Cleveland? The answer would have to be the Progressive Era of the early 1900s and, perhaps, specifically the year 1912. The choice of 1912 is a bit subjective, given the rich history of Progressive-era Cleveland and the panoply of reformers, from Tom L. Johnson to Frederick Howe and Belle Sherwin, who played important roles in the period. But 1912 is significant in large part because it was a one of the most propitious times for reform and change in the history of the city, state, and nation, and also the year in which an altruistic and legally savvy reformer assumed the office of mayor. That person was Newton D. Baker.

Newton D. Baker took the oath of office as mayor of Cleveland on January 1, 1912. He would serve as mayor for two terms, until 1916, a period in which the city would see a remarkable burst of governmental reform and a spate of what can only be termed "progressive" civic actions on the part of private individuals, organizations and corporations. While it is difficult to separate one year from the others in Baker's tenure as mayor, 1912 is perhaps the best candidate both because it was his inaugural year as chief executive, and also the period in which the ideals and ideas he espoused also were on the center stage of state and national politics.

Baker was no newcomer to the local political scene. A lawyer, educated at Johns Hopkins and Washington and Lee, he came to the city in 1899 to work in the law office of former Congressman Martin Foran. Two years later, he would become Assistant Law Director in the administration of Tom L. Johnson. A year later, at the age of 32 he would become the City Solicitor. Like Johnson, Baker was one of a growing number of individuals who sought to find solutions to problems and issues that confronted the nation in the years after the Civil War. Industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and growing economic disparities severely challenged many of the nation's foundational ideals, particularly concepts of democracy and equality.

The Progressive Movement or Era, in which Johnson and Baker played nationally prominent roles, began in the late 1890s. It was largely urban in origin and its adherents and leaders tended to be well-educated middle class men and women. Their motivations as reformers have been debated by historians for decades, with some seeing the Progressives working for their own self interests as the native-born middle class was seeing its power and status challenged by immigrant-based political machines in American cities and a wealthy plutocracy whose monopolistic business practices limited opportunities for small scale entrepreneurship. Other historians view the Progressive agenda as more altruistic and genuine with roots in the evolving Social Gospel of the late 19th century, while another interpretation sees the movement as a move to bring order and rationality to all aspects of American life, ranging from the creation of efficient industrial processes to the establishment of professions and professional standards in medicine, law, and other occupations, as well as to more scientific means of dispensing philanthropy and dealing with social problems. Whatever their motivations, the Progressives would advocate a variety of measures to change politics and society, including referendum and initiative, pure food and drug laws, child labor laws, building codes, anti-monopoly legislation, and organized charitable solicitation. They vigorously fought corrupt urban political machines, sought conciliation between labor and capital, and established the social settlement movement within the United States.

All of these motivations can be seen within the reforms undertaken in Cleveland from the 1890s to the 1920s and all are part of the story of the remarkable year of 1912. What happened in 1912 was astounding, but it was not so much revolutionary as evolutionary. Its roots lay in the last decade of the 19th century, a period in which the city confronted a considerable number of major changes and issues. One catalytic issue was the economy, particularly the Depression of 1893, which raised issues of labor and capital, the means to bring relief to the poor and unemployed, and the manner in which old solutions failed to address the needs of a rapidly modernizing nation. While the diversity

of industry in Cleveland provided some buffer from the national economic decline, events such as the march on Washington by Coxey's Army, which originated in Massillon, Ohio, provided a nearby reminder of the labor unrest that had confronted the nation during previous economic downturns in 1877 and again in the mid-1880s, and which might possibly worsen if matters weren't corrected.

Nevertheless, the city continued to grow during the decade and, although the rate of immigration diminished briefly in 1894 and 1895, its population rose from 261,353 to 381,768, and its ranking among America cities from 10th to 7th between 1890 and 1900. Although the rise in rank, and the fact that Cleveland had replaced Cincinnati as the state's largest city was a matter of local pride, the rapid growth brought substantial problems in its wake. The most prominent of these was the squalor of older and severely overcrowded neighborhoods near the city's center, including the Haymarket area, Lower Woodland, and the section around the "Angle" and Whiskey Island on the near West Side. Compounding the matter was the fact that older areas such as these lacked adequate water and sewers. Equally significant was the fact that these neighborhoods were largely inhabited by the foreign-born and their children, a matter which begged the questions as to how or if an increasingly diverse population could or should be brought into the traditions of American democracy. Ward bosses, such as "Czar" Harry Bernstein in Lower Woodland tried to make the newcomers part of his version of urban democracy, a version that was anathema to many of the long-settled middle class in the city. These situations initiated the first surge of activities in the city which were a combination of personal altruism and idealism and a corporatized search for order and solutions to the problems.

The personalized approach was best represented by the rise of the settlement house movement in Cleveland. Hiram House, the city's first settlement was established in 1896. Its founder, George Bellamy, a student at Hiram College, recalled coming to Cleveland on a survey mission (inspired by a visit to the college by Graham Taylor, the founder of Chicago Commons Settlement) and returning to Hiram to tell his classmates that Cleveland needed a settlement "very badly." Within four years, another four settlements — Council Educational Alliance, Friendly Inn, Alta House, and Goodrich House — had been established. Considered "Spearheads of Reform" by historian Allen Davis, the settlements represented grass roots Progressive activity often driven by Social Gospel ideals and often fueled by youthful idealism. Their leaders sought to educate and help newcomers adjust to the city at the same time as they confronted political corruption, squalor, and poverty.

There was, however, a more pragmatic and, perhaps, less idealistic side to the rise of Progressive reform in the city in the late-19th and early-20th century and it was led by the city's Chamber of Commerce. Its agenda fit neatly into the side of the Progressive Movement that sought order, rationality, and efficiency. The businessmen who constituted its membership were familiar with these concepts, having often applied them to their own enterprises and in doing so following the teachings of Frederick W. Taylor, who pioneered scientific management in the 1880s. The work of various Chamber committees led to the creation of a series of bathhouses in areas that lacked household plumbing; a rational housing code for the city; and a system of charitable giving, which would eventually lead to the Community Chest and today's United Way. The Chamber was also key to the creation of the "Group Plan Commission," which led to the building of the Mall, with its orderly arrangement of major civic buildings in the Beaux Arts style. The Mall was, perhaps, the city's first major urban renewal process, as it replaced a declining neighborhood that reflected unfavorably on the city. One can debate the motivations of the members of the Chamber of Commerce. Certainly, there was a touch of reform and altruism to their actions, but they also knew that others, including members of the Socialist Party and single taxers, were suggesting alternative solutions to the problems that plagued growing urban industrial centers such as Cleveland.

It was, however, a businessman-turned-politician who eventually came to symbolize Progressive reform in Cleveland. Tom L. Johnson built a personal fortune by operating street railways which were, in the late-19th and early-20th centuries, hugely lucrative private enterprises, franchised by the cities in which they operated. He began his career in Louisville, then operated lines in Indianapolis, and lastly in Cleveland in 1879. He moved to the city ca. 1883. Wealthy, with a home on Euclid Avenue — Cleveland's "Millionaires' Row" — Johnson, like Saul on the road to Damascus, underwent a conversion experience. He read Henry George's works and became an advocate of the single land tax and free trade — proposals that were frightening to his economic and social peers. Johnson would spend the remainder of his life and the better part of his fortune trying to reform society through political action, first as a U.S. Representative from the city's 21st district (1890–1894) and then as a four-term (1901–1908) mayor of the city, the office in which he received national and international notice for his reforms. According to journalist Lincoln Steffens, "Johnson is the best Mayor of the best-governed city in the United States."

Johnson was one of several U.S. mayors, including Hazen Pingree of Detroit and Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones and Brand Whitlock of Toledo, who came to epitomize the rise of Progressivism on the municipal level. Today their names and achievements are common to many historical texts on the era. The

hallmarks of Johnson's mayoralty in Cleveland were an expansion of popular democracy, the professionalization of governmental functions, and an advocacy of the public ownership of services, including utilities and urban transit. He succeeded in the first two — his tent meetings and very "populist" mayoral campaigns were unlike any seen in the city before and the people he chose for his cabinet to manage legal issues, public safety, water services, and the penal system were professionals with the best credentials, rather than campaign supporters and political hacks. However, his plans and hopes for municipal ownership of utilities and urban transport never fully succeeded. Indeed, his campaign for control of the street railways and especially the imposition of a standard 3-cent fare engendered strong opposition, and eventually led to his defeat in 1908 by a public grown weary of the issue.

Johnson also struggled with the matter of restructuring the system of government for Cleveland. While he was able to hire the best managers, the Statehouse, using the then-current 1851 state constitution, dictated the manner in which cities could design their systems of offices and responsibilities as well as their overall structure of representation and governance. The state system was antiquated and could not match the needs of growing urban areas; the problem was not unique to Cleveland nor to Ohio and it represented part of a growing gap between rural-dominated statehouses and polyglot industrial cities. The solution was "home rule," that is the ability of the citizens of a particular municipality to select the system that best suited their needs. Johnson campaigned on a platform of home rule but here, too, was unable to achieve it before his defeat by Republican Hermann Baehr in 1908.

Yet his defeat in 1908 did not signal an end to Progressive reform in the city. By the time Johnson had left office, the movement was firmly embedded not only in the city but in the nation. The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, which also ended in 1908, had given a Progressive hue to national politics. Most important for Cleveland, however, was that Johnson's acolytes, particularly Newton D. Baker, remained in the city and remained committed to concepts of democratic and social reform. Likewise, but from another perspective, the business-based focus on rationality and order accelerated, and, for whatever its drawbacks, would continue to effect significant changes to the manner in which the city, and most particularly, its benevolent institutions operated.

The major thread of local continuity was Newton D. Baker. Baker continued to serve as City Solicitor during the Baehr administration and, upon Johnson's death in 1911, he assumed leadership of the Cuyahoga County Democratic Party. While Baker shared the same idealistic zeal of his mentor, Johnson, he more truly fit the mold of the typical Progressive and, by virtue of that, became a more effective leader in the movement. Unlike Johnson, he

had a university education and was professionally trained as a lawyer. Unlike Johnson, he had never garnered wealth, but at that time remained a member of the middle, professional class. Also, Baker was young. Johnson was 47 when he became mayor in 1901; Baker was 30 when he joined the administration that year, an age more in concert with the group of young social workers and civic advocates with which he socialized. Among these was a college classmate, Frederick Howe, who was active in a variety of local reform organizations, including Goodrich Settlement House. Certainly, his tenure with Johnson was one akin to apprentice and master in regard to politics, but Baker learned quickly and his ability as an articulate, informed public speaker made him an asset to the administration and eventually would, along with his deep understanding of the law, form the basis for a political career which would eclipse that of his mentor. Baker ran for mayor in 1911 against Republican businessman, Frank G. Hogan, and won handily.

Baker's assumption of the office of mayor in 1912 was one of three seminal political events that year, each heavily colored by the urge for Progressive reform. The most visible was the impending U.S. Presidential campaign, which would find three candidates seeking the office: Democratic Woodrow Wilson; Republican William Howard Taft, the incumbent; and the Progressive (Bull Moose) Party candidate, former President Theodore Roosevelt. The other event was a state constitutional convention in Ohio which was charged with redrafting or amending the state's 1851 Constitution. Baker, as mayor of Cleveland, would play important roles in both of these events and in doing so gain stature for himself and his city in the state and nation.

When Baker assumed the office of mayor, Cleveland was the nation's sixth largest city and its population was over 600,000. Baker's campaign had promised more reforms, including the municipal ownership of urban utilities including gas, electric, street railways, and even the telephone system. He also strongly advocated home rule. His primary goal, however, was something he called "civitism," a word which he coined and which referred to the creation of a sense of pride in all citizens for their city. It was a pride to be built upon a broad participatory democracy and which would bring in its wake the buildings, cultural institutions, parks, and other physical amenities that make a city great. Baker's margin of victory in 1912, over 17,000 votes, was the largest in the city's history up to that time. Short in stature (he was only 5' 6" tall), Baker was not physically imposing, as had been his mentor, Johnson, but he made up for the lack of stature with superb oratorical skills and well-honed abilities as a debater.

Like Johnson, he appealed to a broad democracy, holding tent meetings around the city during election periods and speaking at numerous venues for

dedications, neighborhood gatherings, and other “technically” non-political events. That, along with his substantial plurality allowed him to achieve things that had eluded Johnson. By 1914, Cleveland had its municipal electric provider (today’s Cleveland Public Power). Although street railways were not fully municipalized until 1942, his administration — notably through the efforts of Peter Witt, Baker’s Commissioner of Street Railways — was able to use municipal oversight to get fares dropped to 3 cents. Baker then went on a “3-cent binge,” creating municipal dance halls that offered dances at that price and selling fish from Lake Erie at 3 cents, the fish being trawled for by city boats. The municipal electric plant also offered 3-cent lighting!

Baker’s first year in office set a tone for other events that enhanced the Progressive nature of the community. The West Side Market, the site of which had been purchased by the city under the Johnson administration in 1902, dedicated its new modern facility in 1912. Designed by the noted architectural firm of Hubbell and Benes, the building was the epitome of a modern market — sanitary, attractive, and hugely efficient. In October 1912, the emphasis on democracy and open civic debate favored by Progressives such as Johnson and Baker came into its own with the founding of the City Club of Cleveland. On the same day, January 1, that Baker took office, the new County Court House, a landmark of the Group Plan, opened. Baker’s two terms of office would see the construction of its counterpart, the City Hall, which would open in 1916, the year after Baker left office. The site of the old City Hall, on Superior Avenue, then became the new building of the Cleveland Public Library. Citizens approved a bond issue to pay for the new building in 1912. It would open in 1925.

Paralleling these civic reforms was a continued growth of industry and entrepreneurship in the city, something attributable, in part, to the efforts of the Chamber of Commerce to stabilize the chaos of urbanization in Cleveland. Although one can pinpoint several major industrial developments in the city during 1912 — including the expansion of the Otis Steel Works into a major new plant in the Flats, south of Clark Avenue — statistics for the decade as a whole show an enormous growth in productivity. The values of industrial products made in Cleveland was \$271,960,833 in 1910; it rose to \$350,000,000 in 1914; and after World War I to \$ 1,091,577,490 in 1920. That growth did not, however, come without continued conflict between capital and labor. In 1911, 4,000 workers in Cleveland’s large and growing garment industry went on strike. Their action failed, but in ensuing years manufacturers tried to stave off unionization by offering benefits, lunchrooms, recreation, and employee representation in decision making. This variety of corporate paternalism was considered Progressive at the time, but that definition is debated by some contemporary historians.

What made 1912 a seminal year for the city was not simply what took place within its borders, but the influence it wielded on the state and national level during that year, influence largely attributable to its mayor. In 1910, Ohio voters had called for a new constitutional convention. The last attempt to modify the State's primary document had ended in failure in 1873, and the 1851 Constitution that remained in place was totally inadequate to the needs of the state, most particularly those of its urban areas. The convention opened in Columbus in January 1912. The delegates to the conference chose not to change the Constitution itself, but rather proposed a series of amendments to be put before the electorate. The forty-two amendments they offered to voters in a September 3 election encompassed a substantial portion of the Progressive agenda. They called for initiative and referendum as a means to bring the peoples' voice directly to lawmaking; home rule, which would allow communities of over 5,000 people to establish their own systems of governance; labor reforms, including the establishment of a minimum wage, workman's compensation, and a provision to allow the legislature to set working hours; an expanded state bill of rights; a line-item veto for the governor; and the right for Ohio women to hold certain state offices and to vote.

Mayor Newton D. Baker was one of the principal advocates for the Progressive agenda of the convention, speaking before the delegates drafting the amendments and then stumping for proposals prior to the election. He was in excellent company — others who spoke included Brand Whitlock, the Progressive mayor of Toledo, Ohio; Hiram Johnson, the governor who had made California a bellwether Progressive state; and Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft, who would go on to become the candidates in one of the nation's most critical Presidential contests in the fall. In September, voters approved thirty-two of the proposed amendments. Among those rejected was women's suffrage, but all of the major amendments relating to labor, direct democracy, and home rule passed. Subsequent state legislation would make these Progressive concepts a reality. Baker's role as advocate was critical to the enormous liberalization of the state's constitution and this brought national notice and credit to him and his city.

The Presidential campaign served to heighten his stature. Then as now, Ohio was a critical electoral state and, then as now, the vote in Cuyahoga County had significant impact on statewide election results. The contest that year was arguably the last in which a third party candidate had legitimate hopes for victory. That candidate was former President Theodore Roosevelt. He had sought the nomination of his original party, the Republicans, but was defeated by William Howard Taft, the man whom he had selected as his successor as President in 1908, but whose conservative actions had irritated him

and other progressive Republicans. Interestingly, it was a set of adroit maneuvers by Cleveland Republican Party boss, Maurice Maschke, that loaded the Ohio delegation at the convention with votes destined for Taft, thus ensuring Roosevelt's loss of the nomination. Roosevelt then bolted the party, and became the candidate of the new Progressive (or Bull Moose) Party. Baker, however, had strong ties to the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson, who would win the three-way contest. He had taken a class taught by Wilson at Johns Hopkins University and had remained close to Wilson ever since. Both were intellectuals who had entered the political arena as reformers — Baker, of course, in Cleveland, and Wilson, the president of Princeton University, as the reform governor of New Jersey in 1911. The connection was valuable to both — Baker made a critical speech at the Democratic Convention in Baltimore that helped Wilson win the nomination and Wilson would invite Baker, in several instances, to become part of his Presidential administration. Although Baker declined the initial overtures, wishing to continue his service as mayor of Cleveland he would, after he had left office in 1916, accept the invitation to become the Secretary of War.

Baker had many reasons to stay in Cleveland, foremost among them was the chance to use the new Home Rule amendment to create a special city charter for Cleveland. By doing so, he would fulfill one of the major goals of his mentor, Tom Johnson — the creation of a modern, rational system of governance specifically suited to the needs of Cleveland. The process began in 1913 with the election of a special commission to decide on the new governmental structure. Their proposal went to the voters in 1914 and was approved by a margin of two-to-one. With the system in place and Baker elected to a second term in office, Cleveland remained one of the nation's premier examples of Progressive government.

The restructuring of government and Baker's national prominence were not the only factors that brought notice to the city. It continued to exhibit "civitas" on other fronts, both philanthropic and cultural. Frederick Goff's establishment of the Cleveland Foundation in 1914 made the city a pioneer in the creation of community funds. The establishment of the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy (the successor to the Chamber of Commerce's Committee on Benevolent Institutions and the predecessor to the Community Fund) in 1913 marked the beginning of federated charitable solicitation and distribution. The creation in 1914 of a city Department of Welfare, under the auspices of the new Home Rule charter, added to the evolving modern social service infrastructure. Two years later, a Women's City Club would come into being, evidence of the gender divide that continued, despite the Progressive impulse. The same year

saw the opening of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the first performance at the Cleveland Playhouse.

Within another year, however, the United States would join the great European war and that experience would both overshadow and, according to some historians, tarnish the rise of Progressivism in the United States. One of its most visible consequences for Cleveland was the elevation of Newton Baker to a place of international prominence. Baker had left the mayor's office in 1916 to establish his own law firm (it exists today as Baker Hostetler), but within months he was asked by President Wilson to join his cabinet as Secretary of War. He accepted, taking a leave of absence from the law firm. Within a year, he found himself undertaking the Herculean task of creating, training, and equipping an army of two million and then transferring it to Europe. The task involved logic, political challenges, and the expenditure of vast amounts of money. In true Progressive style, he assembled a team of expert, efficient managers and, by and large, performed a logistical and political miracle.

While the "war to end all wars" ended successfully for the U.S. and its allies, it was followed almost immediately by a period of disillusionment. The rationale for entering the war was questioned, as was the strict regimentation of society for the war effort — a regimentation that often curtailed individual liberties and which was sometimes colored by propaganda-driven biases and prejudices. In some ways, this reflected badly on that aspect of Progressivism which focused on order and rationality. Baker was caught up in this maelstrom of second thoughts after the war. He stumped enthusiastically for President Wilson's campaign to have the United States become a member of the League of Nations — a concept that very much reflected on the social idealism of Progressivism. The campaign failed and the U.S. entered the 1920s seeking "normalcy," which in many ways seemed to counter the old zeal for reform and change.

Some historians see the war and the decade that followed as the end of the Progressive Era, while others argue that many Progressives continued to be influential, noting that a number would rise to prominence — ideals intact — within the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Baker's position during this period seems ambiguous. He remained active on the political front, serving as the chairman of the county Democratic Party until 1936; and in 1932 he was considered a viable candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for President. But during this time, when the bulk of his time was devoted to his law firm, he arguably became increasingly conservative politically and was, at times, at odds with the Roosevelt Administration. He objected, in particular, to the expansion of Federal power and programs during the New Deal.

Whether or not Baker remained a “true” Progressive until his death in 1937 or whether or not the movement ended in the early 1920s or later, are interesting and important historical questions. However, there is no question as to the impact of the legacy of the Progressive Era in Cleveland and, particularly, that of the events of 1912 on the subsequent history of city. For example, the surveys conducted by the Cleveland Foundation during its early years helped shape a number of areas of social policy, including public education in the 1920s. The establishment of Home Rule allowed Cleveland to create a city manager form of government in 1921. The city manager system was a true Progressive ideal, as it attempted to move politics out and professional administration into the running of a city. It functioned from 1923 to 1931, when the Depression and patronage politics undermined it. Today, examples of the Progressive legacy abound, ranging from the Mall, the Metro Parks system pioneered by William Stinchcomb in 1917, to the arts and cultural institutions that set Cleveland apart from other cities. In regard to organized charity and philanthropy, the annual United Way fund drive and institutions such as East End Neighborhood House, Goodrich-Gannett, and Hiram House Camp, which had their beginnings in the period, continue to serve the community today. Perhaps most importantly, the principal of direct democracy, made possible by initiative and referendum, remains alive and viable, as was demonstrated in the statewide referendum relating to the bargaining rights of public employees on the 2011 ballot.

Certainly, the selection of 1912 as one of “the” years in Cleveland’s history can be debated. However, now, a century thereafter, the degree to which the events that took place in the surrounding era still shape daily lives in the city and state is simply remarkable. But, perhaps of greater consequence, is the fact that the ideals and persistence of those who used their intellect and altruistic ideals to promote change 100 years ago can, and should, continue to inspire us.

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

vs. HOME RULE

JOE FROLIK

In the summer of 2004, a lot of the people who had labored to create Cleveland's much-touted "comeback" in the 1990s were dismayed — if not exactly shocked — when a new Census Bureau report declared it to be America's poorest city. Christopher Warren was no exception.

Warren started out as a community organizer in Tremont, long before Barack Obama gave that career path a patina of Ivy League cool, and long, long before the words "trendy" and "Tremont" became joined at the hip. The Tremont Warren worked in was an aging neighborhood of poor white ethnics, isolated from the rest of Cleveland by geography, crumbling roads, and closed bridges.

Then, in 1990, newly elected Mayor Michael R. White invited him to join his first Cabinet, as director of community development. After years of organizing protests against bankers, downtown developers, and political power-brokers, Warren was literally at the table with them.

The decade that followed was a heady time for White, Warren — who eventually became his economic development director — and the City of Cleveland. Blessed with a friendly Republican governor in Columbus (former Cleveland Mayor George Voinovich), a powerful member of the House Appropriations Committee in Washington (Louis B. Stokes, the brother of another former Cleveland mayor), a Democratic president, who understood the importance of Ohio's electoral votes (Bill Clinton), and a willing partner at the Cuyahoga County Board of Commissioners (Tim Hagan), White's administration marched one big project after another across the finishing line: The Gateway complex of new homes for the Indians and Cavaliers, the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum, the Great Lakes Science Center, the rebirth of Tower City, and a new Cleveland Browns Stadium.

But, for all the energy and money that went into downtown, White never lost sight of the city's neighborhoods. With Warren, as his consigliere, and the Community Reinvestment Act, as his muscle, he leaned hard on local banks

to reverse decades of red-lining. On their watch, the first new, market-rate housing in anyone's memory was built in Cleveland neighborhoods. The new Mill Creek subdivision in South Broadway, clusters of upscale townhouses in Tremont and Ohio City, even the rambling McMansions of Hough rivaled anything developers were building in Cleveland's suburbs. More new houses were built in Cleveland (850) between 1995 and 1997 than in Brunswick (839), Strongsville (838), Avon (798), or Twinsburg (746).

But all that did not reverse decades of middle-class flight. Cleveland's population dropped during the 1990s, as it had in every decade since 1950 — to below 500,000, for the first time since 1900. Because so many of those left behind were poorly educated and lacked the skills needed in the modern workplace, Cleveland became an older and poorer city, as it hollowed out. That was the snapshot taken by the Census Bureau's American Community Survey. The numbers really should have been no surprise — even at the height of its “come-back,” Cleveland had been always been among the 10 poorest cities, if you were simply looking at the income of those people who actually lived within its city limits.

To Warren, part of the problem was where those limits had been drawn many decades ago. Unlike Columbus — whose seemingly elastic boundaries were a source of endless fascination and frustration to him and many of those with whom he served at City Hall — Cleveland was locked in by suburbs. It encompassed only 77 square miles — barely a third the footprint of Columbus. That meant that, when a business told Warren's economic development department that it needed more land to expand, he often had nothing to show within the city limits, except brownfields that would require years of expensive, environmental clean-up. In Columbus, his counterparts would have plenty of options, including open space — greenfields, in the lexicon of development — where a business could build immediately, add payroll, and start paying more taxes. Warren took great pride in one modern office park he did manage to develop — Cleveland Enterprise Park — but that was on land that the city happened to own in suburban Highland Hills.

Just imagine, Warren mused one day at lunch, if Cleveland's boundaries were not the meandering zigzag that appears on maps today, but squared off like those of most cities. Just imagine if the city limits stretched from the Rocky River on the west, to SOM Center Road on the east, and from the shores of Lake Erie south to Interstate 480.

“I don't think anybody would be talking about Cleveland as the poorest city in the country then,” said Warren, pointing out that neither the county nor the

metropolitan area had poverty rates above the national averages. “We’d look pretty good.”

Well, thank you, Tom Johnson.

A century after he left City Hall, Tom Loftin Johnson remains the gold standard against which every Cleveland mayor — and maybe every mayor in America — is measured. Elected in 1901, after making a fortune operating private streetcar systems in Cleveland and other cities, Johnson turned Progressive Movement ideals into concrete political action.

He created municipal utilities and public baths, enforced inspection standards for meat and milk, built playgrounds in crowded immigrant neighborhoods, expanded the city’s park system and — convinced that city dwellers occasionally needed a dose of bucolic country life — purchased the land in far eastern Cuyahoga County, on which Chris Warren would one day locate the back offices of downtown banks. He promoted Daniel Burnham’s Group Plan for public spaces and public buildings downtown. He turned City Hall into a laboratory for innovation and a showcase for how an city could and should be run. Even the great muckraking journalist Lincoln Steffens declared Johnson to be “the best Mayor of the best-governed city in the United States.”

Oh yes. And he also pushed for Home Rule.

For the century before Johnson took office, Ohio law had constricted the power of city governments. The state had a hodgepodge approach to issuing municipal charters, which resulted in wildly inconsistent rules for what individual cities could or could not do. The state also retained the right to override local laws, giving it final say over anything that Cleveland or any other city might decide to do. It even dictated the structure of local government.

This bothered Johnson and his allies on two levels. Their Progressive ideals held that people should have as much say as possible over how they were governed. Thus, the idea that officials in faraway Columbus could override the will of Clevelanders was an affront to their notions of democracy. Ohio’s cities, *Plain Dealer* associate editor Arthur B. Shaw would write in 1916, were “handicapped and humiliated. They were governed by a Legislature controlled by rural members” — a complaint still heard today.

On a more practical level, Johnson and the many able people he brought to City Hall — his most notable protégés included Newton D. Baker and Dr. Harris Cooley — believed that they were more than capable of running Cleveland without the big brother of state government looking over their shoulders. When it came to the daily work of city government, they wanted to

be left alone. “Home rule” was the first plank in Johnson’s 1901 platform, but, try as he did, he never managed to sell it to Ohio as a whole.

That task eventually fell to Baker, who was elected mayor in 1911, two years after Johnson had been defeated for re-election and just months after his death. Baker convinced Ohio’s 1912 Constitutional Convention to add strong home rule language to the state’s newly amended governing document. It gave cities wide latitude to do almost anything that did not conflict with the general laws of the state and federal governments. With Baker stumping throughout the state, the new amendments were approved by voters that fall.

The victory freed Baker and his administration to do what they were already doing rather well — govern the city efficiently and innovatively. Baker became chairman of Cleveland’s first Charter Commission and helped draft a document that did away with partisan ballots or labels in municipal elections. It was swiftly ratified by city voters and Baker, initially elected as a Democrat like Johnson, served a second term, before heading off to Washington as Woodrow Wilson’s Secretary of War.

The city he left behind was unquestionably well-governed and booming. Cleveland’s population had mushroomed from 381,000 in 1900 — just before Johnson’s election — to 560,000 in 1910, on its way to 797,000 in 1920. By the end of World War I, it was the fifth-largest city in the country. Its steel mills, factories and port pulsed with energy and activity. Immigrants, especially from eastern Europe, poured in to fill all those jobs. Entrepreneurs and inventors sprouted like weeds in a city that might fairly be called the Silicon Valley of the Industrial Age.

But all that economic and political success, says Cleveland State University urban affairs professor Norman Krumholz, helped set in motion the city’s eventual decline and some of the problems that bedevil it now in the Information Age.

As more and more people moved in to the city and the output of its factories increased, so did the unpleasant by-products of rapid urbanization and industrialization. Neighborhoods became overcrowded. Pollution darkened the skies and befouled the air. Faced with these obvious quality of life issues, those who could afford to, moved away from the sources of irritation.

Initially, they didn’t move very far. When Cleveland was basically a walking city, only the wealthiest could afford to live even a short distance from their livelihoods — hence the “Millionaires’ Row,” that sprouted along Euclid Avenue, just east of downtown after the Civil War. But first streetcars and then commuter rail systems pushed the practical boundaries of where a white-collar worker could live. “Finally, the automobile comes along and blows the place

apart,” says Krumholz, who was Cleveland’s planning director under Mayors Carl B. Stokes, Ralph Perk, and Dennis Kucinich. In 1900, only 50,000 Cuyahoga County residents did not live within the city limits; by 1920, that number had tripled. It would double again, during the run-up to the Great Depression.

But if those who might have wanted to move beyond the city limits had motive and means — and Cleveland was surely not the only big city where they did — the success of Johnson and Baker and their “home rule” triumph also provided added incentive.

Within a year of Johnson’s election, a cordon of suburbs began to tighten around Cleveland. By 1911, Linndale, Bay, Bratenahl, Brooklyn Heights, Lakewood, Cleveland Heights, Newburgh Heights, North Olmsted, North Randall, Idlewood (later University Heights), Fairview Park, Shaker Heights, and Dover (later Westlake) had all incorporated as villages. For many, full city status would come by the end of the “Roaring ’20s.”

By contrast, when the small, lakeside village of Nottingham, at the western edge of what is now the city of Euclid, merged into Cleveland in 1912 — a few years after the formerly independent communities of South Brooklyn, Glenville, and Collinwood had been annexed, because their residents wanted the better public services Johnson’s administration was providing — the city, as it still stands a century later, was essentially complete.

Charles Zettek, Jr., of the Center for Governmental Research in Rochester, New York, has studied the proliferation of governments across America’s once-booming industrial heartland, from New England through the upper Midwest — the Rust Belt, if you must. In city after city, as people moved away from the old urban core, they set up new governments that pretty much mirrored what they had known. The New Englanders who settled the Western Reserve brought along a tradition of autonomous villages and multiple layers of government. The European immigrants who followed had learned about turf from big-city political machines. And those moving out of Cleveland at the beginning of the 20th century had heard the Progressive gospel of “home rule” and seen the value of a well-run City Hall — though the fact that there may not have been enough Tom L. Johnsons and Newton D. Bakers to go around probably didn’t seem so obvious to them at the moment of creation.

Mixed together here — in a region where ethnic and class divisions were never too far from the surface — those ideas and experiences led to suburbanization as Balkanization. Many Cleveland suburbs essentially began as ethnic enclaves, that resolutely reproduced the old cultures in which their new residents were steeped. You can see it today in the eastern European architecture of Parma and the Tudor homes of Shaker Heights. “The whole idea was

that you could control your environment,” by using tools such as zoning, that Progressives and their city planning movement had pioneered to make urban design more rational and improve the quality of life and city services, says Hunter Morrison, who followed Krumholz as planning director to Voinovich and White.

“The Vans” — brothers Oris and Mantis Van Sweringen, developers of Shaker Square, Shaker Heights, the Shaker Rapid line, and Terminal Tower — “used home rule and zoning very explicitly, as a way of differentiating the new community they were building in Shaker,” says Morrison. “The whole idea was that you could control your environment. You could have a nice house without the people you didn’t want as neighbors.” For decades, exclusionary zoning and covenants limited the presence of blacks and Jews in Shaker Heights.

