

9-2018

# Ohio City: A Proposal for Area Conservation in Cleveland

Carol Poh Miller

Follow this and additional works at: <https://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/clevmembks>

 Part of the [United States History Commons](#)

**How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!**

---

## Recommended Citation

Poh Miller, Carol, "Ohio City: A Proposal for Area Conservation in Cleveland" (2018). *Cleveland Memory*. 39.  
<https://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/clevmembks/39>

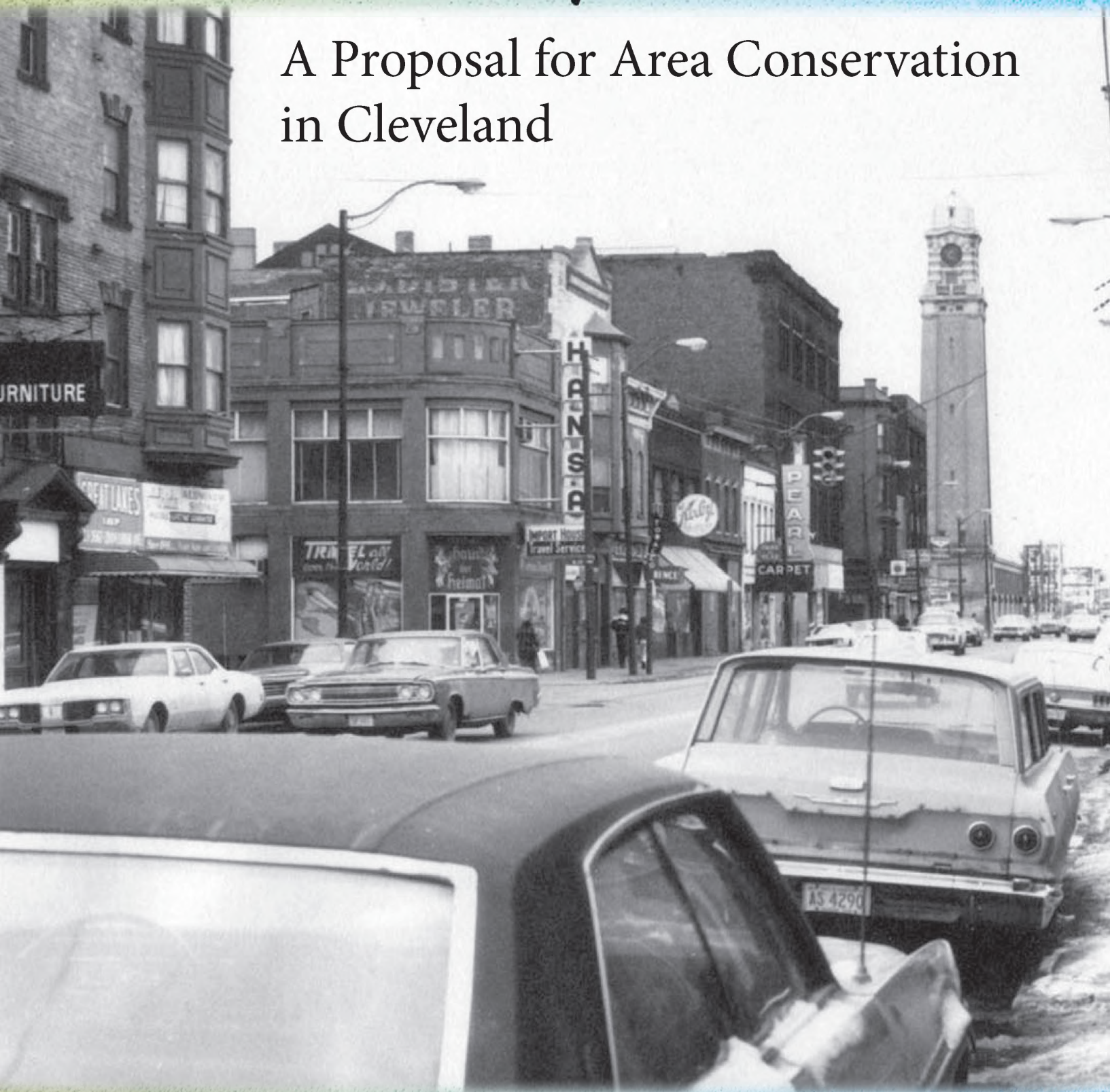
This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the Books at EngagedScholarship@CSU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Cleveland Memory by an authorized administrator of EngagedScholarship@CSU. For more information, please contact [library.es@csuohio.edu](mailto:library.es@csuohio.edu).



This digital edition was prepared by MSL Academic Endeavors, the imprint of the Michael Schwartz Library at Cleveland State University.

# Ohio City:

## A Proposal for Area Conservation in Cleveland



Carol Poh Miller

**Cover Image:**

Carol Poh Miller. A view of Lorain Avenue in the commercial center of Ohio City.

All images in this thesis are by Carol Poh Miller

Published by  
MSL Academic Endeavors  
Cleveland State University  
Michael Schwartz Library  
2121 Euclid Avenue  
Rhodes Tower, Room 501  
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

<http://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/>

ISBN 13: 978-1-936323-66-1 ISBN 10: 1-936323-66-4

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons  
Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International License

Copyright 2018

Originally Written: May 1975

Online Publication Date: September 2018



Permission for Cleveland Memory Project  
to print granted by the author.

---



**Ohio City: A Proposal for Area Conservation in Cleveland**

**By**

**Carol Poh Miller**

**B. A. June 1972, Douglass College, Rutgers University**

**A Thesis submitted to**

**The Faculty of**

**The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences**

**of The George Washington University in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts**

**May 4, 1975**

**Thesis directed by**

**Richard E. Karberg**

**Associate Professor of Art**

**Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Ohio**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE..... v  
INTRODUCTION..... 1

PART I. HISTORY

Chapter

I. EARLY YEARS: ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF OHIO CITY..... 8  
    The Land  
    First Settlement  
    A Mercantile Town  
    The Town Plan  
    Ohio City  
    The "Bridge War"  
    Land Use at Mid-Century  
    Annexation  
II. MIDDLE YEARS: A NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE INDUSTRIAL CITY..... 35  
    Immigration  
    Occupations and Industries of a Heterogeneous Community  
    Building Arts  
    At Home and in the Neighborhood  
    Patterns of Land Use  
III. TWENTIETH CENTURY: A SMALL PART OF THE METROPOLIS..... 63  
    New Immigration  
    Transportation Technology and Dispersal  
    New Migrations  
    Changing Patterns of Land Use--The Final Inheritance  
IV. OHIO CITY'S "DISCOVERY": PRESERVATION HISTORY TO DATE..... 78

PART II: PROPOSALS

Chapter		
V.	CONSERVATION OF A CITY NEIGHBORHOOD.....	87
	Planning History	
	Rationale for a New Plan	
	Physical Assets	
	Proposals for Conservation	
	CONCLUSION.....	117
	.....	
	APPENDIXES	121
	SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	146

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1. Location of Ohio City in the City of Cleveland ..... 4

2. Map of Cleveland and Environs, Surveyed and Published  
by Ahaz Merchant, October 1835..... 17

3. "Drama of Cleveland and Ohio City, " 1851..... 26

4. "City of Cleveland from Reservoir Walk, " 1872..... 51

5. Bird's Eye View of Cleveland, 1877 (Detail)..... 55

6. Location of Ohio City Properties Financed by WSFS  
Development Corporation..... 81

7. Boundaries of Proposed Ohio City Conservation Area..... 99

8. Boundaries of Ohio City Preservation District,  
National Register of Historic Places ..... 100

\*\*\*\*\*

APPENDIX III. Photographs of Ohio City..... 126



## PREFACE

Historic preservation districts have been designated in nearly every major American city. Georgetown in Washington, D. C., Society Hill in Philadelphia, and German Village in Columbus are just a few examples. Local ordinances have been created in such places to direct preservation efforts and to control contemporary and future development. "Ohio City" in Cleveland, Ohio is like none of these places. It has no precedent in the very brief history of the historic preservation movement in America, although an area like it in Milwaukee, Walker's Point, is currently at a similar stage of growth.

This present study of Ohio City takes two directions. The first is a historical account of the area, until 1854 a city independent of Cleveland. I have paid particular attention to population patterns and to the physical history of the district, to its town plan, architecture, and patterns of land use. Material gathered in this first section forms the basis for part two: a proposal for Ohio City's protection as a special conservation area of the city and specific recommendations for how this might reasonably be achieved.

This study is of course grounded on the proposition that Ohio City merits protection and preservation. This is so for reasons having

to do with more than the distinction of its architecture. Rather, Ohio City is--in Cleveland, in 1975--a special kind of city place, an area with a rich diversity of peoples and cultures, and important institutions that have played and play important roles in the shape of local culture. It is a neighborhood of intimate and human scale, one whose physical inheritance recalls a nineteenth-century industrial city neighborhood. All of these factors together make it an appropriate focus for conservation. Ohio City can be a demonstration of a contemporary neighborhood in a contemporary city that reflects, as well, its historic past. It has the potential to be and to remain, for Cleveland, a model of the continuity of culture.

This study rests most comfortably in the category of a "preliminary" survey or report. I have undertaken not an exhaustive inventory of Ohio City's architectural history and physical resources, but rather an investigation into how a variety of cultural forces shaped the physical traditions that in turn have forged today's neighborhood. More detailed inventories may properly follow.

It is my feeling that the information which I have compiled should be viewed more as data for future planning than simply as evidence of past design. It is hoped that this document, although produced independently of the city as a graduate thesis, will be accepted by the city of Cleveland as an important and useful planning tool, and that its recommendations can be incorporated into current and future city programs respective of this neighborhood.

Finally, I want to add that the discipline of American Studies is one that I believe to be peculiarly suited to the growing field of historic preservation. American Studies, by its nature, allows--indeed, encourages--an overview of civilization at one or many points in time. American Studies properly accommodates inquiries into a culture's building styles and techniques, its industries, systems of belief, town planning, population and technology. In short, it takes into account the whole spectrum of a culture. There can be no better basis for contemporary attempts to preserve historic districts.

No complete historical account of the Ohio City area of Cleveland exists, and so I have had to rely largely on the scattered and all too brief accounts of Ohio City usually appended to histories of Cleveland and, for the years after its annexation in 1854, to even more elusive references to the city's "West Side." The lack of interest in this area of the city is evident on the part of historians of every generation, all of whom focused on the East Side of Cleveland, if not exclusively on "downtown" history. Neither did photographers deem the area an important subject for their work and, consequently, much must be left to the imagination.

It remains to be added that the total of my research and the formulation of the recommendations in part two was considerably aided by my having lived in the Ohio City neighborhood for nearly one year.

Special thanks are due: to the staff members of the Cleveland City Planning Commission, especially to Ned Reich, whose expertise on the architectural history of Cleveland proved invaluable; to the librarians and staff of both the Cleveland Public Library and the Western Reserve Historical Society; to Dr. Howard F. Gillette, Jr. and to Richard Karberg, for their sound advice; and to Craig S. Miller, for patience, guidance and support.



## INTRODUCTION

Cleveland, like other American central cities, suffers from something that has generally been termed "the urban crisis"... One of its most visible and alarming aspects has been the rapid deterioration of formerly sound residential areas. Many areas of Cleveland that provided decent housing ten or fifteen years ago are slums today. On streets where people lived and shopped a short while ago, only rows of empty, gutted buildings remain.<sup>1</sup>

A drive through Cleveland's inner-city neighborhoods will convince the visitor seeing them for the first time that the ravages of the so-called "urban crisis" have been particularly severe in this city. The decay so obvious to the eye is summarized in some hard facts:

-In 1969, the average income for all city families (\$9,717) was almost \$6,000 below that for suburban families (\$15,259); in the same year, per capita income for city residents was approximately 27 percent below state of Ohio and national averages.<sup>2</sup>

-One-third of the city's families live in substandard housing.<sup>3</sup>

-Nearly one-third of the city's households do not own automobiles.<sup>4</sup>

-The problem of abandonment has become increasingly serious in recent years, and the number of vacant, dilapidated buildings has grown rapidly. In 1973, it was estimated that there were 1,575 abandoned buildings in Cleveland.<sup>5</sup>

Cleveland is certainly one of those entities which historian Sam Bass Warner, Jr., describes as "a big, messy industrial city, one of about twenty which form the heavy knots of the urban network of the United States."<sup>6</sup> Cleveland shares and, according to one observer, "almost epitomizes" the urban ills of America.<sup>7</sup> Like many other cities, its future hangs in balance.

Today's core of poverty and ring of affluence dates from the turn of the century and was not characteristic of Cleveland subsequent to its first wave of growth after the Civil War. Clevelanders of all incomes and all nationalities by necessity inhabited the same city core. It was only with such later technological advances as the streetcar, bus and automobile that wealthy, middle- and working-class citizens were able to move to new suburban neighborhoods far removed from the compact and increasingly crowded industrial core.

Neighborhood erosion in Cleveland has been epidemic since 1900 and continues unabated. "Flight to the suburbs" has not been reversed here, and it is this factor that sets Cleveland apart from such other highly industrial cities as Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Cincinnati: each of these cities has attractive, desirable, and economically stable if not well-to-do inner-city neighborhoods, neighborhoods that might be recommended to newcomers seeking a place to live. Cleveland, on the other hand, has no such places.

It is only recently that a single neighborhood--for decades part of the city's pool of cheap rentals--was suddenly "discovered" by

newspaper feature writers and middle- and upper-income persons seeking a return to city living. Since 1968, "Ohio City"--its original name has been revived--has been the object of a small, private preservation campaign that has gained momentum in recent years and offers a promise of neighborhood revitalization.

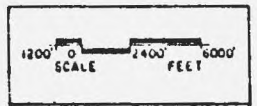
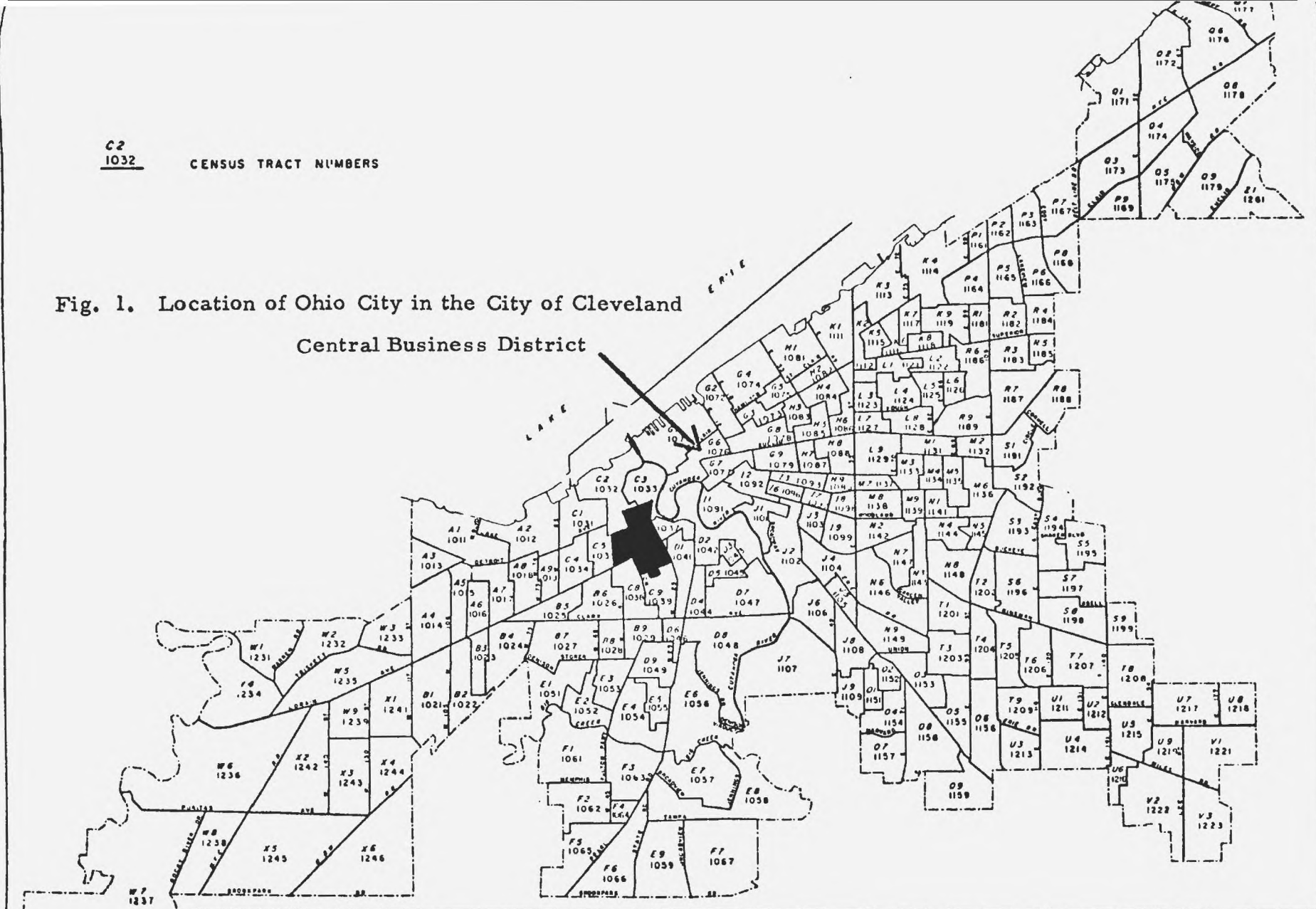
Situated on the city's near West Side, about one mile from the downtown central business district, Ohio City is Cleveland's oldest neighborhood (Fig. 1). The area is today comprised of some eighty city "blocks," and a population of about 8,000 persons. Like nearly all of Cleveland's neighborhoods, this one suffers from the problems of poverty, poor education and substandard housing. Most recent census statistics show that 19.9 percent of its families have incomes below the poverty level, and that the median income for all families is \$6,759. The median number of school years completed by persons 25 years old and over is 9.1. Of a total of 1,308 housing units, only 238 are owner-occupied; 131 housing units lack some or all plumbing facilities.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike the majority of Cleveland's inner-city neighborhoods, however, Ohio City is still intact with possibilities for the conservation of its special historic resources. Its physical inheritance, that of a compact city neighborhood of the late nineteenth century, includes a variety of architectural styles reflective of the mixed incomes and cultures that historically characterized this community. Neighborhood streets for the most part still conform to the original 1835 street plan--one that incorporated an unusual bit of radial design--and Ohio City's historic

C2  
1032

CENSUS TRACT NUMBERS

Fig. 1. Location of Ohio City in the City of Cleveland  
Central Business District



DATA DNWN BY LSI	1988 BASE MAP DNWN BY BSL
DATE 1-10	DATE 1-88
CHK'D BY BTJ	REV'D BY LSI
	DATE 6-10

**CITY  
PLANNING  
COMMISSION**  
CITY OF CLEVELAND



mix of residential, commercial and institutional buildings has been preserved.