Other communities may have been slightly less overt, but Morrison says the goal of incorporation was often very clearly to create an enclave for “our people.” Sometimes, that was people who looked or prayed alike. Other times, the restrictions were more economic in nature. Early on, East Cleveland and Lakewood banned apartment houses. Almost everywhere, the implicit message was: Leave us alone.

“The impetus for zoning in northeast Ohio was exclusion,” American Planning Association researcher — and Cleveland native — Stuart Meck told a City Club audience in 2002. “It was about keeping out people that we didn’t like, who lived in residences we didn’t care for, or who worshipped in a manner that made us uncomfortable.”

The great migration of African Americans out of the South that began around the time of World War I added another layer to the distrust that came to divide Greater Cleveland. Very few suburbs welcomed blacks; most, quite frankly, would resist until the Civil Rights Movement and the laws it produced forced them to change. But, as decades passed and the city’s black population — largely segregated within Cleveland, too, thanks to race-conscious real estate agents and even federal housing programs — grew larger and more politically prominent, the urban-suburban gulf grew wider.

By the beginning of the 1960s, the sight of once solid neighborhoods in decline confirmed to many suburbanites that they had made the right decision to get out of Cleveland. Any remaining doubts vanished in 1966 and 1968, when riots, fires, and gunshots ravaged Hough and Glenville, two East Side neighborhoods that had once included some of the city’s finest — and most integrated — addresses. Nuanced discussions of job discrimination, police racism, and overcrowded housing had little impact on that mindset.

The nadir may have come shortly after the riots, when the Stokes administration issued its “fair share” proposal for scattering public housing throughout Cuyahoga County. The lion’s share of the new units proposed by the administration — in conjunction with the Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority, a nominally countywide agency — would have been located within the city, included some in all-white West Side neighborhoods. But about a dozen units were even allocated to exclusive upper-crust Hunting Valley. It was regionalism on steroids — or, perhaps, considering that it was the 1960s, on hallucinogens.

Krumholz remembers calling a meeting to discuss the proposal, inviting every suburban political leader he could think of, and having no one from outside the city show up “except good old Seth Taft [the Republican county commissioner, who had lost to Stokes in 1967]. Everyone else answered in the newspapers.” That message from suburbia was pretty clear: Over our dead bodies.

Home rule, the great goal of Cleveland’s greatest mayor, had reached its logical conclusion.

Those who wonder what Cleveland could have done differently, to exert more control over its fate, often point to Columbus. It is important to note that, until the late 20th century, Columbus was a much smaller city. In 1900, Ohio’s capital had only 130,000 residents. By 1950, when Cleveland hit its peak of about 900,000 residents, Columbus had a population of 376,000. It was still largely surrounded by farmland. And that gave Maynard Edward (Jack) Sensenbrenner the opening he needed.

Sensenbrenner was a political novice, who shocked the Columbus establishment, when he was elected mayor in 1953. For starters, he was a Democrat, the city’s first, since the height of the Depression, elected by fewer than 400 votes, after one of the first municipal campaigns anywhere to make extensive use of television. Maybe his ground-breaking campaign style should have been a clue that Sensenbrenner had his eye on the future. In any case, he moved quickly to secure his city’s future.

Convinced that any city that wanted to control its destiny needed to have room to grow and the ability to manage that growth, Sensenbrenner made water his weapon of choice. The former Fuller Brush salesman decreed that any community, neighborhood, or subdivision that wanted to tap into the Columbus water system or its sewers first had to agree to be annexed by the city. By the time Sensenbrenner left office in 1972 — his service interrupted for four years after he lost a re-election bid in 1960 — Columbus had grown from 39 square miles to 135. Today, it is more 210 square miles, sprawls into three counties, and is still growing. While Cleveland is home to barely a third of Cuyahoga

County residents, Columbus still accounts for two-thirds of Franklin County's population.

Columbus's annexation strategy certainly does not explain its economic success — being the home of two massive, essentially recession-proof jobs engines, like state government and a huge public research university, is a pretty nice base for any metro area, as residents of Austin and Madison can also testify. And covering so much ground clearly makes it more challenging to deliver some city services. But it also means that Columbus can offer potential residents or investors a far wider array of options than Cleveland can — and that keeps them and their tax dollars coming.

In simplest terms, says Morrison, who's now teaching at Youngstown State University and advising Mahoning Valley leaders on how to rebuild their decimated corner of Ohio, "The energy [of development] goes to the new" — and, when a business or a developer wants to build something new in Central Ohio, Columbus has room for them to do it. Without space to grow, adds Krumholz, even the most innovative mayors hit a brick wall: "As your population goes down and your housing ages, you want, you need, to redevelop, to rebuild your aging infrastructure. But you can't because your tax base is going down, too."

Could Cleveland have done what Columbus did and essentially force its suburbs back into the fold of what former Mayor Jane Campbell used to call the "mother city"? After all, Cleveland's Division of Water provides water to most of Cuyahoga County, as well parts of several adjacent counties.

In theory, the answer is yes. But the reality is that Cleveland's leaders faced their moment of decision much earlier than Columbus and Sensenbrenner did. Based on the view from their City Hall, Cleveland's leaders — including the sainted Johnson and Baker, who were in charge when the suburban fence around the city began rising — chose to see water as a commodity to be sold, a profit center that enabled them to serve their own citizens better. To them, more suburbs meant more customers. Keep in mind that Cleveland, in those days, wasn't built out, either. There were still vast tracts of vacant land within its city limits; much of what are now the West Park and Lee-Harvard neighborhoods were not developed until after World War II. And almost no one in pre-war America could have anticipated the emergence or the impact of the freeway, which allowed Greater Cleveland to sprawl east, west, and south — while Cleveland's 77 square miles could not change.

Only lately, at the beginning of the 21st century, have Cleveland leaders begun to think of ways to leverage the fact that their water system is, in fact, a regional asset. Campbell established a joint development district in Summit County, agreeing to supply water to a new office park in Richfield, in return for

a share of tax dollars generated there. Her successor, Frank Jackson, struck a major blow for regional thinking, when he offered to assume the cost of maintaining water lines in any community that agreed not to “poach” employers from other cities in the region, by using tax abatements or other incentives. Some suburbs, especially those in the “inner-ring” around Cleveland, quickly signed on. But some of the most affluent cities have been slow to come the party.

Their reluctance underscores a long-standing problem of Cleveland and many other older cities. It’s one thing to talk about regionalism, it’s another to live it.

Look at it this way: advocates of regionalism — a frankly mushy term that can mean everything from support for Indianapolis-style uni-gov to a vague sense that economically, at least, this is a single labor market — love to point out that, when people from Greater Cleveland travel and someone asks where they’re from, they generally say “Cleveland.”

And on many levels, that’s true. We all root for the Cleveland Indians, the Cleveland Browns, and the Cleveland Cavaliers. Our children take field trips to the Cleveland Metroparks Zoo and the Cleveland Museum of Art. We impress visitors by taking them to the Cleveland Orchestra and the Cleveland Air Show. When a LeBron James disses Cleveland, the pain extends far beyond even the borders that might exist in Chris Warren’s wildest dreams.

The problem, of course, is that when those same travelers get home and someone asks where they’re from, the answer is likely to be some very specific community. In Cuyahoga County alone, there are 58 other municipalities besides Cleveland to choose from. Add in school districts and special taxing districts, there are about 100 units of government in Cuyahoga County. Zettek and Bruce Katz, who studies urban issues for the center-left Brookings Institute think tank, say that’s actually fairly common for older industrial areas.

But many of the subdivisions that might have made sense in the go-go days of the early 20th century are almost impossible to justify in the more challenging landscape of the 21st. Researchers hired by the Fund for Our Economic Future — a foundation-driven consortium that is trying to jump-start development in northeast Ohio — have identified the “legacy cost” of excess government as a drag on this region’s growth, because it adds to the bottom-line of doing almost everything. In follow-up work commissioned by the Fund, Zettek concluded that, when all governments are accounted for, Cuyahoga County spends almost \$800 million a year more than Franklin County. Think of that as the cost of home rule run amok.

So, what now? The Fund has begun offering prizes to communities that come up with the most promising plans for collaboration. The fact that some of the early finalists have been as mundane as a shared maintenance garage for one suburban city and its school district shows how far the discussion has to go. Many of the candidates for Cuyahoga County's new chief executive and council promise to encourage policy cooperation, joint buying, and shared services. A few brave souls even suggest that the new, streamlined county structure could eventually lead the way to a single metropolitan government. However they come down on that grand question, almost everyone who thinks about the future of this area says we simply can't do business as usual.

Bruce Akers couldn't agree more. Akers was at Cleveland City Hall almost a generation before Warren — now mayor Frank Jackson's regional economic development czar — arrived. He was Ralph Perk's chief of staff in the 1970s. Eventually, he became mayor of Pepper Pike, a bedroom community that in 1924 was carved out of what was once Orange Township. As a leader of the Cuyahoga County Mayors and Managers Association, Akers has spent more than a decade trying to convince other suburban officials that they need a new model of cooperation — one premised on two central ideas:

- 1) that every community in Greater Cleveland will sink or swim together, and
- 2) that Cleveland's fate will dictate everyone else's.

That's led Akers to embrace Hudson Mayor Bill Currin's call for regional tax sharing. He understands what a tough sell that will be. But he thinks north-east Ohio has no choice but to change. Instead of pulling apart, he says, it's time to pull together. Akers notes that, now, some of his neighbors have become more interested in the collaborations he's been pushing for years. The dismembered pieces of Orange Township — Pepper Pike, Orange, Woodmere, Hunting Valley, and Moreland Hills — already share a school system and recreation center. Now, even these mostly affluent communities have begun to realize they can't afford to stand alone in other civic enterprises.

"I think someday we'll see those five communities back together," Akers says. "Sheer necessity is going to force us to think that way."

Tom Johnson also saw home rule as a matter of sheer necessity. To make Cleveland great in the new 20th century, it needed the power to stand alone. Perhaps one key to its revival in the 21st century will be enough communities surrendering that power — in hopes of finding even more by standing together.



Charles Emil "C. E." Ruthenberg (1882–1927).

WHEN CLEVELAND SAW RED

JOHN VACHA

Along with the rest of the country, Clevelanders were shocked on the evening of September 6, 1901, to learn that President William McKinley had been shot in Buffalo, New York. What brought the news closer to home than elsewhere, however, was the knowledge soon to follow that the man who had fired the fatal bullet had been a resident of their own city. Leon Czolgosz was the son of Polish immigrants living in Cleveland's Warsawa district on the southeast side.

A reporter from the *Cleveland World* tracked down the assassin's father on Fleet Avenue. He had once run a neighborhood saloon, where a group of anarchists was said to have met in a hall above the barroom. "I think he is insane," said Paul Czolgosz of his son. "I don't think he is an anarchist. He is, I believe, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, but of no other organization."

In fact, the younger Czolgosz had once been rebuffed in his attempt to join a local anarchist society and was a classic example of the loner in the history of American assassinations. Then as now, however, conspiracy-minded Americans were prone to associate foreigners and immigrants indiscriminately with such European political movements as anarchism, communism, and socialism.

Even native-born American politicians were not immune from such suspicions. Tom L. Johnson, Cleveland's great reform mayor, may have been "the best Mayor of the best-governed city in the United States," in the eyes of muckraker Lincoln Steffens, but businessman Mark Hanna saw Johnson as a "socialist-anarchist-nihilist." Most of Johnson's reforms happened to be as American as apple pie: paving and cleaning the streets, removing "Don't Walk on the Grass" signs from city parks, building municipal bath houses, and instituting a city purchasing department to eliminate waste and corruption. The closest he came to socialism was in his campaigns to establish municipal ownership of electric power and street railways. That was enough for conservatives like Hanna,

whose antipathy couldn't have been allayed by the sight of the mayor campaigning in a Winton automobile known as the "Red Devil."

Tom Johnson was mayor of a city of 381,768 residents in 1900, one-third of whom were foreign-born and three-quarters of whom were either first or second generation Americans. Two-thirds of the city's working class were engaged in construction, manufacturing, and service trades; most of them were skilled or semi-skilled laborers. They lived in working-class neighborhoods dominated by up-and-down double or front-and-back-yard single houses. Many, if not most, still lacked indoor plumbing — hence the need for public baths. Working conditions were even more primitive than housing conditions, marked by low wages (15 to 25 cents an hour), long hours (10 to 12 per day), child labor, and sweatshop standards. Employers resisted workers' efforts to organize for better conditions by the use of company spies, strikebreakers, and blacklists against workers involved in unionizing activities.

Two approaches were available for those workers who persisted in attempting to organize: the traditional craft unions of the American Federation of Labor or the class-oriented Socialist Labor Party. Labor unions sought to achieve their goals through collective bargaining with employers or government legislation, while Socialists sought broader reforms through the replacement of capitalism by a workers' government that would take over and operate the major means of production.

While native-born American workers tended to favor trade unions, and immigrants were more comfortable with Socialist organizations from their European experience, there was a considerable overlap between the two approaches. Max Hayes, a native-born American printer, for example, was secretary of Cleveland's Central Labor Union, as well as a member of the Socialist Party of America. He cofounded and edited the official organ of the Central Labor Union, *The Cleveland Citizen*, and ran for Congress and Ohio Secretary of State on the Socialist ticket. He regarded unionism as his primary allegiance, however, and believed that Socialists should work for reform through unions and the existing political system.

A major test for Cleveland's union movement came with the garment workers' strike of 1911. It started on June 6, when 5,000 Cleveland garment workers walked off the job, only three months after 135 New York workers had died in the Triangle Shirtwaist fire. Cleveland's garment industry ranked fourth in the nation, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union viewed it as a potential model for organization. Their demands included a fifty-hour work week, with a half holiday on Saturdays and no more than two hours overtime a day, abolition of sweatshop conditions, and a raise in pay.

Garment manufacturers matched their striking employees in a display of solidarity. Refusing to negotiate with union representatives or agree to arbitration, the owners kept their businesses in operation by bringing in strikebreakers and sub-contracting with out-of-town plants. Strikers organized parades to promote their cause, including a march through the downtown business district by two female locals. The manufacturers countered by hiring agents to infiltrate the unions and incite members to violence. Told by one of these that their tactics were “too lady-like,” female strikers responded by assaulting scabs and police with their purses and fists, thereby turning public opinion against the strike. After five months, the strikers returned to work with none of their demands gained.

Such experiences undoubtedly prompted workers, especially those of recent European background, to consider socialistic solutions to the labor question. An estimated four out of five male workers, and two of five female employees, in Cleveland’s garment industry were foreign-born. When Charles Ruthenberg was ready to join the Socialist Party in 1909, he found only eight English-speaking locals in the city, as against eighteen of various nationalities, led by the Germans, Czechs, and Poles.

The son of German immigrants, Ruthenberg had begun his political odyssey as a supporter of Tom L. Johnson. Though still a believer in the free enterprise system, he was against special privilege and in favor of the mayor’s campaign for municipal ownership of the city’s street railways. Ruthenberg was not a laborer or tradesman, but a white collar worker. Even before Johnson’s defeat in 1909, however, he was rapidly moving in the direction of socialism. Asked much later for the cause of his conversion, he replied, “Through the Cleveland Public Library.” When Eugene V. Debs, the most prominent Socialist in America, spoke at Grays Armory in 1911, brochures listing the library’s holdings on socialism were distributed to those in attendance. Ruthenberg became recording secretary of Cleveland’s Socialist Party and within two years was running for mayor against Newton D. Baker and earning a respectable 8,145 votes.

It was a time fermenting with change, for Socialists as well as Progressives in general. Early in 1912, a state constitutional convention proposed no fewer than forty-one amendments to the Ohio constitution, last revamped in 1851. Voters approved thirty-three of them, including the great ballot reforms of initiative and referendum. Equally important for cities such as Cleveland was passage of a “home rule” amendment, granting cities greater control over ways of addressing some of the unique problems of urban life. It had been drafted largely by Cleveland’s new mayor, Newton D. Baker, who promptly set about promoting the adoption of a new city charter.

Baker also played a prominent role in the Presidential election of 1912. At the Democratic National Convention, he gave an impassioned speech from the floor which led to the overturning of the constitution's unit rule, thus releasing nineteen of Ohio's delegates to vote for the eventual nominee, Woodrow Wilson. A split in the Republican party between supporters of President William H. Taft and former President Theodore Roosevelt virtually guaranteed Wilson's election. So great was Baker's dislike of Roosevelt that he expressed a preference for Eugene Debs, the Socialist candidate. In an unscientific exit poll of Cleveland theatergoers taken by *The Cleveland Press*, Debs actually outpolled Taft, finished third behind Wilson and Roosevelt. Wilson carried Ohio in the general election, but Debs picked up an impressive 89,930 votes in the state, a tenth of his national total of 900,000. Ruthenberg, the Socialist candidate for governor, was close behind with 87,709 votes. The party's statewide appeal was much wider than its 3,500 dues-paying members, gaining Ohio a national reputation as the "Red State."

Ethnic groups remained the core of the Socialist Party, especially in multicultural Cleveland. Many of their meetings took place in the old Germania Hall, rechristened Acme Hall when the original tenants, the Germania Turnverein, left in 1908 for newer quarters. On the West Side, Socialist meetings were often called to order in a hall built by the Hungarian Workingmen's Singing Club on Lorain Avenue. One Hungarian woman recalled passing the hat there for Socialist contributions following a Ruthenberg speech. Ruthenberg was often the featured English-speaker of the night at these gatherings, appearing at them often several nights a week. He would later observe that the best working-class daily newspapers in America all happened to be printed in foreign languages. One was the *Americke Delnicke Listy* (American Daily News), located in Cleveland's Czech neighborhood on the southeast side. During the garment strike it had attempted to discourage strikebreakers by printing their names and addresses.

When war clouds gathered over Europe in 1914, Cleveland's Socialists turned May Day into an antiwar demonstration, marching through Public Square and rallying that evening in Acme Hall. War indeed broke out that August, and 3,000 Socialists showed up in the rain for an antiwar protest in Wade Park. Though confined as yet to Europe, the First World War presented serious issues for American Socialists, particularly those of foreign extraction. As Socialists, they were opposed to all wars as manifestations of capitalist rivalries. To the various Slavic and Magyar nationalities within the Socialist movement, however, the war offered the promise of liberating their cultural homelands from German, Austrian, or Russian domination.

As events pushed America closer to participation, the war became more than an academic question for American Socialists and workers. Ruthenberg and the Socialists campaigned against American entry right up to the eve of President Woodrow Wilson's war message to Congress. They scheduled a stop-the-war meeting for April 1, 1917, at Grays Armory, only to find the doors locked upon their arrival. Undampened, Ruthenberg led them in the rain to register their protest on Public Square.

For workers of all political persuasions, the war offered the benefit of high employment. Taking advantage of the wartime labor shortage, the garment workers again went on strike in 1918. The manufacturers this time agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration, but only at the urging of Secretary of War Newton Baker, former Mayor of Cleveland, who wanted to insure the supply of military uniforms. The workers not only won a substantial raise but secured union recognition in Cleveland's men's clothing industry.

America's Socialists found the government far less tolerant of their political activities. Foreign-born citizens, especially those from enemy countries, saw their loyalties under suspicion. An Americanization Board was established in Cleveland by the Mayor's Advisory Committee to teach English to foreign-speaking aliens and to encourage them to become naturalized American citizens. Max Hayes and the moderate branch of the Socialist Party in general supported America's participation in the war.

Charles Ruthenberg had become the recognized leader of the Socialist Party's left wing. Even after America's declaration of war against the Central Powers, he and other Socialists continued to speak out against the war and the military conscription act. Given the choice between dropping his political activities or losing his position as office manager in one of Cleveland's leading garment makers, Ruthenberg turned down a \$5,000 raise and \$10,000 stock offer to work full time for socialism. Alfred Wagenknecht, state secretary of the Socialist Party, was arrested at an antiwar meeting on Public Square, near the statue recently dedicated to Tom L. Johnson and free speech. (Years earlier, when the notorious anarchist Emma Goldman had come to town and dared Johnson to stop her from speaking, the mayor had invited her to have her say on Public Square.)

Ruthenberg and Wagenknecht were soon charged with obstructing the Conscription Act and sentenced to a year in the workhouse in Canton, Ohio. Even under sentence, Ruthenberg was on the ballot for mayor and received 27,000 votes, more than a quarter of the votes cast. Two Socialists were elected to the city council and another to the board of education in that election,

though the board member was subsequently prosecuted under the Espionage Act and removed from office.

Eugene Debs came to Canton in 1918 to address the Socialist Party's state convention. After visiting Ruthenberg in the workhouse, he went to the park across the street to deliver a fiery antiwar speech to a thousand supporters and a couple of note-taking government agents. Two weeks later, Debs was arrested as he arrived in Cleveland to speak at a Socialist gathering at the Bohemian Gardens on Clark Avenue. He was tried for violating the Espionage Act in the U.S. District Court in downtown Cleveland and sentenced to the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia. Following Ruthenberg's example, he ran for President in 1920 and pulled in nearly a million votes from behind bars.

Despite such moral victories, socialism in the United States never recovered from the hysteria of World War I. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1918 in Russia brought hope to Socialists everywhere, but fear and alarm to their enemies. Although fighting ended in November, 1918, wartime passions still burned fiercely in America, which had entered the conflict so belatedly. There were race riots in twenty-three American cities in 1919, fueled by the urban incursion of African Americans in search of wartime jobs.

Cleveland had its own riots that year, but the targets were reds, not blacks. Some 30,000 Socialists and their sympathizers gathered as usual on May 1 for the annual May Day observance. From various starting points they marched towards Public Square, where Ruthenberg was to deliver the oration of the day. Tens of thousands more lined the streets to watch, not all of them sympathetic. As the columns, Ruthenberg at the head of one, reached the more crowded downtown streets, onlookers began to attack the marchers, trying to snatch their red flags and break up their ranks. Among the attackers were army veterans, patriotic vigilantes, and, by some accounts, the police themselves. Two people were killed, scores sent to hospitals, and more than a hundred arrested, most of them marchers.

Officially, the May Day Riots were blamed on the Socialists, who carried such "provocative" banners as "Workers of the World, Unite!" Even Max Hayes blamed the riots on incendiary statements by Ruthenberg. The city banned the red flag and talked of purchasing six tanks for riot control. Ruthenberg was arrested for "Assault with intent to kill," a charge which was later dismissed.

Later accounts generally saw the marchers as the victims of mob action, spontaneous or even organized. "I saw a peaceable line of unarmed paraders attacked on an obviously preconcerted signal," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* columnist Ted Robinson would write years later. "I saw men and women brutally beaten. . . I saw the blood flow in sickening streams at the city's busiest corner; I saw the

victims arrested while the attackers went free; and I saw the fining and Jailing of these victims on the following day.”

By the end of that year, Ruthenberg had led the radical wing of Socialists into the formation of the Communist Party of the United States. He became the party’s general secretary and spent his remaining years either organizing or fighting and serving prison sentences on such charges as advocating the violent overthrow of the government. In 1926, at the age of 44, he died in Chicago of peritonitis following a ruptured appendix. His ashes were taken to Moscow, where he joined John Reed and Bill Haywood as the only Americans interred in the Kremlin.

It was largely the reaction of the Red Scare that prompted the United States to impose immigration quotas following World War I. Such legislation, and the illusory prosperity of the “Roaring Twenties,” checked the appeal of socialism in America. Not even the Great Depression could restore it to the strength it had demonstrated in Cleveland and other urban centers in the first two decades of the twentieth century.



Garrett Morgan (1877–1963).

INVENTOR GARRETT MORGAN:

CLEVELAND'S FIERCE BOOTSTRAPPER

MARGARET BERNSTEIN

Garrett Morgan was a boundary-pusher and a status-quo smasher.

The son of Kentucky slaves, he moved to Cleveland in 1895, where he would become one of Ohio's most prolific inventors. His curious mind seemed to crank at breakneck speed at all times, ferreting out problems that needed to be solved, and providing the creative spark for his many inventions.

But neither Cleveland nor the nation were ready for a black man operating on such an entrepreneurial level in the early 1900s.

Just like he invented many "firsts," Morgan himself was a first in many ways, as he tried to insert himself and his inventions into the economic mainstream. And as a result, he collided repeatedly with social morés that for centuries had kept blacks in their place.

Persevering in the face of barriers and professional slights, he learned to navigate his way within the tightly segregated confines of 20th-century America, although it sometimes meant he had to disguise his race in order to sell his products.

Morgan designed many items, including two life-saving devices — a gas mask that helped firefighters and soldiers survive in suffocating circumstances, and a traffic signal that restored order to intersections that had become chaotic and dangerous after the advent of the automobile.

He even invented institutions that helped nurture Cleveland's fledgling black middle class. Once Morgan's products earned him enough income to support his family, he started up a black newspaper, a black businessman's league and even a black country club.

Decades after his death, it's not unusual for this black Clevelander to be mentioned prominently during Black History Month, always a time when the achievements of African Americans are listed and lauded across the nation.

Today he is recognized in his adopted hometown as well. Cleveland has a school, a waterworks plant, and a neighborhood square named for the famed African American inventor.

But these accolades arrived long after he could enjoy them. Although he eventually earned enough to live off his inventions and enjoyed a standard of living experienced by few blacks, he always felt blocked by barriers placed on him because of his race.

* * * * *

Garrett Augustus Morgan was born in Kentucky on March 4, 1877, the seventh of 11 children.

His parents, both of mixed parentage, had been slaves before the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation.

His father, Sidney Morgan, was the child of a female slave and a Confederate colonel, John Hunt Morgan. But Sidney Morgan's father was also his family's slave owner and, as a result, the child suffered great physical abuse from his owners. History books show that this was a common plight for mulatto slaves — their owners would treat them cruelly, since they were the physical reminders of an indiscretion on the part of a white man.

"Morgan's father shared stories of the cruelty and abuse he had suffered, and sought to teach his son about the racial prejudices he would surely have to face in the world," according to a detailed biographical essay on Morgan that appeared in a 1991 issue of *Renaissance* magazine.

His mother, Eliza Morgan, was half-Indian and half-black, and reportedly received her maiden name from her slave master. Her father, a Baptist minister, was a spiritual and law-abiding man. His deep and abiding faith would have a big influence in Garrett's life, giving him patience when he found doors to opportunity slamming in his face.

Young Garrett Morgan attended elementary school in Kentucky and worked on his parents' farm.

It was a brutal time in Morgan's native Kentucky, which was still reeling with resentments caused by the abolition of slavery. Lynchings of black men happened frequently in the 1880s and 1890s. Garrett Morgan showed the ambition and independent nature that eventually would make him a wealthy man when he decided, as a teen, that he would leave his family to head north.

At age 14, he arrived in Cincinnati with just a few cents in his pocket. He got a job as a handyman for a white property owner.

Morgan had only attained a fifth-grade education while growing up in Claysville, Kentucky. “He knew how to read. He could write and he could figure,” said his granddaughter, Sandra Morgan of Cleveland, in a 2012 interview.

“But he had higher expectations for himself,” she added. And so he used his earnings as a young teen to hire personal tutors to teach him English and grammar. These competencies, he hoped, would help him get ahead.

Yet young Garrett found that Cincinnati’s racial dynamics did not seem much different from the Jim Crow restrictions of the deep South. A few scattered lynchings had been reported in southern Ohio, too, during the years Morgan lived there.

And so he decided to move on. Cleveland seemed as good a place as any to land, since Morgan had some relatives in northern Ohio. He packed up his things and arrived in the area on June 17, 1895. He was one of the earlier blacks to migrate to the area. In 1890, just over 3,000 blacks had been recorded in Cuyahoga County.

Taking a room in a Central Avenue boarding house, Morgan began looking for work. According to *Renaissance* magazine, his enthusiasm was doused quickly, as he was told over and over, “We don’t employ niggers here.”

He eventually landed a job sweeping floors at Roots & McBride, a sewing machine factory, earning \$5 a week. The youth proved to be a quick study, and he had a strong work ethic. He taught himself to sew and to repair sewing machines, and soon started working as a repairman.

Roots & McBride became the setting where his inventor’s spirit took root, and Morgan soon created his first invention — a belt fastener for sewing machines. He sold the idea in 1901 for \$150.

In 1907, the Prince-Wolf Company hired him to be their first black machinist. There he met an immigrant seamstress from Bavaria, Mary Hasek. “They would engage in innocent conversations, until Morgan was warned by his supervisor that black men were not allowed to talk to white women in the company. Incensed at being told who he could and could not speak to because of his color, Morgan went to the Personnel Office and quit,” according to *Renaissance* magazine.

Morgan had been saving his money for years, with a goal of being his own boss. This was the moment, he realized. Using his savings, he rented a building on West Sixth Street and opened a sewing machine repair shop. It was just a few blocks from the Prince-Wolf Co.

These were tough times for African Americans, but Morgan vowed to make his business a success. He was known to have a motto: “If a man puts something to block your way, the first time you go around it, the second time you go over it, and the third time you go through it.”

While building his business, he also worked hard at another goal: pursuing the seamstress who had caught his eye, Mary Hasek. Although her family refused to accept the interracial relationship, Mary had an independent streak herself and she fell in love with her outgoing and ambitious suitor. The couple married in 1908.

His business had been profitable enough to allow him to build a home at 5204 Harlem Avenue in Cleveland, where he later brought his mother to live, after his father died.

With Mary at his side, Morgan expanded his enterprises. The couple began manufacturing clothing, and developed a line of children’s garments.

Granddaughter Sandra Morgan remembers fondly the beautiful velvet coats with matching muffs that she wore as a little girl, all handmade by Mary. “My party coats, my summer clothes — my grandmother made everything.”

Garrett and Mary’s marriage lasted more than 50 years, until their deaths in the 1960s. Mary came from a big family, but she had little contact with her relatives after she married a black man. She was even excommunicated from her Catholic faith. Sandra Morgan, who still keeps Mary’s rosary and her Bible written in German, believes it hurt her grandmother deeply.

Garrett Morgan didn’t have much contact with his family either, after leaving his native Kentucky. For him and his wife, their three children became their world, and they tried to keep their clan closely knit. “I can still remember going to my grandmother’s house, it was sacred. Every Sunday, you were at that house for dinner,” Sandra Morgan said.

And although she was just a young child in 1963 when her grandfather died, she remembers well the values he instilled. “When my grandfather came to Cleveland, he really did work with his hands and worked hard to pull himself up by his bootstraps.”

Her father, Garrett, Jr., who pitched in to help his father sell his products, had a similar work ethic and passed that credo down to her: “There’s no slackers in the Morgan family” was a succinct motto they lived by.

At his home near East 55th Street and Superior Avenue, Garrett Morgan, Sr., spent hours tinkering in his workshop, trying to come up with solutions to common problems. Around 1910, he had been working on a way to ease the

scorching caused by a sewing machine's rapid movement against wool, when he stumbled into a valuable discovery.

It happened by accident, when Morgan wiped his hands on a cloth after experimenting with a lye-based solution in his workshop.

Later, he noticed the woolen fibers had gone from crinkly to straight. Curious to see if he could replicate the result, Morgan experimented on a neighbor's Airedale dog, and eureka: G. A. Morgan's Hair Refining Cream was born.

It was the first product ever shown to chemically straighten kinky black hair — a forerunner to the popular hair relaxers of today — and Morgan shrewdly deduced its potential marketability. To go along with it, he developed a comprehensive line of hair care products, from his Hair-Lay-Fine Pomade that “makes unruly hair lay where you want it” to a special pressing comb for “heavy hair.” Morgan called his hair products “the only complete line of hair preparations in the world,” and soon he had a thriving business, shipping the items to drugstores across the country.

He did whatever he thought it took to market his hair products. At one point, Morgan purchased a calliope and positioned the steam-powered organ inside a bus. He and son Garrett, Jr., would blast the calliope loudly as they drove through Cleveland neighborhoods, attracting attention from people on the street, whom they would then direct to drugstores that sold their creams and other items.

Around the same time, he was also working on “safety helmet” that he first developed in 1912. His intent, Morgan once wrote, was to invent an apparatus that could “provide a portable attachment which will enable a fireman to enter a house filled with thick suffocating gasses and smoke and to breathe freely for some time therein, and thereby enable him to perform his duties of saving lives and valuables without danger to himself.”

Morgan had long been aware of the fire hazard posed by wooden shanty houses like the ones in some areas of Cleveland and also in his rural Kentucky hometown. A fire could race through these homes in an instant, giving occupants barely seconds to get out. Morgan sometimes joked that these homes went up in flames so quickly that the first thing to burn would be the fire bucket. But he was serious about the need to devise a solution.

In 1914, he patented his version of the gas mask. His safety hood had two tubes that extended to the floor, where Morgan assumed that fresh air was most likely to be found in case of fire. His device included a backpack of unpressurized reserve air.