Such elements of physical diversity take on fresh meaning when viewed in the light of recent trends toward urban standardization. Almost miraculously, Ohio City has survived the threats of urban "renewal" for three decades, and the historic values that made this neighborhood so livable in the past hold forth a promise for its future. The best physical features of nineteenth-century urban culture can form the basis for a revitalization of city living in Cleveland.

A historical account of Ohio City follows, illustrating the evolution of one Cleveland neighborhood over time. Recommendations for its future follow.

Footnotes--Introduction

<sup>1</sup> Cleveland City Planning Commission, "Poverty and Substandard Housing: An Analysis of Residential Deterioration in Cleveland," by John Linner, Cleveland, 1973 (Mimeographed), p. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Cleveland City Planning Commission, Cleveland Policy Planning Report, Vol. I (Cleveland: n.p., 1975), pp. 21, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Cleveland City Planning Commission, "Cleveland's Abandonment Problem in 1973: Survey Results and Policy Issues," Cleveland, 1974 (Mimeographed), p. ii.

<sup>6</sup> Sam Bass Warner, Jr., The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. xi.

<sup>7</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, "Revitalization of Cleveland at a Turning Point," New York Times, 23 November 1973, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Cleveland, Ohio SMSA, tables P-2, P-4, H-1. This data refers to Cleveland census tract 1036, a statistically representative tract that geographically comprises some 60 percent of the total Ohio City area and which, as well, incorporates the core area of recent restoration efforts.

**PART I. HISTORY**

## I.

### EARLY YEARS: ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF OHIO CITY

#### The Land

Up to the time of the Revolutionary War, the area today known as the state of Ohio was a wilderness inhabited by Indians and, only occasionally, a trapper or trader. After the war, these "western" lands were ceded to the Federal government by the various states holding claims, though certain tracts were reserved for special purposes. One of these tracts, comprising over 3-1/2 million acres, bordered the southern shore of Lake Erie from the Pennsylvania line west 120 miles. This land was "reserved" by the state of Connecticut and later sold to realize an endowment for support of the public schools. The land is still known as the "Connecticut Western Reserve" or, more simply, the "Western Reserve."<sup>1</sup>

The sale of the Western Reserve lands was concluded in 1795 when a syndicate known as the Connecticut Land Company purchased the still unsurveyed wilderness for \$1,200,000.<sup>2</sup> The following year a survey party of fifty men under the direction of Moses Cleaveland set out for Ohio. Their initial task was to divide the land of the Western Reserve

as far west as the Cuyahoga River into township grids five miles square, and to select a site that would serve as "capital" of the Western Reserve.

Cleveland and his group traveled westward along the southern shore of Lake Erie and selected a site for the prospective "capital city" at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, on the eastern bluff overlooking the lake. They then set about the preparation of a town plan. The major features of the Cleveland plan of 1796 were a ten-acre "public square" and wide parallel and perpendicular streets that formed the familiar grid pattern; Cleveland's town plan was "simply a New England village transplanted to northern Ohio."<sup>3</sup>

Though the Indians, upon defeat in 1795 at the hands of General Anthony Wayne, had yielded claims to all land east of the Cuyahoga River, they still had claim on all territory to the west, including that portion which would later become known as "Ohio City."<sup>4</sup> Several small Indian tribes--the Ottawas, Delawares and Wyandots--from time to time hunted and camped in this region,<sup>5</sup> and several authorities indicate that a log trading house, built by agents of the Northwestern Fur Company sometime prior to 1796, stood on a point of land on the near west side of the river, just north of what later became known as Detroit Street.<sup>6</sup>

By the summer of 1805, the Indians were persuaded to relinquish their claim to the Western Reserve lands west of the Cuyahoga. Representatives of the United States Government, the Connecticut Land Company, and the Sufferers (a Connecticut group claiming the westernmost Ohio territory known as the "Firelands"), met with the Indians at Fort Industry

on the Maumee River to draw up a treaty. The Indians ceded their claims to 2,750,000 acres west of the Cuyahoga in return for \$18,916.67 from the land companies, plus certain other "monetary gifts" from the Government. The treaty was signed on July 4, 1805. Abraham Tappan, a member of the original surveying team, later recalled in his journal: "the Indians in parting with and making sale of the above lands to the whites, did so with much reluctance, and after the treaty was signed, many of them wept."<sup>7</sup>

#### First Settlement

With the Indian claims extinguished, the heavily forested wilderness west of the Cuyahoga to the Firelands was surveyed into townships in 1806 and 1807, under the direction of Abraham Tappan. In February 1807, Tappan wrote in his journal that no person then lived on the land, "white, red or black."<sup>8</sup> Though it is unclear to whom first ownership of the land just opposite the tiny village of Cleveland was assigned, Samuel P. Lord, his son Richard Lord, and Josiah Barber appear, together, to be the earliest property owners of record.<sup>9</sup>

James Fish and his family, from Groton, Connecticut were the first permanent settlers on the west side of the Cuyahoga. Fish purchased land from Lord and his partners, and in the summer of 1811 undertook the journey west, which took forty-seven days. Fish and his family passed the winter in the nearby village of Newburg, and in the spring of 1812 Fish erected a log house in "Brooklyn," to which he and his family moved

in May. Moses and Ebenezer Fish arrived later in the same year. In 1813, Ozias Brainard and his family came from Connecticut, and in 1814 six families are reported to have arrived within one week: those of Issac Hinckley, Asa Brainard, Elijah Young, Stephen Brainard, Enos Brainard, and Warren Brainard; all came from Chatham in Middlesex County, Connecticut.<sup>10</sup> Richard and Samuel Lord and Josiah Barber came as permanent settlers in 1818 and selected a site on the northeastern part of the land, near the river's mouth, for their residence.<sup>11</sup>

The settlement on the west side of the river grew slowly at first, as did that of Cleveland on the east side. Both endured the hardships of the frontier. By 1815 Cleveland was a village of but three streets, thirty-four "dwelling houses and business places," and a small log courthouse.<sup>12</sup> To the west, the small settlement was comprised of but a few families, most located near the lake in the vicinity of Detroit Street.<sup>13</sup> This "highway"--a former Indian trail that ran along the lake ridge to the west--had been partially cleared by state funds (Ohio had come into being in 1803) to serve primarily as a post road between Cleveland and Detroit.<sup>14</sup>

In June of 1818, the township of Brooklyn was organized, and it was from this township that a number of small municipalities would later evolve, one of which was to be Ohio City. Alonzo Carter of Cleveland purchased land on the west side soon after the township was organized, and built a tavern, the "Red House," and a small warehouse directly opposite Superior Street. A ferry operated by Christopher Gun connected the two settlements.<sup>15</sup>

Settlement in both Cleveland and Brooklyn was extremely sparse until the completion of the Erie Canal in 1817. Formerly, migration had meant an arduous journey by wagon and on foot across New York State to Buffalo, from which one could either book passage on boats bound west or make the trip overland, on the level land route along the southern shore of Lake Erie. The canal provided an easier water passage to Buffalo.

Little has been recorded about the early settlement of Brooklyn. One might imagine a land heavily forested, with only a few clearings where settlers had been, and some natural paths cleared by the Indians that served as roadways. Of Ohio's first architecture, I. T. Frary has written: "The earliest houses erected by Ohio's pioneers were to a large extent built of logs laid horizontally, notched together at the corners and chinked with mud to close the crevices."<sup>16</sup> Not until they had won the struggle with nature did the Ohio immigrants begin to build the frame houses that recalled those they had left behind in New England.

The first settlers were "a frugal, hard-working, rugged and religious people. . . . Most were tradesmen and farmers."<sup>17</sup> They came to the Western Reserve motivated by a desire "to become dwellers in a more fertile land."<sup>18</sup> Immigration was initially largely from the New England states. According to one population analysis of the village of Cleveland for the year 1820, over one-half of Cleveland's 606 inhabitants had a New England background; one-third were directly from Connecticut; and one-third were from the states of Pennsylvania and New York. A similar



composite might be presumed for the 348 settlers in Brooklyn township, for whom no such statistics are known.<sup>19</sup>

Settlement was slow but constant. The growth of Brooklyn no doubt followed the pattern typical of most towns of the Western Reserve: "A tavern, a dry goods shop and a blacksmith shop, with as many log dwellings, constituted a village or town, and, of course, became the central point of association and trade."<sup>20</sup> Farms were hewn out of the wilderness. The first crude log houses were replaced with frame as soon as means permitted. No town plan had yet been formulated, but Detroit and Pearl (W. 25th) Streets, both begun as Indian trails, were firmly established as the major "highways"; these roads would remain important throughfares down to the present day.

### A Mercantile Town

Both Cleveland and Brooklyn reached watersheds in their growth with the opening of the Ohio Canal. The first section of the canal, from Cleveland to Akron, was completed in 1827. By 1833 some 400 miles had been completed, and not long afterwards it was possible to navigate from Cleveland to Columbus and Portsmouth.<sup>21</sup> The canal thus linked Cleveland and Brooklyn with the productive agricultural regions downstate, and with its opening both settlements were in strategic positions as crossroads from the interior to the East. In the reverse direction, migrants and the materials with which to build cities flowed to the small towns at the mouth of the Cuyahoga.<sup>22</sup>

The Ohio Canal effected two major transformations of the settlements on the Cuyahoga: it increased their populations, at the same time altering its characteristics; and it created competing mercantile cities, each vying to be more important than the other and each, as a result, experiencing the inevitable pressures and demands upon the land.

Beginning in the 1820s, and certainly by 1825, small numbers of Irish immigrants began to arrive, many attracted by jobs with the Ohio Canal building program. Many of these new arrivals made their homes on the west side near the mouth of the Cuyahoga and on the low land bordering the river known as "the Flats." By the early 1830s German immigrants were also arriving and settling on both sides of the river.<sup>23</sup>

The impact of the canal on real estate was immediately apparent. Speculation became rampant. In 1831, an organization known as the Buffalo Company purchased the Alonzo Carter farm "and the boom of Brooklyn was begun."<sup>24</sup> The company hoped to resell the property within a few months at an enormous profit. Their purchase included the old riverbed, the land to the north of the old bed, and that portion of the bluffs north of Detroit Street. The Buffalo Company determined to build a city that would eclipse its rival settlement to the east:

The Company foresaw, or thought they foresaw, that the commerce of Cleveland could be easily transferred to Brooklyn by converting the old river-bed into a ship channel so as to connect it with the lake, and thus create an independent harbor. This they proceeded at once to do, and at the same time laid out streets, built docks, warehouses, dwelling-houses, and a magnificent hotel on the west side.<sup>25</sup>

Many of the land use patterns so visible today had their origin in this early mercantile stage of growth. Commercial development was concentrated mainly in the low-lying areas between the two towns, on the river flats.<sup>26</sup> It was here that lake boats from Buffalo and the east, and canal boats from the south, discharged their cargoes. The low ground of the Flats, once a tangle of vines and forest "affording good hunting,"<sup>27</sup> were quickly covered with warehouses and docks, while the higher land on the bluffs was reserved for residences.<sup>28</sup> Commercial use of the river and lake fronts was thus early established, as was the residential use of higher ground. The situation in Brooklyn was analagous to that in Cleveland, about which has been observed:

In the pervading enthusiasm for mercantile expansion, on which after all the prosperity of the town rested, no thought was given to other possible uses of the water front. Business succeeded in preempting the whole river bank and space was allocated neither to residential nor recreational uses.... The choice sites along the river were closed to the public and the foundation laid for the domination of the whole river valley by industry and trade, a condition which characterizes the area at the present day.<sup>29</sup>

Following the Buffalo Company purchase in 1831, still other speculators bought large tracts of the river basin as well as the west bluffs of the river. They began selling them in 1833 and by 1835 saw their profits double, triple and increase as much as tenfold.<sup>30</sup> Various strategies were devised to make the sales of land even more lucrative, but the boom was to last only until 1837, when the schemes of the town builders were paralyzed by a national panic.<sup>31</sup>

### The Town Plan

As already noted, the city of Cleveland had begun under company sponsorship and, as early as 1796, Moses Cleaveland and his group had drawn the town plan by which the city was to develop. John Reps has pointed out that, in contrast to Cleveland's company sponsorship, other communities of the Western Reserve owe their origins to individual proprietors who received their shares of land upon the completion of the township surveys.<sup>32</sup> In the case of Brooklyn, the town plan does not owe its authorship to any one individual, but most likely to a number of early land proprietors and developers, as well as, in a sense, to the original inhabitants of the land, the Indians.

The first known map depicting what soon was to become Ohio City appeared in October of 1835. Ahaz Merchant, leading surveyor for Cuyahoga County, published the map, which included the towns on both sides of the river (Fig. 2). Merchant's map, published just six months prior to Ohio City's charter, tells us of the town's original boundaries; on the east, the Cuyahoga River; on the north, the lake shore; on the west, Harbor (W. 44th) Street; on the southwest, Willet (Fulton) Street; and on the south, Monroe Street.

It can be seen that by 1835, the great majority of today's streets had been laid out, and that subsequent development has not effaced the original arrangements of this city plan. Vast changes did indeed occur in the Flats as that land became increasingly devoted to the industrial uses that would dominate it, but the patterns of streets on the bluffs, in



LAKE

ERIE

The lines of the In and Out Lots, as well as the  
 boundaries and their numbers, are shown and written  
 in the respective lines by Fairbanks.  
 Each lot is 100 feet front  
 and 100 feet deep.



References

1	...
2	...
3	...
4	...
5	...
6	...
7	...
8	...
9	...
10	...
11	...
12	...
13	...
14	...
15	...
16	...
17	...
18	...
19	...
20	...
21	...
22	...
23	...
24	...
25	...
26	...
27	...
28	...
29	...
30	...
31	...
32	...
33	...
34	...
35	...
36	...
37	...
38	...
39	...
40	...
41	...
42	...
43	...
44	...
45	...
46	...
47	...
48	...
49	...
50	...
51	...
52	...
53	...
54	...
55	...
56	...
57	...
58	...
59	...
60	...
61	...
62	...
63	...
64	...
65	...
66	...
67	...
68	...
69	...
70	...
71	...
72	...
73	...
74	...
75	...
76	...
77	...
78	...
79	...
80	...
81	...
82	...
83	...
84	...
85	...
86	...
87	...
88	...
89	...
90	...
91	...
92	...
93	...
94	...
95	...
96	...
97	...
98	...
99	...
100	...

1	...
2	...
3	...
4	...
5	...
6	...
7	...
8	...
9	...
10	...
11	...
12	...
13	...
14	...
15	...
16	...
17	...
18	...
19	...
20	...
21	...
22	...
23	...
24	...
25	...
26	...
27	...
28	...
29	...
30	...
31	...
32	...
33	...
34	...
35	...
36	...
37	...
38	...
39	...
40	...
41	...
42	...
43	...
44	...
45	...
46	...
47	...
48	...
49	...
50	...
51	...
52	...
53	...
54	...
55	...
56	...
57	...
58	...
59	...
60	...
61	...
62	...
63	...
64	...
65	...
66	...
67	...
68	...
69	...
70	...
71	...
72	...
73	...
74	...
75	...
76	...
77	...
78	...
79	...
80	...
81	...
82	...
83	...
84	...
85	...
86	...
87	...
88	...
89	...
90	...
91	...
92	...
93	...
94	...
95	...
96	...
97	...
98	...
99	...
100	...

Map of  
**CLEVELAND**  
 and  
**ENVIRONS.**

Fig. 2.

CLEVELAND  
 OUT LOTS  
 Out Area Lots

today's residential and commercial district, have remained essentially unchanged.

The Brooklyn plan was an imaginative one. Parcels of land owned by proprietors with different backgrounds, resources and motivations varied in the forms that they took.<sup>33</sup> Detroit and Pearl Streets, as noted, followed the previously established Indian trails. The rugged, sloping terrain of the Flats and the land north of the old river bed were curiously carved up in a grid pattern, as were certain portions of the higher, flatter ground on the bluffs, presumably the better to enhance the profits of speculation. Alley streets were an original distinguishing characteristic of the plan, and may yet be seen today. A cemetery was situated south of Monroe Street, and this parcel still serves its original function. On Franklin Street, a circle with a 280-foot diameter was surveyed and dedicated to public use;<sup>34</sup> six streets radiated from its center. This portion of the plan was perhaps distantly influenced by Major L'Enfant's radial plan for Washington, D. C. At any rate, this bit of radial planning is today the only example which may be seen in Cleveland.<sup>35</sup>

The town plan for Brooklyn (Ohio City), with its radial design, is probably unique among the town plans of the Western Reserve, the majority of which offered simply a broad grid with wide streets and a public green or square. The proprietors of these towns in most cases were imitating their home communities in New England.<sup>36</sup> Ohio City, on the other hand, represented a departure from the norm: it was, from the beginning,



designed more compactly than other towns of the Western Reserve, including Cleveland.

Cleveland historian William Ganson Rose has described that city's original plan as "designed to facilitate sales and distribution of real estate, following a mechanical pattern of uniformly shaped lots facing the streets in similar fashion." The first maps, Rose points out, "initiated a city plan with right-angle streets of noble width."<sup>37</sup> The plan for Ohio City was more angular, incorporating a number of diagonal streets, and in some cases its streets were even dictated by the terrain. Unlike the early Cleveland plan, it represented something non-speculative as well.

#### Ohio City

The "City of Ohio" received its charter for organization on March 3, 1836, two days prior to Cleveland. Thus, "to the mortification of many of the [Cleveland] citizens," it took precedence on point of age, which only fanned the flames of the jealous rivalry that already existed between the two cities.<sup>38</sup> At the time Cleveland received its charter, its population approached six thousand; Ohio City--its official name was rarely employed--counted only about one-third that number.<sup>39</sup>

Both towns had shared in the prosperity brought by the canal and the improvement of harbor facilities with Federal funds during the years 1825-1830,<sup>40</sup> and applications for city charters further advanced the value of city lots to fabulous prices.<sup>41</sup> The year 1836 witnessed the climax of the great real estate boom. "City lots doubled, trebled, quadrupled in

price in the course of a few months."<sup>42</sup> One young man, a newly-arrived immigrant from Vermont and an employee at a tinsmith on Detroit Street, complained in his journal: "Rents are scarce and dear. . . . The rage of speculation produces it all."<sup>43</sup>

The first Ohio City election was held in March and Josiah Barber, one of the original proprietors, was elected Mayor, along with twelve councilmen, a treasurer, marshall and recorder. The Ohio City Argus, a twice-weekly newspaper of Whig persuasion, began publication on the twenty-sixth day of May.<sup>44</sup> Another hotel, the Franklin House, was built that year on Pearl Street near Detroit ("It was the political and social center of the community"<sup>45</sup>) and, not far away, on Church Street, the cornerstone for St. John's Episcopal Church was laid.<sup>46</sup>

At the time of its incorporation, Ohio City bore all the signs of a thriving mercantile town. "Business" was for the most part confined to shipping and exchange, although the 1837-38 city directory reported the operation of four factories, including a "glue manufactory," and noted that the Cuyahoga Steam Furnace Company, begun in 1834, "is calculated to give employment to upwards of 100 workmen."<sup>47</sup> Commercial establishments had sprung up along the most traveled street, that of Detroit, and a few had located on River, Main, and Pearl Streets; Pearl, however, was still for the most part residential, though in later years it would become one of the major commercial streets of the district.

The 1837-38 city directory reported that Ohio City, situated on "a site of commanding eminence," consisted of "several good streets, the



houses of which are well built." The number of houses within the city's limits was estimated at 370,<sup>48</sup> and a tabulation of the places of residence listed in the directory reveals that in 1837 the great majority of Ohio City's residents lived on the following streets: Detroit, Pearl, Washington, Vermont, Hanover (W. 27th), River, and Fulton. No one lived further west than Duane (W. 32nd) Street.<sup>49</sup>

The city directory affords an opportunity to analyze the occupations and industries of Ohio City residents during the town's mercantile stage of growth. Most were self-employed artisans or skilled workers in small shops and industries, and a good number were employed in jobs that had opened as a result of lake and canal traffic. The rich mixture of occupations depicts a thriving and diversified community. No less than fifty-two persons were listed as employed in some phase of the building trades, whether as carpenter, joiner, builder, brickmaker, mason or "architect." Nineteen persons were employed in marine-related occupations, five as "master mariners," three as ship carpenters, and three as forwarding and commission merchants on the canal lines. Ten grocers were listed, and seventeen persons were described simply as "laborers." In addition to these, Ohio City counted four blacksmiths, four school teachers, three dress makers, two jewellers, three physicians and surgeons, two attorneys-at-law, and one portrait painter.<sup>50</sup>

In this period, residential and most commercial building in Ohio City, as in Cleveland, no doubt largely consisted of the very simplest of vernacular structures (exceptions to this were the hotels, business blocks

and, of course, St. John's). Brick was increasingly used after 1830,<sup>51</sup> particularly for new warehouses and stores. Only a small proportion of the total building had any official style; rather, buildings were constructed to meet the practical requirements of the commercial town. One historian has speculated about what he calls "the first generation of structures":

The hustle and bustle of the embryo city have crowded out all but utilitarian considerations. The owners simply outlined to the carpenter or mason the number of rooms or the business capacity and the foundation was staked out the next morning with operations started as soon as material could be delivered.<sup>52</sup>

Only occasionally was an "architect" employed to prepare a design.

The still-extant St. John's Episcopal Church provides us with valuable knowledge of the building/design process as it existed in Ohio City, in Cleveland, and in countless other "frontier" communities during much of the nineteenth century. St. John's Church was constructed between 1836 and 1838 after a design prepared by Hezekiah Eldredge. On the frontier there was no such thing as a professionally trained architect, although master carpenters frequently referred to themselves as such. Instead, it was common in this period for master builders such as Hezekiah Eldredge to rely on carpenter's handbooks for their designs.<sup>53</sup> It is known that in the case of St. John's, Eldredge made at least partial use of Asher Benjamin's handbooks and Rev. Henry Hopkins' An Essay on Gothic Architecture.<sup>54</sup>

A master builder and designer in Ohio City for eleven years, from 1834 until his death in 1845, Hezekiah Eldredge was an emigrant from

Connecticut and New York. Eldredge is known to have taught drafting to a number of Ohio City's carpenters and joiners,<sup>55</sup> thus illustrating the way in which an overwhelming majority of frontier "architects" received their training, through a simple system of apprenticeship. Eldredge designed and supervised the construction of at least six major buildings in Ohio City,<sup>56</sup> but St. John's Church is the only structure known to have survived.<sup>57</sup>

### The "Bridge War"

The famous incident of the "Bridge War" is accorded a substantial amount of space in nearly every history of Cleveland. In many cases, this incident is the only mention made of Ohio City at all and so, for the sake of completeness, the story will be related in as condensed a version as possible. The incident is noteworthy if only as an illustration of the intense rivalry from which Cleveland and Ohio City suffered.

Columbus Street may be located on the Merchant map of 1835 at the southeast corner of Ohio City, leading northeast from Pearl Street, across the Cuyahoga and through that part of the Flats created by the first big bend of the river; here connecting roads joined directly with Cleveland's Public Square. In 1833, John W. Willey and James S. Clark purchased this section of the Flats, named it "Cleveland Centre," and proposed to make it a prominent and lucrative business and residential area. They next purchased land in the southeast section of Ohio City, which they

named "Willeyville," graded the hill to Columbus Street, and constructed the infamous Columbus Street Bridge.

The bridge was 200 feet long, 33 feet wide, and was suspended 24 feet above the water; it was "roofed in the antique fashion" and cost \$15,000, a considerable sum in those days.<sup>58</sup> Willey and Clark presented their bridge as a gift to the city of Cleveland, with the express stipulation that it should forever remain free for the accommodation of the public. This, one historian writes, "the first substantial bridge built over the Cuyahoga River in Cleveland, was the direct outcome of land speculation. . ."<sup>59</sup>

Willey and Clark hoped that trade and traffic from the south and west would bypass the center of Ohio City, situated further north at Detroit and Pearl Streets, and instead pass over the Columbus Street Bridge and into Cleveland Centre. Ohio City residents were furious and declared the bridge a public nuisance. Charles Whittlesey continues the story:

City rivalry ran so high, that a regular battle occurred on [the] bridge in 1837, between the citizens and the city authorities on the west side, and those on the east. A field piece was posted on the low ground, on the Cleveland side, to rake the bridge. . . , and crowbars, clubs, stones, pistols, and guns were freely used on both sides. Men were wounded of both parties, three of them seriously. The draw was cut away, the middle pier and the western abutment partially blown down, and the field piece spiked, by the west siders. But the sheriff, and the city marshall of Cleveland, soon obtained possession of the dilapidated bridge. . . . Some of the actors were confined in the county jail.<sup>60</sup>

The bridge question ultimately made its way to the courts, where it was finally settled. The bridge stayed, though in ten years it had grown

too small. The two towns could not agree on a plan for a new one, and the county promptly settled the dispute and built the bridge. Columbus Street remained "one of the leading thoroughfares" until the completion of the Superior <sup>Viaduct</sup> aqueduct in 1878, which more directly linked the two sides of the river.<sup>61</sup>

### Land Use Patterns at Mid-Century

The volume of canal traffic rose steadily from 1836 until 1850, when it reached its peak just prior to the advent of the railroads.<sup>62</sup> The commercial prosperity created by the canals during the 1830s and 1840s was not without some major effects on the uses of land and the patterns of physical development in Ohio City. The expansion of mercantile enterprise transfigured the entire face of the community and created the pattern that would guide Ohio City's development for years to come. Edmund Chapman has perceptively observed that, although it is the events after mid-century --the introduction of the railroads and the accompanying industrialization-- that were largely instrumental in shaping the present city, "a detailed study of the city's early history reveals a significant fact, that the designs and practices of the earlier mercantile period were in many respects decisive."<sup>63</sup>

An 1851 depiction of the "Drama of Cleveland and Ohio City" (Fig. 3) illustrates the paths of development both cities had taken by that year. Warehouses, mills and wharves dot the river front on both shores. In Ohio City, on the far left, residences are largely clustered on the

**Fig. 3.** "Drama of Cleveland and Ohio City," 1851 (from a photograph of a print in the Cleveland Picture Collection, Cleveland Public Library).



bluff, together with a number of large commercial buildings. At the mouth of the lake an active harbor is just visible. In the foreground are the second Columbus Street Bridge and what appear to be farmlands; just to the right of this is a row of warehouse buildings lining the river. A citizen off to the right gestures to his companion, proud of the thriving communities. While the view is an essentially pastoral one, the profusion of warehouses, the suggestion of business and industry, and the activity of the harbor make it a prophetic one as well.

Even today changes effected prior to mid-century are this district's present land use inheritance. Quite simply, as the decades of the 1830s and 1840s wore on, the need for more business and commercial space shifted the residential district further west and south, away from river and lake fronts, ultimately concentrating it south of Detroit Street and west of Pearl.<sup>64</sup> In later years industry would claim sites even to the west of Pearl; the Schlather Brewery, for example, would be established in the middle of the residential section at Carroll and York (W. 28th) Streets. The twentieth century would bring more serious intrusions.

Perhaps one particular observation with regard to Ohio City's commercial and residential development might be relevant at this point of the discussion. Urban historian Sam Bass Warner, Jr. has spoken of a particular period of Boston's development which he calls "the walking city."<sup>65</sup> This was the period prior to the introduction of the streetcar, when work and residence were not greatly differentiated by space. Ohio City, too, prior to 1864 and the introduction of the first streetcar service,



might be thought of in terms of a "walking city": business, social--the total of communication--had to be carried out on foot. With the exception of some wealthy persons and businessmen who owned horse and carriage, most west siders walked to their jobs, to school, to market, to visit friends and acquaintances. Thus, any commercial and residential development was very much dictated by the physical fact of a pedestrian city. This accounted for Ohio City's compact development; for the proximity of commercial structures to residences, of housing to industry in the Flats; for its early, relatively self-sufficient character: the farmers' market, the church, the schoolhouse, the cemetery, shops offering every item of necessity as well as many luxuries. Indeed, Warner's term aids us in conceptualizaing the dynamics of the mercantile city and helps illuminate the patterns its development took through much of the nineteenth century, prior to the advent of an electric system of rail transport.

### Annexation

The City of Cleveland had from its inception far outdistanced Ohio City in terms of population, manufactures and trade. Its boast in the 1845-46 city directory that "the City of Cleveland is the emporium of Northern Ohio, and is next in importance to Cincinnati"<sup>66</sup> was more than braggadocio; there was a good deal of truth to it.

Resolutions for the annexation of Ohio City to Cleveland appeared and were defeated by members of Ohio City's City Council in 1846 and

again in 1851. Cleveland newspapers during this period suggest the motivations that fired Cleveland's desire to annex Ohio City. "The interests of the two cities are identical," one editorial noted.<sup>67</sup> Another asserted that it would be to the mutual advantage of two cities "where territory, population, social and business interests [were] so variously connected and intertwined" to have a single name, a single government, and "united enterprise."<sup>68</sup> On the eve of annexation, an editorial in the Cleveland Leader pointed out the benefits that would accrue to Ohio City, such as the improvement of waterworks and sanitation, the prevention of fires and reduction of sickness. The editorial further noted:

The location of the railway depot depends greatly on the settlement of the question whether Ohio City becomes an integral portion of Cleveland, or remains a jealous rival in the location of manufactures, iron works, machine shops, and warehouses.<sup>69</sup>

The question of annexation was finally placed before the electors of both cities on April 3, 1854, and was approved. In Cleveland the count was 1,892 "yeas" and 400 "noes;" in Ohio City, 618 "yeas", 258 "noes."<sup>70</sup> The cities were thereafter united. William B. Castle, the last mayor of Ohio City (1853-54), became the first mayor of the consolidated Cleveland.

"Ohio City"--the name, that is--for the most part passed away. The "West Side" and, later, the "near West Side" took its place. An editorial in the Cleveland Leader of April 4, 1854, triumphantly proclaimed: "The narrow, serpentine Cuyahoga no longer divides a people that are of one interest, one in aim and one in destiny."

## Footnotes--Chapter I

<sup>1</sup> Harlan Hatcher, The Western Reserve: The Story of New Connecticut in Ohio (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1942), pp. 13-21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> John Reys, Town Planning in Frontier America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 354.

<sup>4</sup> Hatcher, Western Reserve, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Elbert Jay Benton, Cultural History of an American City--Cleveland, 3 vols. (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1943, 1944, 1946), 1:7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*; Charles Whittlesey, Early History of Cleveland, Ohio (Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1867), p. 475; and Samuel P. Orth, A History of Cleveland, Ohio, 3 vols. (Cleveland: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1910), 1:664.

<sup>7</sup> quoted in Hatcher, Western Reserve, p. 58.

<sup>8</sup> Whittlesey, Early History of Cleveland, p. 412.

<sup>9</sup> Maurice Joblin, Cleveland, Past and Present (Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1869), p. 6; William R. Coates, A History of Cuyahoga County and the City of Cleveland, 3 vols. (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1924), 1:63; and Benton, Cultural History of Cleveland, 1:35 all offer slightly different accounts.