Always quick to seek ways to sell his products after obtaining patents, Morgan traveled the nation after 1914, to demonstrate his device to fire departments. Knowing fire departments in the South would have no interest in enriching a black inventor, Morgan hired a white actor to pose as the inventor while Morgan dressed up as an Indian chief in New Orleans during a demo at the International Association of Fire Chiefs. During their schtick, the actor would announce that “Big Chief Mason” would don the mask and go inside a smoke-filled tent for 10 minutes. The audience was stunned when Morgan emerged unharmed after 15 minutes in the suffocating tent, and orders began to flow.

He had disguised his identity previously in 1911, when his mask won an award at the New York Safety Exposition. Again, he sent a white actor to accept the honor. “It was a little bittersweet that he couldn’t accept his own award,” said his granddaughter. “He couldn’t claim credit for his own work.”

Yet Morgan’s strategy paid off, literally. Mine owners and fire departments from across the United States and Europe began purchasing the hoods, and the U.S. Army used a slightly redesigned version of the Morgan mask during World War I.

The mask would endure a huge test in Morgan’s adopted hometown of Cleveland, when a group of miners was injured in a shaft under Lake Erie on July 25, 1916. An explosion had torn through an underwater tunnel, trapping more than a dozen men in an area filled with smoke and gas.

Morgan’s phone rang at 3 o’clock in the morning, summoning him to the scene. Still in his night clothes, he rushed to the lake with his safety hoods, bringing along his brother Frank and a neighbor.

Although rescue accounts differ, it is believed that his rescue team brought six men back to the surface and saved their lives, proving the hood’s effectiveness.

But the inventor’s heroism resulted in more slights. The Carnegie Hero Commission declined to recognize the Morgan rescue as an act of bravery. Even Morgan’s request for the City of Cleveland to help him with his medical bills, after he encountered noxious smoke in the waterworks tunnels, was unsuccessful.

Morgan’s granddaughter said her family also believes that sales of the gas mask began to drop as news traveled the nation that the inventor was a black man. “As far as I know, they were selling very well until it was discovered that the patent holder was black, and then sales dried up. That was very upsetting for him.”

Morgan, who had moved to Cleveland in search of opportunities denied to black men in the South, was clearly disappointed, Sandra Morgan said. He wanted nothing more than to be known as a “black Edison,” he told his family.

What he craved wasn’t the fame enjoyed by Thomas Edison, known nationally as “the Wizard of Menlo Park.”

Morgan wanted to live without limits, to be fairly remunerated for his many innovations, and to create a business empire as Edison had done. It disturbed him that he wasn’t afforded that chance. Of course, few inventors reached the heights achieved by Edison — it wasn’t just race that kept Morgan from following in his footsteps.

But opening doors closed to blacks had been a priority for Morgan throughout his life. A fervent bootstrapper, he believed strongly in doing all he could to strengthen Cleveland’s black community. In 1920, Morgan started a newspaper, the *Cleveland Call*, the predecessor to Cleveland’s *Call & Post*. Even this decision was a stab at righting a wrong against blacks. At the time, blacks weren’t allowed to advertise in white papers, and also reporting about blacks was considered negative and stereotypical.

By that time, Morgan had become a wealthy business owner, with dozens of employees.

Automobiles were just becoming popular with the masses, and Morgan is believed to be one of the first black men in Cleveland to own one. From then on, “He always loved sweet-looking rides,” his granddaughter recalled with a laugh.

At the time, cars and horse-drawn buggies were all competing with pedestrians for space on Cleveland’s crowded streets. Morgan realized a device to control the haphazard traffic was needed, and devoted himself to inventing a solution.

On November 20, 1923, he received a patent for the invention for which he’s best known: the traffic signal.

Although many say Morgan invented the traffic light, that is not technically true. There were no lights on Morgan’s device.

Morgan’s manually operated signal was mounted on a T-shaped pole. It gave people approaching an intersection three choices: stop, go, or stop in all directions (which halted cars and buggies so that pedestrians could move safely).

General Electric, realizing the necessity for Morgan’s invention, purchased the patent from him for \$40,000.

In 1923, he used some proceeds from that sale to purchase a large piece of property near Wakeman, Ohio. There he created Ohio's first black country club — a place where middle-class blacks could enjoy recreation like horseback riding, fishing, and horseshoes. "The all-black facility, however, was not wanted in the area by local whites," reported *Renaissance* magazine, which said that Klan members rode onto the property one night and burned a cross.

"Morgan and his brothers ran them off with guns and warnings of their own. The KKK never returned, and the club enjoyed uninterrupted success, until Morgan lost the bulk of his money in the 1929 stock market crash. With a freeze on his savings account, Morgan wisely sold 200 acres of the Wakeman land to pay the taxes on the remaining 200."

Morgan died in 1963. The City of Cleveland never did grant his request for pension benefits, in light of injuries sustained in the 1916 rescue.

Sandra Morgan said her family still has a letter that Morgan sent to Cleveland mayor Harry Davis, expressing anger that he wasn't compensated after the waterworks disaster. "I'm not an educated man, but I have a Ph.D. from the school of hard knocks and cruel treatment," it began.

Did he die a bitter man? Sandra Morgan thinks not. Her grandfather had expressed disappointment many times over, but just as he tirelessly tested his inventions, Garrett Morgan took pride in surviving test after test of his mettle. The sale of the traffic signal had put him in a position where he didn't have to work for anyone else any more, leaving him free to pursue the things that interested him most. And with that freedom came a sense of peace, she believes.

His headstone at Lakeview Cemetery reads simply: "By his deeds, he shall be remembered."

And in 1991, 28 years after his death, one of his most heroic deeds — saving lives that seemed doomed in the underwater tunnel beneath Lake Erie — was remembered and recognized. The City of Cleveland finally honored Morgan by renaming its lakefront waterworks plant for him.



Woman Suffrage Headquarters in Upper Euclid Avenue, Cleveland.
 Pictured: (A) Miss Belle Sherwin, President, National League of Women Voters (*at extreme right*); (B) Judge Florence E. Allen (*holding the flag*); (C) Mrs. Malcolm McBried.
Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress.

HOW CLEVELAND WOMEN GOT THE VOTE:

AND WHAT THEY DID WITH IT

MARIAN J. MORTON

CROWDS APPLAUD WOMEN IN PAGEANT FOR BALLOT,” cried the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* headlines on October 4, 1914: “Shoulder to shoulder were society leaders and women, young and old, who gain their livelihood from work in shops and offices,” marching together for an amendment to the Ohio Constitution that would enfranchise Ohio women. Photographs of the crowd — an estimated 10,000 women from 64 Ohio cities and counties and some 400 men on foot, on horseback, and on an enormous float — accompanied the story. Mayor Newton D. Baker looked on proudly as his wife and two children walked alongside professional women, Hungarian and Polish women, and women in education. “Awe-Stricken cynics are silent as they View Mammoth Parade,” the newspaper claimed.¹ On that October morning, votes for Ohio women looked like a sure thing. But it wasn’t: the amendment failed. Not until 1920, did Ohio women — and all American women — get the vote with the passage of the Nineteenth (Suffrage) Amendment to the federal constitution. Nevertheless, the suffragists’ fight and final victory enlivened Cleveland politics for a quarter of a century and changed it forever.

Women’s suffrage was hardly a novel idea in Ohio. American women first demanded the vote at a woman’s rights convention in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York. (The convention site is now a museum in the Seneca Falls Heritage Area.) The second and third woman’s rights conventions were held in Salem, Ohio, in 1850 and in Akron in 1851. In the post-Civil War period, two suffrage organizations were founded, the American Woman Suffrage Association, established in Cleveland in 1869, and the National Woman Suffrage Association; in 1890, the two merged as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). From 1871 to 1876, a handful of courageous women in South Newbury, Ohio, cast their votes in state, local, and presidential elections, but were rejected each time, the “judges saying that they feared trouble would be the result” if the

votes were counted.² Woman suffrage amendments to the Ohio Constitution were defeated by the Ohio General Assembly in 1888, 1890, and 1891; in 1894, Ohio women did get the right to vote for and serve on school boards.³

In the next decades, women's opportunities expanded. Growing numbers got an education; a privileged few went to college. They entered the workforce, most in industry or offices, and a handful in medicine, law, and more typically, teaching, social work, and librarianship. Women entered the public arena through the back door of charitable and reform activities. A good example was the Consumers League of Ohio (CLO), founded in Cleveland in 1900, the local branch of the National Consumers League. Its goal was to ensure that women and children worked under decent conditions and got paid decent wages. The league urged its members and the public to boycott shops and factories that exploited workers, but league members quickly learned that votes for women would be more effective than consumer boycotts.

In 1910, Cleveland women formally organized for suffrage, energized by seasoned suffragist Elizabeth Hauser, who was also Tom L. Johnson's secretary, and his collaborator in his autobiography, *My Story*. CLO officers like Belle Sherwin and Marie Jenney Howe quickly joined the Cleveland Woman Suffrage Association, which launched an effort to sign up new members and elect delegates in favor of suffrage to the 1912 Ohio constitutional convention.

Sherwin was a founder and the first president of the CLO. The daughter of Henry Sherwin, the founder of the Sherwin Williams Company, she graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Wellesley College in 1890, then spent a year studying history at Oxford University, before returning to Cleveland. The CLO led her into other welfare organizations, including the Public Health Nursing Association and the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy. Sherwin claimed that she had to overcome her "natural shrinking from publicity"⁴ when she joined the new suffrage organization.

Cleveland men organized the Men's Equal Suffrage League in 1911. Distinguished members included the Rev. Harris R. Cooley, Newton D. Baker, and Peter Witt, all former members of Tom L. Johnson's cabinet, and Charles F. Thwing, president of Western Reserve University.

Women asked for the vote on the grounds that, as citizens and taxpayers, they were equal to men and deserved equal rights; like the American Revolutionaries, suffragists argued that they should not be taxed unless they were represented — by themselves, not by husbands, brothers, or fathers. Suffragists also argued for the vote on the grounds that they were different from men, especially equipped by nature and nurture to clean up politics, as they might tidy up their own homes, or to use political power to care for others,

as they might care for their families. Some suffragists made the first argument; some, the second; and some made both. The contradictions between the two arguments did not bother most suffragists. Newton D. Baker made an argument about simple fairness: “Democracy itself is involved in this question. . . . It is wrong that one-half of the people, men, should alone make the laws by which both men and women are governed.”⁵

Cleveland suffrage leaders were generally well educated, middle- and upper-class women. Their visits, luncheons, and parties were often described in the society columns of Cleveland newspapers. Their social status guaranteed that their unconventional political activities would make headlines, too: “Whizz in Autos” and “Suffragists Best Anti [Suffragists] in Skirmish,” exclaimed the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.⁶ Yet they had political savvy enough to seek support from working women, distributing leaflets and speaking in local shops and factories, and enlisting workers to march in suffrage parades.

The suffrage issue also entered local politics. In the 1911 mayoral election, Baker endorsed suffrage. His opponent, Republican Frank G. Hogen, dodged the issue, maintaining — illogically — that woman suffrage was “not intimately related to the municipal government of Cleveland.”⁷

In the 1911–1912 campaign to amend the Ohio constitution, suffragists risked public scorn and personal humiliation by speaking on soap boxes in open air venues. Forty suffragists and members of the press, including cub reporter and future editor of *The Cleveland Press*, Louis Seltzer, rode a private trolley through northeastern Ohio, braving shouts from the crowd that they should “stay at home.”⁸ Belle Sherwin apparently overcame her natural timidity and spoke in towns throughout the region.

Suffragists collected enough signatures to ensure a referendum in 1912 that would enfranchise women by changing the words that described a voter as a “white male” to “every citizen.” Suffragists’ hopes were high: Ohio was the first state east of the Mississippi to vote on universal suffrage; “these suffragists were the first ‘nice women’ to wave flags and carry banners . . . the first to make soap-box speeches.” But to their sorrow, the 1912 referendum failed by 87,455 votes.⁸

And despite the splendid parade two years later, the 1914 referendum also lost — and by an even greater margin.

Suffragists blamed their defeats on well-financed “liquor interests,” who bought politicians’ support to ensure that enfranchised women would not vote saloons and distilleries out of business. Although the Cleveland suffrage organization tried to distance itself from the temperance cause, the reality was that many women — and organizations like the Women’s Christian Temperance Union — joined the suffrage movement because they did want to

vote saloons and distilleries out of business. (This was accomplished in 1918 by the Eighteenth Amendment, even before women got the vote.)

But the most visible opponents of woman suffrage were other women, who organized in Cleveland in 1912. Their own social status notwithstanding, suffragists described the “antis” as snobbish elitists: “The homes along Euclid Avenue are, for the most part, strongholds of the Anti-Suffragists.”⁹ Anti-suffragists maintained that most women didn’t want the vote, pointing out that few actually voted in school elections: “the duty of the vote should not be thrust upon the home-loving woman.” Moreover, giving women the vote would put power “into the hands of women agitators, women Socialists, and undesirables who want police protection.”¹⁰ Mrs. Avery M. Elroy, president of the Cleveland Council of Women, told a group of clubwomen: “Sometime within the next hundred years women will vote. I don’t believe in being in too great a hurry. . . . [T]here are more important things than voting. Family happiness is one,” she maintained, and family happiness would be undermined if husband and wife disagreed about politics.¹¹ Not far below the surface of the anti-suffrage arguments were widely shared fears that enfranchising women would make them equal partners in marriage, leading to divorce, and/or the end of the family as most Americans knew it. Some of the most progressive of Progressive reformers were not enthusiastic supporters of woman suffrage, at least not at first. Tom L. Johnson became a convert only after he was challenged by Marie Jenney Howe, the wife of Johnson’s adviser and friend, Frederic C. Howe: “Mr. Johnson,” she asked, “you who are democratic in everything else, why are not you not democratic about women?”¹² Johnson didn’t have a good answer. (In 1907, Johnson was a featured speaker at an Ohio Suffrage Association meeting in Youngstown.¹³) Howe himself confessed: “I spoke for woman’s suffrage without much wanting it. And I urged freedom for women without liking it.”¹⁴

In addition, suffragists were always short on money to combat “the wealthy Anti-Suffragists and the powerful whiskey interests”; they didn’t have jobs outside the home and didn’t want to ask their husbands for money. Consequently, they staged lively, well-publicized fund-raisers: an outdoor garden fair with interpretive dancing, a lunch kitchen, a bazaar, an elaborate suffrage pageant.¹⁵

Undeterred by their defeats in 1912 and 1914, Cleveland suffragists sought to disprove the opposition’s arguments that women didn’t want the vote, by urging women to vote in the upcoming school board election; suffragists answered their phones “Votes for Women,” instead of “Hello,” and Belle Sherwin “in the Sherwin electric [car]” made sure suffrage billboards were in place all over Cleveland.¹⁶ Suffragists also decided to pursue the vote at the local level. East Cleveland voters adopted a new charter that allowed women to vote in municipal elections in 1916. When the charter provision was challenged by the

county Board of Elections, the Cleveland Woman Suffrage League initiated a taxpayers' suit. In April 1917, the Ohio Supreme Court decided in the League's favor. Lakewood women got the right to vote in municipal elections shortly afterwards.

The lead attorney for East Cleveland suffragists was Florence E. Allen. She graduated from Women's College (later Flora Stone Mather College) of Western Reserve University in 1904 with a degree in music. She worked for three years as a music critic for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and taught music at Laurel School, before taking a graduate degree in history at Western Reserve University. Allen was refused admission to Western Reserve University's law school, but completed her law degree at New York University. While she was still in law school, she threw herself enthusiastically into the 1912 campaign in Ohio. Unlike Sherwin, Allen loved publicity, public speaking, and debating anti-suffragists, reportedly making "92 speeches in 88 counties" in 1912.¹⁷ In June, she rode the private trolley, displaying "Votes for Women" on one side and "Equal Suffrage" on the other; when the trolley stopped at Kamm's Corners, she and the other suffragists hopped off and distributed pamphlets, and Allen gave her suffrage pitch, standing on a tool box.¹⁸

National suffrage leaders visited Cleveland during these contests. Settlement House founder Jane Addams, labor leader Rose Schneiderman, NAWSA president Anna Howard Shaw, and Jeannette Rankin, who in 1916 became the first woman elected to Congress, gave the cause good publicity.

Across the country, the suffrage movement gained strength in 1915 and 1916 and increasingly focused on amending the federal constitution; the state-by-state amendment process, as Ohio had shown, proved too time-consuming, too expensive, and too uncertain. However, growing divisions emerged between the moderate NAWSA and the more impatient National Women's Party and Congressional Union. Cleveland suffragists officially sided with the moderates, regardless of what individuals may have thought about militant tactics such as picketing the White House and engaging in hunger strikes in the Washington, D.C., jail.

The entrance of the United States into World War I in April 1917 gave American women a chance to prove their patriotism. The NAWSA and Cleveland suffragists energetically supported the war efforts, leading food conservation drives and selling war bonds, working in factories and offices and at the Red Cross. Belle Sherwin, aided by other suffragists, headed up the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, a clearinghouse for women's war work.¹⁹

In 1917, the Ohio Assembly passed an amendment giving Ohio women the right to vote in presidential elections. The anti-suffragists managed to get a referendum on the ballot — although the suffragists alleged voter fraud — and the amendment was repudiated by Ohio voters. But the margin of defeat was smaller than in 1912 and 1914. The tide was finally turning in favor of votes for women.

Perhaps persuaded by the NAWSA's support for the war, President Woodrow Wilson urged Congress to pass a woman suffrage amendment. In 1919 both houses of Congress finally passed the Nineteenth Amendment, which went out to the states for ratification. Ohio became the sixth state to ratify, and the legislature simultaneously passed another presidential suffrage bill, in case the national amendment did not make it through the states. Even then, the anti-suffragists challenged the suffrage amendment on the grounds that ratification of a federal amendment needed to be put to a referendum. The United States Supreme Court disagreed in June 1920.²⁰

On August 18, 1920, Tennessee became the last of the states needed to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. The amendment simply read, "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex." Twenty-six million adult women got the vote, a long, weary 72 years after the Seneca Falls convention.

And so the vote was won, but the story was not over. In 1919, Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the NAWSA, sensing both imminent victory and its attendant difficulties, urged the founding of the League of Women Voters (LWV). Its goal was to educate women voters and to persuade women who had been told all their lives that they could not and should not vote, to go to the polls when they finally had the opportunity. The Cleveland League was organized in 1920. Belle Sherwin became its first president; executive board members were long-time suffragists like herself. The new non-partisan organization urged women of both parties to get into politics and did not officially endorse candidates. An exception was made for Florence Allen, who was running for the Court of Common Pleas, a non-partisan post. National and local leagues supported passage of the federal Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act, which became law in 1921, and passage of a federal amendment barring child labor, which did not.

Suffrage leaders, some of whom were long-time pacifists, had swallowed their distaste for global warfare when the United States entered World War I, but when the war was over and its disastrous toll was tallied up, their interest in world peace re-emerged. The national LWV, meeting in Cleveland in 1921, voted to support world disarmament.

With the support of Belle Sherwin and the Cleveland LWV, Cleveland women formed the Women's Council on the Prevention of War; Florence Allen, who had already been elected to the Ohio Supreme Court, was its honorary chair. In 1924, a decade after they made headlines by marching for the vote, some 3,500 women, and some brave men, took to the streets again, this time advocating world peace. No cheering crowds greeted them this time. "PEACE PARADE DEFIES RAIN AND CRITICS. WOMEN OF ALL CREEDS TRUDGE STREETS LINED BY SILENT THOUSANDS, said the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Many women's organizations were represented in the parade, including the LWV, the YWCA, and the Women's City Club. Caught in the country's first "red scare," marchers were accused of being the dupes of international communism.²¹

Despite these accusations, the Cleveland campaign to enfranchise and empower women almost immediately produced two national leaders. Belle Sherwin, the timid suffragist of 1910, served as president of the national League of Women Voters from 1924 to 1934. When she retired from this position, she was appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Consumers Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration and then to the Federal Advisory Council of the U.S. Employment Service. Florence Allen, who won her first political victory for the women of East Cleveland, became the first woman elected to a common pleas court in 1920, the first elected as an Ohio Supreme Court Judge in 1922 and 1928, the first to be appointed to a federal court, the U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in 1934, and in 1958, the first to be appointed the chief judge of any federal court, the 6th Circuit.²² Her decision upholding the constitutionality of the Tennessee Valley Authority was affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1939.

Through the 1920s and 1930s, the Cleveland LWV continued to champion the cause of good government and citizen participation, endorsing issues such as a minimum wage for women workers, the city manager form of government, proportional representation in local elections, and fighting an on-going battle to keep women going to the polls. Although millions of American women did not exercise their right to the franchise in the 1920 presidential election, today the percentage of eligible women who vote exceeds that of men. The LWV now plays the same non-partisan educational role it did in 1920, sponsoring local and national political debates and supporting issues, not candidates.

And thanks to the suffragists' parades, soap boxes, phone calls, pageants, and perseverance, innumerable Cleveland women have served as local councilpersons and mayors and representatives to the Ohio General Assembly and the U.S. Congress.

ENDNOTES

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- 3 *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 2, 1914: 14; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, June 2, 1912: 2A.
- 4 *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 31, 1911: 5.
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- 14 Howe, 234.
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Public Square in 1888.
At the far right is the Hick Block, home to the Lyceum Theater.
Photograph courtesy of the Cleveland Public Library Collection.

THE ADULT EDUCATION TRADITION

IN GREATER CLEVELAND

THOMAS SUDDER

To the New Englanders who founded and settled Cleveland more than 200 years ago, education was more than a matter of childhood and schoolmasters. That's because the way of life and the manner of politicking that Moses Cleaveland and his fellow land speculators knew from Connecticut were practices they aimed to transplant along Lake Erie's south shore.

Upholding those New England ways depended on tutoring newcomers from other regions about the New England outlook. What Greater Clevelanders today describe as adult education may seem as modern as tomorrow — evening classes, say, at Cleveland State University or Cuyahoga Community College, neighborhood workshops at a Cleveland Public Library branch, or learning the Italian language in a class at Alta House, the Murray Hill social settlement. But it was Cleveland's pioneers, late in the 1700s, who promoted such teaching and learning.

Later, in the 1800s, the Connecticut settlers' Cleveland successors promoted lectures, libraries, and the like, to advance adult education — education to help govern Greater Cleveland; education to give Greater Cleveland a common cultural lingo; and, ultimately, education to promote prosperity — prosperity, to be sure, as the powerful defined it.

Finally, in the 1900s, such builders of modern Cleveland as Mayor Tom L. Johnson and his aide Newton D. Baker made adult education a city priority. Johnson, Baker, Frederic Howe, Linda Eastman, and their allies saw lifelong learning as a golden door to better living and a guarantee of cleaner government for every Clevelander, rich or poor, native-born or immigrant. According to historian Kevin Mattson, “The democratic strain within Progressive Era activism ... was to provide citizens with the necessary skills to learn about political issues and become engaged citizens.”¹

Cleveland's settlers set the new city on a foundation built from their own cultural background. At least during Cleveland's first thirty years or so (1796–1825), "The population of Cleveland was, by a substantial majority, from the Connecticut cultural area."² Thus, an early observer of life on the Western Reserve noted "the [local] tendency to support schools and churches — 'exceedingly like the parent people from which they sprung.'"³

True, the New England-in-Ohio perspective was reshaped by the arrival of Americans from other regions of the new nation. But the New England accent remained, according to historian Lois Roseberry:

As in New York, the man from Massachusetts or Connecticut had been forced to compromise [on the Ohio frontier] with his neighbor from Pennsylvania or Virginia whose ideas of institutions differed from those of the Puritan. *But the change had not concealed the original type, nor obscured the ideal* which lay at the foundations of [the school, the church, and the town-meeting].⁴ [Emphasis added.]

Thus, the assumptions Greater Cleveland's Connecticut founders made about how life should be lived in community helped determine what Cleveland became politically and culturally, and, for a time — before the arrival of large numbers of Catholics and Jews — religiously.

Consider General Moses Cleaveland, who founded Cleveland in July 1796. He was born (in 1754) and died (in 1806) in the town of Canterbury, in north-east Connecticut's Windham County. Cleaveland was a Yale graduate and one of 36 founders and seven directors of the Connecticut Land Co., which surveyed and sold the Western Reserve's land.⁵

According to the 1790 Census, the population of Canterbury was 1,881 people.⁶ (The 2000 Census counted 4,692.) The people of Canterbury, like the people in other New England towns, self-governed themselves by holding periodic, face-to-face town meetings. Any resident could attend the town meeting to speak his or her mind about a local matter. Voting followed. In a town with Canterbury's population, government by town meeting was practical, and it was the rule. It still is, albeit modified for today's circumstances.⁷

But in 1950, 154 years after Moses Cleaveland arrived at the Cuyahoga River's mouth, his namesake city, Cleveland, had 914,808 residents. In contrast, Canterbury, Cleaveland's Connecticut birthplace, had 1,321 residents.

So the dilemma for Clevelanders over that century-and-a-half, and even now, in a smaller but still quite large Cleveland, was how people in urban Ohio could find enough in common to speak on political matters in the same language. That is, how could they live the political ideals of their Connecticut founders?

Politics-decided-in-debate was the kind of politics the Connecticut founders idealized: Government tethered to the common consent of the people to be governed, after free discussion among them. The romantic portrayal of town meetings by philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson — a Cleveland lecture-platform favorite⁸ — helps explain the passion many Greater Clevelanders had for New England's approach to government and to the determination, by a community itself, of its collective goals:

In a town-meeting, the great secret of political science was uncovered, and the problem solved, how to give every individual his fair weight in the government, *without any disorder from numbers*. In a town meeting, the roots of society were reached. Here, the rich gave counsel, but the poor also; and moreover, the just and the unjust. . . . In this open democracy, every opinion had utterance; every objection, every fact . . . its entire weight.⁹ [Emphasis added.]

Greater Cleveland's geography and heritage encouraged two early and highly successful approaches to adult education in what had been Connecticut's Western Reserve. One approach was known as the "lyceum." The other approach, still popular today, promotes public libraries to diffuse knowledge.

A lyceum, by one dictionary definition, is a place or organization for instruction by lecture. Perhaps predictably, given the New England drive for personal self-improvement, the lyceum movement began in Connecticut. It was devised and promoted by Josiah Holbrook of Derby, Connecticut, a Yale graduate.

In an October 1826 manifesto, Holbrook called for the establishment of lyceums, which he described as "associations for mutual instruction in the sciences, and useful knowledge generally." Holbrook termed his own model of such an association "a Society for Mutual Education . . . to procure for youths an economical and practical education . . . to diffuse rational and useful information through the community generally . . . [and] apply the sciences and the various branches of education to the domestic and useful arts, and all the common purposes of life."¹⁰

Holbrook proposed that annual dues be \$1 (a lump-sum of \$10 would procure life membership) and that, besides electing officers, each lyceum should designate five "curators," whose assignment would be to select the lyceum's lecturers.¹¹

In Ohio, the lyceum idea flourished, and its lyceums welcomed what today would be called blue-collar workers. In contrast to some lyceums elsewhere, "Ohio [lyceums] still paid some attention to the mechanic [i.e., working] class when it came to making out the [lyceum] programs."¹²

Such Cleveland leaders as Leonard Case established the Cleveland Lyceum in March 1833. The Cleveland Lyceum prospered for ten years.¹³ Case and his allies had seeded fertile ground. According to historian David Mead, “The lyceum took root and blossomed in the frontier communities of Ohio and other parts of the West because Eastern settlers, especially those from New England, brought with them a passion for education and morality which greatly influenced the native attitude toward cultural progress.”¹⁴

According to Mead, Greater Cleveland’s Berea was, for a time, the site of a “lyceum village.” The Berea project, which lyceum-creator Holbrook promoted, aimed to attract “‘influential friends of science and [of] the moral enterprises of the age’ ... [and would] combine ‘a liberal, a practical, and an economical education’ with farmwork.”¹⁵ The Berea lyceum failed in 1842, but its site became the original home of what is now Baldwin-Wallace College.¹⁶

Cleveland’s location was perfect for the itinerant lecturers on Ohio’s lyceum routes, which followed the Lake Shore railroad east-west through Cleveland, and the north-south Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad: “These two lines intersected at Cleveland to form a giant ‘T’ that sprawled across the state.”¹⁷ So Cleveland was at the very junction of Ohio lyceums’ programming.

The lyceum may well have encouraged the eventual expansion of public education for younger people, but formal public schooling was a side-benefit, not the central aim. “The true purpose of the lyceum ... was to enlighten the people in the community and disseminate useful information at a time when forms of communication, such as books, newspapers, and magazines, were not readily available.”¹⁸

Even after the demise of the Cleveland Lyceum, Ohio lyceums generally found enough success to invite state support. In his 1852 State of the State message, Ohio’s governor, Reuben Wood, a Vermont-born Democrat, who had become a Cleveland lawyer, called for some state support for lyceums: “Much might, also, be done, by the General Assembly, to encourage literary taste, by small aid, from time to time, for the purchase of books, periodicals and newspapers for permanent literary associations, lyceums and clubs, in our cities and towns.”¹⁹

It is unclear if the General Assembly acted on Reuben Wood’s plea. But Wood’s sentiments coincided with the rise of the public library, which sprouted from New England ancestors and from private Ohio library associations. Here again, the Connecticut influence was near-paramount.

Residents of New England had formed what were termed “social libraries” — “a voluntary association of individuals who had contributed money toward a common fund to be used for the purchase of books.”²⁰ Social libraries “in

Connecticut ... evinced a particularly vigorous growth,” with more such libraries established in Connecticut (total: 26) than in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, or Vermont.²¹

The idea of the public (that is, tax-supported) library provided a key piece in the puzzle of how citizens (or at least white males) — legally equal, but intellectually unequal — could govern a community without that “disorder from numbers” Emerson had said town meetings were designed to avoid.

The answer was, or could be, the public library, whose information might help resolve differences of opinion, and thus preserve the ideal of self-government. One historian, Sidney Ditzion, put it this way:

The very fact that all vital political decisions rested with the voters ... made it more urgent that we create a responsible citizenry....

Differences of opinion, which of necessity must arise in a complex society such as ours, had to be ironed out with intelligence and knowledge, which books could help provide.²²

The public library as an auxiliary of, or a help to, adult education: that was one of the perspectives that led Greater Cleveland to create, maintain, and expand one of the nation’s outstanding networks of public libraries.

As previously noted, the New Englanders who initially peopled Greater Cleveland were extremely familiar with the connection between books and self-government and personal advancement.

And so, almost 100 years ago, a study of Greater Cleveland and its libraries revealed two important features. The first feature was the close connection between public schools and the Cleveland Public Library (and other libraries in the region). The other feature was the broad support that libraries enjoyed from taxpayers. In 1916, in a report to the Cleveland Foundation, Leonard Ayres and Adele McKinney said:

Two significant conditions characterize the place of the public library in the community life of Cleveland. The first is that the public library has always been closely connected with the public schools. The second is that the people of Cleveland support their public library more generously and use its facilities more extensively than do the citizens of other cities.²³

Moreover, Ayres and McKinney, citing federal data for 1913, reported that of 19 big American cities, “Cleveland stood first in the percentage of its total municipal expenditures devoted to the support of its public library,” and that, based on Cleveland Public Library statistics for 1914, annual circulation per capita of public library books was 4.7 in Cleveland, 3.0 in New York, 2.7 in Boston, and 1.4 in Chicago.²⁴ Indeed, Cleveland’s support of its library was so

notable that it drew praise from steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, the Scottish-born Pennsylvania robber baron, who tried to salve his conscience by donating libraries to many American localities. In 1907, Carnegie congratulated the head of Cleveland Public Library “upon exceeding even Pittsburgh in proportion to the amount of population in library appropriation [sic], placing Cleveland first of all.”²⁵

As always, there was a history there. In 1848, people we might today term civic leaders obtained a charter for the Cleveland Library Association. “By 1858, its library had increased to 3,000 [books] ... the largest library in Cleveland at that time.”²⁶ (The association’s collection was eventually consolidated into what is now Case Western Reserve University’s library.)²⁷

Library service had also been offered the public by Cleveland’s Central High School (what later became East Technical High School).²⁸ The Cleveland Public Library itself opened in 1869.²⁹

Two people who eventually ran Cleveland Public Library made it what it is today. One was William Howard Brett, the library’s director from 1884 to 1918. Among Brett’s many achievements was the decision to make the Cleveland Public Library an “open shelf library, the first big American public library to do so.”³⁰ In an open-shelf library, the patron — the reader — is free to browse the shelves. In a closed shelf system, the reader must ask library employees to bring him or her a book selected (unseen) from a catalog (listing) of all the books in that particular library. Brett also established what became the (indispensable) *Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature*:

Brett achieved international renown for his library and himself. . . . Among the new departures which he either initiated or adopted enthusiastically were the open shelf, children’s libraries, extension work in branches and schools and industrial plants, a cumulative index to periodicals, a catalogue that was a marvel, [and] departmentalization of the library.

When [Brett] became librarian, there was no up-to-date guide to periodicals; Brett developed and published one. As a result it was the Cleveland Public Library that distributed in 1896 the first quarterly issues of the *Cumulative Index to a Selected List of Periodicals* . . . ultimately . . . published, under other auspices, as *Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature*.³¹

The Cleveland Public Library was a trendsetter in adult education, as well, a mission further promoted by Brett’s successor as head of the library, Linda Eastman. Eastman led the institution from 1918 to 1938, “the first woman in the world to head a library of that size.”³²

It seems impossible to overstate Eastman’s positive influence on the library’s offerings of adult education. In 1922, the Cleveland Public Library added to its

(K–12) school department an “extension division for adult education ... a service division for adult education, a bureau of information on adult education, and a general field agency for contact with groups.”³³ In time, the Cleveland Public Library became the “heart and co-ordinating center of adult education activities in the community.”³⁴ Moreover, Cleveland Public Library’s separate decision (also a national first, or close to it) to “divisionalize” its books — by subject, etc. — created a kind of municipal teaching “faculty” to help any and every citizen: “In this group of division heads is the beginning of a true community ‘faculty.’ ... Any Clevelander may ‘matriculate’ for life with this array of teacher-librarians, whose chief business it is to study the needs of the city of Cleveland with relation to the printed matter in their charge.”³⁵ Put another way, the Cleveland Public Library was in the business of what later became known as “lifelong learning.”

Eastman was eloquent in her description of adult education outreach by the Cleveland Public Library not just as a way to help citizens become better informed, but also as a route to their economic self-betterment: “In [Cleveland] there are five brothers, who, with the sole aid of public library books, successfully carried on the studies which enabled them all to qualify as licensed engineers.”³⁶ And Eastman’s description of the quest for and benefits of adult education was near-lyrical:

We realize that any permanent solution of the problems of labor, of technological unemployment, of social and economic change, can come only with more general, more effective, and more continuous education. . . . Perhaps the most far-reaching contribution of the library to vocational guidance and to the whole business of living in an unstable world lies in the facilities offered by it to every individual for filling in the gaps in his education; for rounding out and enriching his experience vicariously through reading; for gaining a background, and possibly, eventually, an ability to think things through to successful adjustments and the real satisfactions of life.³⁷

As part of the democratization of learning, Cleveland Public Library also developed a system of “readers’ advisers” among its staff, to help Clevelanders thirsting for knowledge find just the right tonic:

We feel sure that publicity is the strategic factor at this stage of adult education in America — and in our experience holds, as well, the secret of getting readers to take advantage of opportunities offered. The ordinary reader in the library is a man lost in an uncharted country; he knows he wants something but its discovery is another story.³⁸

That was what the library aimed to be — a navigator for the seeker of knowledge in a city, led by such Progressive politicians as Tom L. Johnson and Newton D. Baker, that aimed to help its residents improve themselves.

Academic education wasn't the only goal of the adult education movement, nor was "citizenship" education. As adult education evolved, nationally and in Greater Cleveland, it became accented by economic and political movements. That led to technical education — education for a specific craft or job — and what might be called political mobilization.

On the technical (or employment) side, Cleveland was becoming ever-bigger, ever-busier, with new arrivals of people, mainly from Europe, but also the African-American South. New arrivals brought new ideas. And new ideas often required new skills, new technology, and new workers to carry them out.

On the political side, a bigger city meant that bigger businesses (and bigger political organizations) developed. But, if government were allowed to grow so big as to become anonymous, then the taxpayers' interests would not be recognized.

So there arose, not just in Ohio, but to a great extent in Ohio, what was known as the Progressive Movement. Tom L. Johnson, mayor of Cleveland from 1901 to 1909, whose statue sits on Public Square, was perhaps the greatest Ohio Progressive, though hardly the only one. Another was Johnson's lieutenant, Newton D. Baker, later Johnson's successor as mayor of Cleveland, then Secretary of War for President Woodrow Wilson, and finally a power in Democratic politics. Baker was also, in Cleveland and nationally, a dynamic proponent of adult education.

Technology had flourished in the hands of the energetic and the adventurous people of Cleveland. For instance, a Clevelander who got in on the ground floor of the telegraph business in 1850 — the Microsoft of that era — was a person whose name still resounds in Cleveland: Jephtha Wade.

By getting a license from the patent-owner of the telegraph, Wade won the right to string a telegraph line from Cleveland to (then far bigger) Cincinnati.³⁹ And that was but an overture for technological investment to come. Over time, "Cleveland ... [became] a center of inventive activity in a remarkable number of important industries, including electric light and power, steel, petroleum, chemicals, and automobiles."⁴⁰ In 1870, Cuyahoga County had been 22nd nationally in manufacturing output; by 1920, it was fourth. In 1900, Cleveland ranked No. 8 of all cities in patents granted and — counting only patents the Patent Office found significant — "*Cleveland was the fifth most technologically important city in the country.*"⁴¹ [Emphasis added.]

Telegraph technology, the focus of that 1850 investment by Jephtha Wade, helped spawn the later ingenuity of Charles Brush's work.⁴² In turn, Brush's work, and the success of those who invested with him, ultimately led to the founding of such behemoths as Linde and, eventually, Union Carbide.⁴³

Cleveland was also an “early adopter” of the telephone, when it surfaced in the 1870s: The first telephone line in Ohio went live on June 25, 1877 — connecting the Rhodes and Co. coal-sales office to the company’s coal yard. The first Cleveland telephone exchange opened on September 15, 1879.⁴⁴

By 1920, Cleveland’s largest industries were, in order: automobiles, foundry and machine tools, iron and steel, electrical machinery, and women’s clothing.⁴⁵ What had helped spur Cleveland’s leadership in the machine-tool market were the investments and inventions of the White family — Thomas H. White’s White Sewing Machine Co. and his son Rollin H. White’s White Motor (trucks) and Cletrac (tractors) companies.⁴⁶

The fuel for this industrial rise of Greater Cleveland, what might be called “human capital,” was produced by the flood of newcomers arriving in Cleveland from the Civil War until the 1920s: “The continuous flow of skilled outsiders — European or American — kept Cleveland in touch with a wide range of technical fields ... Cleveland relied upon this continuous influx of talent and combined it with native innovations to create the industrial rise of 1865–1929.”⁴⁷

But it was precisely this influx that raised challenges to the self-government ideal — the Connecticut ideal — that had helped shape Greater Cleveland in its early days. People who didn’t share common ideas were unlikely to cooperate well. They could also be pawns in the game of municipal politics, if uninformed about the ways and means that power was supposed to be used in the United States. That mix of circumstances (the rise of the new, faceless industrial company; the “mass” in mass politics due to city growth; and the blank (political, not cultural) slate of Europeans new to America) helped prompt the Progressive Era. And one of its ideals was civic self-improvement — to which adult education was one crucial approach. The Progressive Era also spawned another vector of adult education — the social settlement or social center.

That said, there is solid evidence that the concern of those already settled in, say, a Cleveland, was that newcomers not only make the right decisions, but also entrust power to the right people. As Robert Carlson observed, “Americanization” was also essential, to many Progressives, as a topic of adult education: “Progressivism wanted to get the control of government back into the hands of the people — the right people, that is — those who understood American values, i.e., the reformers’ values. And they came to realize as they came in contact with the immigrant that their values were not his values.”⁴⁸ But Carlson also found that, while such an endeavor might be aimed (consciously or not) at maintaining the political status quo, in time, adult education did resolve itself into an “educational service station.”⁴⁹

The last thing Mayor Tom L. Johnson aimed to do was maintain that status quo. Even his political campaign techniques were adult education of a kind. According to historian Robert Bremner, Johnson was “a stirring and daring campaigner ... many of his political appearances were made in a circus tent. He liked the informal atmosphere engendered by the big top and found the tent a convenient and portable auditorium for carrying his ideas to the people.”⁵⁰ Hoyt L. Warner, the leading historian of Ohio Progressivism, described Johnson’s technique in 1901, when Johnson campaigned in Cleveland for the Democratic candidate for governor (Ohio gubernatorial elections were then held in odd-numbered years):

Johnson [concentrated] on ... education of the people on the tax question and the election of a Democratic slate of delegates to represent Cuyahoga County in the General Assembly. ... Nightly, during the final two weeks, [Johnson] pitched his big tent, first used in his congressional campaigns, in different parts of the city, conducting meetings which were more in the nature of forums on taxation than political [*sic*] rallies.⁵¹

As it happened, Governor George K. Nash, a Columbus Republican born in Medina County’s York Township, won a second term in 1901, despite the challenge by Columbus Democrat James Kilbourne, the gubernatorial candidate that Tom Johnson supported. But the lesson-by-example Johnson taught stuck with one of his most important aides, Newton D. Baker, later a national leader in promoting adult education: “From his Cleveland government experience [Baker] reminisced about Tom Johnson’s tent meetings which took place in every part of the city, educating people about the issues of the day on which they would have to make decisions.”⁵²

While Johnson and his allies strove to hone democracy through public meetings and the like, a parallel development of neighborhood centers or settlements arose and prospered in Greater Cleveland. So, too, did the “evening college” — such as Cleveland College, arguably a forerunner of what is today’s Cuyahoga Community College and Cleveland State University.

Though settlement houses and neighborhood social centers started first in other cities and then spread to Cleveland, the goal was the same: To provide social services in an era when government offered few, and to “Americanize” those newly arrived from Europe or “urbanize” those African Americans, newly arrived from the rural South.

By 1906, Cleveland had seven neighborhood settlements,⁵³ the first (and perhaps best known) of which was Hiram House, founded in 1896 “as an outgrowth of a Hiram College student project.”⁵⁴ The six others were Alta House (founded in 1900; its Web site says 1895); what’s now Goodrich-Gannett Neighborhood Center (founded 1897); Rainey Institute (founded 1904); the

Council Educational Alliance (founded in 1899; merged in 1948 into the Jewish Community Center); and the Friendly Inn Settlement (founded in 1874, according to the Cleveland Foundation, but the *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* says 1897). Allen F. Davis chronicled the way in which, for instance, Hiram House, made an American dream come true for one young new Clevelander:

A young Russian Jew named Manuel Levine stumbled on Hiram House in Cleveland one night a few months after his arrival in America; George Bellamy, the head resident there, helped him to revive some of the hopes and dreams that had been shattered by his initial experiences in America. Levine joined a social reform club, learned English, and worked his way through night school by teaching classes in German at the settlement. With Bellamy's aid he was admitted to Western Reserve Law School, and in 1903 Newton Baker appointed him assistant police prosecutor."⁵⁵

In both Cleveland and Toledo, historian Robert Bremner wrote, the job of settlement houses "was to instill in the cities' new residents the ideals of thrift, cleanliness, sobriety, and self-reliance."⁵⁶ The settlement houses in Cleveland were part of a civic-education complex; for example, the Cleveland Public Library established a "sub-branch" at Hiram House in 1898, "a periodically rotating collection of books for circulation that augmented the small circulating library collection maintained by the settlement itself." Other sub-branches were created at Goodrich House, Alta House, and the Young Men's Hebrew Association.⁵⁷

Early advocates of the settlements, or social centers, were frank in their call for re-creating the social conditions, if not the physical conditions, that had permitted self-government along the lines of the town meeting — the town meeting of Moses Cleaveland's time. As Graham Taylor, wrote of the Chicago Commons, a social center in that city:

Our New England forefathers forged three links of association for the common interest. Their "center" church was like the flag staff of the commonwealth which kept floating high over the heads of all, their ideals of life, individual and social. Closely allied with it was the free school, the bulwark of the state and the buckler to the citizen, in being a common possession to which all had more equal right than to anything except the village green. Under-girding both and representing the whole community was the Town Meeting, where freemen met on an equality never realized before.

But our populations no sooner became diverse in race and religion and subdivided in industrial occupations and interests, than they began to lose these centers of association.⁵⁸

No surprise, then, that by the 1930s, Hiram House was so respectably "mainstreaming" newcomers that its board was peopled with members of the

Greater Cleveland Establishment. According to Judith Trolander, “In 1936, half of [the] board was listed in the *Social Register*. Eight appeared in *Who’s Who in Ohio*, four appeared in both.”⁵⁹ That is, settlement house work, such as Hiram’s, had the full backing of Greater Cleveland’s leaders. That may well have betrayed a quest for social control — but it also ensured support for Hiram House’s practical operation.

Frederic Howe, one of Tom L. Johnson’s lieutenants, praised the idea of diversifying the use of public facilities, such as public school buildings, for bolstering civic life: “School buildings are open but six hours a day and for nine months in the year. Let us open them all the year round and for sixteen hours a day. Here is the natural forum for the discussion of political questions, for concerts and dramatic performances. Here the people of the neighborhood can gather.”⁶⁰ Howe himself had assisted in “a regular [Tom Johnson] tent campaign in the days immediately preceding [a 1908 Cleveland traction] referendum.” Howe sometimes provided a lantern slide presentation “describing the financial condition of the [streetcar] company in some detail.”⁶¹

Experiences such as these evidently helped inform Newton D. Baker’s perspective on the need for adult education. He had seen Tom L. Johnson, with varying degrees of success, mobilize public opinion through what amounted to the roving classroom of a pitched tent. Baker, too, had seen the results of settlement house work in Greater Cleveland — and Cleveland Public Library’s extraordinary outreach.

And surely Baker’s service in Woodrow Wilson’s Cabinet added to Baker’s commitment to adult education. While Baker was still mayor, Wilson — early in his presidential administration — signed the Smith-Lever Act, which created agricultural extension services, in effect a nationwide and specialized form of adult education. Theodore Roosevelt’s Country Life Commission had called for “[projecting] the work beyond the schools for youth into continuation schools for adults.”⁶² Wilson himself, signing Smith-Lever on May 8, 1914, said it was more than an agriculture-extension measure; Wilson called the measure “one of the most significant and far-reaching measures for the education of adults ever adopted by the government.”⁶³

So not only did Baker’s presidential patron embrace adult education, but Baker also became aware of mass education among the men drafted into the Army, when he was Secretary of War:

From his Cleveland government experience [Baker] reminisced about Tom Johnson’s tent meetings which took place in every part of the city, educating people about the issues of the day on which they would have to make decisions. From his war experience Baker lauded a variety of camp educational

and recreation programs, especially the amazing American Expeditionary Force University. The latter became a symbol to him of the general population's thirst for education.⁶⁴

As a result, Baker, once back in Cleveland after World War I, was a spark-plug in the creation of Cleveland College:

The outcome was the incorporation, on July 29, 1925, of Cleveland College, in affiliation with Western Reserve University and Case School of Applied Science. Situated downtown, several miles away from its two parent institutions, Cleveland College offered late afternoon and evening classes to working adults and morning classes to recent high school graduates who either could not afford to attend residential colleges or did not quite meet their admissions requirements. Baker served on this Board of Trustees until his death.⁶⁵

This exemplified a key tenet of Baker's civic creed: "If the people were to be self-determining, they had to have opportunities for education. . . . In a democracy, 'every step forward is that of educating an effective majority of the entire electorate to change their minds.'"⁶⁶

Before Cleveland College opened, Cleveland didn't have a municipal or quasi-municipal institution of higher education. In contrast, in 1925, when Baker and others created Cleveland College, there were 11 municipal colleges or universities already established long before in the United States — including Ohio's Akron, Cincinnati, and Toledo universities, and what is now Detroit's Wayne State.⁶⁷

By 1930, "Cleveland College . . . enrolled over seven thousand students in 559 classes [from] every social and occupational class in Cleveland. A full-time day college and Division of Informal Adult Education were later added the latter offering] short courses on parent education and health and general education courses on art, literature, and music."⁶⁸

Today, thousands of Greater Clevelanders trek to classes to prepare for a General Educational Development diploma; or to earn degrees from Greater Cleveland's community colleges and public universities; or to take practical classes in a technology or pastime, offered by the Cleveland Municipal School District or Greater Cleveland's neighborhood centers.

That army of seekers is following trails blazed more than 200 years ago by men and women who wanted Greater Cleveland to be a self-governing community, peopled by citizens who knew their own minds — and how to speak them.

ENDNOTES

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William Louis "Bill" Veeck, Jr. (1914–1986).

BILL VEECK:

THE MAN WHO CONQUERED CLEVELAND AND CHANGED BASEBALL FOREVER

BILL LUBINGER

The morning of October 12, 1948, was chilly and battleship gray.

But the city of Cleveland may have never felt so glorious; its residents never so proud.

Estimates vary. Some say more than 300,000 fans jammed the sidewalks of Euclid Avenue, from Public Square to University Circle. Others put the number closer to 500,000.

They lined the city's main artery, squeezing parts of the two-lane thoroughfare down to one, all to celebrate their championship baseball team.

The Indians had finally won a World Series championship — their first since 1920 and, as the cruel baseball Gods would have it more than six decades later, their last.

Convertibles carrying the Indians' players and their wives and city leaders paraded the 107 blocks past a cheering throng.

"I remember getting off a train and riding in an open car down Euclid Avenue at 8 o'clock in the morning," recalls Al Rosen, one of only three players from that team still living. "The town lined up on either side of the street. It was remarkable. The people turned out en masse."

Teammate Eddie Robinson, now 91 and retired in Fort Worth, Texas, still remembers how the sidewalk crowds were elbow to elbow. Some revelers perched themselves on parked cars and buses.

"It was wonderful," he says. "It was a wonderful year."

A year largely orchestrated by a chain-smoking man in the lead car with reddish hair, a wooden leg from a World War II injury and a huge smile that matched his gregarious personality.

No, not Indians' 31-year-old shortstop/manager and World Series hero Lou Boudreau. Not Cleveland Mayor Tom Burke. But team owner Bill Veeck, who left an indelible mark on Cleveland and Major League Baseball.

"Maverick" is the term biographers and others still use to describe him, because he had the strength and conviction to follow his own path, despite insults and criticism from traditionalists.

While other team owners scoffed and ridiculed him for what they considered low-brow publicity stunts, Veeck introduced many of the fan-friendly promotions that still make heading to the ballpark an experience that transcends the playing field.

In keeping with his own social conscience, he signed the American League's first African American player and continued as a pioneer in civil rights activism throughout his career.

And, of course, it was under his stewardship that Cleveland Indians' fans last reveled in a world title.

"I think winning the World Series put Cleveland on the map," Robinson says. "I think Bill Veeck and the stuff that he did during the year, all the promotions he had, I think Cleveland became super big-league in a hurry."

Cleveland celebrated a baseball champion that fall day, but it also celebrated itself.

The city was a much different place back then. Vibrant. Nationally respected. And much, much bigger.

Cleveland, named an All-America City for the first time in 1949, was also a burgeoning industrial force at the time, built on shipping, automotive, and iron and steel, before the decline began in the 1960s. With more than half of the North American population within 500 miles of Public Square, Cleveland was considered prime real estate.

But if the baseball championship was what truly defined the city as "big league," then William Louis Veeck, Jr., was the creative mind that wrote and directed the script.

Veeck wound up in Cleveland by way of Chicago, where he was born and grew up in a baseball-happy family. (William Veeck, Sr., was a former sports writer, who built the Chicago Cubs into pennant winners in the early 1930s.)

Veeck desperately wanted to own a major-league team and apparently came within 24 hours of landing the Pittsburgh Pirates.

According to Paul Dickson's biography, *Bill Veeck: Baseball's Greatest Maverick*, the Pirates' \$2 million asking price was too high. So Veeck set his sights on Cleveland, which was considered a better business location, because it wasn't as dependent on one industry — in Pittsburgh's case, steel.

Weeks before buying the Indians, Veeck did his homework, taking cabs and streetcars around the city, talking to people in restaurants, bars, and social clubs for feedback on the team and their ballpark experiences.

Veeck discovered, Dickson writes, that Clevelanders loved their team but not the group that had owned it since 1928. He was stunned to learn that balls hit into the stands had to be thrown back, that games weren't broadcast on the radio, and that most cab drivers and bartenders had no idea when the Indians were playing in town.

With that as the backdrop, Veeck, on June 22, 1946, got an investor group comprised mainly of Chicago bankers — but also including comedian Bob Hope — to buy the Indians for \$1.54 million.

For some perspective, *Forbes* magazine recently estimated the Indians' franchise value at more than \$400 million. And that \$1.5 million for the Tribe in the post-war era? That might buy a team a very low-level free agent today.

The Indians were a fifth-place team the season before. Between that weak finish and the team's obvious marketing void, Veeck had much work to do. He got right to it.

Veeck talked to fans and, more importantly, he listened to his customers. To draw more fans to the ballpark, no detail was too small.

He added mirrors to the ladies' rooms, when he found out there weren't any. He often sat in the bleachers with the common fans. When he discovered the ballpark announcer couldn't be heard clearly way out there, he had the sound system fixed.

Within weeks of buying the team, games began being broadcast on radio. He added special ladies' days, enticing them with free hard-to-get nylons or orchids imported from Hawaii. He had National League scores posted in the ballpark, added clerks to make it easier to order tickets by phone, spiffed up the stadium ushers in uniforms and polished shoes, ran game-day buses to and from rural areas and paid special attention to the stadium food, especially the hot dogs, peanuts, and mustard.

In-game entertainment and post-game fireworks became staples of the Veeck-led version of Major League Baseball, just as they are today.

Veeck also made himself available to any group that needed a luncheon or dinner speaker — and not just in Cleveland, but regionally, from Erie to Buffalo to Cincinnati.

He schmoozed the media and was even more gracious with fans, listing his home number in the phone book and often standing outside the ballpark gates to thank them as they left. He was a player-friendly owner who even threw batting practice at times.

As his plaque in the National Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York, reads, Veeck was “a champion of the little guy.”

All along, Veeck fielded criticism from fellow major-league owners, who took shots at him. Baseball was serious business, the national pastime, not a circus sideshow. (As owner of the St. Louis Browns, he once sent a midget to the plate to draw a walk.)

But fans loved it.

Once the Indians moved all their home games to massive Municipal Stadium (where Cleveland Browns Stadium now stands), the turnstiles spun. Previously, the team had played at 22,500-seat League Park on the city's East Side and in the 78,000-seat Municipal Stadium only on weekends, holidays, and when larger crowds were expected.

In 1946, the club finished sixth, but drew more than a million fans for the first time in team history.

Veeck and his team also made history in 1947 by signing Larry Doby from the Negro Leagues' Newark Eagles, making him the first African American in the American League. It was just 11 weeks after Jackie Robinson of the Brooklyn Dodgers became baseball's first black player.

Many major-league owners railed against teams hiring black players, because they had their own self-interest to protect. Negro League teams rented their ballparks. As black stars moved from the Negro Leagues to the big leagues, the Negro League games drew fewer fans, generating less rental income for the ballpark owners.

Former teammate Eddie Robinson believes Doby, who wrestled with the same racism and for-whites-only segregation, didn't get the recognition he deserved, because Jackie Robinson was the first.

“Doby handled himself well,” says Eddie Robinson, who lived in a Rocky River apartment when he played for the Indians. “He took the jabs and all from

the visiting players and the fans, and went right along and did his work just like (Jackie) Robinson did.”

(“It wasn’t very pleasant being a Jew at the same time, either,” says Al Rosen.)

By the time he retired from baseball, Doby, who died in 2003, was a seven-time All-Star outfielder who spent 10 of his 13 major-league seasons in Cleveland.

Larry Doby, Jr., was born after his father was through playing, so his impressions are based on stories his dad told him.

While some teammates refused to shake his hand when he was introduced, there were others, such as Bob Lemon, Jim Hegan, and Joe Gordon, “who didn’t care where he came from or what color his skin was,” says Doby, Jr.

“It was tough, but there were a lot of good guys who reached out to him and made the tough times not so tough.”

Eddie Robinson also remembers Doby being generally well-accepted by the team.

“Well, there was some Southern boys, of course, if you were from the South and they were bringing up a black guy on to the team,” he says, “it was something different.”

Eddie Robinson, as his thick drawl reveals, was one of those Southern boys. He admits to having to adjust to a black man in the clubhouse.

“Well, it bothered me just like it bothered everybody else,” he says. “It was something that was going to happen, so you sucked it up and went along with it and it turned out to be very good.”

What troubled Robinson more was that Boudreau replaced him with Doby in the lineup just two days after the manager reassured him he was the team’s first baseman.

“That’s how it bothered me most,” he says.

Doby lived with a family in Shaker Heights for part of his time in Cleveland. Although the city was — and largely remains — racially divided, Doby was welcomed by Northeast Ohio, according to his son.

“I’m going to tell you what he told me,” says Doby, Jr. “My father was the kind of guy who didn’t talk about the past much, but here’s what he told me about Cleveland. He said he never got booed there, ever. So that, to me, sums up what he felt about that city and what that city felt about him.”

When the 1947 season ended, the Indians had improved to fourth place and drew 1.5 million fans — second most in the league. Veeck continued to put the pieces together both on and off the field.

“Bill was a great showman,” Rosen says. “Probably the best that baseball’s ever known.”

And the great showman’s biggest show was about to arrive.

The 1948 Indians featured five future Hall of Famers: pitchers Bob Feller, and Lemon, Doby in the outfield, Joe Gordon, a second baseman the Indians obtained from the New York Yankees in a trade, and Boudreau, the shortstop/manager. The team also acquired Gene Bearden, an unheralded knuckleballer, who would become the team’s World Series hero.

About midway through the season, Veeck, in another controversial move, would add a sixth future Hall of Famer.

The Indians needed an effective reliever. Veeck’s solution was 42-year-old Satchell Paige, a star of the Negro Leagues, who was signed by the Indians on his birthday.

Again, Veeck was criticized. Just another cheap publicity stunt to sell tickets, other owners claimed.

But Veeck’s commitment to civil rights was genuine and deep-rooted. He had joined the NAACP after arriving in Cleveland, according to Dickson’s memoir, and appeared in an NAACP recruiting poster with Doby and Paige.

By the time he sold the Indians after the 1949 season for \$2.2 million, Veeck had integrated every level of ballpark operations, from security to ushers to vendors and the front office. In fact, he had hired Olympic gold medal-winner Harrison Dillard in the team’s public relations office.

Fans filled the ballpark, but not because Paige was an over-the-hill freak show with the crazy windup, high leg kick, and something he called a “hesitation pitch.” Paige went 6–1 down the season’s stretch run, including a 1–0 three-hitter over Chicago, in front of a record night-game crowd of 78,382.

The Indians wound up tied for first with the Boston Red Sox, resulting in a one-game playoff at Fenway Park. The Tribe took that one, 8–3, to advance to the World Series against the National League’s Boston Braves.

Veeck’s Indians beat the Braves in six games. Doby became the first black man to homer in a World Series. And Game Five, in Cleveland, drew a record 86,288 fans.

The Indians drew 2.6 million fans that season, a major-league record that stood for 14 years.

“The team began to play well and (the players) believed in themselves,” says Rosen, who got called up from the minors late that season and played behind third-baseman Ken Keltner. “It was all very magical, and when someone reminds me of it, I get chills.”

Major League Baseball has expanded to more cities. Players, who once took part-time jobs in the off-season to help pay the bills, are now extremely well paid, to the point where securing other work isn’t necessary.

Although some of the rules have changed, the game is relatively the same. But fans experienced their Tribe much differently from their family rooms.

Now, all but a few Indians’ games are broadcast on television. Fans can watch every inning of an entire season in their living room, if they so choose. Not so in 1948. The first telecast by Ohio’s first TV station (WEWS) didn’t occur until 1947. So televised Indians’ games were rare.

“It was all radio,” remembers Carl Parise of Mayfield Heights, describing what it was like to hear announcers Jack Graney and Jimmy Dudley call the games.

“You’d be listening to them on the radio, they’d have you up out of your seat. They were just great,” says Parise, who was 8 years old when the Tribe last won a World Series. “You’ve got to remember, if you were sports fans back then, you were spoiled. The Browns and Indians were winners.”

As was Cleveland — largely because of a fun-loving, risk-taking, marketing genius named Veeck.



Cyrus Stephen Eaton (1883–1979).

CYRUS EATON:

KHRUSCHEV'S FAVORITE CAPITALIST

JAY MILLER

For the quiet 1950s, before anti-Vietnam War marches became a staple of local and national television news, the crowd gathered on Public Square on January 7, 1959, was a rare sight. Police struggled to maintain order as several hundred protestors milled around in the cold waiting for Anastas Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, to come out of Terminal Tower. Shortly before noon he emerged with his host, industrialist Cyrus Eaton, and was greeted with boos, snowballs, and even a rock whizzing past him.

It was the height of the Cold War and the people of the United States and the Soviet Union each believed the other was building up its military might for a next war that would decide whether the world would be run by democratic governments powered by free enterprise or by a dictatorship built on state socialism.

As Mikoyan and Eaton entered their limousine, some of the protestors got in their cars and followed the pair up Euclid Avenue to the Union Club at East 12th Street. The Union Club — whose membership roster had in the past included Presidents Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, James Garfield, William McKinley, and William Howard Taft — was going to host a leader of what at the time was the very un-American Communist world.

Several of the cars bore signs that said, “Mikoyan go home and take Eaton with you.”

The protestors later identified themselves to reporters as members of the United Hungarian Society of Cleveland, the Hungarian Liberation Committee and a variety of other groups of people from places like Estonia, Latvia, and the Ukraine, countries under the dominance of the Soviet Union.

Once at the Union Club, the lunchtime favorite of Cleveland's corporate elite, Mikoyan dined with a group of business leaders invited by Eaton. After

the meal, he would appeal for help persuading the federal government to approve a large Soviet purchase, one of the largest purchases ever, of American steel for natural gas and oil pipelines.

Then, he also took a moment to praise his host. Eaton, Mikoyan told the lunchers, “has become more popular in our country than any capitalist has ever been before. . . . This is not an ordinary capitalist.”

No, Cyrus Eaton was not an ordinary capitalist. In his customary double-breasted dark blue serge suit, crisp white shirt, gray silk tie, and shiny black shoes, the tall, silver-haired Eaton, then 75, looked no different than any of other men — it would be years before women could enter — having lunch that day at the Union Club. But his unpopular views on how the United States should build economic ties with its arch rival at the height of the Cold War were unusual, especially in an era when businessmen tended to their companies and didn’t take strong stands on international affairs.

So while the left-wing *Nation* called Eaton a “merchant of peace” and an enlightened capitalist, the right-wing *National Review* wondered how this “towering figure in American industrial history” could have been transformed into “America’s Number One Fellow Traveler,” using a term that had come to mean a Communist sympathizer.

With his intelligence, aggressiveness, and money, Eaton had found for himself a role in thawing relations between the Western world and the Communist bloc in the 1950s and early 1960s. At a time when Soviet premier Nikita S. Khrushchev was threatening to “bury” the democratic world, Eaton was the first American businessman to advocate closer relations with the Soviet Union. He feared nuclear war and believed that tensions between the East and the West could be lessened through trade.

To Eaton, spending on nuclear missiles that could destroy the world was bad for business and not the best way to ease tensions.

“You speak of trading with the Soviets and people say, ‘You’re strengthening them against us!’” he told an interviewer in 1963, when he was 80 years old. “I feel that most people are less likely to engage in fighting if they have the comforts and the needs they wish. I’m not worried to see the 700 million people of China prosper. The sooner we get to trading with them, the Soviets, and the Chinese, the better.”

Over the next 20 years, Eaton maintained contacts in the Communist world, and made trips to Eastern Europe, Cuba, and even North Vietnam. Until the later years, when the Soviet Union decided it would not publicize its relationships with Westerners like Eaton to avoid antagonizing China, Eaton’s

picture would appear on the front page of the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* once during every trip.

He made *Pageant* magazine's list of the 10 most controversial Americans in 1962. In 1971, *Parade* magazine's headline over a story about Eaton read, "The Communists Best Capitalist Friend."

While he became a player on the world stage relatively late in life, Eaton's interest in Russia actually dated to his first years in Cleveland.

Eaton was the fifth of nine children, born in 1883 to a farmer and general store owner in Pugwash, Nova Scotia. He first came to Cleveland when his uncle, the Rev. Charles Eaton, was assigned to the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church in 1901. A pillar of that church was John D. Rockefeller. Rockefeller had created Standard Oil Co. in Cleveland in 1870 and formally retired from the oil giant in 1897 at the age of 58. At the turn of the 20th century, he was spending much of his time on his philanthropies, but he was still an active and engaged investor.

Rockefeller had grown up and created his oil empire in Cleveland when he was a younger man. He had moved his business to New York City in 1884 to be closer to the worldwide trading in oil. But in these early years of his retirement — he would live until 1937, dying six weeks before 98th birthday — he was splitting his time between New York City and Forest Hills, his summer home in East Cleveland.

Cyrus Eaton would spend summers living with his uncle and doing odd jobs at Forest Hills for \$2 a day, at the recommendation of Mrs. Rockefeller, who thought it a better job than the hotel clerk's job Eaton had lined up. Eaton would run errands, carry messages from the wire room which kept Rockefeller in touch with his empire, or caddy for Rockefeller and his uncle on the nine-hole golf course at Forest Hills.

Eventually, Uncle Charles would leave Cleveland, moving on to the Madison Avenue Baptist Church in New York City. He left the ministry to work in industrial relations for the General Electric Co., and then ran for Congress from New Jersey in 1924. He served for 28 years and, as chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was one of eight American signers of the United Nations Charter. His nephew would develop similar interests.