<sup>10</sup> Elroy McKendree Avery, A History of Cleveland and Its Environs: The Heart of New Connecticut, 3 vols. (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1918), 1:173.

<sup>11</sup> Coates, History of Cuyahoga County, p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> Benton, Cultural History of Cleveland, 1:33.

<sup>13</sup> Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:171. Cleveland's street names underwent major changes in 1906, when nearly all north-south streets were re-named with a uniform system of east- and west-side numbers. For the purposes of this history, the original names will be employed until the narrative reaches this century; contemporary names will be given in parantheses to aid the reader.

<sup>14</sup>Wilfred Henry Alburn and Miriam Russell Alburn, This Cleveland of Ours, 4 vols. (Chicago, Cleveland and Indianapolis: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1933), 1:221.

<sup>15</sup>Joblin, Cleveland, Past and Present, p. 6; and Whittlesey, Early History of Cleveland, p. 465.

<sup>16</sup>I. T. Frary, Early Homes of Ohio (Richmond, Va: Garrett and Massie, 1936), p. 229.

<sup>17</sup>Richard Campen, "Story of Ohio City," Cleveland, 1968 (Typewritten), p. 29.

<sup>18</sup>Harvey Rice, Sketches of Western Reserve Life (Cleveland: William W. Williams, 1885), p. 77.

<sup>19</sup>This population analysis was made by Gertrude Van Rensselaer Wickham and is reported in Benton, Cultural History of Cleveland, 1:44.

<sup>20</sup>Rice, Western Reserve Life, p. 78.

<sup>21</sup>John A. Alburn, "The Canal Period in Cleveland's History," in Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:724.

<sup>22</sup>Campen, "Story of Ohio City," p. 8.

<sup>23</sup>Michael S. Pap, ed., Ethnic Communities of Cleveland (Cleveland: Institute for Soviet and East European Studies, John Carroll University, 1973), pp. 179, 110.

<sup>24</sup>Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:174.

<sup>25</sup>Harvey Rice, Pioneers of the Western Reserve, 2nd ed. (New York: Charles T. Dillingham, 1888), p. 127.

<sup>26</sup>Sarah E. Rusk, "Hezekiah Eldredge (1795-1845): Master Builder of Western New York State and the Western Reserve" (M. A. thesis, n. p., n. d.), Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, p. 38.

<sup>27</sup>Orth, History of Cleveland, 1:613.

<sup>28</sup>Whittlesey, Early History of Cleveland, p. 475.

<sup>29</sup>Edmund H. Chapman, Cleveland: Village to Metropolis (Cleveland: The Western Reserve Historical Society and The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1964), pp. 56-58. One exception to the land use pattern Chapman describes would be the cheap houses of poor Irish immigrants who, as they arrived in greater numbers during the 1840s and 1850s, would reside side by side with commerce and industry in a section of the Flats (west side) known as "Whiskey Island."

<sup>30</sup>Rusk, "Hezekiah Eldredge," p. 38; and Alburn and Alburn, This Cleveland of Ours, 1:263. The Alburns write: "In 1834 and 1835 it is said that water frontage lots on the old river bed were higher than they were thirty years later."

<sup>31</sup>Benton, Cultural History of Cleveland, 2:22.

<sup>32</sup>Reps, Town Planning, pp. 355-359.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Orth, History of Cleveland, 1:169; and Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:477.

<sup>35</sup>On the east side of the river, on the land carved by the Cuyahoga's first big bend, "Gravity Place" was originally platted with no less than ten radiating streets and a grid overlay; this plan was effaced as the Flats were developed for warehousing and industry at the exclusion of residential use. See John W. Reps, The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 277; and Chapman, Cleveland, p. 39.

<sup>36</sup>Reps, Town Planning, p. 363.

<sup>37</sup>William Ganson Rose, Cleveland: The Making of a City (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1950), pp. 32, 26.

<sup>38</sup>Joblin, Cleveland, Past and Present, p. 5.

<sup>39</sup>W. Scott Robinson, History of the City of Cleveland: Its Settlement, Rise and Progress (Cleveland: Robison & Cockett--The Sunday World, 1887), p. 35.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>41</sup>Rice, Pioneers of the Western Reserve, pp. 128-129.

<sup>42</sup> Crisfield Johnson, History of Cuyahoga County, Ohio (Cleveland: D. W. Ensign & Co., 1879), p. 242.

<sup>43</sup> Le Roy P. Graf, ed., "The Journal of a Vermont Man in Ohio, 1836-1842," The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly 60 (April 1951): 182.

<sup>44</sup> Rose, Cleveland, p. 146. The Ohio City Argus was published for just two years, from 1836 until 1838.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*; Rose reports that Franklin House was destroyed by fire in 1855, rebuilt, and finally razed in 1910.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150; Rose writes: "Here the first families of the West Side worshipped in the white stone building they had built with their own hands. Of the eleven mayors of Ohio City, seven were communicants. The pews of the historical Episcopal church were occupied by President William McKinley, President Theodore Roosevelt, and men and women of prominence who visited Cleveland."

<sup>47</sup> Julius P. Bolivar MacCabe, A Directory of the Cities of Cleveland & Ohio, For the Years 1837-38 (Cleveland: Sanford & Lott, Book & Job Printers, 1837), p. 124.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 125.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126-134 passim.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Chapman, Cleveland, p. 50; Rose (Cleveland, p. 102) tells us that Asa Brainard baked the brick for the first brick house in Brooklyn township, built in 1825 at the intersection of Pearl and Scranton Roads. It served as a tavern and was a popular stopping point for drovers bringing their herds to the markets. The tavern subsequently became a rooming house, then a nightclub, and was razed in 1937.

<sup>52</sup> Orth, History of Cleveland, 1:664

<sup>53</sup> This practice is described by Thomas E. O'Donnell, "Influence of the Carpenter's Handbooks in the Early Architecture of Ohio," Architecture 55 (March 1927): 169-171.

<sup>54</sup> Rusk, "Hezekiah Eldredge," p. 78.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>56</sup> Campen, "Story of Ohio City," pp. 34-38.

<sup>57</sup> See The Architecture of Cleveland: Twelve Buildings, 1836-1912, Selections from the Historic American Buildings Survey, no. 12 (Cleveland and Washington, D. C. : A Joint Publication of the Western Reserve Historical Society and the Historic American Buildings Survey, 1973), pp. 1-7.

<sup>58</sup> Alburn and Alburn, This Cleveland of Ours, 1:264.

<sup>59</sup> Orth, History of Cleveland, 1:64.

<sup>60</sup> Whittlesey, Early History of Cleveland, p. 477.

<sup>61</sup> Details about the Bridge War vary in every account, much of the "facts" having been lost in the telling and re-telling of the tale. I have relied largely on Charles Whittlesey's account (Early History of Cleveland, p. 477), probably the most lucid and certainly the earliest one.

<sup>62</sup> Chapman, Cleveland, p. 37.

<sup>63</sup> Edmund H. Chapman, "City Planning Under Mercantile Expansion: The Case of Cleveland, Ohio," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 10 (December 1951): 10.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Sam B. Warner, Jr., Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press and The M.I.T. Press, 1969), pp. 15-17.

<sup>66</sup> Elijah Peet, Peet's General Business Directory of the Cities of Cleveland & Ohio, for the years 1845-6 (Cleveland: Sandford & Hayward, Printers, 1845), p. 22.

<sup>67</sup> Cleveland Daily True Democrat, 6 March 1851.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 14 October 1851.

<sup>69</sup> Cleveland Leader, 3 April 1854.

<sup>70</sup> Orth, History of Cleveland, 1:48.

## II.

### MIDDLE YEARS: A NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE INDUSTRIAL CITY

Cleveland's mercantile character was promptly altered with the entry of the first railroad, the Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, in 1851. This line was soon followed by two other roads from the east and, in 1857, Cleveland was crucially linked by rail to the coal supplies of Youngstown. Now a terminus for both rail and water transportation, Cleveland was in an ideal position in the late 1850s to attract the industries which depended upon an abundance of raw materials. In the next few decades the number and size of the city's factories increased yearly.<sup>1</sup>

The city of Cleveland was transformed by such prosperity, as was the neighborhood on the west bank of the river. Cleveland's population more than doubled between 1850 and 1860, from 17,034 to 43,417. By the end of the century it would surpass 380,000, owing its dramatic increase to the annexation of surrounding settlements and to the relentless influx of foreign immigrants to the city core.

#### Immigration

The census of 1860 was the first to include the place of birth of the population in its data, though the early census records took the form



of lists of names, rather than compilations of figures for each statistical area evaluated.<sup>2</sup> The population recorded in 1860 for Cleveland's 9th, 10th and 11th wards, those of the old Ohio City area, reveals that native-born persons still predominated (many of these listing New England states as their place of birth), but records indicate quite sizable numbers of immigrants from the countries of western Europe. The majority of these were from Ireland; next largest in number were immigrants from England and the Germanic territories; and finally, a handful had arrived from both Canada and Scotland.<sup>3</sup> By 1880, more than one-third of Cleveland's population of 160,146 was foreign-born.<sup>4</sup>

Church history is an invaluable supplement to the inadequate census records of the nineteenth century, and affords a relatively reliable record of the patterns of settlement in the old district of Ohio City. The rapid rise of Catholic and German Protestant churches after mid-century is evidence of the kinds of foreign migration that distinguished Ohio City in this period.

In the 1840s there had been but one Catholic church for all of Cuyahoga County, that of "St. Mary's-in-the-Flats," at Columbus and Girard Streets in Cleveland Centre. In 1852, St. John's Cathedral was dedicated in Cleveland, and St. Mary's was turned over to the Germans.<sup>5</sup> A number of new congregations were formed to accommodate the growing Catholic population on the west side of the river. In 1854 St. Patrick's Church was established "for the accommodation of the Irish Catholics residing in Ohio City..."<sup>6</sup> A small church building was subsequently

constructed on Whitman Street and still another was built nearby on Bridge Street in the 1870s to meet the needs of the swelling Irish population of the district.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, German Catholics living west of the river, in November 1854, formed a congregation under the name of St. Mary's of the Assumption; they continued to worship at the church in the Flats until 1865, when a new church was dedicated for their use at Carroll and Jersey (W. 30th) Streets.<sup>8</sup> In 1865, St. Malachi's Church was formed from the eastern portion of the St. Patrick's congregation; this church was located on Washington Street and served the "Angle," an Irish neighborhood that had grown up just north of Detroit Street.<sup>9</sup> Finally, the parish of St. Mary's of the Annunciation was formed in 1870 and existed for a time at the corner of Moore Avenue and Hurd (W. 22nd) Street. It was organized with the "objective of providing a place of worship for French Catholics in scattered sections of what formerly was Ohio City."<sup>10</sup> This congregation was a small one, and it lasted only until 1916, when the vacant church property was taken over by the Hungarian parish of St. Emeric's Church.<sup>11</sup>

By 1833 there were about fifteen German families in Cleveland, and during the 1840s and 1850s a number of Germans made their homes along Lorain Avenue in Ohio City.<sup>12</sup> The German population of Ohio City was such that, in 1853, a congregation of the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church was formed. A pastor and one assistant were appointed, and in September of the same year a small frame church was dedicated just south

of Lorain on Jersey Street. About twenty families were members of this congregation. By 1857 a larger church had to be built to accommodate the growing congregation, and in 1871 still another church was built.<sup>13</sup> All of these new congregations in Ohio City conducted their own schools.<sup>14</sup>

Industrialization and immigration together fired the economy of Cleveland from mid-century on. Most of the workers of each incoming nationality group secured their first jobs in the steel and iron industries and in a variety of manufacturing establishments where the work was generally unskilled; "a European farmer did not have to speak English or operate a complicated machine to get a job in the mills."<sup>15</sup> Many of the early German settlers were skilled workmen and businessmen, and many opened their own stores and factories.

### Occupations and Industries of a Heterogeneous Community

Two local students recently made an inquiry into the nature of society on the near West Side as it existed in 1869.<sup>16</sup> That year was chosen, after some research, as the year that the Ohio City area was "in its prime": after the industrial boom of the Civil War years, during the years when much of the housing was built, and before land immediately west of Ohio City was subdivided and developed for new residences. Research, drawing from Cuyahoga County tax records, revealed a very heterogeneous neighborhood populated mainly by what the researchers called "the rising urban middle class."

One street where property owners were surveyed, that of Bridge, appears to be representative. This street is located almost in the center of the Ohio City district and is one whose modest brick and frame houses--many dating from this period--are still extant. Tax records revealed that residents in 1869 were engaged in the following occupations: brewer, grocer, machinist, blacksmith, painter, cooper, knitting mill owner, cabinet maker, pattern maker, cigar maker, laborer, shoemaker, sailor, ship carpenter, butcher, saloon keeper, molder, drayman, and mason.

Further evidence confirms the heterogeneous nature of the district in this period. One source is Lake's Atlas of Cuyahoga County. Published in 1874, this volume featured crude but revealing sketches of a number of local businesses that had been established in the Ohio City district by this date: August Burckhardt's Brewery, at the corner of Pearl and Monroe Streets; Fred Herz, Merchant Tailor, No. 411 and 413 Lorain Street; Herrman & Pfarr's Groceries, Flour and Feed Store, 78 and 80 Pearl Street; Market Saloon, Joseph Lang, Proprietor, 86 Lorain; and G. A. Tinnerman, Hardware and Stove Store, corner of Lorain and Fulton Streets.<sup>17</sup>

Leonard Schlather, who emigrated from Württemberg, Germany in 1853, was "long a commanding figure in the business circles of Cleveland and the foremost representative of its brewing interests."<sup>18</sup> He established his brewery at Carroll and York Streets. Charles Fries opened a small dry goods store on Pearl Street in 1868; Christian Schuele later acquired an interest, and the partnership of Fries and Schuele moved to a larger

building adjoining the West Side Market, then situated on the northwest corner of Pearl and Lorain. The Fries and Schuele Company was incorporated in 1909 and a five-story building was erected adjoining their former location.<sup>19</sup>

Thus it would seem that, in addition to feeding the mills with an endless supply of labor, Ohio City also nurtured a number of successful neighborhood businesses, many owned and operated by immigrants and the children of immigrants. But what was the true nature of the old Ohio City district? Were its residents rich or poor, or were they, as has been suggested, members of "the rising urban middle class"?

The area once known as Ohio City seems to have accommodated all three groups. Sections in or near the Flats, not analyzed in the tax records research cited above, housed largely the poor. There was as well a district of the middle- and working-class, largest of the three, the houses and shops of which comprise most of the district that is extant today. On these streets, south of Franklin Avenue to Monroe Street, and from Pearl Street west to Harbor (W. 44th) Street, lived the "industrious and thrifty mechanics and laborers [who] invested their frugal savings in the purchase of their humble homes."<sup>20</sup> Finally, there was a small section occupied by the wealthiest persons on the West Side, streets of fine residences built by citizens prominent in business and politics. Their homes were situated predominantly along Franklin Avenue and, to a lesser extent, on Clinton and Church Streets.<sup>21</sup> William B. Castle, last mayor of Ohio City and first mayor of the combined cities, resided here; so too

did Cleveland coal magnate Daniel P. Rhodes and his son, historian James Ford Rhodes; and U. S. Senator Marcus A. Hanna. Essayist Charles S. Brooks resided here as a child, as did Ella Grant Wilson, locally famous for her history of Cleveland's once-renowned Euclid Avenue.<sup>22</sup>

### Building Arts

Cleveland's remarkable growth as an important lake port and as a steelmaking and manufacturing center, and its coincident attraction to new immigrants, precipitated a massive boom in the city's construction industry that would last through to the early twentieth century. The domestic and religious architecture--and a sizable portion of the commercial architecture--still to be seen in Ohio City was largely built after 1850 through to the turn of the century. It is probable, however, that, with the known exception of St. John's Church, little exists from Ohio City's period as an independent mercantile city prior to 1854.

In domestic styles most prevalent was the simple vernacular-style house, a brick or (more commonly) clapboard-sided structure of balloon-frame construction with a small stoop or porch to one side and with gable end turned to the street.<sup>23</sup> This positioning permitted, first, a minimum of street frontage and a maximum density for a necessarily compact neighborhood; and, secondly, a maximum of profit for the land speculator. The individual house built on an individual parcel of land with a little grass and a few trees established the pattern that would reign in Cleveland during the remainder of the century and into the next. The

"block" or row-house tradition of the eastern cities never existed in Cleveland, nor in a number of other newer cities of the "West."<sup>24</sup>

The one-house-to-a-lot frame dwellings that were repeated, each one like its neighbor, on down the street, one block to the next, offering a kind of minimum dwelling to the nineteenth-century city's factory laborers, was a phenomenon that Ohio City's builders (if not later builders in other parts of Cleveland) fortunately avoided.<sup>25</sup> If nothing else, the immense variety of styles, shapes and ornament bespeaks a district of individual and group builders at least wealthy enough to incorporate such amenities; it bespeaks, as well, a diversity among its inhabitants in both taste and fortune.