Another of Rockefeller's golfing partners was William Rainey Harper, president of the Rockefeller-endowed University of Chicago. After the older men played the Forest Hills golf course, Eaton and Harper's son Samuel would occasionally play a round themselves. The elder Harper was interested in Russia and Samuel, who became a lifelong friend to Eaton, would eventually head

the Russian language department at Chicago. Samuel Harper would spend six months a year in Russia until his death in 1941. "Sam's enthusiasm for Russian culture and Russian children had a great impact on my life," Eaton once said.

At the time, Eaton had his sights set on following his uncle into the Baptist Church. He studied to be a minister at McMaster University, then a Baptist school, located in Toronto. He graduated with a degree in philosophy in 1905 and spent a summer as a ranch hand in western Canada, before returning to Cleveland. He served as a lay Baptist minister for a time, but he never really answered the call to the ministry.

Earlier, Rockefeller had offered Eaton a job with Standard Oil in New York City, which he declined. But now, Rockefeller put him to work at East Ohio Gas Corp., a Rockefeller interest.

In 1907, Rockefeller sent him back to western Canada to negotiate for utility franchises in Manitoba. He'd secured a handful of franchise agreements, but found on his return to Cleveland that the Panic of 1907, which sent many banks and businesses into bankruptcy, meant his employers weren't able to secure the financing needed to build the power plant needed to operate the franchises. So Eaton went back to Canada, where he convinced a solvent bank that the franchises he held would enable him to repay a loan for an electric plant.

Soon he had a business, Consolidated Gas and Electric Co., one of the first utility holding companies, with franchises in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. By the time of the Great Depression, he was a major force in the utilities industry.

By that time, he was a millionaire several times over and had a home on Euclid Avenue, one of the country's most prestigious addresses. There he began to raise a family with his wife, the former Margaret House, daughter of a Cleveland physician. They had married in 1909 and would eventually have seven children, before divorcing in 1934.

In 1913, Eaton became a U.S. citizen and in 1916 bought an interest, later a controlling interest, in Otis & Co., a stock brokerage and investment banking company. For the next decade, he would use Otis and another creation, a holding company called Continental Shares, Inc. Holding companies in the early part of the century were investment companies which owned shares in manufacturers, utilities, and the like, and sold shares of the holding company to the public. They also created shares to buy other companies. They were an unregulated blend of mutual funds and conglomerates.

Eaton would use Continental Shares to buy large, often controlling interests in companies in several major industries, often, fighting publicly and in court to overturn existing management and boards of directors.

One adversary, Cleveland lawyer Newton D. Baker, while fending off a Continental Shares offer for a client, called the acquisitive Eaton, “a ruthless industrial Napoleon.”

In 1925, he was leafing through a newspaper in the Copley Plaza Hotel in Boston while his six-year-old son, Cyrus, Jr., napped. The pair was returning from a canoe trip in Canada. In one of the papers, he spied an item that a New York bank had backed out of a deal to refinance Trumbull Steel Co. of Warren, Ohio. He picked up the phone. In a few weeks, after an \$18 million investment, he owned a steel mill. Within a few years, he owned several more, the largest of which was Cleveland-based Republic Steel Co., the third-largest steelmaker in the country.

Eaton then became a major force in the rubber industry, as he and others sympathetic to his ambitions began buying stock in Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., and U.S. Rubber Co. By 1930, Eaton could name directors of his choosing to Goodyear’s board of directors.

Eaton and Continental Shares were also quietly buying stock in Commonwealth Edison Co., People’s Gas, Light and Coke Co., and other electric utilities controlled by Chicagoan Samuel Insull. Insull wanted Eaton out and he eventually paid \$56 million — \$48 million in cash, the rest in securities — to the “financial buccaneer,” as Eaton was being called, for stock that was selling at the time for no more than \$50 million. Today it would be called greenmail. Eaton was reported at the time to have made \$19 million for his efforts.

But by this time the stock market was crashing. By 1933, this \$100 million net worth evaporated. Eaton’s defeat was so complete that a 1934 divorce won by his first wife stipulated that, should Eaton’s net worth ever rise above \$105,000, he would have to buy his ex-wife a house. She eventually got the house.

Eaton dug his way out of his financial hole at Otis & Co., developing the business of underwriting the sale of railroad and utility bonds. His goal was to wrest control of this lucrative business from the eastern banking houses. The railroads and utilities had long given New York investment bankers the business without competitive bidding. Eaton thought he could get the railroads, which he saw himself one day owning, lower interest rates that the New York bankers weren’t offering.

In 1938, Eaton and Harry Stuart of Halsey, Stuart & Co., a Chicago investment banker, proposed to Robert Young, a C&O director and ally, that they would make a bid for a \$30 million C&O bond issue. When, at a board meeting that fall in Cleveland, the agenda reached the bond issue, Young proffered the offer from Eaton and Stuart. The board at first indicated it would prefer to do business with longtime bankers Morgan Stanley & Co., and Kuhn, Loeb & Co., despite a higher underwriting cost. Young suggested that board members consult with their lawyers before risking a stockholders' lawsuit from Young. The next day, the board accepted the Eaton-Stuart bid.

Young in 1943 asked Eaton to join the Chessie board of directors and in 1954 sold Eaton his stock in the C&O, so he could pursue the New York Central Railroad. Eaton became chairman and moved into the office on the 36th floor of the Terminal Tower. He held that position until 1973.

In the early 1940s, Eaton became interested in an iron ore deposit in northwestern Ontario beneath Steep Rock Lake. He convinced both the War Production Board and the Reconstruction Finance Corp. that it would be feasible to pump the water out of the lake to mine the ore. The RFC lent him \$5 million and the Canadian government helped build power lines, a rail spur, docks, and loading equipment at Steep Rock. By 1947, the Eaton mining company was taking one million tons of ore out of Steep Rock.

In 1948, Eaton began a collaboration with California shipbuilder Henry J. Kaiser to break into the auto business, which was booming after the end of World War II. The partnership collapsed, however, and investigations and sanctions by the Securities and Exchange Commission and the National Association of Securities Dealers pushed Otis & Co. into bankruptcy.

Eaton lost his investment banking business, but he managed to keep busy during the postwar years. In 1961 *Fortune* magazine reported that he had a personal fortune of \$100 million. Among his major investments were stakes in Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., Kansas City Power & Light Co., the C&O, Steep Rock, Detroit Steel Co., and Sherwin-Williams Co.

By the mid-1950s Eaton's focus had shifted from the financial world to the political one. The nuclear escalation in the world concerned Eaton.

In 1955 he offered to host a meeting at of a group of scientists and philosophers from both the Western world and the Soviet Union at his ancestral home in Canada. The scientists, many of whom had worked to create the United States' first atomic bomb, were concerned about the danger of nuclear weapons.

"What got me started was the atomic bomb and the realization that our civilization and theirs could be wiped out overnight," Eaton recalled on his

90th birthday in 1973. “I thought I ought to do something to prevent this, and I helped put together and financed a meeting of American and Soviet scientists at my boyhood home in Pugwash, Nova Scotia.”

Soon Eaton was writing and speaking out for closer relations with Communist Russia. “I think the more contact we have between people of the two nations, the quicker we’ll realize that we are all human, with weaknesses, with limitations, and that for better or for worse we had better agree not to annihilated each other,” he wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune* on November 8, 1957. “Either we’ll live together or we’ll perish together.”

The following May, he was interviewed on television by Mike Wallace. “We can’t destroy Communism. It’s here to stay,” he said. “And to imagine that they could convert us to Communism is just silly. . . . No one in the world would be more unhappy under Communism than I, because I am dedicated to the other principle.”

In August 1958, Eaton went to Moscow with his second wife, Anne Kinder Jones, whom he had married in 1937. They met with Soviet premier Khrushchev and visited farms and steel mills. On his return, he gave a series of speeches at the National Press Club, the Cleveland City Club, and elsewhere, arguing for a closer relationship with the Russians.

In 1959, Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev presented Cyrus Eaton with a gift of a Russian sled pulled by three matched gray stallions. The rig was called a troika and Eaton and his wife would ride the troika in the winter at his Acadia Farms, his 900-acre home and farm in Northfield, now a housing development called Eaton Estates.

After his luncheon at the Union Club, *The Plain Dealer* called Eaton the “Apostle of Appeasement.” Elsewhere he was called other things, such as “the Kremlin’s favorite capitalist.”

In 1960, the Soviets awarded him the Lenin Peace Prize. He hoped for the rest of this life to pair it with the Nobel Peace Prize.

He also interjected himself into local politics. In 1967, he took up the cause of Carl Stokes, who was running for mayor of Cleveland. His wife, Anne, was a Stokes volunteer. Eaton had hired Stokes to pursue a lawsuit against the Cleveland Trust Co. Eaton was a stockholder in what was then the city’s most powerful bank (it became Ameritrust Corp. before it was merged into what is now KeyCorp), but he believed its managers violated Ohio banking law in the way they perpetuated their power on the bank’s board of directors.

Stokes credits Eaton with providing him with insight into the thinking of the upper echelons of Cleveland’s business community. Eaton may also have

played a role in bringing an experienced campaign public relations expert, Al Ostrow, onto the Stokes campaign team.

Age and changing times eventually diminished Eaton's ability to move in international political circles. As a New Deal Democrat and a Khrushchev ally, changes in government in both countries moved Eaton further and further from the center of the action.

So he retired to Acadia Farms, where for many years he raised international grand champion shorthorn and polled shorthorn cattle.



Dennis J. Kucinich (b. 1946), Mayor of Cleveland, 1977–1979.

ONE MAN CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE

ROLDO BARTIMOLE

It took a single person's act in 1979 to save Cleveland's public electric light system.

And, no, that man wasn't Mayor Dennis Kucinich.

It was a *Plain Dealer* reporter. His name was Bob Holden.

Mayor Kucinich had been forced by political pressure to put the Cleveland Municipal Light System, commonly known as Muny Light at that time, on the ballot. The measure asked voters to decide whether to sell or keep the troubled electric system. Muny produced no electric power itself. The city's system owed its origin to the Progressive politics of Mayor Tom L. Johnson in the early 1900s.

Kucinich and his administration worked exhaustively to save Muny. But without Holden's act and the ensuing revolt at *The Plain Dealer*, it would not have been sufficient.

A January 23 poll showed the ballot measure would go down by a 70-to-30 vote. Cleveland voters were tired of the constant disputes of the Kucinich administration. The poll revealed the voter frustration. On February 27, 1979, the voters, however, made their choice.

Historically, the era of the 1960s was ending or over. In Cleveland, however, Kucinich kept it alive. He espoused an urban theory that urged Progressives to concentrate on economic issues, not social issues. Progressives flocked to his administration from around the nation. He even drew Ralph Nader into the drama.

The two electric power companies had been involved in explosive disputes — legal and financial — for years. The city was suing the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co. (CEI) for anti-trust violations and dirty tricks. A federal case was pending. Cleveland also disputed unusually high charges for power provided to Muny by CEI. Meanwhile, CEI tried numerous underhanded methods to weaken and destroy the city's system. The aim was clearly to put the city out

of the electricity business. CEI now is an operating company of First Energy Company of Akron.

The Plain Dealer had mostly ignored this emotional battle between the private company and City Hall. After all, CEI was a prominent corporate citizen and an advertiser.

So how did Bob Holden do it? He did it by being kicked off the story of how CEI had purposely damaged Muny Light.

But Holden didn't go quietly.

Here's what happened.

As the reporter assigned to cover CEI, Holden was delegated to report about the dispute between the two entities. In early 1979, a series of articles was planned.

Before he got started, however, CEI complained about him to *The Plain Dealer*. They didn't want Holden doing the reporting. They figured him as too tough. They also knew that the proof of the company's bad behavior was readily available. Holden would not shy from collecting the data and writing it.

The editors folded under CEI's pressure. Holden was pulled from the story. The reason editors gave was that Holden "would be unfair." Not something reporters wanted to hear.

Since he hadn't written a word how they determined bias was a mystery. How could they say that? *The Plain Dealer* editorial hierarchy was going out on a limb with that excuse. Reporters weren't buying it.

At the time, the Newspaper Guild, representing reporters, was strong and militant. Unlike today, when reporters fear losing their jobs in a diminished newspaper business, reporters then were willing to fight management. The Guild voted to withhold bylines on articles and to picket the *PD*. This would reveal to the public their displeasure about the censorship. It would embarrass the editors. The Guild contract allowed reporters to withhold bylines.

Management buckled, though not totally.

These were tough times for media managers. In November 1978, WJW Channel 8 retracted a piece done by Bob Franken. Franken reported that National City Bank Chairman Claude Blair wanted to deny refinancing city debt and force Cleveland into default to insure Mayor Dennis Kucinich's defeat in the next mayoral election.

The station, under pressure from the bank, retracted the report. Channel 8 news director Virgil Dominic read the rare retraction that said, "We now find

that all of the statements we made were inaccurate and there was absolutely no basis for the report.”

Franken resigned after the retraction was aired. He said, “I can only tell you that the story is not inaccurate. The story is 100 percent true. My sources, in this particular case, are incredibly good sources.

“This in my mind,” he said, “was simply a matter of the power structure in the town getting its way.”

Franken became an Emmy-winning reporter for CNN, covering the White House and Congress until he left in 2007.

Here’s how I explained the Holden situation in my newsletter *Point of View* in February 1979:

The Guild followed by voting to withhold bylines and picketing the newspaper to call attention to the PD censorship. With TV coverage, particularly on Ch. 3, and radio, particularly on WERE, the entire community found out about the latest PD censorship.

To get out of the spotlight, management agreed to meet with Guild members to hammer out a compromise.

The two sides met for some eight hours at the Leather Bottel, a restaurant-bar, and an agreement was reached. It became the joint statement of the Guild and management:

Plain Dealer reporter Robert Holden, for the month of February, will, as assigned, fill in for the vacationing book editor.

At the end of February, he will report to the city editor as general assignment reporter under the usual *PD* standards.

The two sides went a bit further.

They verbally agreed by handshake, reporters said, that Holden would spend the rest of the month of January on his utility beat.

But the deal broke down after Holden appeared on a television news show the same night he turned in an article about CEI. The article was not printed, but ran later without his byline.

The Guild had been outmaneuvered. The written agreement, made in a bar with both sides drinking, said nothing of Holden returning to his beat.

Holden resigned in disgust.

His demise became a fulfillment of a warning made by a CEI public relation person more than a year before. The CEI spokesperson told Holden, “CEI will be here long after Bob Holden is gone.”

However, Holden's refusal to be censored and the reporters' protests damaged the *PD*'s credibility. It put the newspaper in a vulnerable position. No newspaper wants to be seen as openly censoring itself.

Editors were forced to assign others to write the history of the dispute that led to the ballot issue.

The situation made it difficult for the *PD* to censor a second time. A team of reporters was assigned to the story.

The paper had no choice but to accept the articles the new team wrote after Holden's resignation. The newsroom was in insurrection mode.

"We'd have gone crazy and we'd have gone crazy in public," said one reporter, asked what might have happened had the *PD* tried censorship again.

"The Saturday Night Massacre would apply," he said, referring to the resignations during Watergate. It would have put the *PD* in the position of having no reporter who would take the assignment.

Dave Abbott, now head of the Gund Foundation and Dan Biddle, who became a Pulitzer Prize winner in Philadelphia, were assigned to write the series. Their articles revealed the hidden truth about how CEI tried to damage the city's electric system. One headline on February 11 revealed the tone: "CEI Objective: Snuff Muny Light."

The dramatic outcome of this battle between staff and management was revealed by the result of the vote. It flipped.

The early poll showed that Cleveland voters would elect to sell the city's electric system to CEI by a two-to-one vote.

The dispute and Holden's resignation allowed freedom to the two new reporters. Prompted by revelations they produced, the actual vote came in two-to-one to maintain the city's electric power system.

It was a critical example of the power of information. It revealed that, if you give people the truth, they'll understand and make their decision. It also shows that when the news media hide the truth it distorts democratic decision-making.

The change in public attitude was striking.

I wrote in *Point of View* before the election:

The virtual blackout on Muny Light has been shattered. The Holden affair and the entry of Ralph Nader into the fight gave focus to the charges of the news media's refusal to focus on the dispute in a meaningful way. The news media here were open to the charges of serious distortion of the news.

But in the past week, the coverage in both *The Press* and *PD* broke the blackout and silence. Finally, in a realistic manner information has begun to flow.

Whether it will be enough to offset the years of distortion and failure to report will be revealed by the vote.

It was a game changer. The voters spoke decisively. The city retained its system. And does to this day.

Holden later left town to pursue an academic career. Today he is Dr. Holden, a tenured professor of Latin American history at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia.

In a recent interview he called that period in Cleveland, “A special time, a different time.”

He recalled that he somehow learned about the anti-trust charges by the city against CEI. It shocked him that *The Plain Dealer* hadn’t covered the issue. “We haven’t covered this,” he said he complained to editors. “How could we have missed this?” he asked them. Holden started to make telephone calls and cover it.

Actually, it wasn’t that much of a secret.

Two years before, in 1977, I wrote a piece entitled, “U.S. Ruling Puts CEI in Jeopardy of Losing \$325 Million Anti-trust Suit to Muny Light. Perk, Forbes Trying to Boot Away Opportunity.”

Here’s how I put it:

There’s a robbery in progress with the mayor of Cleveland, the Council President and the Cleveland news media accessories before the fact.

The Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co. (CEI) is still trying to STEAL Cleveland’s electric light plant (MUNY) from the city.

The mayor knows it. The Council President knows it. The news media know it. And the public should know it.

Holden now can’t remember how he discovered the anti-trust problem, but says it may have been from *Point of View*, where the above appeared.

Ironically, after he left *The Plain Dealer*, Holden went to work for Kucinich. He said he was assigned to the community relations department, but actually he was a speech writer for the Mayor.

Holden, as a number of other Progressives, became disenchanted with Kucinich during his re-election campaign. They particularly soured because of his use of racial politics, as Kucinich tried to retain office. He lost in 1979 to George Voinovich.

The crucial issue of the ideological desire of CEI to rid itself of competition by a public agency was far from over. It was to play out in two federal court anti-trust trials.

The first trial ended in a hung jury, as one juror held out in CEI's favor. The city lost the second anti-trust trial.

But Holden proved an old adage that one man can make a difference.

Given the truth, the public also made a difference.



Fire bombings during the 1966 Hough Riots.

CLEVELAND IN THE 1960S

MICHAEL D. ROBERTS

The 1959 holiday season, the last of the decade, was full of good cheer and spirit, the downtown department stores merry with color, music and the smells of Christmas. Shoppers swarmed the streets, their heads bowed to the cold as they made their way up Euclid Avenue, past the array of brightly lit stores.

Children wondered how Santa could be both at May Company and Higbee's. The giant Christmas tree at the Sterling-Lindner department store was as traditional as the season itself. The restaurants and bars along the avenue were aglow with fellowship that only the holidays can bring.

It was the final hours of a peaceful and generally rewarding decade for Greater Cleveland. No one predicted that the upcoming decade, the 1960s, would be as tumultuous and trying as any the city, or the country, for that matter, would endure.

The decade was only weeks old when a harbinger of bad news appeared. On January 23, the *Cleveland News*, an institution that traced its heritage to post-Civil War days, announced it would cease publication, following years of competing for afternoon readers with the dominant *Cleveland Press*.

The Cleveland Press was no ordinary newspaper and, because of the weakness in the two-party political system, Cleveland was no ordinary newspaper town. Under Louis B. Seltzer, the newspaper emerged as the most powerful institution in the region. Picked by *Time* magazine as one of the most influential newspapers in America, *The Press* elected mayors, jailed corrupt public officials, hunted murders, and drove the agenda of the city and its citizens.

Seltzer was as much a politician as a journalist. Diminutive in stature, blunt and street smart, he was self-made with minimal formal education. He reigned as the most powerful force in the city for a quarter of a century. He was a man whose vision did not eclipse the next election.

While no one realized it, the demise of the *News* marked the initial toll of the bell for *The Press* itself, as its death would take place 21 years later. By 1960, television news was coming of age, and a circuitous highway system was opening a burgeoning suburban sprawl. Afternoon newspapers could no longer reach the spreading population before the six o'clock news.

By the fall of 1960, it seemed as if the whole of America was changing. The election of John F. Kennedy brought a vitality to politics that heralded a new era, not only in Washington, but across the nation. Cleveland was destined to be a major player in that change, even though it would be a painful change.

More than 25 years had passed without any major development or repair to Cleveland's infrastructure. The city suffered through the Great Depression and, during World War II, focused its energy on the war effort. Its housing stock was decaying and many of its neighborhoods were overcrowded.

In a massive effort to rejuvenate Cleveland, the government embarked on six urban renewal projects. The city's business community hailed the effort and focused on the downtown piece of the project, Erievue.

In concert with urban renewal, a highway system, planned as early as 1927 and spurred by the Eisenhower Administration's federal interstate program, was progressing. Transportation was a constant theme in and around Cleveland, with a rapid transit system being the key to the development of Shaker Heights in the 1920s.

Together these two efforts — urban renewal and the transportation system — would be largely responsible for the consistent drain of population from the central city.

At the time, the urban renewal projects constituted the largest such effort in America. Critics accused Seltzer of promoting Erievue to benefit a new location for his newspaper. The scope and shape of urban renewal would severely affect the city's East Side and cause one official in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to later say Cleveland was the agency's Vietnam, because it was so deeply mired in a losing effort.

Meanwhile, on the city's West Side, adjacent to Cleveland Hopkins International Airport, a group of scientists and engineers worked secretly and industriously to ensure that an American would be the first to set foot on the moon.

A federal aeronautical research laboratory was built in 1941 at the airport to develop aircraft engines and test fuels during World War II. Later, it experimented with jet engines, rockets, and exotic fuels. In the 1950s, a handful of engineers quietly began to experiment with liquid hydrogen.

The laboratory, known as the Lewis Research Center, part of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, was an obscure facility, until October of 1957 when the Russians orbited Sputnik, the first man-made satellite. The launching of the satellite at the height of the Cold War shot panic through the U.S. government.

There was an obvious need for a new government organization to take on the challenge of the looming space race. Because of their work with fuels and rockets, a Lewis team, headed by its director, Abe Silverstein, authored a memorandum used by the Eisenhower administration as the foundation for the creation of the new space agency.

The first director of NASA was T. Keith Glennan, the president of Case Institute of Technology in Cleveland. Silverstein was the architect of what would be the Mercury and Apollo programs, that resulted in the moon landing in July of 1969. Sadly, Washington politics involving NASA and its budget ultimately dealt Lewis a short hand and made Houston the center of the space program.

In Cleveland politics, a transition was taking place as President Kennedy selected Mayor Anthony J. Celebrezze to his cabinet, as head of the Department of Health, Welfare, and Education. Celebrezze served as mayor from 1953 to 1962, a generally prosperous and tranquil time for the city, highlighted by highway construction, all of which would lead away from the city.

Celebrezze was promoted and prodded by *The Press* and he did much of the newspaper's bidding, particularly when it came to the ambitious, but flawed downtown redevelopment plans. Celebrezze was a mayor in a tradition of ethnic politics that governed from City Hall since the early 1940s and answered to *The Cleveland Press*.

These politics represented a philosophy of indifference to which there was no statute of limitations. With its strong Middle European roots, the electorate was mistrustful of Progressive government.

Appointed to replace Celebrezze was Ralph S. Locher, the city's law director, a taciturn man described by those who served with him as decent and pleasant, known for his integrity and honesty. He was no administrator, however, and no match for what would befall the city in his time. One councilman who served with him said Locher had the demeanor of a college president, rather than that of a big city mayor.

Locher's inadequate administrative skills and his links to a dying political past became obvious over time, compounding an already relentless series of

issues that had been ignored for decades and was now playing out in a destructive confluence.

The mayor inherited a troubled city, the depths of which were evident to those who examined the realities confronting urban life. As the decade advanced, skepticism began to build around the massive renewal project that began with such grandeur and was slowly proving to be a profound gaffe.

An intrusive interlude to life in Greater Cleveland was a lengthy newspaper strike, beginning late in 1962 and ending the next spring, that was costly to both newspapers. Art Modell, the owner of the Cleveland Browns, timed the firing of the team's legendary coach, Paul Brown, with the strike, hoping the news blackout would blunt one of the biggest sports stories here ever.

The Browns won the 1964 National Football League Championship, but Modell would never replicate Paul Brown's achievements.

While sports had its moments in the 1960s, urban renewal continued in the headlines. Erievue was an area bordered by East 6th Street and extended to East 17th Street, south to Chester Avenue and north to the lake. It was filled with small businesses and modest homes. These buildings were cleared, leaving vast stretches of acreage available for redevelopment.

The result was the displacement of people and businesses in such a fashion that it affected the commerce on Euclid Avenue, a stretch of upscale shops, stores, and restaurants that had been a traditional haunt of downtown shoppers. Over time, the combination of bad downtown planning and the creation of suburban malls, aided by one of the best highway systems in the country, diminished downtown.

There were problems with other areas of the city designated for urban renewal. The process was driving people, mostly black people, into neighborhoods that were overcrowded and filled with inadequate housing.

In the area around St. Vincent's Charity Hospital, some 1,200 families were up-rooted and moved to the Hough area, itself designated for renewal. Hough was notable for its overcrowded conditions for black families.

In fact, the city did its best to ignore these conditions, almost from the very beginning of black migration during the Civil War era.

While historically Cleveland had a reputation of racial tolerance, its liberalism flagged as European immigrants arrived and settled, making the town a mosaic of ethnicity that became ingrained in its politics and culture.

Cleveland also attracted Southern blacks hoping for a better life. Two world wars within the span of two decades hastened that journey, as the industrial

might of the city was geared to war production and needed as much manpower as it could absorb. The Korean War soon followed, maintaining the manufacturing need.

There were about 10,000 blacks living in Cleveland just before World War I. By the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, that figure had grown to 72,000 and, by 1940, it had reached 85,000. By 1960, there were 250,000 blacks living mostly on the city's East Side.

The city was not prepared to deal with this increasing influx of newcomers, in terms of housing and schools. As time passed, both necessities degenerated further. By the early 1960s, the city was at a tipping point, but most were oblivious to the growing storm.

By 1960, jobs were still easily found for blacks, especially those in the steel mills, where the money was good, but the work dirty, dangerous, and damnable. Federal government jobs as postal workers, clerks, and other official tasks were steady employment. There were positions available for teachers, social workers, and lawyers.

Blacks were increasingly part of the community's fabric. By 1963, ten of the 33 City Council seats were black. However, beneath the surface existed an unspoken demarcation that separated the minorities from the rest of the community. As late as 1959, *The Cleveland Press* carried a page one story concerning downtown office space, in which a respected realtor was quoted as saying he would not rent to Negroes, because they were too messy.

There were few black newspaper reporters. Editors routinely asked whether an incident or event took place "at a good address." Black crime was often ignored as not being newsworthy. Reporters covering the police beat told editors of the conditions they witnessed in black neighborhoods, but could draw little interest in reporting on them.

Simply stated, the community had no sensitivity as to what was happening in the overcrowded slums and the inadequate and aging East Side schools. Even though these conditions festered for years, it seemed to the community at large that the ensuing discontent occurred overnight.

This was because of the nature of ethnic politics that drove City Hall for years, and the failure of the news media to play its role in communicating reality to the community. Politicians knew its ethnic constituency possessed a heritage distrustful of government and the best way to appeal to that instinct was to embrace the status quo.

The racial story broke in a series of confrontations between black students and their ethnic counterparts in those neighborhoods that abutted each other.

Protests over the conditions in the schools became regular events. Some black students were going to school half a day in makeshift classrooms in the basement of churches.

Nationally, Martin Luther King, Jr., was beginning a cavalcade of civil rights protests that ignited the imagination of blacks across the nation. He was no stranger to Cleveland, visiting often with his message. Times were changing, and no place exhibited that dynamic greater than Cleveland.

This was the situation that Ralph S. Locher inherited as mayor. In a belated effort, the Cleveland City School District began a building program with an emphasis on East Side schools, which some civil rights activists saw as an effort to further segregate the city.

One of the dreadful moments of the decade took place on April 7, 1964. It involved the growing conflict over education and the ensuing tragedy rocked the community. Protesting the construction of an elementary school on Lakeview Road, Reverend Bruce Klunder lay in the path of a bulldozer and was accidentally crushed to death. The incident divided the community even further and photographs of the scene became a symbol of the agony of the times.

In the wake of this tragedy, the Interracial Business Men's Committee was formed, bringing together black and white business leaders with a stake in the community, in an effort to alleviate the growing conflict and solve the contributing irritants. The effort provided temporary relief, as more blacks were hired by business and a community relations department was established at City Hall.

As days passed, the news focused more and more on racial issues. The media showed a willingness, albeit naively, to explore the problem that had been evident for decades. One newspaper ran a series of articles on the life of a black family.

Newspaper readers in the summer of 1965 drew some respite from the city's woes when a *Plain Dealer* copy editor, Robert Manry, sailed the Atlantic Ocean alone in a 13-foot boat, the smallest vessel ever to cross the sea at the time. As he progressed, his 78-day adventure was played out daily, resulting in *The Press* scooping the morning paper on its own story, by publishing a television interview of Manry in the midst of the ocean.

The man-against-the-odds story was in strange contrast to the odds-against-man story, which the city was struggling to confront or at least to contain, in what was becoming an increasingly tension-ridden existence.

The mayoral election of 1965 was a contest of black and white and the past and future, as Mayor Locher chose to run for his own two-year term, but this

time his chief opponent would not come from the ranks of traditional ethnic politics. He would be a black man, Carl B. Stokes, who successfully ran as the first black Democratic state legislator from Cuyahoga County.

In many ways, Stokes was the perfect candidate for the times. Handsome, articulate, a confident man, edgy in temperament, the representative of a cause whose time had come, he stepped into the campaign, believing that he could make a difference both for his people and for Cleveland.

One of the characteristics of his confidence was a sense of arrogance that could be repelling. In 1965 Stokes failed to ask the ten black City Council members for support of his mayoralty bid. It was not that they opposed him, it was a matter of protocol. Stokes, for his part, thought he could win without asking for help.

He did not win. The newspapers backed the old politics and won the day, as Locher triumphed by 2,143 votes, the slimmest victory in the city's history. *The Press* predicted a 20,000 win for Locher. Stokes impressed the reporters covering the race and he later would say that this campaign was the highlight of his political life.

The victory was Pyrrhic for Locher, as events in the city continued to spiral out of control. After years of neglect, the city and its services deteriorated, despite the late efforts to fix a failing school system. Education remained a primary issue, and the now apparent folly of urban renewal had come together like a Greek tragedy, to generate a violent encore

Meanwhile, another important story broke in 1966, when the U.S. Supreme Court held that Dr. Sam Sheppard, who had been convicted of the murder of his wife in a famous case in 1954, was subjected to unfair pretrial publicity by *The Press*. Sheppard was ordered released from prison and given a new trial. He was later acquitted.

The news damaged the reputation of *The Press* at a time when *The Plain Dealer* was attempting to surpass it in both circulation and civic leadership. The court decision cast a shadow on *The Press* and gave the morning newspaper the appearance of greater credibility and, in an odd way, this would come to bear on the campaign.

It was oppressively hot July 18 that summer of 1966. At 5 p.m., outside of the Seventy-Niner's Café on the corner of East 79th and Hough Avenue, a crowd gathered. The heat made it a bad time to drink. The bar, owned by two white brothers, had problems with its clientele. Someone had tried to burn their car a few days before and a cherry bomb was exploded in the men's room.

Tensions were high.

A young woman, identified by some as a prostitute, was in the crowded bar, soliciting money for flowers for the funeral of another streetwalker. One of the owners ordered her out of the bar and she joined the crowd outside, angry at her dismissal.

A man who purchased a bottle of wine was refused a glass of water by one of the brothers. His anger provoked, he joined the crowd, claiming he had been called a nigger. The crowd began to swell in size and emotion.

Police were summoned, but it was too late. All the frustration and conflict of the past welled up in one wild rampage that swept through the Hough area in a violent torrent. Shops were looted, fires set, the sound of gunfire resounded through the neighborhood. The scene resembled street fighting on the television news in some far-off land.

Looters roamed the streets with a strange sense of glee, pushing racks of stolen clothes and carrying bundles of goods. The best the police could do was to take photographs of the looters and hope to identify them later.

Locher waited and, finally, reluctantly asked the Ohio National Guard to intercede in what became a six-day siege of the Hough neighborhood. Four residents were killed and some 240 fires were set. The blame for the violence rested on overcrowding and the failure of the urban renewal program to provide relief from conditions in Hough.

The sight of military vehicles mounting heavy weapons moving through the city streets was eerie and disturbing. Guardsmen were crouched in doorways, their rifles at the ready, scanning the rooftops for snipers in the night.