Stylistically, the houses of the Ohio City district range from the common vernacular style described above, to the Greek and Gothic Revival, to the exuberant Italianate and Second Empire styles of the Victorians, to the late nineteenth-century styles of Eastlake and Queen Anne. Nearly all of the houses were designed by local carpenter-builders, small-time speculators, or the future occupants themselves.

Designs and plans frequently came from the carpenter's handbooks popular at the time--trained architects were still few and, in any case, expensive--and these could be copied freely enough to allow for individual expressions of taste in small details. Within the limits of a basic plan, for example, a builder or owner might select his own style of millwork, and determine according to his or his client's needs the location of porches, bays, towers, and the like. Toward the end of the century popular

magazines were increasingly looked to for their articles on architectural styles and modes of interior decoration.

The oldest houses yet to be seen in the Ohio City district are probably the simple brick houses found along Bridge and Carroll Streets and on the streets south of Lorain between W. 25th Street and Fulton Road. Two particularly interesting brick houses, one on Woodbine Street near Fulton and one on Bridge Street, feature stepped gables and most likely date from the pre-Civil War period. It is probable that most of these brick houses were built by the German settlers, who arrived with increasing frequency after 1850. The Germans came from a country with a strong masonry tradition: they liked brick houses, that was what they were used to, and so they built them here in Ohio City with strong simple outlines and horizontal stone lintels over door and window openings.

It is likely that Andrew Jackson Downing's cottage styles<sup>26</sup> exerted some influence on Ohio City's builders, for a number of the "cozy frame cottages" he recommended--modified for an urban society--are still to be seen, on Jay Avenue in particular. These houses featured the high sharp-peaked roofs and jigsaw wooden grilles, or bargeboard, fastened to the undersides of the gable eaves that were so characteristic of the style. A modified form of the "veranda" is also to be seen. A small number of exceedingly simple Gothic Revival style brick houses may today be seen on Carroll Avenue and the streets south of Lorain.

The wooden fretwork applied so frequently to "Carpenter Gothic" and later Victorian period houses in Ohio City has come to be appreciated



as a vigorous and pleasurable folk art of the machine age. Cut out with a scroll saw, worked by foot treadle or driven by steam, fanciful one-of-a-kind designs were often worked out by local carpenters and lumber mills.<sup>27</sup> The refinement of power machinery during the 1870s and 1880s served to further increase the desire for elaborate woodwork decoration on both private homes and commercial buildings, and the crisp cut-out patterns became so cheap that "anyone who built could afford a few brackets under his eaves or a fancy decorative area in the apex of his gable."<sup>28</sup>

Styles grew increasingly exuberant as the century wore on, particularly among those able to afford the latest residential fashions. The Italian villa style, the French Second Empire style, and that of the "High Victorian Italianate,"<sup>29</sup> all had their periods of popularity and all are to be seen in Ohio City today. The High Victorian Italianate style, distinguished by its elaborate treatment of windows, was a particularly popular style for commercial buildings during the 1870s and perhaps reached its apex in residential application with the construction of the Leonard Schlather mansion in 1881. This house, built directly across from Schlather's brewery on York Street in the "mill and mansion" tradition, is still extant, though most of the brewery unfortunately was destroyed some years ago.

Residential building in Ohio City during the later part of the nineteenth century took two directions. First, for middle-class clients the new house styles followed those that were gaining favor all across the country, those of Eastlake and Queen Anne.<sup>30</sup> For wealthier clients, the

houses were custom-built (an excellent example may be seen on the southeast corner of Vestry and W. 30th Street). For those of more moderate means, small groups of similar, sometimes identical houses were put up by developers, then offered for sale. A number of these can be seen on Chatham Street. Imitative of the most expensive fashions of the day, costs were often cut on either house or lot size or both. After 1880, the spacious lawns that lined Franklin Avenue in the vicinity of the Circle suddenly grew less spacious as one crossed Kentucky (W. 38th) Street; house lots were carved up with less generosity and the large Queen Anne- and Eastlake-style houses were built close upon one another.

The second direction that house building took late in the century was in answer to the ever-increasing demands for housing for arriving immigrants. This took the form of "doubling up," or the construction of a new house on the rear lot of another house; often there was no access provided for these houses to either street or alley. New houses were built on alleys as well, and both types of houses assumed the sparest of styles: simple frame dwellings, they did not usually exceed one to 1-1/2 stories in height. Houses such as these may today be seen throughout the neighborhood.

A brief word is due here about the two other major kinds of building that, taken together, form Ohio City's architectural heritage from the nineteenth century. Religious architecture was intimately woven into the history--the poverty and the prosperity--of the congregations themselves. A number of Ohio City's early congregations held their first

services in private homes.<sup>31</sup> Then, when there were enough members to form an official church, a small frame church building would be erected. This would soon be outgrown and another, more formal, structure would be commissioned. Sometimes even a third church was required to accommodate the congregation. Such a pattern seems to have been followed by nearly every congregation in Ohio City.

Two church buildings and one parochial school, all still in use today, are particularly notable architecturally. St. Patrick's Church on Bridge Street and the Franklin Circle Christian Church on the Circle are both fine examples of the Victorian Gothic style, both built during the 1870s. St. Ignatius High School, at Carroll Avenue and Jersey (W. 30th) Street is a fine example of the High Victorian Gothic, constructed in 1888 and 1890-91 from plans drawn in Europe according to the metric system. Beyond its architectural significance, St. Ignatius High School is important locally as the forerunner of John Carroll University, the pioneer effort in Catholic higher education in Cleveland.<sup>32</sup>

Commercial architecture in Ohio City usually followed the precedents set by the downtown business blocks. Buildings were mostly of brick, rose no taller than six stories (the height limit prior to the development of steel frame construction) but more often kept to four, and in general reflected much of the same flamboyance popular in the residential building of the Victorian period. The Italianate style, with its elaborate hood moldings and profusion of facade ornament, was particularly favored: the date of construction and the builder's name are frequently to be seen at

cornice. A few frame "western fronts" with false facades are still to be seen, indicative of an earlier, less tutored style of commercial building that was frequently employed in towns of the midwest.

### At Home and in the Neighborhood

One local historian recalls that September 24, 1856 was "a happy day within the walls of the city." The Kentucky Street Reservoir on the West Side had just been completed and "the mighty Cornish engines down by the old river bed sent the welcome waters of the lake dancing more than a hundred feet into the air and filled the little lake on the Kentucky Street mound, and from thence [was] sent on its mission of joy, health, comfort and luxury to the homes of the people."<sup>33</sup>

The luxury of piped water was to be but one of many changes in the physical character of Cleveland's near West Side in the second half of the nineteenth century. Changes came both rapidly and frequently. New population was added yearly, as were new businesses, new means of employment, new houses representing a galaxy of styles: in short, a new neighborhood in a new city. The architectural styles that shaped the physical form that Ohio City took have been described. It would perhaps here be worthwhile to reflect on the non-architectural qualities of the physical city and neighborhood that in their own way shaped the distinctive environment of these years.

Clues about the qualities, patterns and material culture of daily life on the near West Side are scarce; Ohio City's history is, above all,

anonymous history. According to one account, included in a church history published in 1903,<sup>34</sup> most people lived rather frugally. Most relied on their feet for transportation. Inside the house, furnishings were spare, for furniture was expensive. Rag carpets covered the floors, made from household materials. Hickory cord-wood served for fuel, sperm and tallow candles for illumination; later, kerosene lamps were used. None but the very wealthy kept domestic servants.

It was common practice for people to keep their own cows, chickens and hogs, and those with sufficiently large yards planted and cultivated their own vegetables; these they stored in the cellars for winter use or else buried in large pits in the backyard. Clothing, bed linen, and quilts were frequently homemade. Job demands were such that little time was left for attending the theatres or other amusements that had opened downtown. Entertainment ususally consisted of picnics, or perhaps the annual orphans' fair or some other charity event sponsored by the church.

On streets to the north of the old Ohio City district, such as Franklin, people lived less frugally. Prologue, written by Charles S. Brooks, who as a child resided on Franklin Street, describes the childhood world of "Henry Marston" (the author, thinly disguised).<sup>35</sup> Though Marston's world is primarily that of the grandeur of Franklin Street in the 1880s and 1890s, Brooks tells of his forays throughout the near West Side.

He describes the houses, as he remembers them, along with their yards. Dwellings were "high in front and with low kitchens at the rear, at

last a shed, with grape arbors running down the yard to the alley fence."<sup>36</sup> He recalls the "hitching posts and smart surreys of a Sunday afternoon. Every yard had its lilac bush, its cling stone peach and dusty plum. . . . There were apple trees, . . . a last remnant of orchards that had been swallowed by a hungry town."<sup>37</sup> Brooks writes of the wooden gates and fences along the alleys, gas lamps and stepping stones on the muddy, unpaved streets, the annual visits by Barnum & Bailey's Circus, bicycle racing down newly-paved Clinton Street. He offers us a child's perception of the rambling Victorian house, in which the hood moldings of the windows become "eyebrows" and the cupola on the roof conveniently serves as a summer look-out.<sup>38</sup>

Josiah Barber and Richard Lord had, in 1840, set aside for public use a parcel of land on the northwest corner of Pearl and Lorain Streets; this was called "Market Square."<sup>39</sup> Its logical situation, at the intersection of the road from the farms and orchards to the west and the turnpike serving the farmlands to the south, made it an exceedingly busy spot for the sale and purchase of produce. Two subsequent donations enlarged the parcel north to Hudson (Market) Street, and in 1868 a wooden market house was built.<sup>40</sup> In addition to its own public market, the near West Side community had its own cemetery of twelve acres, officially opened in 1841. This, the Monroe Street Cemetery, was "handsomely laid out with drives and walks," and in 1874 was further embellished with a carved stone arched gateway; two years later an office and "ladies' waiting room" were added.<sup>41</sup>

Three three-story brick schoolhouses, on Pearl, Hicks, and Kentucky Streets, were completed soon after consolidation of the two municipalities; these replaced the three dwellings that had formerly served as schools on Penn, Vermont, and Church Streets.<sup>42</sup> A West Side high school was established in 1855, and students in this school were accommodated in the Kentucky School until a separate school building was completed in 1861 on the southwest corner of Bridge and Randall.<sup>43</sup> In 1859 two fire companies served the West Side, one on Church Street, another situated on Pearl.<sup>44</sup>

The opening of the Kentucky Street Reservoir, previously mentioned, initiated a city-wide celebration said to have drawn thirty thousand visitors. The reservoir, with a six-million-gallon capacity, was situated within a six-acre mound 35 feet above street level.<sup>45</sup> A broad flight of steps led to the ridge where a graveled path surrounded the pool; this path served as "a promenade on summer nights"<sup>46</sup> for nearly forty years. An etching exists of this spot, depicting a pastoral scene of gentlemen escorting ladies with parasols along the path (Fig. 4). Rooftops and church spires may be seen amidst the lush vegetation, and sailing craft dot the lake. In 1890 the Kentucky Street Reservoir was abandoned and the grounds became known as Reservoir Park; one year later the name was changed to Fairview Park.<sup>47</sup>

In 1863 the West Side Railway Company was organized<sup>48</sup> and the first street railways connecting Cleveland's Public Square and the West Side via the Center Street bridge were completed and in operation by

Fig. 4. "City of Cleveland from Reservoir Walk," 1872 (from a print in the Western Reserve Historical Society).





June 1, 1864.<sup>49</sup> Horse-cars ran along Detroit Street to Kentucky Street, south on Kentucky to Lorain, thence to Pearl, and from there northward back to Detroit and Public Square.<sup>50</sup> The Superior Viaduct, a direct high-level link between the commercial districts of the east and west sides of the river, officially opened in 1878;<sup>51</sup> this bridge connected Superior Street downtown with the intersection of Pearl and Detroit Streets.

By 1883 a number of street improvements had been made in the central business district of Cleveland, but none so far had been made in the the city's West Side. Between 1883 and 1885 thirteen miles of a paving material known as "Medina block stone" were laid in the city, including both Pearl and Lorain Streets.<sup>52</sup> By 1892 Cram's city and county atlas indicates that Pearl, Detroit, Lorain and Bridge Streets had all been paved with "common Medina Block stone," and that Franklin Avenue as far as Gordon (W. 65th) Street had been paved with "dressed Medina block stone."<sup>53</sup> The remainder of the streets were still dirt.

The diversity of class and income in this neighborhood previously suggested is subtly confirmed by several facts. Better street paving on the fashionable Franklin Street is one, and the fact that "men [living on Franklin Street] walked home at noon for dinner across the viaduct"<sup>54</sup> indicate that these men were apparently employed "downtown." Charles Brooks further tells us, amidst his reminiscences of West Side life, that "Henry Marston's grandfather owned more than thirty houses.... All of them... were in Cleveland and were leased or rented to poor tenants. Some were in solid allotments where new streets had been opened, and others

stood in older and mostly shabbier districts."<sup>55</sup> One of his grandfather's houses was on Chatham Street, a street near the southern edge of the Ohio City district. Brooks' "Marston" disparagingly describes the plain vernacular-style houses constructed here between 1850 and 1900:

They were mostly small frame dwellings, a story and a half high, with a narrow porch across the front, a door with a stoop at the side, a stuffy parlor too stiff for daily use, and a kitchen that was nursery, sitting room, and laundry. The dining room was no better than a gangway...<sup>56</sup>

Brooks' frequent reference to stables,<sup>57</sup> and the fact that an occasional extant carriage house might still be seen to the rear of some houses along Franklin Avenue, further confirms the greater wealth of this section of the near West Side.

Author Brooks is undoubtedly speaking of "Franklin Hill," a tenement district that clung to the river bank east of Pearl Street until 1962, when he writes:

[One alley] opened to a foreign district where unkept linen always hung on a line and shrill mothers clamored for their children--a district that arose for Catholic mass at the jingle of St. Bridget's bells. Identical tenements were crowded close in foreign sociability--English warped with Irish and with German... .

Brooks speaks of no street in particular when he writes that, "all the alleys clutched in their dirty fingers a huddle of unpainted houses."<sup>58</sup>

### Patterns of Land Use

Through the last third of the nineteenth century, Cleveland's near West Side was a closely-built, highly urban environment, its building

patterns dictated by the "walking city." Most houses were set on small, narrow lots, close to the street (the environment created later by the enlarged lots, lawns and houses in neighborhoods further west and in the suburbs would be much different). Streets of the well-to-do lay close to workers' cottages and the tenements of the poor. Artisans often kept shop and home in the same building, and factories, wharves and offices were but a few blocks from middle-class homes.

The earlier pastoral view of the two mercantile cities (Fig. 3) can profitably be contrasted with an 1877 "Bird's Eye View" of Cleveland (Fig. 5). The Flats along the river, less than forty years earlier serving as home to a number of residences--even a church--as well as river trade, have now been entirely given over to industry. Smokestacks, then considered symbols of a prosperous city, are active. The harbor is filled with traffic. Railroad tracks border the former village of Ohio City on the south side and lead directly through the pastoral landscape of 1851.

The 1877 view further shows the residential neighborhoods of the West Side tucked well upon the high and level ground--with the exception of the Irish settlement of "Whiskey Island," which claimed land on the lake-front until about 1900--and houses can be seen well beyond the western border of the original Ohio City. Indeed, residential development now extends perhaps a dozen blocks west of Harbor (W. 44th) Street, though settlement is still compact. Church spires punctuate the skyline; the near West Side is lushly landscaped with trees, as is all of Cleveland, then known as "Forest City"; and, finally, the continuous bands of small frame houses,

**Fig. 5. Bird's Eye View of Cleveland, 1877 (detail, from a print in the Western Reserve Historical Society).**



situated as they are, equidistant from the street on similar lot sizes on the streets of an irregular town plan, create an attractive village-sort of neighborhood not unlike that which exists today.