Despite its obvious cause, a county grand jury, comprised of some of the town's most respected citizens, and led by Seltzer, found that the riot was instigated by a conspiracy organized by outsiders, maybe even Communists. There still existed a sense of denial among the city's leadership as to the true conditions of the city.

Tragic as it was, Hough was the event that would propel Carl B. Stokes into City Hall and the annals of history.

The Hough riot shook the city's business leaders, cast a cloak of fear over the town, and brought more negative national media to a city already suffering from cynical reviews. White people feared driving through the East Side and blacks dared not venture near the Murray Hill area. There were random shootings and some killing, including the ambush of a policeman on the East Side.

The mood at City Hall was sullen. Community leaders lost faith in the ability of Ralph Locher to run the city and deal with the overwhelming problems

that were mounting daily. But it was not just Cleveland. The nation's major cities were facing racial unrest, with rioters taking to the streets elsewhere.

It did not help when a Cleveland officer, testifying before a state legislative committee, urged that the death penalty be applied to rioting black nationals. The tension between the city's police force and the black community lingered for years.

All the sins committed by City Hall over the past decades suddenly came to rest on Locher. *The Plain Dealer*, that stood so gray and idle while *The Press* dictated to City Hall for years, lashed out critically and rendered frustration and wrath on its competitor, through the Locher administration.

To make matters worse, the federal government cut ten million dollars of the city's urban renewal funds, leaving the already embattled program adrift. It was evident to everyone that Locher's term as mayor was fading into failure.

The national media became so negative in its portrayal of Cleveland that Locher refused to meet with another out-of-town reporter.

It was also evident that the performance Carl Stokes made in the 1965 campaign elevated him to a level where victory, while not probable, was certainly more than possible. This time Stokes actively sought support, not only from the black councilmen, but from the business community, as well.

The 1967 mayor's race was perhaps the most memorable and remarkable in the city's history. Not only was the first black mayor of a major American city elected, the drama and excitement of that campaign generated attention around the globe. Reporters from every major news outlet in the world descended on Cleveland, creating a genuine global event.

A signal and surprising moment in the campaign came with the endorsement of Stokes by *The Plain Dealer*, an act he considered legitimized him among the white establishment. It was an important moment for the newspaper as well, for it symbolized its ascension over the rival *Press*.

The business community, stung by the ineptness of the Locher administration and fearful of more racial unrest, pumped money and influence into the Stokes campaign. Some observers feared that business leaders were so anxious to rid the city of Locher, they would support Stokes in the primary and then back a white candidate in the general election.

Reporters followed Stokes on his forays into the white West Side, where he met in small gatherings over coffee, asking for support, urging that the issue of race be cast aside in favor of enlightened leadership in City Hall. He handily defeated a subdued Locher in the Democratic primary.

Poised to oppose Stokes was Seth Taft, a Republican with one of the most prominent political names in Ohio history, and a descendant of a U.S. president. Seth Taft was regarded in the community as honest, dedicated, and active, but, most importantly, he was white.

While both candidates tried to remain above the race issue, it smoldered in the background, threatening to burst into full flame at any moment. Race would be the deciding factor, but it did not mar the campaign.

The campaign itself was exciting and interesting, unlike any since. Both camps exhibited well-run political organizations. A series of debates between the candidates held in various parts of the city were set-piece battles, while reporters pontificated on the victor.

Stokes was the superior orator, but Taft improved as the campaign progressed and showed surprising and increasing aggressiveness. As election day approached, the polls showed the two candidates neck-and-neck. The town was alive with speculation and anticipation.

Election day was cold, with flecks of wet snow. There was a question of the turnout. A huge voter registration drive, largely funded by a \$175,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, worked the neighborhoods in the months preceding the election. The question was whether the voters would respond.

Representatives of the global media roamed the city that day, studying the turnout, which was not only large, but electric in mood. Despite the issue of race, there was a wholesome quality to the campaign, two excellent candidates locked in a struggle that personified democracy. People sensed history in the making and wanted to be part of it.

The early returns that night had Taft ahead, but by 9 p.m., the race was neck-and-neck. And then at midnight, Taft began to pull away. At 2:15 a.m., Stokes took his first lead and held on to win by some 2,000 votes, in the closest race in city history.

The succeeding weeks and months were filled with an optimism that Cleveland had not experienced in years. A feeling of achievement abounded and, while only 15% of white voters had supported Stokes, there existed an atmosphere of elation, a sense of genuine community.

Stokes had little time to celebrate. The conditions that contributed to his election were now his problems to solve. The first issue was the quality of personnel serving the city. After so many years of patronage, the various departments were larded with political hacks who contributed to City Hall's ineptness. He attacked the problem with vigor.

Despite its aimlessness, the urban renewal program had to be regenerated and Stokes persuaded Washington to restore the funding. He then hired a director with national experience, as part of assembling an energetic and capable cabinet. Urban experts from other cities were eager to come to Cleveland and participate in the city's rebirth.

Meanwhile, the business community, swept by euphoria, raised \$5.5 million and created an organization to support many of the Stokes initiatives, called Cleveland: NOW. The idea born out of a swelling sense of community pride and necessity, ironically, would become fickle and turn on Stokes in the meanest way.

Cleveland: NOW! was created by several white businessmen, following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., in April of 1968. The nation was in turmoil over King's death and that of Robert F. Kennedy in June. Adding to the domestic anxiety was the stalemate in Vietnam and the increasing protest of that war.

These angry forces were mounting across the nation, as demonstrators and militants exercised their wrath in the streets. In Cleveland, civic leaders hoped that a black mayor possessed the ability to calm their community. Stokes maintained that a black mayor was no insurance against racial violence.

Fred Ahmed Evans, a Korean War veteran, became an astrologer of sorts, after claiming to witness a UFO over Glenville one day. While known in the neighborhood as somewhat of a militant, he was an obscure figure, until catapulted to notoriety by *The Wall Street Journal*, which wrote Evans had predicted the outbreak of a race riot in Cleveland.

Evans portrayed himself as a black revolutionary, a man who called for a national black revolt, and used his incendiary rhetoric to inflame ghetto youth. Stokes later characterized Evans as a street hustler, who used the idea of revolution to extort money. Cleveland: NOW! gave Evans \$6,000 to fund a youth group.

In the aftermath of Martin Luther King's assassination, Evans, among other black militants, walked Cleveland's streets with Stokes, to calm the anguish which was spreading across the nation and creating violence in other cities.

On July 23, 1968, Evans and some of his self-proclaimed revolutionaries engaged in a gun battle with Cleveland police that left seven dead, including three police officers, three suspected militants, and a citizen. Fifteen more were wounded, and the Glenville community suffered more than \$2.5 million in damage.

It was never clear what triggered the shooting. Evans was found guilty of murder and sentenced to life in prison, where he died.

The shoot-out made headlines, even in war-torn Vietnam. It destroyed the myth that a black mayor could prevent the spread of racial violence. It also effectively damaged the mayoralty of Stokes, when it was learned that Cleveland: NOW! money was used by Evans to buy guns.

The irony was that one calamitous event aided Stokes's political rise and yet another would accompany his decline. He was proof that there were no easy answers to the city's racial problems.

In 1969, Stokes was elected to a second two-year term as mayor, but the heady days, bright with promise and alive with community spirit, were gone. He struggled with the reform of the police department, a culture of its own, only to have his attempted reforms and innovations go awry or fail.

That summer, men landed on the moon and the triumphant national celebration that followed underplayed the achievements of a handful of space pioneers at the Lewis Research Laboratory, coming at a time when it appeared America had lost its technological edge. It was no small thing that these men on the West Side of the city achieved.

Back at City Hall, the newspapers became increasingly critical of Stokes, who bridled at the criticism, making the tenor of his final term one of rancor and bitterness over failed expectations. He left City Hall in 1971, to become a television anchorman in New York City.

Among Stokes's lasting achievements as mayor was the passage of an equal opportunity law, that assured minority companies of participation in city business. While there had been no public housing units built in the five years before he became mayor, he could point to nearly 5,500 built during his term in office.

The Stokes years were significant in the city's history, in that they opened the way for the black community to participate in the mainstream of business and political life. The decade brought change in how a city worked and what roles black citizens played in that function. In retrospect, it is clear that the community and Stokes himself set expectations that were far from achievable, given the times and the state of the city.

It was an exhausting decade for Cleveland and its citizens, but when it was over, there were triumphs among the travail. Life went on, but it was changed forever.

The holiday season of 1969, the last of the decade, was not as festive as that of ten years before. The city had endured pain, brought on by decades of neglect, wrought by a political culture that worshipped the status quo. The

next decade would bring more change and a different dynamic, but this would involve the appearance of the city, and the dimming of downtown lights. The altering of its soul had taken place.

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Terminal Tower, overlooking the Public Square, dominates the Cleveland skyline. *Photo by Frank J. Aleksandrowicz, 1973.*

CLEVELAND IN THE 1970S

MICHAEL D. ROBERTS

At first, the arrival of a new decade to the Greater Cleveland area in 1970 appeared a welcomed reprieve from the political and social intensity of the past ten years. The era will be remembered as one of the most cataclysmic in city history. Now the population dropped to 750,903, and the census ranked Cleveland as the tenth largest city in the U.S.

The suburb of Parma grew to a population of over 100,000 and was the ninth largest city in Ohio, evidence of the exodus from the city, which numbered more than 165,000 in over 20 years. Yet Cleveland was still the dominant political and economic entity in northeastern Ohio.

But that role was being threatened by the development of a highway system that fanned out from the city like spokes from a hub, corridors to the bucolic beckoning of the suburbs that would, in a short time, change the nature of the region.

World War II disrupted long-time plans to build the Willow Freeway, that would open the southern suburbs to quick downtown access. The freeway was opened in sections, beginning in the early 1950s, and ultimately became Interstate 77, which made regional travel more accessible.

By 1970, a vast Interstate system crisscrossed northeastern Ohio, shifting development away from the traditional population centers that had originated along railroad lines. Automobiles traveled these highways on gasoline that cost 36 cents per gallon.

In the spring of 1970, America was divided over the Vietnam conflict and protests shifted from civil rights to that of opposing the war. Less than 40 miles south of Cleveland, those protests culminated on May 4, 1970, in one of the most unlikely places in the nation, Kent State University, where four students were killed by National Guardsmen, who had been summoned to the campus to subdue a protest. The tragedy symbolized the ending of the tumultuous 1960s and left an exhausted nation seeking tranquility and a sense of normalcy.

If the nation was seeking relief from the anger and resentment over the Vietnam War, the City of Cleveland was in need of its own salve. The final years of Mayor Carl B. Stokes's administration produced a series of sharp confrontations with the police department and Council Presidents James V. Stanton and Tony Garofoli. Both emerged from the 1960s as substantial political figures and antagonists of the mayor.

Throughout the final months of his term, Stokes berated the newspapers, former allies, and anyone who seemingly challenged him. The strain of managing a city in torment was taking its toll on everyone.

The city was caught in the grips of racial polarization. While Stokes had opened the way for minorities in government and business, the black organization he created — the 21st District Caucus — withdrew from the Democratic Party, making a difficult political scene even more fractious.

Meanwhile, conditions worsened in the city. Businesses were steadily abandoning downtown, plans to disperse public housing on the West Side were met with hostility in the neighborhoods, deepening the tensions at City Hall. Public services were slipping; crime was at a record pace, as drugs began an insidious and irreversible intrusion into the poor areas of the city.

In 1972, homicide in the city set a record with 333 murders. Ten years earlier there had been only 59.

Looming in the wings and ready once more to take center stage was the school issue. It had been this controversy that set off the Hough riot, which ultimately led to Carl Stokes's rise. In the 1970s, problems in the school system would spill out over the city and touch the lives of everyone.

All of this was too much. No one could triage the issues, much less solve them, especially an embattled Carl Stokes, who saw no respite, nor allies, nor even hope. The once promising City Hall that Stokes assembled dissipated and his temperament became increasingly short and accusatory toward those who challenged him.

The newspapers continued to offer support, but it was becoming clear that the community was losing confidence in Stokes. It is important, in evaluating this era, to understand that much of the confidence accorded Stokes was generated by an inflated expectation factor, both by community business leaders and by the mayor himself. When it became clear that the negative forces at work, here and nationally, were of such magnitude that no single person could overcome them, the emotional letdown was more than Stokes or the community could bear.

The painful decade that had spawned so many hopes and dreams, and invited the world to watch, was over. Life went on, but the dynamic that drove Cleveland was changing.

Seven months into the new decade, George Szell, the great conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra and the city's legendary cultural icon, died at 73. No Clevelander in his time projected the city globally and with such grandeur as did Szell. He conducted the orchestra with a martial majesty for 24 years.

The desire for a sense of normalcy descended upon Cleveland as Carl Stokes announced, on April 16, 1971, that he would not run for a third term as the city's mayor. The progressive nature of his politics gave way to the return of the status quo, to which the ethnic composite of the city lent itself.

Stokes organized the 21st District Caucus in order to counter the existing white political apparatus and gain a greater voice in that community. Black politicians began to emerge from the caucus and establish themselves as leaders, replacing Carl Stokes in the community.

Stokes withdrew the caucus and black political participation from the Democratic Party out of frustration and charges of racism. The secession of the caucus would play a role in crippling the party's efforts to retain power in City Hall.

The long tradition of a strong and united Democratic Party had been severely tested during the 1960s, with the emergence of black politics. Over time, the party had become composed of three elements: the Irish on the West Side, the Italians on the East Side, and the Eastern European population that made up the ethnic nature of Cleveland's South Side.

The evolution of black politics, which had emerged from Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, elbowed its way into Cleveland's political mosaic, creating an abrasive mix that brought charges of racism, disrupted the patterns of patronage, and circumvented the paths of political ambition for a generation of Democratic hopefuls. In the fall of 1971, when it came time to reclaim City Hall, the party was woefully unprepared to step forward and do so.

The party split internally, offering two candidates for the fall primary, City Council President Tony Garofoli and businessman James Carney, a long-time behind-the-scenes political figure. Representing the black community and running as an independent was Arnold Pinckney, the school board president and confidant to Carl Stokes, who lent his considerable support to the campaign.

On the Republican side was Ralph J. Perk, who was elected county auditor in 1962 and enjoyed favorable support from the newspapers in that role. Perk

promoted himself as an honest and ethical politician and ran on that premise. He had run for mayor against Stokes in 1969 and lost by 4,500 votes.

Running against him in the Republican primary was a rising political star, whose ascension to political prominence was yet in the future. George Voinovich was in the Ohio House of Representatives when he opposed Perk.

Perk was a curious blend of politician for Cleveland. In a sense, he was not Republican, in that he did not fit in with the image so rigidly attached to the party by its critics. For instance, it was questionable whether he could even get into the Union Club in those days, let alone afford its dues. He was more comfortable amongst his neighbors on East 49th Street, where the polka and perogies were favored over the symphony and sushi.

Perk was perceived as a man of the people. He created this image largely through newspaper accounts of his challenges to the business practices of John and James M. Carney, who used political contacts and manipulations to acquire vast real estate holdings. *The Plain Dealer*, in particular, had been severely critical of the Carney brothers. It was ironic then, that Perk and Jim Carney would face each other in the race for City Hall.

Jim Carney, by many accounts, was among the smartest men in town. He was a lawyer, self-made, the ethics of his achievements dubious in the eyes of some. Nevertheless, Carney was respected by the business community. He built several buildings around a revived East 9th Street. Even though he was active in politics throughout his life, he generally spurned the rigors of public campaigning for the solitude of the strategist. It better suited his personality and his pursuits.

When Pinckney failed in the primary, Carl Stokes marshaled the black vote and shifted it behind Carney. The tense feelings between Stokes and Garofoli, from their earlier clashes over public housing at City Hall, were still raw.

As always, the newspapers played a key role with their endorsements. *The Cleveland Press* supported Carney and *The Plain Dealer*, which had aided Perk in his attacks on the Carney brothers, supported Garofoli.

The contempt in which Carney held *The Plain Dealer* was illustrated by the fact that he became a stockholder in the newspaper, often offering embarrassing remarks as to its business practices at the annual shareholder meeting, no doubt negating the paper's support. All these diverse elements were shaping a pattern that favored Perk, despite the fact Democrats outnumbered Republican registered voters 8 to 1.

Neither candidate could match the eloquence of the Stokes campaigns. Perk tramped tirelessly through neighborhoods, adapting to one ethnic culture

,then another, like a chameleon crossing a rainbow. He gained what would be an unholy alliance with key labor unions, and resurrected the traditional role of the ethnic politician, who played the divisions of the town as if he were conducting an orchestra.

For all of Jim Carney's faults, the downtown business community believed in him the way they did their investment counselors. After all, he had sunk his own money into downtown, building two hotels when the city sorely needed them. He organized a Port Authority and played a role in numerous civic efforts. He was the best they had, and the business leaders believed he would be an outstanding mayor.

As a campaigner, Carney was painful to watch. He suffered from a tall man's awkwardness and was self-conscious as a speaker. He had spectacles that reporters referred to as "Coke-bottle thick" and never seemed at ease.

Together, the pair hardly presented an intoxicating campaign, but, after the previous decade, the city needed to catch its collective breath, even if it involved political boredom. There was growing alarm in the business community, for many of the projects it championed in an effort to revive the town had failed. The city needed new blood, and fast.

Instead of that transfusion, it got old politics. Perk was the first elected Republican mayor in Cleveland since Harold Burton in 1935. Perk did not suffer from the enormous expectations that burdened Stokes, but as time passed he proved to be an inept administrator and an inconsequential mayor. The Cleveland business community — always sensitive to national ridicule that the city drew over such misadventures as the Cuyahoga River burning, its aimless sports teams, and even its intemperate climate — prepared for the worse.

It did not take long for Perk to add to the miasmatic ridicule that hung so lazily over Cleveland, in what a visiting sports writer once termed as the city that represented the broken nose of America. In October of 1972, while presiding over ceremonies opening a convention, Perk, wielding a welder's torch, set his hair on fire. The photograph that captured the moment was transmitted nationwide by wire services, perpetuating Cleveland jokes. Late night television shows were merciless.

When his wife reported to have turned down an invitation to a White House dinner, because it conflicted with her bowling night, the jokes took on new life. Then an aide, in an attempt to defend the mayor's involvement with a computer company, said that Perk, who had served as county auditor for nearly a decade, did not know the difference between a bond and a note, and the ridicule reached a new pitch. On a visit to Rome, Perk beseeched the Pope to pray for Cleveland.

On the city's East Side, the Cleveland Clinic was emerging as a great medical center. It was capitalizing on two events that had taken place within its confines that would lead to it becoming the country's, if not the world's, leading cardiac hospital. The decade at the clinic was a time of perfecting these two procedures.

In 1958, Dr. Mason Sones had discovered, by accident, the first coronary arteriogram, which pictured the interior of an artery, thus enabling an exact determination of a diseased vessel. A maverick of sorts, Sones thrived on the independent nature of the Clinic at the time, and became a renowned figure in the cardiology community.

The other development that would propel the Clinic into the future was the work of Dr. Rene Favaloro, a cardiothoracic surgeon, who developed the first successful coronary artery bypass procedure. These two procedures, and the work that Clinic doctors did throughout the 1970s to make them almost routine medicine, foretold the future of not only the Clinic, but good fortune for the city and ultimately the region.

Meanwhile, the announcement on the part of the Greater Cleveland Growth Association, the area's chamber of commerce, of a plan to study the creation of a huge jetport in the lake created headlines. The plan was spearheaded by James C. Davis, the managing partner of Squires, Sanders & Dempsey, one of the city's leading law firms.

The law firms — mainly Squires and Jones, Day, Cockley & Reavis — played an influential and sometimes covert role in the governing of the city. Because so many of their large clients had business interests in and around the city, the firms were often asked to intercede or interact with government in such matters as maintaining a good school system, promoting economic growth, and dealing with other day-to-day issues.

In effect, these firms operated as a shadow government. For instance, one day in the early 1970s, Mayor Carl Stokes called Jack Reavis, then managing partner of Jones, Day, and told him that the city did not have enough money in its budget to open the swimming pools that summer. There was fear in those hot summers days, for they were one of the ingredients of the riots that had devastated the city.

Stokes called Reavis in the hopes that he could help raise the money to open the pools. Reavis rallied the business community in a matter of hours and the needed funds were obtained.

The firms played a large role in the community in other ways. They recruited young lawyers from the best law schools, bringing a steady stream of

intellectual capital to the city. These young lawyers fanned out to volunteer for countless civic and cultural boards, and some became candidates for public office. The legal community provided stability to a city whose political foundation was fractional and inbred.

To understand the impact of the big firms on the town, it must be noted that they served the interests of their clients well. That is what they were paid to do, and sometimes the interests of those clients were not always aligned with that of the city.

The jetport plan became lost in a debate between conflicting interests. It also may have been stillborn out of the frustration of the business community over decades of political ineptness in its efforts to regain the greatness that the city enjoyed in the earlier part of the century.

Prior to the Great Depression, Cleveland had a reputation of acting in a grand manner. When it was conceived, the Terminal Tower was the second tallest building in the world, the airport was the largest in the world at one time, and the first ever to be lighted for night operations. Cleveland manufactured the first commercially sold automobiles, and, for a time, was the aviation capital of America. It had the largest convention center in the country.

There was a desire and a need to do something on a greater scale. It was clear, however, that the leadership necessary for large scale endeavor was not going to come from City Hall.

When James C. Davis, managing partner of Squires, Sanders & Dempsey, took over as chairman of the Growth Association, it was a jumbled and ineffective body. Davis reorganized it, drew the business community and newspapers together, and launched the jetport idea, with a warning that Cleveland could not afford to miss this opportunity, if it was to regain its prominence.

The object was to raise \$1.2 million for a feasibility plan for a jetport that could be completed by 1985. According to preliminary studies, it would serve as a catalyst for 70,000 new jobs with a payroll of \$500,000,000. Projections were for substantial increase in air travel and the use of supersonic transports, which would link Europe to Cleveland in a few hours. The federal government was studying the establishment of a series of hub airports around the county to accommodate these flights.

Because of a lack of trust or competence or simply out of naivety, there grew a reluctance on the part of the business community to engage openly with the city's political and civic grass roots. Ideas involving the expenditure of public money were packaged in back rooms, then sold to willing and eager newspapers, which presented plans as *faits accomplis*.

If the city's leaders yearned for the return of the city, they failed to study the past and understand how citizens contributed to the growth of the city.

Contrast that to the way the town handled the building of the Public Auditorium and the Terminal Tower. Those issues were voted upon, and, in the case of the auditorium in 1916, the bond issue passed 4 to 1. More people voted in that election than cast ballots in the presidential primary that year. Voters approved the moving of the train terminal to Public Square in 1919.

The failure to involve the public in succeeding years cast suspicion and doomed more than one public project. This division between the sectors of the community would continue to haunt the city for years to come.

Environmental groups, civic watchdog organizations, and other good government groups bridled at being treated in such a manner. They organized opposition that made politicians reluctant to engage in visionary plans, no matter what promise they held for the common prosperity of the community. So was the fate of the jetport, which died from ridicule and added to the city's cynicism.

Chief among the critics was a young city councilman named Dennis J. Kucinich. He used the jetport issue as a platform, gaining notoriety citywide for his opposing view. As the decade progressed, Kucinich's public presence would become as familiar as the newspaper at your door.

Was the jetport a missed opportunity? No one will ever know, because the necessary studies to determine its feasibility were never completed, having been lost somewhere amidst the dissent. Nearly 40 years later, former City Council President George Forbes, who was present at the debates, said the project was 50 years ahead of its time.

Despite the failure of the jetport, a spirit of restoration and revival seemed to permeate the city. A band of young and dedicated investors began to refurbish aging Ohio City, struggling against the odds to remake the neighborhood, in a project that would continue on for half a century and reflect the pride of a community like nowhere else in the city.

When the great theaters, the hallmarks of Playhouse Square, were threatened with demolition, the Junior League and others mounted a Herculean effort to save them, thus ensuring that a celebrated part of the city survived and regained its vibrancy.

The Depression and then World War II had arrested downtown development decades before but, as the 1970s progressed, new buildings began to rise, with the encouragement of tax cuts. The city began to take on a new look. On Euclid Avenue and East 9th Street, the venerable Cleveland Trust, now called

Ameritrust, erected a 29-storey tower and promised a companion to it in the future, and the Diamond Shamrock Corporation built a 22-storey headquarters at Superior and East 12th Street.

The 20-storey Bond Court office building at East 9th Street and Superior Avenue was completed in 1971; and in 1973, the 526-room Bond Court Hotel was constructed adjacent to it on Superior Avenue, forming a complex, along with a parking garage. The city had been painfully short on hotel rooms.

By 1973, the sprawling apartment complex known as Park Centre opened. It was hailed as the set piece of the embattled Erieview urban renewal project, first begun in the late 1950s. The twin 22-storey apartment towers between a two-storey shopping complex cost \$42 million and was the second most expensive downtown investment, behind the Terminal Tower. Not far from the Park Centre on Superior Avenue, the Ernest Bohn Tower, a public housing project, rose another 22 storeys, a monument to urban renewal and to the father of public housing.

The signal project of the decade for local government was the construction of the Justice Center Complex, which occupies a city block between St. Clair and Lakeside Avenues on Ontario Street. The 26-storey building houses the Cleveland Police Department, the Cuyahoga County and Cleveland Municipal Courts, and the County Jail. Its planning had been a nightmare of negotiations between city and county officials, with Mayor Perk at one time threatening to withdraw from the project because of cost overruns.

Originally budgeted at \$61 million, the controversial project ended up costing more than \$125 million, and was stigmatized by rumors of illegalities associated with its construction that were never proven. It was also burdened with construction flaws, the latest discovered in 2010, when it was found that the lights in the Police Department headquarters had been on continuously since it was constructed in 1976. No provision had been made for light switches.

Downtown development, under the guise of saving the city, opened a Pandora's box, from which sprung tax abatement, an issue that would be used in such projects as the National City Bank Building at East 9th and Euclid Avenue and other development. Tax abatement was an issue with which opponents would tar Ralph Perk. The town lived on tax abatement well into the next century, eroding the tax base that would support the schools.

One of the most significant downtown projects of the time was the expansion of Cleveland State University, which had begun in 1964, an offshoot of old Fenn College.

By the time the 1970s arrived, the school, sorely needed by the city, had become a new economic engine, driving the eastern side of downtown. The construction of the James A. Rhodes Tower in 1971 gave CSU its own landmark, with the campus spreading out around it, as the decade passed.

If things were improving in the city's higher education picture, the Cleveland school system was caught on the other end of the spectrum, perched precariously amidst racial and financial issues in search of a solution.

The school system had been at the forefront of the agitation and strife that caused the unrest leading to the Hough Riot in 1966. Despite increased civic involvement and the awareness of a festering situation, no real progress was made toward a solution. In fact, the school problem was getting worse.

School Superintendent Paul Briggs took over the Cleveland school system in 1964 and tried to meet the growing racial protest by building new schools. By the 1970s, he had built 50 neighborhood schools, and that was the problem.

By 1971, two out of three black students were attending classes in schools made up of mostly minorities. That ratio was increasing in Cleveland, while across the nation the integration of school systems was on the rise.

When the Cleveland Board of Education announced it would build new schools on the city's East Side, black citizens and civil rights leaders balked, arguing and demonstrating that to do so would be a furtherance of segregation in an already divided city. Finally in 1973, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People filed a federal lawsuit, claiming that it was impossible to receive a quality education in an illegally segregated situation, such as Cleveland.

After five years of proceedings, U.S. District Judge Frank J. Battisti ruled that the school system was guilty of *de facto* and *de jure* segregation, which led to the busing of students across town and even further tormented an already divided city. Critics say that Battisti overlooked the opportunity to build magnet schools that drew students of like interest, instead of spending millions on busing.

There has long been a debate over how seriously busing affected the city's population loss, but the fact remains that it proved to be unpopular among both blacks and whites, and added to the embittered legacy of racial discontent. Ultimately, it helped to drive more families from both races to the suburbs, but was only a part of the migratory motivation, for drugs and crime were flourishing in unprecedented numbers.

Meanwhile, with Carl Stokes in New York City, where he was getting mixed reviews in his role as a news anchor on WABC-TV, racial politics flourished here, and three black political figures emerged in his shadow.

The first, was Louis Stokes, Carl's older brother. Reserved, respected, and reticent, by comparison to his brother's sophisticated and strident manner, Louis Stokes established himself as a fine lawyer and gained esteem in legal circles, after a successful appearance before the United States Supreme Court. His quiet ways masked a strong and effective leader.

He was elected in 1968 to the U.S. House of Representatives. He later became chairman of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, which investigated the murders of President John F. Kennedy and the Reverence Martin Luther King, Jr.

The next was Arnold Pinckney, an insurance broker, who was one of Carl Stokes's closest confidants. Stokes supported him as his successor at City Hall, but Pinckney failed as an independent candidate. Moderate in the public's view, he served in several positions, but was best known for his work on the school board, where he opposed school busing.

The third emerging political figure would be the most prominent and controversial in the eyes of the citizenry, and a lightning rod for racial issues. Bold in his pronouncements and quick to act, George Forbes was elected to the presidency of City Council in 1973 and served for 16 years, the longest term in Cleveland City Council history.

Forbes had a sense of humor, when it came to race issues. For a time, he hosted a daily talk radio show and often made remarks about the city's racial climate. Those who knew the man and understood downtown politics often found it amusing. But for the many white West Siders, Forbes came across as exacerbating the already sensitive feelings about race.

It did not help that Forbes was accused of taking \$500 in a scheme involving a visiting carnival. Charged by County Prosecutor John T. Corrigan, Forbes was defended by Squires, Sanders in a well-covered trial, where he was found innocent. The trial added to the existing racial tensions.

Elsewhere, the quixotic nature of City Hall became bewildering. There was something about being mayor that seemed to change a person. Carl Stokes became embittered and, for Ralph Perk, the office took on a dream-like quality. Perk campaigned throughout his career as a proponent of the city's "little people," but as time passed, his personality took on a sense of wanderlust.

In 1973, the Democrats made another feeble attempt at City Hall, running Jim Carney again, but his performance in the primary was so bad that he

withdrew, and the party was forced to put Council Clerk Mercedes Cotner on the ballot, which resulted in the reelection of Ralph Perk.

Perk stunned many of his followers and friends when, in 1974, he decided to run for the U.S. Senate, a decision that cost him some of his valued advisers, who quit in protest. He was roundly defeated by former astronaut John Glenn, but worse, the decision to run and abandon the city created a political stigma that would haunt him.

Organized crime in Cleveland reached far back into the century and attained its zenith during Prohibition, when it made a fortune in extortion and the sale of illegal alcohol. The mob was comprised of three elements: the Irish on the West Side and the Jews and Italian factions elsewhere.

By the time World War II ended, Jewish members of the organization could see that the future of criminal prosperity in Cleveland was limited. They sought legitimacy and became original investors in the development of Las Vegas.

To placate former partners, skim money from the casinos was sent back to Cleveland to the remaining mob members, mostly Italians who headquartered in and around Murray Hill. The regular flow of money from Las Vegas created a lethargy in mob operations here. Adding members to the organization meant splitting the cash flow further, which was not economical.

Over time, the organization became more myth than mob, but Clevelanders enjoyed perpetuating the legend, so the once dark specter of organized crime continued to have a presence, exaggerated as it might be. The mob did manage to make its influence felt in labor unions, where its extortion was manifested in many ways. Some of these labor leaders were part of Perk's City Hall.

Shondor Birns was not a made member of the mob, but a consultant of sorts, a contractor who projected the mob's will in a no-nonsense manner that required intimidation or even murder. For years, he was known as the enforcer of the numbers games in the black neighborhoods. He also specialized in loansharking.

Another rising criminal figure in town was Danny Greene, an Irishman who at one time ran the longshoremen's union and gained prominence through his flamboyance and fearlessness. He, Birns, and the mob were on a collision course over money and power.

Numerous bombings and killings rocked the city throughout this period. The mob read Birns's death as a threat and hired a hit man to kill Greene. In October, 1977, he was killed by a bomb in a suburban parking lot, after visiting his dentist.

Then, in a flurry of events resulting from the capture of Greene's killer, mob members here and elsewhere fell like dominoes. Now only sepia-toned memories remain, a legacy best experienced over a dish of pasta on Murray Hill.

Ralph Perk's tenure in City Hall continued to be marked by one awkward incident after another, all of which enlivened the work of the newspaper and television reporters who covered him. The mood of restoration extended into City Hall, where the mayor hired two interior decorators with questionable credentials, who later would end up with unquestionable criminal records.

These decorators, Richard G. Eberling and Obie Henderson, set out to make the Perk administration more exclusive than ethnic, ordering costly appointments, including an expensive toilet for the mayor's private office. The two also managed to make off with some valuable paintings from City Hall, spiriting them off to a hide-away in Tennessee.

The two went on to be tried and convicted for the murder of an elderly woman. Eberling was suspected of killing four others, including his stepfather. There were other miscreants in the Perk administration. One former aide, James Dickerson, celebrated for his educational achievement, combat heroics, and administrative skills, turned out to be a charlatan of the first degree. His resume was pure fiction.

But the city benefited tremendously under Perk from the fact that he was one of the few big city mayors who was Republican, while President Richard Nixon was in the White House. Perk took over a cash-strapped city from Stokes and was able to get millions in federal grants to help the city limp along. The city was living on the dole.

It was becoming increasingly evident that the city's financial woes were rendering it impossible to maintain its status as the dominant political entity in the region.

Because of the nature of Cleveland politics, there was no foresight regarding the need to accept this fact and create the metropolitan government, which many were heralding. Two events occurred during the Perk administration to underscore the changing nature of the city.

The city was forced by court action to sell the sewer system to a regional authority in 1972 for \$32 million and did the same with its transit system in 1975 for \$8.9 million. Despite these harbingers of the need for a regional government, it was business as usual at City Hall, now living off federal grants, the sale of assets, and borrowing.

For those who recalled the remark about the mayor not knowing “the difference between a bond and a note,” the financial state of the city took on a chilling reality that would have consequences in the future.

As Ralph Perk’s image and political currency waned, perhaps the most tempestuous political figure in recent history emerged to command attention and act out his own drama, which would further darken the city’s image and once more make mockery of it in the national news.

Plain Dealer reporters in the late 1960s remember Dennis J. Kucinich as an alert and ambitious copy boy, who absorbed every detail of how the news was made and covered. He listened to the way reporters privately described political figures, not the way their stories appeared in print, thereby gaining insight into the reporting process. There was little that escaped his eye, as he collected copy and chased for coffee.

This education undoubtedly served him well, and when he was elected to City Council in 1969, he positioned himself as a young and refreshing populist, which contrasted with the dissolute nature of the city. In its inaugural issue in 1972, *Cleveland Magazine* ran a cover story on Kucinich, predicting that he would run for President of the United States, which he later did.

Alert, witty, with the careless energy of youth, and tactical by nature, Kucinich morphed Ralph Perk into the image of an old, tired city, one run by political hacks and self-interested businessmen. He then went on to run against Perk for mayor in 1977, defeating him to become, at 31, the youngest mayor in the city’s history.

Perk left behind a veritable financial mess, fraught with such distress that it threatened the viability of the city’s treasury. Adding to the peril was the status of the Municipal Light Plant, forever a political conductor in the community.

The light plant, or Muny Light as it was called then, existed as a competitor of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company. Proposed by Mayor Tom L. Johnson in 1903, Muny Light was underwritten by the city, in an effort to provide cheap electricity for its citizens and to make CEI reduce its rates.

Because it had fallen into disrepair, Muny Light did not produce its own power, but purchased it and paid to have it delivered through power lines owned by CEI. There were several attempts to organize a sale of the Municipal Light plant to CEI, but the vortex of political history — dating back to the height of the Progressive Movement at the turn of the century — ignited each time the issue was raised.

Kucinich, as municipal Clerk of Courts, had organized a drive that defeated a referendum to sell Muny Light in 1977. He defined the issue perfectly for his mayoralty bid against Perk.

Thus, when he became mayor, Kucinich found himself pitted against CEI and the business community, which contended that part of the city's financial problems stemmed from the cost of subsidizing Muny Light. Applying pressure to City Hall, six banks which held bonds that had matured, refused to roll them over, unless the light plant was sold.

Meanwhile, the Kucinich administration had become an odd collection of youthful exuberance, anti-establishment zealots, and novice bureaucrats, all off on their own. Confusion and confrontation welled out of City Hall, as if it were volcanic, affecting a city bewildered and demoralized.

Then, a week before Christmas in 1978, in a symbol of protest, Kucinich held a press conference on the steps of the old Cleveland Trust rotunda at East Ninth Street and Euclid Avenue. He withdrew his personal savings account of \$9,200.

At the same time, across town, in a moment that seemed to define the chaos, Kucinich's youngest brother, Perry, held up a branch of Central National Bank, making off with \$1,396. He had been under psychiatric care for years, and was immediately apprehended.

Again, a beleaguered Cleveland became the butt of jokes nationally. Locally, an angry movement to recall Kucinich was launched, which he barely survived, winning by 236 votes out of 120,300 cast.

In retrospect, there were no winners in the confrontations between City Hall and the business community. Kucinich destroyed his credibility as mayor and the bankers added to the pall of ridicule that had already gathered over the city. There was more national commentary on the quirky nature of the city. In the midst of default, former mayor candidate James M. Carney mused aloud to a reporter asking why, under the circumstances, would anyone want to do business in Cleveland?

The Muny Light plant continued its tenuous existence and the threat of default was lifted and consigned to the archives of inglorious history.

The last year of another exhausting decade presented yet another election. A defiant and determined Dennis Kucinich stood for reelection and a desperate business community rallied behind George Voinovich, who by now had paid his political dues in an efficient and steadfast fashion, having served as county auditor, county commissioner, and lieutenant governor of Ohio.

Voinovich was counter to Kucinich in almost every way. Conservative in personality, as well as politically, he worshiped at the altar of fiscal responsibility, offered the media little fodder and, despite being a Republican, possessed that same allure to ethnic voters that many of his predecessors had. He was charged with another quality, as well. He seemed to be immune to scandal and catastrophic political events. Later in his career, reporters would refer to the Teflon nature of his character.

The 1979 election was non-partisan, with the top two vote-getters in the primary running off in the general election. It was not surprising that Voinovich and Kucinich made the cut. Voinovich's margin of victory was 11,000 votes.

The decade, painful, mercurial, and paved with foibles, was only months away from ending, when a tragedy struck that would severely affect the general election and plunge the city into sadness. Voinovich's nine-year-old daughter, Molly, on her way back to school after lunch, was struck and killed by a van.

While the Voinovich family mourned, Kucinich ceased campaigning and a moratorium of political activity was observed by both camps. Molly's death was a somber reality of life, paling the paltriness of politics. The city could feel the hurt. It was a sad moment.

The hiatus clearly hurt Kucinich, who appeared to be fighting for his political life. When the election was over, Voinovich won 94,541 votes to 73,755 for the boy mayor. The decade was done, and none to soon.

The two men who vied to lead the city into the 1980s would take separate but interesting journeys. The town would, too, as it charted a new course that would see the nation doff its cap, as Cleveland emerged from its morass of misery to once more be toasted as an admirable American city.



Mayor George Voinovich and Council President George Forbes announce plans for \$15 million, 21-storey office building at E. 9th and Superior, 1979.

CLEVELAND IN THE 1980S

MICHAEL D. ROBERTS

While the 1980s gave promise that northeastern Ohio was reviving, there were historical and contemporary forces at work that would thwart any serious comeback. There was no reversal to the population exodus from Cleveland. For the first time, the census showed a decline in Cuyahoga County. The biggest problem was a shrinking job market.

The Great Depression of the 1930s is generally regarded as a critical and devastating turning point in Cleveland's history. By 1980, one could argue that no region in America was so permanently scarred by the Depression than the Cleveland area.

Now, another devastating economic force was descending upon the region. This time it was global in nature and it compounded the damage of the awful economic impact of the Depression. It was the globalization of industry and it was growing at a time when Cleveland was optimistically looking forward to a new decade.

To understand the economic gyrations that the region faced in the 1980s, one has to reflect on the turn of the 20th century, when Cleveland found itself on the cutting edge of what is known as the Second Industrial Revolution. An entrepreneurial spirit flourished here, as rarely seen in America.

In the early 1900s, a diverse economy was emerging in the city, as inventors and investors found their places in steel, machine tools, electricity, paint, automobiles, shipping, and manufacturing. Entrepreneurs were attracted to the city and were welcomed by fellow inventors and industrialists.

Seventy fledgling automobile companies were located in Cleveland. Alexander G. Winton made the first commercial auto sales in the country here.

Technological spin-offs created new businesses at an astounding rate. For instance, the Brush Electric Company, founded in 1880, was directly responsible for the establishment of such blue-chip companies as Union Carbide,

Lincoln Electric, and Reliant Electric, simply through the technological transfer of former employees.

Key to the success of these aspiring enterprises was the ability to attract financial capital, through which they could develop and market their innovations. The need for capital, in turn, created financial institutions attuned to the spirit of enterprise that permeated the community.

At one time, prior to the Depression, the city hosted 38 banks and a stock market that carried more relative industrial stocks than its much larger counterpart in New York.

Cleveland inventors were among the top producers of patents in the country, resulting in the creation of many small businesses, which thrived because of the local financial markets. It was the maturity of these companies that created the wealth that drove Cleveland.

The Depression destroyed many of the city's financial institutions and with their demise went the availability of capital. The small, entrepreneurial businesses that had spun off the innovation that created great companies withered and died.

When the country recovered, the financial markets of the East Coast came to dominate. Even into the 1980s, local business innovators complained in a common refrain that Cleveland banks were too conservative. The memory of the Depression lingered indelibly in bank ledgers.

Years later, a senior partner at Baker Hostetler, one of the city's prestigious law firms, would explain that the reason the firm originally opened offices in other cities was to keep their wealthy clients, who fled the city in the wake of the Depression.

The loss of a vibrant financial market cost the city's economy the self reliance that had attracted so much innovation and success in the past. The city's business culture changed from spirited entrepreneurs to conservative bureaucrats, who shunned the risk that created wealth and who merely managed the large companies that had survived the Depression.

The other factor that had a long-range effect upon the region was its reliance on manufacturing jobs with limited knowledge requirements, but decent pay. This work did not need to be supported by higher education.

World War II and the Korean War helped revive the regional economy, but post-war global forces were already at work that would be as powerful in its negative impact as the Depression. In fact, it could be argued that the Depression rendered the region unable to cope with the global events a half-century later.

The global economy began with the recovery of foreign nations from World War II and the emergence of cheap labor and a new wave of technology. It was most evident in the 1970s, as foreign automobiles, the Japanese being most prevalent, began to challenge American manufacturers.

By 1980, with the vast federal highway system completed in the region and school busing an emotional city issue, the suburbs held more allure than urban life for those who could afford it. The population in Cleveland dropped 177,000 in the last decade to 573,822. Worse yet, Cuyahoga County experienced its first decline since 1810, with a 12.9% decrease to 1,498,400.

The loss was not all in the city. Parma, once the largest suburb in the state, dropped below 100,000, losing 7.7% of its population in the last decade.

Even the most casual observer could notice a change in the population shift by simply reading the high school football scores in the newspaper. Schools that had been remote and on the edges of the county were developing better teams, and becoming more competitive with those closer to the city. Schools like Aurora, Avon, Kenston, and others were more and more prominent in the sports news.

Added to the local issues, globalization was making its impact on the way people lived. In retrospect, the post-war era in the region had been consumed by issues wrought by parochial politics and the reverberation of civil rights. At first, business and political leadership seemed impervious to the impact of world industrialization on the region.

State and local governments in the region did not react to the new world view, because they were neither positioned nor prepared to do so. In Cuyahoga County alone, there were 56 different governmental entities and, in reaction to the economic ill fortune, they began to offer inducements to businesses in the form of tax cuts.

These inducements were made to attract or maintain companies, but they affected the tax base of communities. These cuts would be a first and inadequate response to the shifting marketplace.

The 1980s brought a new realization that local government had to change to a more regional concept, if the area was to make its way in the changing world. The realization that we were no longer competing with an adjoining state, but with vast overseas markets, brought with it a need to alter traditional economic and political thought.

While regional or a county government had been proposed, discussed, and even put on the ballot in the 1950s, it was not a compelling issue for the

ordinary voter. The ethnic nature of politics and the growing emergence of minorities distracted from regional issues.

Yet, economic necessities were forcing certain aspects of regionalism to be implemented. In 1968, the City of Cleveland found itself unable to maintain its port and was forced to merge with the county. Financial and political exigencies created the Northeast Ohio Regional Sewer District in 1972. The city turned over some of its parks to a regional system, when it could no longer afford upkeep. In 1974, the city merged its bus system into the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority.

One regional opportunity that eluded Cleveland was the failure to annex suburbs that wanted to purchase city water. The government in Columbus, Ohio, grew its municipal boundaries by annexing in return for water and thrived.

The unwillingness and the unpreparedness of community leaders to work for a regional government both pre- and post-World War II created a growing economic separation from the rest of the world. It would be a problem that plagued Cleveland and northeast Ohio into the modern era.

The northeastern Ohio area could claim the development and manufacture of the automobile, since its inception. Generally regarded as the second most important automotive center in the nation, the impact of the global economy began to have a negative impact, as imported cars rose in popularity with the American public.

Most noticeable though was the impact of globalization on the steel industry. Following World War II, American companies produced two-thirds of the world's steel. It was a euphoric time, as the industry continued to rely on aging technology to bolster profit margins.

The region's steel mills were important contributors to this boom, but early in the 1970s, it was evident that foreign competitors, using new technology and cheaper labor, were able to undercut the price of the product.

As double-digit inflation lay waste to the American economy in the early 1980s, adding to the steel industry's travail, companies merged and unemployment spread. In Ohio in 1975, there were 20 steel companies operating 47 mills. Ten years later, only 14 companies operating 23 mills remained. Employment and production had fallen to nearly half of what it had been in the decade before.

Other companies began to be effected by foreign markets and new technology. The venerated Warner & Swasey, one of Cleveland's oldest companies,

known for optics and machine tools, was sold in 1980 and slowly dismantled, falling victim to the increasing computerization of industry.

The dwindling steel production saw more job loss in the Great Lakes shipping industry, causing unemployment on boats, on the docks, and in related industries.

Having been weaned on manufacturing and heavy industry, the region fell behind in preparation and education for the oncoming knowledge-based technologies. Because universities near Silicon Valley, Boston, and Pittsburgh had been the springboard of new technologies, those areas flourished, as the 1980s progressed. Cleveland lagged and lost ground.

But there were glimmers of enlightenment in the region. Kent State University began to do research with liquid crystals and Akron University was developing polymers, which hopefully would replace a decimated rubber industry in that part of the region. The Cleveland Clinic was growing faster, on its way to becoming not only a preeminent hospital, but a place of medical discovery.

Cleveland State University, late in coming on line, was nevertheless growing and beginning to have an impact on the community. Case Institute of Technology and Western Reserve University, which had merged in 1967 into Case Western Reserve University, was trying to create a new identity to meet the challenges of a new world. The truth was that the region had failed to devote the needed resources to higher education decades before and was now in a race to catch up with the rest of the world.

Thus, the global economy had a far-reaching effect on the daily lives in northeast Ohio at almost every level. Things would never be the same.

By 1980, Cleveland was exhausted and nearly inert from the political and racial turmoil that seemed to taint every issue that touched its citizens. It was so pervasive that, during a political meeting on the East Side, an elderly black man leaned over to City Council President George Forbes and asked in all earnestness why no one could get along downtown.

The remark had a profound influence upon Forbes. It signaled that even the proverbial man in the street was sick and tired of a City Hall that was a national joke and lacked the capability to staunch an ever-increasing flow of population and business away from the city.

It also signaled how far the region was behind the rest of the global village.

The next decade in Cleveland would feature leadership that would attempt to bring order to the town. Forbes was destined to be the most dominant figure. Outspoken and audacious, he had two agendas: helping blacks attain a

respectable place in Cleveland society and making the city a better place for all. He could not achieve one without the other.

Together with Mayor George Voinovich, Forbes formed a leadership tandem that elevated the city from its chaos and engendered cooperation with the business community that had not been seen in years.

Born in Memphis, Tennessee, Forbes came here in 1950, after serving in the Marine Corps, to attend Baldwin-Wallace College, with the idea of becoming a minister. In time, his ambitions changed and, in 1963, he was elected to the Cleveland City Council, just as the Civil Rights movement was gaining traction.

By the 1970s, Forbes had become the most powerful black politician, following Carl Stokes's tenure as mayor and his move to New York to become a television anchorman. Forbes was elected council president in 1973 and remained in that position throughout the 1980s.

After the tumult of the 1970s, the city needed a respite, and there was a sense of resignation on the part of the political and business leadership that, in order for the city to have a future, there needed to be more understanding and cooperation.

Only strong leadership could manage such a course through the no-man's land of tangled politics and civic malaise that was cast over the city, as if a storm had passed through and left a wake of frustration.

Complementing Forbes was George Voinovich, elected mayor in 1980, who now was a seasoned public official, having served as a state representative, county auditor, county commissioner, and lieutenant governor. Voinovich had the confidence of the business community and possessed a fiscal sensibility that gave city government a course of direction that it had not seen in a decade.

At first, Voinovich was leery of Forbes. By nature, Voinovich was conservative, quiet in his ways, and not given to displays of emotion. The fact that he had the most successful political career of any mayor since Frank J. Lausche in 1944 testifies to his planning and patience. When it came to his political career, he was a man navigating a mine field, careful with each step.

Conversely, Forbes was a man of action, who paid little attention to the consequences. As City Council president, he tolerated little deviation from his colleagues, fought frequently with the media, and trumped with race-card politics. His radio talk show on WERE was regarded as outrageous, especially on the West Side, where his humorous references to race were not taken lightly.

If Voinovich tiptoed around controversial political issues, Forbes rushed through them like a rampaging bull. Together, they made for interesting and

effective leadership, something the city had not seen since the early Stokes administration.

Forbes had many admirers in the business community, especially James Davis, the managing partner of the powerful law firm Squires, Sanders & Dempsey. It was Davis who put the full weight of the firm behind Forbes, when he was indicted on eleven counts for accepting a kickback from a traveling carnival. Davis rallied the business community to support Forbes, who was ultimately found innocent.

Davis acted as a mentor to the council president, instructing him in the ways of business, pointing out that government does not create jobs, but creates an environment where business can thrive and create jobs.

Something that was clearly not thriving as the decade opened was *The Cleveland Press*, the afternoon newspaper that had meant so much to the city for most of the century, at times acting as its very soul. Time and circumstance had slowly sapped the paper's strength. Television and an expanding highway system that lead from the city were destroying the newspaper. The six o'clock television news made the afternoon edition stale in content and the ever-broadening suburbs made timely delivery harder, limiting the newspaper's reach to an ever-diminishing audience.

The history of *The Press* reached back 103 years and it was the flagship of the Scripps-Howard media empire. For 38 of those years, *The Press* had been guided by Louis B. Seltzer, a self-educated man of such drive and vision that his will virtually dominated the city's life in every way. There was no single person more powerful in the last century in Cleveland.

Seltzer understood the ethnic mix of Cleveland and promoted it through the newspaper. The process built reader confidence to such an extent that its endorsement, or lack thereof, could make or break a politician, project, or position.

Regardless of his achievements, Seltzer had his flaws. The coverage of the 1954 Sheppard murder case would be judged by the U.S. Supreme Court as prejudicial to the defendant Sam Sheppard, who would ultimately be acquitted of the murder. Seltzer's dominance over City Hall was so complete that it had weakened the two-party system in a way that would affect politics for years.

Seltzer retired from *The Press* in 1965, but it was already clear that the newspaper was in decline. *The Plain Dealer*, for years an anemic competitor, had gained momentum through new management and by virtue of the times. In 1968, *The Plain Dealer* staff celebrated the day it surpassed *The Press* in circulation.

After Seltzer left, *The Press* never regained its vitality. It was dutiful and competitive, but there was something troubling about its condition. It was almost like witnessing a friend or relative suffering a long and debilitating illness. It reportedly was losing \$6 million annually.

It was no surprise then that, in 1980, wealthy industrialist Joe Cole announced he had purchased *The Press* for \$1 million and other considerations. Cole, long active in Democratic politics, intended to revitalize the newspaper and challenge *The Plain Dealer*.

The Press added color and a Sunday edition and outwardly appeared to be making a run at survival, but, behind the scenes, Cole was bleeding money at a rate he could not afford. Secretly, he began negotiations with the Newhouse family, owners of *The Plain Dealer*.

These negotiations resulted in the closing of *The Press* on June 17, 1982, in a transaction that saw the Newhouses pay Cole some \$22.5 million for the subscription list of *The Press* and its shopping news.

The circumstances surrounding the closing of the newspaper troubled its former employees and others, who complained of antitrust violations. Finally, a federal grand jury was convened to hear testimony, but never returned an indictment,

The death of *The Press* would have a great impact on the city. The lack of competition would allow *The Plain Dealer* to lessen the intensity of its reporting over the next decade and, in time, the city and county would witness government corruption of historic proportion.

The issue of the municipal light plant, which had brought so much woe to the city for so long, still lingered. Voinovich was not about to let it simmer and come back to haunt him politically. Discussions of a possible sale to the Illuminating Company proved unsuccessful.

Finally, the administration confronted the issue by changing the image of what was known as “puny Muny,” renaming it Cleveland Public Power, and investing in its future. An embittered Illuminating Company countered by moving its headquarters to Akron.

Meanwhile, the embattled school system, under court-ordered busing, floundered from crisis to crisis. The office of superintendent was in a constant state of flux, as one after another of the superintendents either failed or found himself in constant conflict with the school board. One superintendent even committed suicide.

The finances were so out of control that one study showed that the politicized custodians were making \$1.3 million annually in overtime. The system

needed \$50 million to repair its buildings and the cost of busing was so expensive that the federal court ordered the state to pay half the cost. Busing did little to improve the academic standards of the system. The majority of students could not pass state proficiency tests.

Enrollment continued to drop, there was flight from the city, and citizens finally passed a bond issue to repair schools, only to have the school board and superintendent disagree on how the money should be used. The superintendent resigned in frustration. The school system appeared to be in a free fall.

The endless newspaper stories concerning the schools and the lack of quality education in Cleveland's public system numbed readers, who turned elsewhere to relieve the constant reminder that they were witnessing failure on a massive scale. Sports would become an increasingly popular escape.

To that end, a foretelling meeting took place between George Forbes and a man named Richard Jacobs, a real estate developer, who had enjoyed great success, but was little known in Cleveland circles. Jacobs had asked for a meeting with the council president to announce his intention to buy the Cleveland Indians.

The first thing Forbes asked was whether Jacobs could afford to do so. The developer just nodded and Forbes thought the man crazy.

Forbes reached for the phone and called Mayor Voinovich.

"Mayor, you better get down here quick," Forbes said. "I got a man in my office who wants to buy the Cleveland Indians. . . . Yes, he wants to buy the team with cash. Hurry, I'll try to keep him here."

The Cleveland Indians were City Hall's lingering nightmare. Since the 1950s, the team had floundered from one season to the next, cursed by bad luck, low attendance, and indifferent ownership. In effect, it had become as much of a charity as any welfare agency in town, being passed from one wealthy family to another, who offered temporary sustenance, but no future.

Rumors that the team would move circulated annually, like a case of flu, and woe to the politicians in office if that was to occur. City Hall lived in fear of that moment. Several real attempts were made to move the team, but were staved off by aggressive newspaper coverage.

The appearance of Jacobs would be a beacon of hope, in more ways than one. The city had endured so much frustration and disappointment on so many fronts that its citizens had no contemplation of the future. That day in 1986 symbolized the dawning of new hope.

Richard Jacobs was an enigmatic man. Withdrawn, and circumspect to a fault, he was a brilliant businessman, who had amassed millions developing shopping centers here and across the country. No one shied from publicity as did Jacobs, so when he bought the Cleveland Indians, his name was as obscure to the public as some of those who played for him.

A native of Akron, Jacobs and his brother, David, had worked hard at building their business and appeared to be diverting somewhat from real estate to dabble in sports, a familiar path taken by men of means, who wanted test their fortune in the public arena.

But Jacobs was not your average wealthy man playing at the game. In the beginning, he knew next to nothing about the business of baseball. However, he brought an intensity and financial acumen to the game, the likes of which had not been seen since the glory days of Bill Veeck in the 1940s.

He also had a keen eye for executive talent which, in turn, assembled a farm system that, within a few years, would produce a core of players that, in the next decade, would take the Cleveland Indians to two World Series.

While baseball was the most visible of his pursuits, Jacobs invested in the city in other ways. He purchased Erievue Tower, the orphan left from the aspirations of the ill-fated urban renewal projects of the 1950s, and built a stunning shopping mall on the top of a discarded ice rink called the Galleria.

Later, he announced the construction of a new skyscraper on Public Square that would be known as Society Center, which eventually became Key Center. He proposed yet another such building for the Ameritrust Bank on the western side of the square.

Already, downtown was booming, aided by tax abatement, with the kind of building that had not been seen since the city's halcyon pre-Depression days. Sohio cleared the eastern side of Public Square in 1985 and built a 45-storey office building that respectfully maintained a lower profile in height than the Terminal Tower.

Forbes and others had urged Sohio to surpass the Cleveland landmark, as a symbolic gesture of a new era. Sohio officials wanted to preserve the past and opted to allow the Terminal Tower to be the dominant skyline feature.

Not so Richard Jacobs. As the plans for his tower on Public Square evolved, a reporter asked whether it would be taller than the Terminal. In a rare moment of candor, Jacobs responded, "You're damned right."

Key Center would ultimately rise 888 feet tall, overlooking the Terminal by 180 feet. It was that symbolic split with the past that Forbes had sought from Sohio, a signal of a new kind of spirit in town.

In a sense, Jacobs represented the pre-Depression drive that had fuelled Cleveland's early growth.

That spirit was typified by the building that was taking place downtown. National City Center rose 35 floors on the northwest corner of East 9th Street and Euclid and opened in 1980. Eaton Center on Superior and East 12th Street was a 28-floor structure that was completed in 1983. Across the street, the Charter One Bank building opened its seven storeys in 1987.

In 1983, on East 9th Street, the silver, chisel-like structure known as One Cleveland Center reached 31 storeys high, the fifth tallest building in the city at the time.

Ameritech built a 16-storey contemporary headquarters on East 9th Street in the Erieview Plaza, the site of the controversial urban renewal project that was planned some thirty years prior.

In 1985, where the old Cleveland Press building stood, a 19-storey office building called North Point was built, housing the now international law firm of Jones, Day.

While all of these projects were changing the city's skyline, its trademark symbol, the Terminal Tower, until 1964 the tallest building in the country outside of New York City, was undergoing a dramatic remake, aimed at refocusing Public Square as the heart of Cleveland.

Forest City, a national real estate company founded by the Ratner family here in the 1920s, received \$73 million in government loans and aid to convert the Terminal Tower concourse into a vast shopping and business facility, now called Tower City Center. The dramatic make-over featured some of the nation's most fashionable stores.

Dick Jacobs's influence was felt in other ways. His Cleveland Indians played in the dismal confines of Cleveland Municipal Stadium, a cavernous ballpark opened in 1931, that was considered a grand achievement in its time. The stadium was home to the Cleveland Browns, as well, and operated by the Stadium Corporation, a business entity that leased the facility from the city. Stadium Corporation was run by Art Modell, who was the principal owner of the Browns.

Since 1961, when he arrived from New York and bought the Browns, Modell was celebrated as the city's sports impresario. Outgoing, self-deprecating, and emotional, Modell carried with him the stigma of having fired one of the best coaches in all of football, Paul Brown, and then never delivering a team that matched the consistency under him.

Shortly after buying the Indians, Jacobs asked Modell to review the lease agreement the team had with Stadium Corporation. The Indians were getting less of the advertising revenues from the signage than the Browns, even though the baseball team played far more games.

Modell refused and, while it was a minor thing, it was an omen of things to come. It was clear to Jacobs that he had to have his own stadium, if his baseball venture was to be successful.

At one point, he asked Modell if the Cleveland Browns were for sale. They were not, replied Modell. Jacobs longed to own a National Football League franchise.

For years, there had been talk of building a new stadium or putting a dome on the existing field. The conversation and proposals were aimless, typical of how the city dealt with major municipal projects. But the town was coming to the understanding that, if it was going to keep major league sports, something would have to be done about a new stadium or even stadiums.

Other cities were building new stadiums and the baseball commissioner publicly commented that, unless Cleveland followed suit, there was the distinct possibility of the Indians moving to another town.

In 1984, a proposed increase in property taxes was put on the ballot to finance a domed stadium. Raising property taxes was a political mistake of the first order and opponents had a field day. The issue was soundly defeated, a signal that the public was reluctant to support the construction of a sports facility at its own expense.

The failure of the tax issue sent Modell a message. In all likelihood, there would be no new stadium in the near future and his best course of action would be to improve the existing structure. The Stadium Corporation was responsible for the upkeep of Municipal Stadium and the money for improvements would have to come from the corporation.

Modell asked the city for a ten-year extension on the stadium lease, expecting quick approval, since the city enjoyed a constant stream of revenue from the arrangement. Negotiations lingered for nearly a year, before he dropped the proposal, his frustration increasing.

For all of his civic involvement, and it was substantial, Modell never had a true sense of politics. He contributed to campaigns, knew four Presidents, but lacked clout at City Hall, possibly because he never really needed it. Now circumstances were changing, and rapidly.

Dick Jacobs had little political savvy when he first showed interest in the city and its baseball team. But he was a quick study, a man who did not delude

himself about the limits of his knowledge. His quiet manner belied the fact that he was always working, gathering information about the city and those who made it work.

Everyone around him was a source and he politely used those sources to gain needed insights into his interests. He did not suffer fools and was quick to judge who might be helpful to him and who might not.

In this way, he gained an edge on Modell in the maneuvering for a new stadium. Modell waited for the city to call him, Jacobs had his strategy in place before most even knew there was a need for one.

For all of the love for the Browns and Indians, there was a resentment toward supporting the teams with public money, part of a psychology that had plagued the city from its populist days. There was an underlying suspicion that progress actually meant that someone was taking unfair advantage of the public. This shadowy mistrust would manifest itself around the stadium issue in many ways in succeeding years.

As far as Dick Jacobs was concerned, there was no question that the city needed a new stadium, and so did he. He needed it to succeed with the Indians and did not hesitate in his efforts to achieve that end.

The organization that had attempted to build a domed stadium had acquired 28 acres of land in what was called the Gateway area, on the site of the old Central Market at Ontario and Carnegie Avenues. Jacobs looked at this area as the location of a new stadium, first proposing a 44,000-seat stadium that could roll out another 28,000 seats for football. It was an effort at compromise but, in truth, all parties wanted an outdoor baseball-only facility.

That included Modell, who found himself in financial straits. Free agency in the National Football League had changed the economics of the game, and maintenance of the old stadium was unexpectedly expensive. It was clear that the new baseball facility would cost him a tenant, and the likelihood of there being enough money available to build two stadiums appeared remote. He had no choice but to work on a plan to renovate Municipal Stadium.

Modell proposed a renovation of the facility that would modernize it and cost taxpayers less than \$100 million. The idea drew a lot of attention, but City Hall appeared to be cold to the idea.

As the decade drew to a close it was clear that the Gateway site would hold a new ballpark if voters would pass a sin tax on alcohol and cigarettes. It was unclear what was going to happen to Municipal Stadium. No one knew it yet, but the uncertainty of the stadium's fate would lead to the bitterest moment in Cleveland sports history.

Elsewhere, the city was enjoying itself. The once-shabby Flats area, near the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, had come to life as a retinue of bars and restaurants lined its banks, creating an atmosphere of gaiety that had not been seen in the city in years.

Boaters docked at the river's edge and enjoyed the revelry. Acclaimed in the national media, Cleveland's Flats became a symbol of a revived city that was basking in its apparent good fortune. A reported \$2 billion worth of construction was altering its skyline. For the first time since the Depression, there was genuine optimism about the future.

Not only were the Flats burgeoning with excitement, but Playhouse Square and its grand theaters, which were on the verge of being razed in the 1970s, took on a new life, its marquees once more aglitter. Playhouse Square was once again developing into an entertainment district that could rival most cities. It was a prime example of what the city's civic effort could achieve in preserving the town's cultural heritage.

But amidst all the good news, came a dour note. It was announced in 1987 that one of the city's most venerable and benevolent companies, Standard Oil of Ohio, known as Sohio, was being taken over by British Petroleum.

Sohio could trace its roots to the beginnings of John D. Rockefeller's oil empire, which began in the Flats in 1870. The wealth that he and his associates created became the foundation of Cleveland's future cultural and commercial life. Slowly, the red and white Sohio signs on gas stations were replaced by the green and yellow BP colors, as another era faded away.

BP kept its American headquarters here for a few years, but ultimately moved to Chicago, when it merged with Amoco. The loss of old businesses would be a recurring theme in the city, as the manufacturing era faded, taking with it jobs and economic security.

The ominous shadow of globalization continued to be cast across a city that had allowed itself to dwell in the past.

When George Voinovich left the lieutenant governor's job to run for mayor, he told those business leaders who urged him to return to Cleveland that it was his wish to run for governor some day.

He was reelected twice as mayor and it could be argued that his time in office was one of the most productive in the modern era.

Voinovich projected the city's comeback image nationally, his administration winning three All-American City awards for Cleveland, which he in turn leveraged into a run for higher office.

In 1988, Voinovich ran for the U.S. Senate against Democrat Howard Metzenbaum and was thoroughly defeated, 57% to 43%. The following year, he announced he would not seek reelection as mayor. He would run for governor in 1990 and win.