The gross takeover of the river Flats by industry, and the consequent crowding this produced, had an inevitable impact on land use on the near West Side. Just as Cleveland's wholesale district, unable to find room for expansion in the Flats, filtered into the city's earliest residential community at Bank (W. 6th) and Water (W. 9th) Streets,<sup>59</sup> so a number of manufacturers located their businesses in the Ohio City district. The location was convenient to docks and rail terminals and no zoning regulations existed to prevent such infiltration.<sup>60</sup> As already mentioned, Leonard Schlather situated his brewery at York and Carroll Streets; when the last addition was made in 1885, it covered "more than an entire city block."<sup>61</sup> Another brewery was established at the corner of Pearl and Monroe Streets,<sup>62</sup> and the office and factory of Forest City Cracker Bakers located on Bridge Street, in "a substantial three-story and basement building," and employed "one-hundred hands."<sup>63</sup> Author Charles Brooks mentions a "gum-factory" on Detroit, and the then-imminent arrival of a "pie factory on a nearby street."<sup>64</sup>

Cram's Atlas of 1892 shows that land within the original boundaries of Ohio City was completely occupied with buildings by this date, the only exception being that of the reservoir block. Further west, beyond Harbor Street, the land had also been subdivided and was largely occupied. In the village of West Cleveland (annexed to the city in 1894) the Atlas shows

that approximately one-fifth of its area already contained houses, and the remainder was platted but so far vacant. Street car lines, also indicated on the Atlas map, terminated just beyond the city limits, across Gordon Avenue,<sup>65</sup> accounting for the still-compact nature of the city's West Side development. The suburban form of the metropolitan city had not yet been assumed in Cleveland. That transformation would await the extension of the street railway and its attendant change to faster electric cars after 1893. Later than many other cities, Cleveland still wore the closely-built styles of the walking city.<sup>66</sup>



## Footnotes--Chapter II

<sup>1</sup> Chapman, Cleveland, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> In 1860, "19,437 persons of foreign-birth, representing 44.8 percent of the total population, were listed as living in the city." See Justin B. Galford, "The Foreign Born and Urban Growth in Cleveland," Livingston, N. J., 1966 (Typewritten), Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, p. 5; originally prepared as a chapter in "The Foreign Born and Urban Growth in the Great Lakes, 1850-1950: A Study of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Milwaukee" (Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1957).

<sup>3</sup> This breakdown was arrived at from a general scanning of the Eighth Census (1860) for Cleveland, available on microfilm in the Cleveland Public Library (U. S., Census Office, Census Reports, Eighth Census, vol. I, Population, Ohio-Cuyahoga County [New York: Recordak Corporation, n. d.]. Information is hand-written, recording individual names with no ward totals to aid the researcher dealing with an area smaller than the city itself. Further complicating research for the years 1860-1900 is the fact that the ward boundaries changed so frequently that it is hard to know what geographic area a certain ward number is describing. After 1910, census information for Cleveland exists on a more readily usable tract basis.

<sup>4</sup> U. S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880), pp. 538-541.

<sup>5</sup> Work Projects Administration, Ohio Historical Records Survey Project, Service Division, Parishes of the Catholic Church Diocese of Cleveland: History and Records (Cleveland: Cadillac Press, 1942), p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:614.

<sup>7</sup> History of St. Patrick's Parish, 1853-1903: Memorial of the Golden Jubilee (Cleveland: Catholic Universe Publishing Company, 1903), pp. 18-19.

<sup>8</sup> Parishes of the Catholic Church, p. 69. St. Mary's-in-the-Flats was rapidly encircled by factories, practically abandoned in 1879, and razed in 1888.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 140-141.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 151-152.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Pap, ed., Ethnic Communities of Cleveland, pp. 109-110.

<sup>13</sup> Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1857-1932 (Cleveland: n.p., 1932), pp. 6, 8, 10. This third church building is still extant and still houses the congregation of Trinity Lutheran.

<sup>14</sup> At St. Patrick's, for example, a girls' school opened in 1853 with "about 158 scholars in attendance." A boys' school opened in 1856 with 180 pupils. History of St. Patrick's Church, pp. 43, 49.

<sup>15</sup> Work Projects Administration, Federal Writers' Program, "The Peoples of Cleveland," Cleveland, 1942 (Typewritten), pp. 2, 93-94.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Nowie and Charles Brilvitch, "Ohio City Property Owners in 1869," Cleveland, 1974 (Typewritten), Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, unpagged. Nowie and Brilvitch analyzed only that portion of "Ohio City" south of Detroit Street and west of Pearl.

<sup>17</sup> D.J. Lake, Atlas of Cuyahoga County, Ohio (Philadelphia: Titus, Simmons & Titus, 1874), pp. 187-188.

<sup>18</sup> Alburn and Alburn, This Cleveland of Ours, 3:203-209.

<sup>19</sup> Rose, Cleveland, p. 350. The Fries & Schuele Company is still a local "landmark," operated by descendants of the original partners.

<sup>20</sup> History of St. Patrick's Church, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> William Payne, Cleveland Illustrated: A Pictorial Hand-Book of the Forest City (Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1876), pp. 195-196; and Rose, Cleveland, p. 509.

<sup>22</sup> Only the Castle and Wilson houses are extant.

<sup>23</sup> Much of the material on Ohio City's architectural history is based on conversations throughout the past year with Ned Reich, Cleveland City Planning Commission.

<sup>24</sup> Russell Lynes, The Domesticated Americans (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 99.

<sup>25</sup> Examples of this kind of dwelling in the cities of Chicago and Buffalo may be seen in Sam Bass Warner, Jr., The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). Campen mentions the phenomenon in Cleveland: "...the frame houses of the factory workers spread over the lowland areas of the East Side and beyond the borders of the old 'Ohio City.' As one passed through Cleveland, these undistinguished houses, and the mills their inhabitants served, were most in evidence." See Richard N. Campen, Architecture of the Western Reserve, 1800-1900 (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1971), p. 232.

<sup>26</sup> Andrew J. Downing, Cottage Residences (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1842).

<sup>27</sup> John Maass, The Gingerbread Age: A View of Victorian America (New York: Bramhall House, 1957), p. 65.

<sup>28</sup> Campen, Architecture of the Western Reserve, p. 233.

<sup>29</sup> Marcus Whiffen, American Architecture Since 1780: A Guide to the Styles (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1969), pp. 97-101.

<sup>30</sup> Lynes, Domesticated Americans, pp. 100-102, provides a useful discussion of these building fashions, as does Whiffen, American Architecture Since 1780, pp. 115-126.

<sup>31</sup> Campen, "Story of Ohio City," p. 55.

<sup>32</sup> Rose, Cleveland, p. 479.

<sup>33</sup> Robison, History of the City of Cleveland, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> History of St. Patrick's Parish, pp. 8-11.

<sup>35</sup> Charles S. Brooks, Prologue (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>39</sup> Orth, History of Cleveland, Ohio, 1:622; and Alburn and Alburn, This Cleveland of Ours, 1:416-417.

<sup>40</sup> Orth, History of Cleveland, Ohio, 1:622.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 1:149; and Payne, Cleveland Illustrated, pp. 74-75.

<sup>42</sup> Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:335.

<sup>43</sup> Orth, History of Cleveland, Ohio, 1:528.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 1:152.

<sup>45</sup> Rose, Cleveland, p. 279.

<sup>46</sup> Brooks, Prologue, p. 255.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 520. This name still applies, if only on paper; this land has for some years now ceased its function as a public park and has taken on more the character of a vacant lot.

<sup>48</sup> Alburn and Alburn, This Cleveland of Ours, 1:421.

<sup>49</sup> Robison, History of the City of Cleveland, p. 91.

<sup>50</sup> Orth, History of Cleveland, Ohio, 1:747.

<sup>51</sup> Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:456-457.

<sup>52</sup> Robison, History of the City of Cleveland, p. 209.

<sup>53</sup> George F. Cram, J.H. Beers and J.Q.A. Bennett, Atlas of Cuyahoga County and the City of Cleveland, Ohio (Chicago: George F. Cram & Co., 1892), p. 12

<sup>54</sup> Brooks, Prologue, p. 33.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 135. Brooks must have forgotten St. Bridget's location on the city's East Side; he is probably referring to St. Malachi's Church.

<sup>59</sup> Chapman, Cleveland, p. 104.

<sup>60</sup>Cleveland's first zoning regulations did not appear until 1929.

<sup>61</sup>Alburn and Alburn, This Cleveland of Ours, 3:204.

<sup>62</sup>Lake, Atlas of Cuyahoga County, p. 187.

<sup>63</sup>Cleveland Illustrated, 1893 (Cleveland: The Consolidated Illustrating Co., 1893), p. 108.

<sup>64</sup>Brooks, Prologue, pp. 303, 42.

<sup>65</sup>Cram, et. al., Atlas of Cuyahoga County, p. 53.

<sup>66</sup>In Boston, for example, many families were able to pursue what Warner calls the "rural ideal" of house and land by 1870. See Streetcar Suburbs, pp. 142-143.

### III.

## TWENTIETH CENTURY: A SMALL PART OF THE METROPOLIS

### Immigration

Since the Civil War, Cleveland's growth had been dramatic. City population climbed from 92,829 in 1870 to 381,768 in 1900. Ten years later, Cleveland's total was 560,663, and the 1920 population count of 796,841 made Cleveland the nation's fifth largest city. Economic advancement kept pace, with new factories attracted by low-cost fuel, readily available power and water, an abundant labor supply, and the city's proximity to raw materials and markets.<sup>1</sup>

Cleveland's decennial censuses from 1870 to 1910 reveal the numerical importance of the foreign born as a major factor in the city's growth. The foreign-born accounted for no less than 32.6 percent of the total population at any enumeration, or nearly one out of every three persons in the city. In 1920 Cleveland's foreign-born reached its peak census total, and thereafter declined due to restrictive immigration laws and the movement of many foreign-born to suburban areas.<sup>2</sup> Reflecting the national pattern, a significant shift occurred between 1900 and 1910

in the countries of origin of arriving immigrants, a shift from what is conventionally described as "old" to "new" immigrant origins, from the western- and northern- to the eastern-European stock of such countries as Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Russia.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, no reliable census data is available to indicate how these trends affected Cleveland's near West Side. For 1900, the population of Cleveland was enumerated by wards, but information on country of origin is given city-wide only, as in previous censuses in which this breakdown is given. From the information that is available, it can be learned only that Ward 33, encompassing the heart of the old Ohio City district, had a total count of 5,318 persons, of whom 1,169 were foreign-born. A total of 959 dwellings, occupied by 1,236 families, was counted. Of all "homes," 200 were owned "free," 65 were "encumbered" and 874 were "hired."<sup>4</sup>

Information on country of origin by city ward becomes available with the 1910 U. S. Census. Analysis of this data as it applies to the near West Side shows most foreign-born whites to be from the following countries, in descending order of numerical strength: Hungary, Germany, Austria and Ireland.<sup>5</sup> Again, statistics for 1910 reveal a pattern similar to the one of 1900, that of low home ownership figures and high numbers of renters.

Census figures for 1920 indicate that the vast majority of "foreign-born whites" then in the Ohio City area had come from Hungary, and that there were smaller numbers of immigrants from nearly every country of

Europe, the most numerous of which were from Czechoslovakia, Ireland, Finland, and Germany.<sup>6</sup> Similar patterns emerged from data for 1930, though by this date the number of foreign immigrants had been greatly reduced.<sup>7</sup>

Samuel P. Orth's 1910 history of Cleveland includes a map of metropolitan Cleveland showing the distribution of the city's principal ethnic groups in that year.<sup>8</sup> Irish settlement in Cleveland is shown heavily concentrated on the West Side just north of Detroit Street at W. 25th Street. Hungarians and Slavs had settled in the vicinity of W. 25th Street and Lorain Avenue, "because of the steel mills in the flats and the West Side Market," according to one historian.<sup>9</sup> St. Emeric's Church was organized in 1904 for the Hungarian Catholics on the West Side.<sup>10</sup> No one location is shown for the Germans, Cleveland's largest immigrant group, who, Orth notes, "settled largely on the West Side."<sup>11</sup>

#### Transportation Technology and Dispersal

The horse-car railways begun in 1864 had improved local transportation and travel to and from Cleveland's central business district, but had largely maintained the "walking city" character of the near West Side and other neighborhoods. The transportation improvements effected beginning in the 1890s, however, allowed substantial portions of workers to settle outside the neighborhood of their work, and was probably the single most important factor in the creation of the physical form that Cleveland bears today. Never--with its one-house-to-a-lot tradition--



a very compact city, Cleveland became even more decentralized with the advent of the electric streetcars.

In 1893, streetcars on the Lorain and Detroit Street line were electrified and linked downtown Superior Street, via Lorain, with W. 98th Street. In 1910, service was extended to W. 117th Street and in 1923 to the suburb of Rocky River. The Detroit Street line was also electrified in 1893, and offered service from Superior via Detroit to Rocky River.<sup>12</sup> Land flanking the two major arteries of Lorain and Detroit was subsequently opened for development, and the construction of whole sections of Cleveland's far West Side and the suburb of Lakewood date from this period. Continual improvements in transportation technology would make possible continual additions to Cleveland's supply of residential land. Later, the automobile would allow the ultimate enlargement of the supply.<sup>13</sup>

The erection of new houses on the periphery of Cleveland's West Side, an area now accessible by a new, more efficient transportation system, set in motion forces tending to draw population away from the older district of the central city. A new supply of housing became readily available--houses that were usually larger, equipped with the latest modern devices, and situated on roomier quarter-acre lots. The compromises necessitated by the pedestrian city--between convenience and privacy, the aspirations of home ownership and the high price of land--were eliminated with the arrival of the new streetcar system.<sup>14</sup>

The abandonment of the Ohio City district by those who could afford to leave began in the early 1900s. No one dramatic event caused

the migration out the central city. Rather, the "habit of economic rise and outward migration"<sup>15</sup> might be held accountable. Cleveland's near West Side had served as a kind of "port of entry" for many hundreds of immigrant families. Its proximity to jobs, the low rents, and the established enclaves of a number of ethnic communities had made it the first stop for countless immigrants to Cleveland. After a certain amount of prosperity had been obtained, however, it was natural to want something better, away from the noise and smoke of industry and the crowding caused by the continuing waves of immigration. New fashions in housing, and the provision of new transportation systems that made these new neighborhoods accessible provided the opportunity for betterment. Moreover, with land in the Ohio City district already so densely covered, rising families could only move out in order to move up.

The Irish population of the "Angle," north of Detroit Street, began to disperse shortly after the turn of the century. A portion of the neighborhood had been previously claimed for construction of the Superior Viaduct and the neighborhood suffered even more displacement with the construction of a new bridge beginning in 1912:

Civic improvements, higher wages, the appeal of finer homes began a trend away from the "Angle" that became highly accelerated around 1915. Children who married could find no home under their parental roof and no land upon which to build....<sup>16</sup>

St. Malachi's Parish declined from "a one-time high of 2,000 families to 565 in 1915, 256 in 1918, to 123 in 1923, to 60 in 1928."<sup>17</sup> Many of

the Irish moved westward, following Detroit Street, many eventually settling in Lakewood.<sup>18</sup>

A directory of the members of the Franklin Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church published in 1907<sup>19</sup> shows that while the overwhelming majority of church members still resided in the immediate neighborhood, a number were listed at addresses much further west, as far as 114th Street, and a handful resided in Lakewood. This contrasts with an 1872 directory in which all church members resided in the neighborhood. Later, a 1933 centennial publication listed the majority of members at addresses well beyond W. 50th Street, many beyond the city limits.<sup>20</sup>

In the case of the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, it found itself having to build new churches on the outskirts of Cleveland to accommodate the Germans dispersing westward and southward. In 1924, looking back on the changes wrought in the school that Trinity Church had long operated on the near West Side, it was observed:

Its character... as the years went by has become [sic] more and more that of a mission school. While the total enrollment is decreasing the percentage of children coming from circles other than our own has been steadily increasing.<sup>21</sup>

Population changes on the near West Side can be further documented with the real estate classified advertisements which appeared during this period. In the late 1890s and early 1900s there were small advertisements for vacant lots available for sale, as well as some new houses, most seemingly built by small-time speculators dealing in the development of new allotments. In one representative batch of issues of

the Cleveland Plain Dealer in the 1890s and 1900s, few if any houses on the near West Side were offered for sale.

By 1910 the real estate ads signaled a dramatic change. On the one hand were the large, attractive advertisements for houses built on new allotments, citing the advantages of pure air and proximity to street-car terminals. "The surroundings are ideal in a clean and healthy neighborhood," read one.<sup>22</sup> Another lured prospective purchasers this way: "Into the Pure Air....Is the intention we hear expressed on all sides from those who have lived for years amid the SMOKE AND GRIME of closely built up city streets." On the other hand were the small private ads of persons seeking quick sales. Offering their houses at "bargain prices," many ads included such lines as "LEAVING CITY, must sell now." Some of the advertisements from a sample paper of 1910 follow; a number emphasize their property's potential as an "income" property:<sup>24</sup>

BEST BARGAIN IN CLEVELAND--Good 8-room house, large rooms, \$2,500; 1730 Randall rd., 1 block from Franklin av.; must be sold.

FOR SALE--10-room house arranged for 2 families; bathrooms up and down stairs...40-foot lot, 2066 W. 38th st., formerly Mechanic st.

11-ROOM HOUSE--Convenient for 2 families; St. Patrick's parish...