After a decade of progress and relative tranquility, the 1989 mayor's race broke with the fury and force of an unexpected storm. It was a contest between the past and the future, the mentor and the pupil, the lion in winter and the tiger at dawn.

If George Voinovich could look back on his stewardship with some pride, Council President George Forbes could share in the glow. In the end, and not without some difficulties in style, the two performed well together and the city benefited from it.

Now, with the mayor's office vacant, Forbes eyed it warily. Business leaders urged him to run, especially Dick Jacobs who had developed a friendship with the council president. Forbes had been in City Council for 25 years and had endured some of the most difficult years in the city's history.

Some close to the campaign wondered whether Forbes had his heart in being mayor.

There was no doubt that his opponent, Michael White, had his heart in the race. Young, articulate, volatile, and smart, White had grown up in the city council dominated by Forbes. He had learned the vagaries and manipulations and politics that governed that body and now he wanted to guide the city's destiny.

There could not have been a clearer demarcation between the two eras than a contest between George Forbes and Mike White. If this was a moment of historical transition, the shifting of power would not take place in a quiet, well-ordered manner.

These were two strong-willed men, who knew the streets of the city as well as the halls of government. It was apparent that they did not like each other and would conduct a bitter fight over the race. Forbes accused White of being a slum landlord and a wife beater, while White countered by calling Forbes's wife a front person for shady investments.

White, a state senator at 38, used the city's success against Forbes, saying that wealthy investors were given special tax breaks, without regard for the poor. It was as nasty a political campaign as the city had ever seen.

With two black candidates fighting for votes, the white community became the pivotal factor, and there was no reservoir of good will residing there for

Forbes. His talk-show days on WERE in the 1970s, where he had made light of racial issues, came back to haunt him.

To many white West Side voters, Forbes symbolized the racial conflict in the city. Those close to Forbes knew that many of his actions were more theatrical than real, but the perception was enough to cost him any chance of election citywide.

He seemed to know it, too. During the campaign, as the polls mirrored the impossibility of it all, Forbes seemed to mellow and back off. He had served longer than any other person as the president of City Council and had left his mark on the city in many ways.

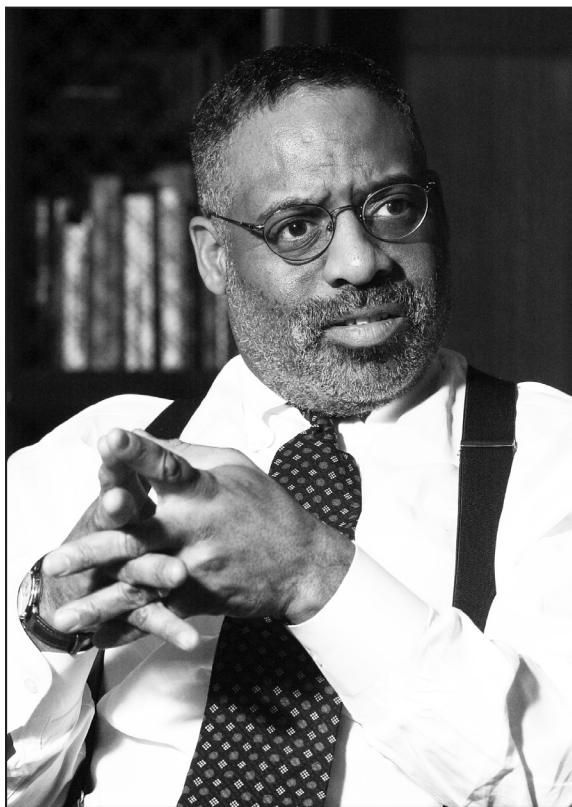
And he had, as that old man asked ten years before, answered the question of people getting along downtown. Yet most of the progress in the decade was cosmetic, and failed to address the city and the region's place in the ongoing globalization that was enveloping the world.

The 1980s proved to be, at best, a brief respite from reality. The ghost of the Depression and the specter of globalization still loomed heavily on the future of northeast Ohio.

Mike White won the election to become the first black mayor since Carl Stokes in 1971. The 1990s beckoned with promise. White appeared dynamic, driven toward maintaining the momentum that had been so hard to generate after the turmoil of the 1970s.

The upcoming decade would be bittersweet, full of triumph and disaster, and Mike White would ride it through as the longest-sitting mayor in Cleveland's history. But the city mattered less and less to the future and prosperity of the region.

There continued to be a desperate need to confront the reality of the region's place in the world.



Michael Reed White (b. 1951), Mayor of Cleveland, 1990–2002.

CLEVELAND IN THE 1990S

MICHAEL D. ROBERTS

The decade of the 1990s arrived like the sun bursting through a winter's gloom. Hope and optimism reigned over the region, as Cleveland prepared to celebrate its two-hundredth birthday, in 1996, an event commemorating the triumph and travail of an American city in its maturity.

A sense of pride that had not been felt in years seemed to abound, and it was only right that the changes in the city should be lauded nationally, with Cleveland being designated an All-American City in 1993. It was the fifth time since 1949 the city had won the award.

However, by 1990, the population in the city fell by 68,000, or 11.9 percent in ten years, to just slightly over a half-million people, dropping it to the 23rd largest city in American. Forty years earlier, it had been the sixth largest city in the country.

Meanwhile, the decline brought with it a population sprawl across the region that left the original inner ring of suburbs in the early stages of decline. The sprawl in northeast Ohio was caused by an excellent highway network, cheap gasoline, inexpensive land, and a desire for suburban living. Later, a deteriorating school system in Cleveland and the movement of jobs away from the central city added to the exodus.

The sprawl now extended beyond the original ring of suburbs into a secondary grouping, like Solon, Avon, and Concord. It was pushing even further into an exurban grouping of scattered communities that reached beyond the bounds of Cuyahoga County.

And with the population shift went income. Between 1990 and 2000, per-capita income rose from \$14,601 to \$22,321 in the region. In Cleveland, it went from \$9,258 to \$14,291. But the disparity between income in the city and in the suburbs had widened by \$2,687 over the last decade.

Civic and business leaders applied a new strategy to revitalizing Cleveland. Millions had been spent on urban renewal, without appreciable success, and now a different idea took shape: the idea of making Cleveland a destination city, a place that would attract visitors and, in turn, stimulate downtown with some of those suburban dollars.

The set-piece of this strategy was the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum, an idea that circulated in the early 1980s and gained such momentum that it ended up in a struggle with the New York recording interests over its location. Based on the legend that Cleveland was the cradle of rock and roll in the 1950s, the city won out in a vigorous national competition, capped by a 1968 poll in *USA Today* that supported its selection.

Radio station WMMS — named for nine straight years by *Rolling Stone* as the best rock station in the nation — played a key role locally in the drive to bring the Rock Hall here, where today it has drawn more than eight million visitors, since it opened in 1995 on the lakefront, just west of East 9th Street.

The Great Lakes Science Center was constructed next to the Rock Hall and other buildings, like the Key Tower, the tallest building in the city, and a totally renovated Tower City, gave promise to a new downtown. No project appealed more to the future of the city than Gateway, the complex that housed a new baseball stadium and arena.

But amid the scent of progress were whiffs of despair. After 90 years on Public Square, the May Company closed its downtown store in January of 1993. The once proud banking house of Cleveland Trust — which was founded in 1894, weathered the Great Depression, and went on to become the symbol of the city's financial establishment — found itself burdened by bad loans, in the wake of a collapsing real estate market. It was forced to merge with the venerable Society Corporation in 1991. Cleveland Trust had become Ameritrust in 1979, when it became a nationally chartered bank.

Also, there were those who warned that the financing of many projects was akin to mortgaging the city's future, because millions in tax abatements were being issued as incentives toward another effort at saving and reviving downtown. Others argued that the neighborhoods and the poverty-stricken were being overlooked in the rush to promote business.

Also, there remained the ever-increasing reality of northeastern Ohio's place in the global community. The region was no longer an entity unto itself, a citadel of manufacturing and commerce, with a talented and well-paid work force. The world was shrinking, as was Cleveland's place in it.

In 1980, manufacturing in northeastern Ohio counted for 26.3 percent of the jobs. By the end of the decade, 18.4 percent of those jobs had been lost, because of the global workplace. With the introduction of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994, even more manufacturing jobs bled off in the region, as another 7.6 percent went by the wayside.

A national foundation survey of American manufacturing cities noted that only in Cleveland did it find executives who were virtually unanimous in blaming the city's floundering economy on global competition.

As the 1980s began, the area hosted twelve *Fortune* 500 companies. In a little more than a decade, that number would dwindle to seven. A Brookings Institute study found Cleveland lacking in entrepreneurial spirit, a condition that was first detected following the Depression, when the large surviving companies took on a conservative management style.

Another unseen dynamic that would play out later was the disappearance of the influence of the major law firms like Jones Day, Squire Sanders, and Baker Hostetler. From their inception early in the century, these firms had produced an intellectual reservoir that, in effect, could, and occasionally did, act as a shadow government.

Often mayors would quietly draw upon the legal and corporate talent to assist with governmental problems. There were always special interests at stake and they often intermingled with the pro bono work of the law firm. While they continued to exist, the truth was there was less and less business here and the future lay in their offices elsewhere.

The media was in flux, too. By 1990, the area was served by only two major daily newspapers. The *Akron Beacon Journal* to the south of Cleveland, and *The Plain Dealer* in the city and the suburbs. Smaller, suburban dailies, as well as a host of community weeklies, existed to both the east and west.

Television had matured and found its place as a medium that could deal well with news that was easily captured visually, but it struggled with substantive issues. By now, the print and electronic media had carved out their niches and attempted to service them to the readers' or viewers' satisfaction.

The internet had arrived, an oddity at first, but a technology so far-reaching that it would alter not only global communications, but the way we lived. The traditional media — both broadcast and print — would enjoy its last decade of dominance, before facing the challenge that the internet represented.

If the loss of the influence of the law firms on the city was noticeable, the loss of competition that the two newspapers generated had a palpable effect, as

well. *The Cleveland Press*, the most robust newspaper of its time, ceased publishing in 1982, leaving the market to the morning *Plain Dealer*.

The vacuum left by *The Press* generated the evolution of smaller publications that tried to fill the void. Cleveland had always been a secondary journalistic town, the two newspapers hostile to any attempt by any publication to enter the market. While other cities enjoyed an alternative press, Cleveland supported only the most sketchy efforts.

On the other hand, in the 1950s and 1960s, first radio, and then television, enjoyed a national reputation, from programming and providing talent that would find success in larger markets. Later, the dwindling population and the impact of cable television would affect the market share that national advertisers sought, shifting their spending elsewhere.

Against this backdrop, a city struggling to reinvent itself, a victim of the global economy, with the loss of corporate and civic leadership, and a media in metamorphosis, emerged Michael Reed White, the 55th mayor of the City of Cleveland, a man destined to serve longer in that office than any predecessor and a man who, more than anything, challenged each obstacle, issue, and personality he encountered.

He was clearly the dominant figure of the decade, not only in the city, but in the county, as well. Traditionally, the mayor of Cleveland was recognized as the leading politician in northeastern Ohio. A lot of this had to do with the city being the focal point of politics, economics, and culture for the region.

While the suburban population was steadily increasing, its political clout was dispersed and unfocused, as a crazy-quilt of 59 political entities existed in the county. For the past half-century, there had been efforts and movements to create a county or regional approach to governance. But the prevailing political forces ignored reform.

While cities, towns and villages had local governments, there existed a county government which was essentially an administrative body that collected taxes, and ran a variety of agencies and a criminal and civil court system. It was the job of three county commissioners to allocate monies to these agencies.⁶

There were eight elected county officials who ran their offices as they saw fit. They reported to no other government official. Over time, each office — the clerk of courts, the auditor, treasurer, recorder, engineer, sheriff, prosecutor, and coroner — built its own political apparatus.

This form of government was nearly 200 years old and ill-suited for a county so complex in nature. It had no legislative capability and was prone to political manipulation, with an impotent check-and-balance system.

Historically, the political power of City Hall outmatched that of the county, and, when Mike White, came into office, his presence was such that he was regarded as the mayor of the county. White was the first generation of minorities to reap the full benefits of the Civil Rights era. Born in 1951, he grew up in Glenville in the 1960s, and proclaimed, as a youth, that someday he would be mayor of Cleveland. He went on to Ohio State, became the first black Student Union President, and returned home to work as an assistant to Cleveland City Council, before becoming the councilman for Glenville from 1978 to 1984.

While in Council, he became a protégé of George Forbes, who reigned as Council president, and was the most prominent black political figure in the city. White later served in the Ohio Senate.

In the beginning, following his overwhelming victory in the mayor's race over Forbes in 1989, any knowledgeable political observer, be they party member or political writer, gave White such high marks that he was thought to overshadow the legendary Carl B. Stokes, America's first black mayor.

It was White's turn, at 38, to consolidate those gains and further integrate black fortunes into the city, while building the kind of government that would attract new businesses or, at least, retain jobs. The early days of his administration were marked by energy and enthusiasm. Arriving at work at 6 a.m., he impressed businessmen, who saw him bounding up the City Hall stairs at that early hour.

He exuded so much promise that he made the opening of his decade luminous, along with the building, and the visible progress that the city appeared to undergo. Articulate, passionate, intelligent, a black man representing a new generation, Mayor Mike White seemed to possess it all.

A poll taken in 1992 showed that 77 percent of whites interviewed believed that White had improved race relations in the city.

White came into office as the recipient of much of the efforts that Mayor George Voinovich and Forbes had made in laying the groundwork for Gateway and instilling confidence in developers like Richard Jacobs and Forest City, both of whom had made substantial investments in downtown.

White was a micromanager. And, at first, his efforts along these lines were both amusing and impressive. Driving to City Hall, he would see a pothole and order it repaired by day's end. He directed the erasure of graffiti and would rile against lazy municipal workers or shoddy work. He seemed to dedicate his energies to single-handedly lifting the city from its lethargy to a higher station, one that would exalt not only him, but all those who shared life here.

As time passed, it appeared that, for every strength White possessed, he was cursed with a fault. His anxious nature to achieve was blunted by suppressed anger, that could erupt at a moment's notice. He would dismiss those who disagreed with him, as if he were divine.

He created enemies over the merest issue, complained bitterly about the media, and seemed constantly at war with the police department. Conversely, he was fiercely loyal to old friends, particularly Nate Gray, who was a life-long companion and twice his best man.

The first major issue that White faced was the passage of a 15-year sin tax to underwrite the Gateway project, that was to house both the professional basketball and baseball franchises. It was intended to develop the old Central Market area.

The tax was a county-wide issue. White worked hard for its passage, which won by a scant 51 percent. City residents, opposing the use of public money for professional sports, voted it down. It was carried by suburban voters.

Also awaiting White was the paralyzing issue of the Cleveland school system, caught up in the throes of busing for more than a decade. Its cost, the population drains from the city, and the basic inability to educate was a burden of increasing magnitude.

By 1991, some black leaders were questioning the value of busing. The activist Reverend Marvin McMickle asserted that white flight made busing irrelevant, pointing out that transporting blacks across town to sit in classrooms that were already 71 percent black made no sense. Other black leaders disagreed, but nearly everyone conceded that the schools were in disarray.

The Cleveland School Board had become so politicized and contentious that its very existence was inhibiting progress. Over time, White used drastic measures on the school board, finally securing control over it by supporting a panel of candidates of his choice for office in 1993.

In his first term, White's administration had built more new houses in the city since the Korean War, talked the banks into investing \$600 million in the neighborhoods, and boarded up 500 drug houses in the city.

White negotiated concessions from the labor unions serving the city and balanced the budget without raising taxes. His critics maintained that he had done nothing for mounting unemployment and that his strident manner had created unwarranted friction in reaching his solutions, unnecessarily alienating many in the community.

The unemployment situation was at 7.5 percent in Northeastern Ohio between June of 1990 and June of 1993. Cuyahoga County lost 35,000 jobs in that

period. The majority of these jobs were in the city. Later, White would assert that his administration had created 10,333 jobs in the first five years of his office.

As the mayor concluded his first term, there were no serious challengers seeking to unseat him. The race in November of 1993 was one of the most inconspicuous campaigns in city history, as David Lee Rock, a political unknown, told voters that he would arm the police department with submachine guns, if elected. White won going away.

In December of 1993, amidst the anticipation of the opening of Gateway in the spring, Mike White made ominous mention of an unmentionable thought. There appeared to be other cities attempting to lure the Cleveland Browns from their birthplace.

There was reason to believe White's observation. Attempts to build a new domed stadium in the 1980s had failed. Discussions dealing with the renovation of Municipal Stadium had been inconclusive, and Art Modell had shown no interest in being part of Gateway.

Modell had been one of the city's great champions and benefactors, since he bought the Browns in 1961. There was something strange afoot, but most fans could not believe that their beloved Cleveland Browns would leave town.

In the past, genuine alarm had been raised, when rumors of the Cleveland Indians circulated and, on at least one occasion in the 1960s, a move to New Orleans had been cut off at the last minute. Part of the impetus for Gateway was a warning by Major League Baseball that the Indians needed a new stadium, if it was to remain in Cleveland.

The National Football League had become dominated by men of means, millionaires who bought into the game as a pastime or hobby. The truth was time had bypassed Art Modell. Once one of the league's great innovators, Modell was no longer in a position to compete with these new elite owners, for whom money was no object.

The pettiness of Cleveland politics had derailed efforts to build a domed stadium, while other cities were erecting facilities of such magnitude that, in comparison, Municipal Stadium appeared worn and tired, a relic from the Iron Age.

Modell was aided in his deliberations by his friend, Al Lerner, who had made millions in the credit card business and came to Art's aid by becoming an investor in his troubled holdings.

Lerner made his money in Baltimore and was now living in Cleveland. It was his desire to own a team in the NFL and he had done spade work to that end in Baltimore, which had lost its team to Indianapolis in 1984.

For Cleveland's suffering sports fans, 1995 would prove to be the best of times and the worst of times. The year started out with the task force assigned to study the Browns situation recommending that Municipal Stadium be refurbished.

On June 1, White announced that he supported a 10-percent parking tax. Five days later, the Browns broke off contact with the city, Modell citing a need to give the community time to collect its thoughts and study its resources.

Sports fans continued to follow the story, unaware of the impending doom. They were distracted by the fact that the Cleveland Indians, for the first time since 1954, played in the World Series, though they would lose in six games to the Atlanta Braves.

Finally, in order to head off the possibility of a news leak, Modell announced on November 6 that the Browns were moving to Baltimore. The news came on election eve, with the sin-tax extension on the ballot. It passed the next day by 72 percent. It was too late.

In the aftermath of the announcement, there was an outcry of anger and chagrin, unlike any heard here before. And no one was angrier than the angry man himself, Mike White.

White's resulting denouncement of Modell and the NFL shook the football world and almost immediately guaranteed the city a replacement team, although the mayor fought to keep the Browns, with threats and lawsuits and every form of intimidation that he could muster.

But White's ceaseless attacks put the league in a position that it had to move quickly and decisively in placating the Cleveland fans, with the offer of an expansion team in 1999, after a new stadium was built.

There will always be the lingering question as to why the stadium was built on the site of Municipal Stadium, which occupied prime lakefront land. Many ask whether the city had once more missed an opportunity to develop its waterfront into a vibrant and attractive location.

There had been six sites proposed and a commission selected by Mayor White chose the existing stadium location, because the city already owned the land and construction could be completed in time for the 1999 football season. It would also be assured to be built while White was in office.

From the beginning, the construction of the stadium was a continuous controversy, as overruns drove the cost of the facility over \$300 million. At least, that is what White reported to a skeptical City Council, two years after the stadium opened. As one reporter who tried to pin down the overruns, which were greater than Gateway, claimed, it may be that the true cost of the building will never be known.

The right to play in that stadium was won by Al Lerner, who spent \$530 million for an NFL expansion team, outbidding a half-dozen groups who vied for the franchise.

White had endorsed Lerner. The Browns were back, but it would never be the same.

In July of 1996, the city paused to celebrate its 200th birthday, the exact day being July 22. A committee that had formed in 1992 managed to raise \$80 million to spend on events and projects. The city was alive with concerts and festive gatherings. A lakefront trolley, connecting Gateway with the North Coast Harbor, was opened and the city's bridges were festooned with lights, giving a spectacular glow to the night. A plan was unveiled to plant 10,000 trees in the city over the next year.

White had promised Clevelanders that he would create a police department of some 2,000 officers, an increase of 500. Crime was a problem in Cleveland, as it was in many urban areas and, as with other challenging issues he faced, White attempted to deal with it forcefully.

The Cleveland Police Department is virtually a culture unto itself. It is also at the edge of the city, the sharp edge where the streets get mean, the duty dangerous, and the hair-trigger nature of race a trip wire.

When White took office, the city's crime rate was beginning to climb, after dropping in the 1980s. In 1990, there were 4,917 robberies, 3,259 assaults, 171 murders, a total of more than 9,000 violent crimes. During his years in office, crime steadily dropped, despite a continuous change of police chiefs, eight in all.

A central concern of the business community was the access to Cleveland by air.

It was thought that some of the companies that moved to other cities had done so because flights out of Cleveland Hopkins International Airport were limited. The global economy was again pressing the region to react to its requirements. The airport facilities needed expansion and new runways.

Hopkins had been the first city-owned airport, when it was built in 1925. Over the years, the airport's development languished, and the city was

threatened with the loss of a major airline hub, unless it improved. The problem was that Hopkins was land-locked and any expansion would require negotiations with suburbs.

White began a series of talks with Brook Park Mayor Thomas Coyne, who would lose neighborhoods in any expansion. The negotiations between the two mayors over the \$528-million project ran an emotionally charged gamut, beginning in 1992, both men belligerent in support of their positions.

In executing White's airport expansion plan, the city became locked in a lawsuit with the City of Brook Park over the IX Center, which was located in that city and provided it with tax revenue. Cleveland lost the legal battle to acquire the center, which sat in the way of runway expansion.

It took four years of litigation and failed negotiations, before an agreement was reached in August of 1996, that enabled the airport to build a new runway, expand an existing one and create a taxiway out of yet another. The agreement preserved the IX Center, for the time being.

In 2001, after reopening negotiations with Brook Park, Cleveland bought the IX Center for \$66.5 million, twice what the next bidder offered, a deal which included a land swap with Brook Park. The purchase of the exhibition hall would result in the 2005 conviction of Ricardo Teamor, one of the mayor's confidants. Teamor later was sentenced to prison for bribing City Councilman Joe Jones and confessed to paying kickbacks for city contracts.

When the administration's attention shifted back to the airport, so did the omnipresent shadow of Nate Gray, who became involved with airport parking. Several things enabled him to weave his special interest into the fabric of major projects in which the city engaged.

While it reported the news from City Hall, *The Plain Dealer* failed to investigate the emerging suspicions over the conduct of city affairs. There was an internal conflict in the way *The Plain Dealer* went about its business. On the one hand, the publisher, Alex Machaskee, liked to court power, particularly City Hall, and that very implication sent a message to the reporting staff to tread lightly.

Mike White used this situation to drive a wedge between the publisher and the editor. In doing so, he changed the culture of the newspaper in 1999, when a new editor, Doug Clifton from Knight-Ridder, began to bring outsiders to staff the newspaper.

The coverage of City Hall intensified and the tension between the newspaper and City Hall magnified.

The other failure was that of the county prosecutor's office, by now thoroughly politicized and blind to public corruption. More than one prosecutor would argue that the office did not possess the resources to combat white collar crime. Yet, it never made an effort to gain those resources.

Six years into his tenure, White drew increased attention from the media. *The Plain Dealer* reported that the turnover at City Hall under White was running twice that of the Voinovich administration. Some 45 people had departed the administration. By this time, he had gone through four police chiefs and four fire chiefs.

Shrugging off increasing criticism from the City Council and the media, White sought a third term in office. Despite his drop in popularity, there was no political figure that was a serious threat to White. Councilwoman Helen Smith stepped forward to offer some opposition, but lost by 25,000 votes.

In the always problematic school system, the mayor had not only positioned his candidates on the school board to gain control of a situation replete with problems, but sought to have the state legislature grant him the power to have City Hall take over the operation of the entire school system.

In July of 1998, White took over responsibility of the troubled school system, with its \$600-million budget, and implemented new leadership and reforms. It was a burden so immense that even the toughest taskmaster found the path toward achievement littered with obstacles.

From 1990 until White left office in 2001, the Cleveland schools had seven changes in its top leadership, which illustrated the chaos in which the system was operating. His selection of Barbara Byrd-Bennett in 1998 temporarily halted the turnover, as she lasted as the system's chief operating officer until February 2006.

Instability became the hallmark of a school system in dire need of help. The instability, in fact, seemed at times to be contagious in the city. It struck the Flats in 2000. The Flats had gained a regional reputation as an entertainment spot that drew visitors from adjacent states. To sit in one of the waterside bars during a summer evening and watch the boats dock, four and five deep, alongside the restaurants, was one of the city's joys.

One public official described the Flats as "Cleveland's front door." The problem was that the throngs of thousands of visitors were not accompanied by needed security.

The alcohol and proximity of the river resulted in several drownings each summer and assaults became synonymous with the revelry.

White ordered the police department to crack down on the clubs in the Flats. Fire and health code violations began to close clubs. Some bar owners saw racial overtones in the police enforcement, as City Hall complained that minorities were not being treated equally in the operations in the Flats.

Slowly, what had been a showcase for the region went dark.

And then, in a surprising move, on April 23, 2001, Mike White announced at Miles Standish School — where he was once a student — that he would not seek a fourth term. He said he had done what he had come to do and would never again run for public office.

Even his most severe critics acknowledged that White's achievements were impressive. He built stadiums, expanded the airport, set an ailing school system on a new path, built housing, and brought jobs to the city. It was not perfect. City Hall finances were a mess and under a state audit.

But history would not offer a satisfying conclusion for the man who was mayor longer than anyone else, and clearly one of the best.

Four years after White left office, a shadow descended over the record of his administration. In a packed courtroom in the Carl B. Stokes Federal Courthouse overlooking the Flats, Nate Gray, White's best man, friend, and confidant was sentenced to 15 years in prison and ordered to pay \$1.5 million in taxes, for his role in public corruption.

White was adamant in telling reporters that the case was about Nate Gray and not Mike White.

The media would find this not to be true.

It was White, who was the target of the investigation. The affidavit that the FBI submitted for the federal court's permission to wiretap suspects was a sealed document, meaning it was illegal for the media to possess, let alone publish it, which happened.

The FBI affidavit asked for the wire taps, in order to investigate former Mayor Michael White. He was never indicted. Nate Gray refused to cooperate with federal lawyers and served more time in jail, where he remains (as of 2012).

Authorities found that Gray had deposited \$13.4 million in his bank account, during the 12 years of the White administration.

It was a dark ending to a decade that had begun with such promise and held so much achievement. Mike White retired to raise alpacas on a farm in Newcomerstown, Ohio, in Tuscarawas County. He rarely makes public appearances and almost never deals with the media.

Undeterred, the city moved into another century, with many old problems still lingering and even more beginning to fester. It was time for new leadership and new challenges. And, in time, there would be more corruption in public office, which would lead to startling developments.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Cleveland Magazine called **Roldo Bartimole** “the poor man’s Tom Paine.” In the April 1, 1993, issue of *Progressive*, John Wicklein referred to him as “Cleveland’s Gadfly.” Whether you consider him to be Cleveland’s conscience or “Cleveland’s curmudgeon,” from 1968 to 2000, this iconoclastic journalist rocked Cleveland’s political boat with his biweekly newsletter, *Point of View*. He “relentlessly exposed not only the machinations of Cleveland’s ruling class — the politicians, the corporations, the real estate interests, the fourth estate — but also the city’s charities, foundations, and labor unions.” Starting out in the 1950s as a conventional reporter in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Mr. Bartimole went on to work briefly for *The Plain Dealer*, and then for the Cleveland bureau of the *Wall Street Journal*. On his 35th birthday, and the day after Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated, he quit his job with the *WSJ*, because he found it, as he said, “impossible for me to remain a neutral observer.” Two months later, the first issue of *Point of View* appeared. Although not in it for recognition or awards, his brand of muckraking has earned several honors, including an induction in 2004 into the Cleveland Journalism Hall of Fame. He has continued to express his own point of view in other Cleveland publications, including the *Cleveland Leader* and *Cool Cleveland*.

Joe Frolik was the chief editorial writer of *The Plain Dealer* Editorial Board. Before joining the editorial board in 2001, he was *The Plain Dealer*’s national correspondent for 12 years — that’s four presidential election cycles, in political-junkie terms. He wrote about personalities, strategies, and issues, and also coordinated *The Plain Dealer*’s opinion polling from 1996 through the 2000 election. Away from politics, he has covered earthquakes, hurricanes, space shots, and Kenyon College’s swimming dynasty. On the editorial page, he has written extensively about local and national government and politics, and about economic development. He was the lead writer in the opinion section’s “Quiet Crisis” series, on Northeast Ohio’s struggle to reinvent its economy. His Saturday political notebook column debuted in January 2008.

John J. Grabowski holds a joint position as the Krieger-Mueller Historian and Vice President for Collections at the Western Reserve Historical Society and the Krieger-Mueller Associate Professor of Applied History at Case Western Reserve University. He has been with WRHS in various positions in its library and museum since 1969. In addition to teaching at CWRU, he serves as editor of *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* and *The Dictionary of Cleveland Biography*, both of which are available online (ech.cwru.edu). He has

also taught at Cleveland State University, Kent State University, and Cuyahoga Community College. During the 1996–1997 and 2004–2005 academic years, he served as a senior Fulbright lecturer at Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey. Dr. Grabowski received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees in history from Case Western Reserve University. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Brent Larkin joined *The Plain Dealer* in 1981 and, in 1991, became the director of the newspaper's opinion pages. In October 2002, Mr. Larkin was inducted into the Cleveland Journalism Hall of Fame. He retired from *The Plain Dealer* in May of 2009, but still writes a weekly column for the newspaper's "Sunday Forum" section.

Bill Lubinger is currently Director of Media Relations and Communications at Case Western Reserve University. Before that, he was sports enterprise and sports features reporter for *The Plain Dealer*. He was recognized by the Associated Press Sports Editors as a finalist in Sports feature-writing for major metro-sized newspapers, by the National Association of Black Journalists as a "Salute to Excellence" finalist, and by the Ohio Society of Professional Journalists for sports and feature-writing.

Margaret Bernstein is a columnist with *The Plain Dealer* and has won many awards and honors, including first-place winner in 2012 and 2011 for Best Minority Issues Reporting, from the Ohio Society of Professional Journalists Awards; 2010 winner of the Press Club of Cleveland's Chuck Heaton Award for positive journalism and community service, presented at the annual Hall of Fame induction ceremony; winner of 2008 Community Service Award, National Association of Black Journalists; and winner of 2000 National Big Sister of the Year Award, from Big Brothers Big Sisters of America.

Jay Miller joined *Crain's Cleveland Business* in 1982 and later served as assistant managing editor. He left in 1992 to pursue other career opportunities. He rejoined the staff at *Crain's* in 2003, as the government and economic development reporter, where he continues as a key reporter.

Marian J. Morton is professor emeritus of history at John Carroll University. Her research specialties are history of Cleveland and women's history; she has written several books on both.

Michael D. Roberts was a reporter for *The Plain Dealer* in the 1960s and covered many of the events in that decade, including the Vietnam War. He later edited *Cleveland Magazine* for 17 years.

A native of Youngstown, **Thomas Suddes** joined *The Plain Dealer* in 1982; the next year, he transferred to the newspaper's Columbus bureau, where for 17 years he covered the Ohio General Assembly and the state budget. While at the Statehouse, Mr. Suddes was elected president of the century-old Ohio Legislative Correspondents Association. His *Plain Dealer* column on Ohio government and politics, which appears on Sundays, began in the 1980s. Late in 2000, Mr. Suddes left the newspaper's staff for graduate study at Ohio University's E. W. Scripps School of Journalism; he graduated in 2009 with a Ph.D. in mass communication. He returned to *The Plain Dealer* in 2007, as a part-time editorial writer, covering state affairs.

Elizabeth Sullivan started at *The Plain Dealer* in 1979 as a business reporter. She has served in a variety of local and overseas reporting capacities, with one earlier stint as an editorial writer, before rejoining the editorial board in 2003 as an associate editor and foreign affairs columnist. In 2009, Ms. Sullivan was named editor of the editorial pages. Additionally, she writes many of the newspaper's editorials on energy, international and national security topics. She received a B.A. and M.A. in Russian and East European Studies from Yale University.

John Vacha has written several books on regional theatrical history, the latest being *Meet Me on Lake Erie, Dearie!: Cleveland's Great Lakes Exposition, 1936–1937* (Kent State University Press, 2010). He has also published numerous historical articles in such venues as *Timeline*, *The Plain Dealer Magazine*, and *American Heritage*. A graduate of Case Western Reserve University, he taught history and journalism in the Cleveland Public Schools and at Cuyahoga Community College. Presently, he serves as coordinator for the district contest of National History Day, at the Western Reserve Historical Society.