With the departure from the near West Side neighborhood of those who could afford to leave, the district became more and more a home for the poor. New immigrants with few skills and low incomes more and more predominated in this area with its abundance of cheap and old

housing. The income homogeneity so characteristic of the new suburban settlements came to characterize Cleveland's near West Side as well.<sup>25</sup>

The shift in population was accompanied by a shift in taste. The formerly prominent streets of Franklin and Clinton--once rival to Cleveland's Euclid Avenue--became mere reminders of what had once been the housing habits of the rich. Many of the mansions on these streets became boarding houses. The new residential fashions that took the place of the Italian villas once so popular were well established by 1917, with the appearance of Beautiful Homes of Cleveland.<sup>26</sup> No houses on the near West Side, not even the mansions of Franklin Avenue, were included. Those that drew attention were, in nearly every case, situated in distant suburbs.

#### Changing Patterns of Land Use--The Final Inheritance

In its shift from a mixed- to mostly low-income area, single houses in the old Ohio City district were in many cases converted to multiple family use in order to keep rents down. No doubt a number of families doubled up; many took in boarders. In some cases still more alley and rear lot houses were built to meet demand. No zoning regulations forbade such crowding, and the effects are visible today, especially on the more congested streets south of Lorain Avenue.

Several large brick apartment houses were erected in scattered locations during the early years of this century; the "Beckwith" and "Heyse" on Franklin Circle, and the "West Virginia" at Bridge and W. 28th

Streets are examples. In addition there were several attempts on a small scale to build "row houses," brick apartments in row-house style but which usually contained no more than perhaps four to six units. Examples of this later building type might be seen at the corner of Woodbine Avenue and Randall Road, on the north side of Whitman Street between Randall and W. 44th Street, and on the south side of Clinton Avenue at W. 28th Street. The crowding and intensive use of nearly every parcel of land during this period is still visible today.

Another important effect on the district's patterns of land use was the increasing amount of space given over to small industries, particularly in the northeast corner of the district, below Detroit at W. 25th Street. The last remaining house or houses on some blocks in this area attest to the many incursions throughout this century. St. John's Church and Parish House are today surrounded by light industries such as Lester Engineering Company and the Cleveland Vibrator Company. The infiltration of industry, once confined to the Flats, no doubt represented one more reason for flight, particularly for the wealthier residents on nearby Clinton and Franklin Streets.<sup>27</sup>

Intrusions by industry in this corner of the district had its effect on Detroit Street as well. Photographic evidence<sup>28</sup> suggests that this street, early in the century, was a busy and compact commercial district, with business buildings of varying heights and plain-to-fancy facades. At the corner of Detroit and W. 25th Streets the Forest City Building, the 1891 red brick Campbell building, and the "Progress" block remain to suggest

its turn-of-the-century character. The serious invasion of factories and other industrial structures succeeded in destroying the neighborhood that had supported Detroit's small businesses. Detroit Avenue's coincident transition to an auto commuter road to the western suburbs further determined its contemporary character.

Still other elements lending both physical and cultural shape to the present district were added in the first two decades of the century. A new West Side Market was completed in 1911, opposite the former wooden market house at the corner of W. 25th Street and Lorain Avenue.<sup>29</sup> The five-story Italian Renaissance building of the Cleveland Trust Company, located at Fulton and Lorain, was begun in 1918 and opened to the public the following year.<sup>30</sup> The first branch of the Cleveland Public Library, begun in 1892 on Pearl Street, moved into a new building on the triangular parcel of land bounded by Bridge, Fulton, and W. 38th Streets. A gift of Andrew Carnegie, it was designed in the popular Beaux-Arts style by Edward L. Tilton. Finally, the Detroit-Superior High Level Bridge, replacing the Superior Viaduct, was completed in 1917.<sup>31</sup> This bridge carried two levels of traffic, autos on the upper level and streetcars below. Physically, the district was "complete" by 1920.

### New Migrations

The years subsequent to 1910 witnessed the further migration out of the area of those who could afford to leave. As these people left, persons who took their place were increasingly those who could not afford

to live anywhere else. The phenomenon was city-wide and by 1941 "decentralization" was serious enough to merit a formal inquiry by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. "It is evident," stated the report, "that most people who live in Cleveland are anxious to move to the suburbs.... Experience has shown that if their economic status permits, the majority of Clevelanders prefer to live outside of the central area."<sup>32</sup> Trying to determine why people preferred to live elsewhere than central city neighborhoods, the report pointed to a number of responsible factors, from smoke and dirt to congestion, to vice and crime, to deterioration, to the "proximity of races having a depreciatory effect on values."<sup>33</sup>

Population characteristics of the old Ohio City district underwent even further changes. Beginning with World War I, many persons from the Appalachian states came north to seek work in Cleveland and other cities. The largest migration took place after World War II and continued through the 1950s and 1960s. A majority of the migrants were from West Virginia, though a substantial number came from Tennessee and some from the Appalachian regions of Ohio, Virginia and Pennsylvania.<sup>34</sup> Today the largest Appalachian community in Cleveland may be found on the near West Side; one recent study estimated that 20,000 Appalachian whites reside in this area.<sup>35</sup>

Puerto Ricans began arriving in Cleveland about 1942 when the migrant farm workers began settling in the city to provide the labor sought by Cleveland industries. Today they are the largest ethnic group



on the near West Side; 9,000 Puerto Ricans were counted in Greater Cleveland by the 1970 Census, with an estimated 5,000 of these living on the near West Side. West 25th, W. 30th, Whitman, Woodbine, Bridge, Lorain and Chatham are all streets with large numbers of Puerto Rican residents.<sup>36</sup>

The near West Side is still home to large numbers of Hungarians and population studies show that small numbers of Irish, Lebanese, and Syrians, about 60 percent of the 1,100 Mexicans in Greater Cleveland, and the majority of Cleveland's 4,000 South Americans all reside on the near West Side.<sup>37</sup> With the completion of the Riverview Terrace public housing project in 1963, the area's first substantial number of blacks came to reside here. Finally, Cleveland's largest single concentration of American Indians, about 200 in number, live on the near West Side. The Cleveland American Indian Center is located on Church Street.<sup>38</sup>

## Footnotes--Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>Galford, "Foreign Born and Urban Growth in Cleveland," p. 24.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 22, 27.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 14, 23.

<sup>4</sup>U. S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, Census Reports, Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900, vol. I, Population, pt. 1, pp. 653, 708.

<sup>5</sup>U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Thirteenth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1910, vol. III, Population, p. 427. Information reflects combined data for Wards 3 and 8, both of which included major portions of the Ohio City area.

<sup>6</sup>Howard Whipple Green, Population Characteristics by Census Tracts, Cleveland, Ohio (Cleveland: The Plain Dealer Publishing Company, 1931), p. 220.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>8</sup>Orth, History of Cleveland, Ohio, 1:124.

<sup>9</sup>Pap, ed., Ethnic Communities of Cleveland, p. 156.

<sup>10</sup>Parishes of the Catholic Church, pp. 115-116. St. Emeric's first occupied the church building that had formerly housed the French Church of the Annunciation, then built a new combined church and school in 1925. This building still serves the parish today.

<sup>11</sup>Orth, History of Cleveland, Ohio, 1:124.

<sup>12</sup>Kenneth S. P. Morse, Cleveland Streetcars, Part II (Baltimore, Md.: By the Author, 3700 Woodbine Avenue, 1964), pp. 23-24.

<sup>13</sup>Warner makes this argument very effectively as he documents the process of suburban growth in Boston. See Streetcar Suburbs, pp. 15, 64.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 15. The same patterns illustrated by Warner's case study of Boston were analyzed and discussed in a more general way approximately twenty years earlier; see U. S., Federal Housing Administration, The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities, ed. Homer Hoyt (Washington, D. C.: Federal Housing Administration, 1939), especially pp. 116-117.

<sup>15</sup> Warner, Streetcar Suburbs, p. 66.

<sup>16</sup> St. Malachi's Memorial Church (Cleveland: n. p., 1947), p. 35.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 37. The parish revived somewhat with the construction of Lakeview Terrace public housing in 1936.

<sup>18</sup> "Peoples of Cleveland," pp. 125-126.

<sup>19</sup> Manual and Directory of the Franklin Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church (Cleveland: n. p., 1907). This church, dedicated in 1870, was located at Franklin Avenue and Duane (W. 32nd) Street.

<sup>20</sup> The Centennial: Franklin Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, 1833-1933 (Cleveland: n. p., 1933).

<sup>21</sup> Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> Cleveland Plain Dealer, 2 April 1910, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 15, 10.

<sup>25</sup> The streetcar's role in the creation of income-graded neighborhoods in Cleveland is discussed by Ronald R. Weiner, "A History of Civic Land Use Decision Making in the Cleveland Metropolitan Area, 1880-1930" (Ph. D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1974), pp. 47-49. Sam Bass Warner, Jr. describes the trend as it occurred in Philadelphia; see The Private City, p. 171.

<sup>26</sup> Beautiful Homes of Cleveland (Cleveland: The Cleveland Topics Company, 1917).

<sup>27</sup> Brooks (Prologue, pp. 32-33, 42) offers his perceptions of industry's invasion of the neighborhood after 1900.

<sup>28</sup> Cleveland Picture Collection, Cleveland Public Library.

<sup>29</sup> Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:491-493.

<sup>30</sup> Alburn and Alburn, This Cleveland of Ours, 3:351-354.

<sup>31</sup> Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:458-459.

<sup>32</sup> L. S. Robbins, Decentralization: A Problem in Cleveland's Future (Cleveland: The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, 1941), p. 13.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15. Regarding the last factor, the report notes that Cleveland's Negro population doubled from 34,451 in 1920 to 71,899 in 1930 (p. 14); Negro settlement was confined to the city's East Side, however, and so cannot be considered a major factor of dispersal in the near West Side community.

<sup>34</sup> Dorothy Kunkin and Michael Byrne, Appalachians in Cleveland (Cleveland: Institute of Urban Studies, Cleveland State University, 1972), p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Donald Levy, A Report on the Location of Ethnic Groups in Greater Cleveland (Cleveland: Institute of Urban Studies, Cleveland State University, 1972), p. 4. This estimate applies to the area bounded by W. 30th and W. 70th Streets, Lake Erie and Denison Avenue.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 20, 27, 29, 41-42.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

## IV

### OHIO CITY'S "DISCOVERY": PRESERVATION

#### HISTORY TO DATE

Attempts to preserve and restore the architectural heritage of Ohio City had their beginning late in 1968. Bruce Hedderson, a Canadian familiar with the amenities offered by city neighborhoods in Toronto, "discovered" Cleveland's Ohio City neighborhood during occasional walking tours of the area. Gravestones in the Monroe Street Cemetery intrigued him. After researching the neighborhood's history, Hedderson perceived what he later would call "a lovely living museum-type quality, the remnants of a more genteel era."<sup>1</sup>

Hedderson put together in his mind the many attractions this neighborhood had to offer. There was, first of all, the fact that this was the oldest neighborhood in Cleveland, with much of its old architecture still existing in a condition which (unlike the historic neighborhood of Hough, for example) offered an opportunity for restoration. The area was a relatively compact one and offered a good location, close to downtown and the famous West Side Market. A variety of local institutions such as St. Ignatius High School, a concentrated shopping area, and

library and hospital facilities had preserved a semblance of stability.

With seed money from the Cleveland Foundation, Hedderson founded the Ohio City Community Development Association (OCCDA). He prepared a slide lecture illustrating both the many successful neighborhood preservation projects in cities across the country and the potential that existed in Cleveland. He travelled to the suburbs to enlist investors in the area. Hedderson himself purchased and restored a small brick house on Bridge Avenue. By late 1969 a handful of restorations were underway. By September of 1971 eight houses had been restored or remodeled,<sup>2</sup> and by October 1972 fourteen were completed and the OCCDA counted more than fifty members.<sup>3</sup>

Late in 1970 a service corporation was set up by a local savings and loan institution to undertake the upgrading of the Ohio City housing stock by making investments in the area, one which heretofore was strictly "red-lined." The WSFS Development Corporation was formed by West Side Federal Savings and Loan (this name has since been changed to Cardinal Federal Savings and Loan) and proceeded to buy up properties and offer them for sale with the stipulation that they be restored within a certain period of time. The idea was to prevent the further ravages of speculators who frequently purchased such properties for use as income sources and meanwhile provided minimal, if any, maintenance.

"How many more Houghs could Cleveland afford?" was the answer given by Edward Wagner, Executive Vice-President of the WSFS Development Corporation, when asked about Cardinal Federal's

motivation.<sup>4</sup> "Not only do we feel a social commitment to the near West Side, but we have a self-interest, too. We can't exist in a decaying neighborhood," another official stated when interviewed by a reporter.<sup>5</sup>

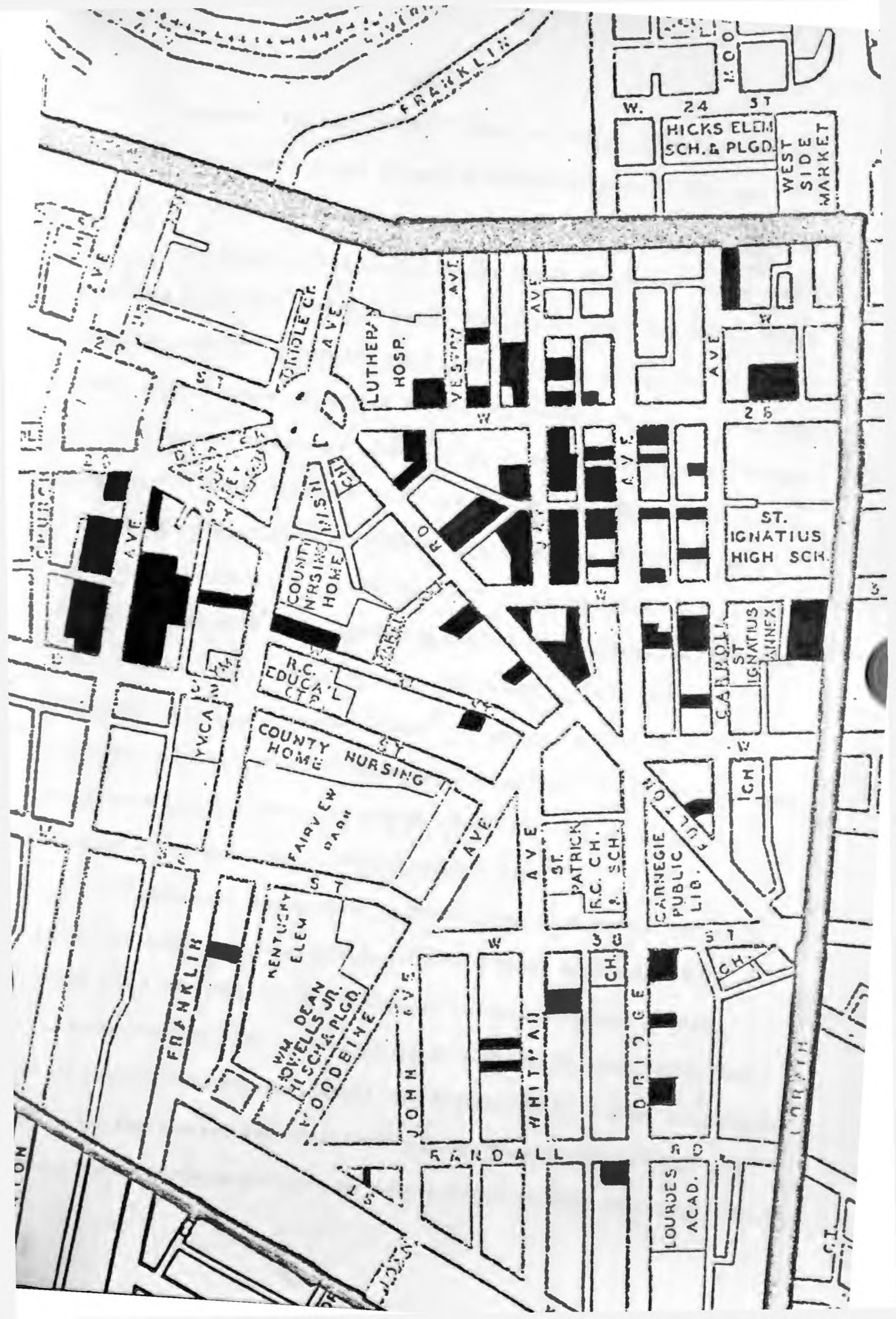
In recent years, WSFS Development Corporation itself has done less buying and "warehousing" of properties, and instead provides the mortgage financing to individuals--still, with the stipulation that the property be restored within a certain period of time. If this agreement is not complied with, interest on the mortgage is increased by two percentage points. So far, 107 properties have gone through, or are now going through, the process of WSFS financing and restoration (Fig. 6). Other lending institutions are reportedly "getting to be interested," according to Wagner, though none has made formal commitments.<sup>6</sup>

Wagner has drawn a composite of the average buyer. He or she is usually a professional worker (though there have been some blue collar purchasers) of middle to upper income; most--but not all--are former suburbanites; most are young, in their 20s and 30s. Houses today sell for between \$10,000 and \$15,000 and usually require a similar amount for the restoration.<sup>7</sup>

The OCCDA--whose official goal was "to restore, rebuild, convert, rehabilitate, and in any other way possible rejuvenate what was historically the oldest neighborhood in Cleveland"--met with its first formal community opposition in September 1971. Some fifteen demonstrators protested at the annual Ohio City house tour. This group, comprised of social workers, VISTA volunteers and neighborhood residents, damned OCCDA

Fig. 6. Location of Ohio City properties financed by WSFS Development Corporation (map courtesy Stephen Szanto, Cleveland City Planning Commission).





FRANKLIN

W. 24 ST

HICKS ELEM SCH. & PLGD.

WEST SIDE MARKET

BRIDLE CR. AVE

LUTHERAN HOSP.

VESTEY AVE

AVE

AVE

25

WISNICK AVE

COUNTY NURSING HOME

RD

AVE

ST. IGNATIUS HIGH SCH

AVE

R.C. EDUCATIONAL CTR.

COUNTY HOME NURSING

FAIRVIEW DORM

AVE

ST. PATRICK R.C. CH. A. SCH.

CARNEGIE PUBLIC LIB.

ST. IGNATIUS ANNEX

FRANKLIN

KENTUCKY ELEM

WM DEAN HILLS JR. HS. & PLGD.

F. OODERINE

JOHN AVE

WHITMAN

CH. G.

BRIDGE

ST

CH.

RANDALL

LOURDES ACAD.

LORRY

as a "detriment to the community." What was taking place, according to the protesters, was "a sort of block busting in reverse." "It's not racism here, it's classism," one protester is reported to have said.<sup>8</sup>

Subsequent to this confrontation, Bruce Hedderson was ousted as president of OCCDA, and William T. Stanley, Jr. took his place. A new neighborhood/OCCDA confrontation arose over the city's proposed use of vacant land at Randall Road and Bridge Avenue for a Multi-service Center that would centrally house a number of government-funded social welfare agencies that serve residents of the near West Side. The OCCDA board, opposing the placement of the Center, questioned the desirability of a large office building in a neighborhood of residential scale. They asked, too, whether in view of the continuing success of the Ohio City restoration project in the "rejuvenation" of the neighborhood, this location would be advantageous five or ten years hence.<sup>9</sup> A number of OCCDA members dissented from the group's official position, among them Bruce Hedderson who had held, in his formulation of the Ohio City idea, a vision of a heterogeneous neighborhood of all kinds of people.<sup>10</sup>

Restoration efforts have continued slowly but surely, and most properties in the core area of preservation activity (that bounded by Fulton Road, W. 28th Street and Carroll Avenue) have been restored. The Ohio City Community Development Association has changed its name to the Ohio City Association (OCA), and has modified its goals accordingly. The OCA today describes itself as "a non-profit organization made up of individuals devoted to the physical betterment of the Ohio City neighborhood

through preservation and restoration of public, residential, and commercial property." The association's immediate goals for 1975 are to establish a free design service to offer ideas for the restoration of commercial and residential buildings, and to develop a common physical identification within the neighborhood by such things as "communications boards" and the adoption of plaques to identify "Ohio City Homes"; a social event and participation in Ward 8 "Home Day," a neighborhood summer festival, are also planned.<sup>11</sup>

Group in-fighting and local politics, though, have decreased the size of OCA from 100 in 1973 to about fifty today. Ward 8 City Councilwoman Mary Rose Oakar is cautiously guarded in her view of the Ohio City restoration efforts. She is happy to see the renovated houses, and the (mostly suburban) crowds who patronize such establishments as the restored Ohio City Tavern or the newly remodeled Heck's Restaurant; such visitors spend money in the district. But, as Oakar said in a recent newspaper interview, "I don't want to see it all become too homogeneous. I don't want to see the new people move in and force the old people to move out..."<sup>12</sup>

## Footnotes--Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup> Interview with Bruce Hedderson, Canadian Consulate, Cleveland, Ohio, 21 February 1975.

<sup>2</sup> Cleveland Press, 10 September 1971.

<sup>3</sup> Gary Griffith, "Recycling the City," Cleveland Magazine, October 1972, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Edward Wagner, WSFS Development Corporation, Cleveland, Ohio, 18 December 1974.

<sup>5</sup> Griffith, "Recycling the City," p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Interview, 18 December 1974.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Griffith, "Recycling the City," pp. 51-52.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> Cleveland Press, 1 August 1970.

<sup>11</sup> Sharon R. Longworth, Secretary, Ohio City Association, mimeographed letter to Friends and Members of the Association, 2 January 1975.

<sup>12</sup> quoted in Jason Thomas, "Ohio City," Cleveland Plain Dealer (Saturday, The Plain Dealer Home Magazine), 17 August 1974, p. 4.

**PART II. PROPOSALS**

In its broader sense, conservation is not the province of an intellectual elite or a hobby of the wealthy--it is important to the humanity and stability of a city and all of its inhabitants.

Michael Y. Seelig, Time Present and Time Past

## V.

### CONSERVATION OF A CITY NEIGHBORHOOD

A preservation or conservation plan for any neighborhood ought to consider more than its spatial and architectural qualities. While proposals such as those that will be outlined below necessarily focus on the many physical elements of the area, they spring as well from a concern both for a specific neighborhood and its inhabitants and for a city.

Ohio City's social and physical environment is, in 1975, a particularly fragile one. While the area has seen a measure of economic revival with the influx of some young, affluent persons and families, it is still for the most part a neighborhood that is quite poor, as the introductory statistics of this paper indicated. Many families are on public assistance. A number of households consist of older, long-time residents now living on fixed incomes. A large portion of the population is highly transient, and a good many of Ohio City's houses are owned by absentee landlords who rent their crowded, partitioned houses to several families.<sup>1</sup> A 1969-70 survey found that 39 percent of the occupied housing units in the near West Side were either substandard or dilapidated.<sup>2</sup> Vandalism, arson, and simple deterioration and demolition all seriously affect those special city neighborhood qualities that still exist.

Ohio City's physical environment is "fragile" because there is now just enough structures with which to work, just enough to form the basis for neighborhood revival. The residential streets here are still visually cohesive, and Ohio City's housing stock is still sound enough to permit its conservation. There are still enough good commercial and institutional buildings as well. This is why steps need to be taken now to insure that Ohio City's integrity and potential will not be lost or compromised in the future.

Part I of this paper, a history of the Ohio City neighborhood, formed an important framework upon which to base Part II, proposals for its conservation. It has already been demonstrated that, historically, the Ohio City district housed persons of mixed incomes and cultures. Such a diverse population together inhabited a compact "walking city" characterized by diverse architectural styles, a unique street plan, and a well-established tradition of mixed land use. This historical, pre-streetcar model forms the basis for proposals for Ohio City's conservation. Part II makes a case for the conservation of more than Ohio City's architecture. Rather, it is suggested that the special physical elements of its pre-streetcar urban past be conserved along with the current diversity of population that also historically characterized this district.

Part II takes into account the following: Ohio City's planning history, a rationale for the conservation of Ohio City, the physical assets of the neighborhood, and specific proposals for area conservation, with



a consideration of the goals and philosophies that ought to guide a program for conservation.

### Planning History

Ohio City's urban planning history originated with a 1944 "Tentative Plan" developed by the Cleveland City Planning Commission for the city's near West Side which pronounced that the area was "in need of rehabilitation."<sup>3</sup> This was the first of about a half dozen plans to "rehabilitate" the near West Side, a substantial portion of which consisted of the historic Ohio City district.<sup>4</sup> All of the plans were frustrated and eventually abandoned by a lack of money.

The 1944 "Tentative Plan" judged that while "it [was] probable that most of the neighborhood units between Lorain and Detroit, west of W. 44th Street might still be saved by conservation measures if these [were] applied promptly," the Commission thought it "unlikely that any of the units in the eastern [i. e., Ohio City] portion of the community... [would] be suitable for anything less than complete redevelopment...."<sup>5</sup>

In 1958, another plan, this time one developed by private consultants at the request of local businessmen, declared that in the Ohio City district "the majority of residential buildings are deteriorated and slum and blight conditions are prevalent."<sup>6</sup> The consultants concerned themselves primarily with the problems of traffic circulation and parking, and proposed that whole blocks be razed in order to provide a "major automobile parking facility" for the accommodation of local shoppers and

commuters to downtown (a loop bus would provide connections). Other proposals were for special "pedestrian pathways" and a new park in the Fulton Road area which was to be called "Central Park West." "Central Park West" would be bordered by new medium-density residential development.<sup>7</sup>

More proposals for community "revitalization" were made in 1961, again by the City Planning Commission. "The problems that beset this community are chiefly those of age," their report stated.<sup>8</sup> While recognizing what they called the "livability" of the neighborhood, their report concurred with many of the 1958 recommendations of the consultants. "Blighted areas," they said, "ought to be redeveloped for medium- and high-density use."<sup>9</sup> Other proposals were that the commercial center at W. 25th Street and Lorain Avenue be revitalized by new parking facilities; that more space be devoted to playground, playfield and school use; that both Lorain Avenue and W. 44th Street be developed as "controlled-access boulevards" in order to accommodate higher volumes of traffic; and that some new streets be created to serve as "distributor streets" for traffic.<sup>10</sup>

Two years later, in 1963, Cleveland voters rejected an \$8 million urban renewal bond issue, along with more plans for massive redevelopment of the near West Side. Had the bond issue passed, almost one-fourth of the 5,412 structures in the area between W. 25th and W. 58th Streets would have been cleared in order to, as one reporter put it, "provide 'open air' space and make room for the expansion of institutions, recreation areas, new schools and parking lots."<sup>11</sup>

Still another plan was formulated in 1967, again contingent upon the receipt of urban renewal money. Although this plan advocated the conservation and rehabilitation of sound existing structures wherever feasible, it also recommended the total clearance of what only a few years later would become the core area of Ohio City restoration and preservation efforts.<sup>12</sup>

It might be said that all of these plans, taken together, embodied nearly every urban planning clichè of the 1950s and 1960s: from the calls for commercial revitalization by means of new parking lots and traffic arteries, to plans for "open space" via the ubiquitous "landscaping" strategically situated around the paper models of new institutional buildings, to the planners' presumptions of "blight" and recommendations for wholesale removal. Each of these plans manipulated the future of Ohio City as if no neighborhood, historic or otherwise, ever existed.

With hindsight, of course, it is always easy to be critical, and it must be conceded that all of these plans were formulated prior to the existence of a climate of interest in, and sympathy with, historic and neighborhood preservation objectives. Some, though not all, of the plans appeared prior to the publication of Jane Jacobs' classic study, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, which examined the intricate dynamics of neighborhoods and proclaimed our cities' need for old buildings as generators of economic diversity.<sup>13</sup>

It can be demonstrated, however, that all of the plans for Cleveland's near West Side neighborhood had one thing in common. All of

them overlooked the qualities upon which a realistic campaign for community revitalization could be based: the human qualities of an economically and culturally diverse community life supplemented and enhanced by the physical qualities of an old city neighborhood built in the "walking city" style--with homes, school, jobs, markets all nearby--and with housing opportunities offered by interesting, restorable architecture and human scale. "Age," which one report cited as the near West Side's chief liability, was never recognized as possibly its most usable asset.

#### Rationale for a New Plan

For numerous reasons, little remains of Cleveland's architectural heritage. Its tradition of frame (rather than masonry) construction, the inevitable land-use pressures caused by the city's incredibly rapid growth at the turn of the century, the absence of zoning regulations until 1929, and the inroads of industry and other new development over the years are all factors which may be held accountable to some extent. The Ohio City district, the smaller Tremont neighborhood, and a handful of buildings scattered on the city's East Side constitute Cleveland's diminished legacy of residential architecture of the nineteenth century.

Ohio City merits conservation both as Cleveland's oldest neighborhood and for reasons of historical continuity. A look at Ohio City answers the following questions: What did Cleveland's nineteenth century urban neighborhoods look like? How were mill and factory workers (and mill and factory owners) housed? Where did they shop? Where did they go to

church? Ohio City embodies a continuity of urban development which, while perhaps meagre in comparison to the treasures of other cities, has a special significance for the city of Cleveland. Unlike other of Cleveland's inner-city areas where physical and social erosion have taken their toll, Ohio City still wears the closely-built styles of the late nineteenth century. Its street plan, mixed land use, and some 1,500 houses, shops and other buildings are a significant historical inheritance with meaning for today's inhabitants and for the city.

Another argument in the case for Ohio City's conservation is the area's simple aesthetic and human qualities. Each individual structure is part of a group of structures which, taken together, constitutes a whole much greater than the sum of its parts. Even the plainest and smallest houses are valuable for reasons of scale and space. Together with buildings having more color, texture or ornament, they create an intimate city neighborhood of human scale.

The physical neighborhood is further enhanced by something less definable: a mixture of cultures (Hungarians, Puerto Ricans, Appalachians, gypsies, Mexicans), languages (a dozen different "tongues" can be heard at the West Side Market), styles (from the posh Ohio City Tavern to the more modest Crown Cafe), and wealth (the affluent living next door to low- and middle-income residents). It is diversity such as that once found in the "walking city" that creates the pleasing whole. Conservation of Ohio City's architectural heritage should not occur--and does not have to occur--at the expense of such amenities as these.

Finally, the historic community has proved significant in the economy of American cities.<sup>14</sup> An essentially sound housing stock such as Ohio City's--if repaired, maintained and conserved--will be a net plus for the financially ailing and physically deteriorating city of Cleveland.

A preliminary inventory of the structures, places and qualities in the Ohio City district that ought to be conserved follows.

### Physical Assets

The Gothic and Greek Revival, Italianate, Second Empire, East-lake and Queen Anne styles have all been identified in the residential architecture of Ohio City, from the mansions that are clustered in the district's north end, to the mix of middle- and working-class houses throughout the rest of the district.<sup>16</sup> It is the predominance, however, of a simple vernacular style that gives the area its overall character. The predominantly 1-1/2 and two-story balloon-frame and brick houses that line neighborhood streets nearly all contain some bit of sculptural detail or ornament, and all express qualities of human scale that contribute to a physical unity of the whole.

A number of barns and carriage houses still exist, and these outbuildings add variety and are important in their own right.

A significant number of nineteenth-century commercial buildings are still extant, most of them quite scattered on Lorain Avenue and W. 25th Street. In most cases their first floor facades have been "modernized." The small Market Street block is of considerable historical and aesthetic

value as an intact grouping of early (c. 1870s-1880s) commercial buildings. One architectural historian has also noted the presence, on Fulton Road, of a group of frame store fronts in the characteristic Italianate style of the 1870s.<sup>17</sup>

Ohio City's numerous churches are significant both architecturally and historically. Church spires punctuate the skyline; churches are, for the most part, still the tallest neighborhood structures. The Victorian Gothic Franklin Circle Christian Church, designed by the important Cleveland partnership of Cudell and Richardson, together with St. Patrick's, Trinity Evangelical Lutheran, and the Historic St. John's Church have been important in the religious life of the community. Indeed, even later churches, such as the Hungarian St. Emeric's, are important as physical evidence of historic patterns of immigration. At night St. Malachi's green neon cross (this church has worn an illuminated cross since the nineteenth century) is a pleasing symbol at the northeast corner of the district; it is one of the last remnants of the Irish "Angle" neighborhood.

The basilican-style West Side Market, designed by Hubbell and Benes, with its adjoining open shed for the accommodation of produce merchants, is an outstanding city landmark both visually and functionally.<sup>18</sup> St. Ignatius High School, a truly European building constructed after plans drawn in Germany according to the metric system; the Beaux-Arts Carnegie-West Library, designed by Edward L. Tilton; and the Queen Anne style Urban Community School on Whitman Street are other important institutional buildings.

The majority of streets in the Ohio City district still conform to the original city plan depicted by the Merchant map of 1835. This plan, incorporating a number of angular streets, alleys, and a circle, contributes substantially to the intimate scale of the neighborhood. The effect of such a plan is a feeling of enclosed space that is enhanced by the "visual interruptions" of churches, houses and other buildings at the ends of streets and alleys.

Most of the alleys and some streets are still paved with brick (on other streets the brick has been covered with asphalt). The brick alleys add a dimension of texture to the area, and serve as a kind of visual link.

The "postage-stamp-size" front yards, narrow side yards, and garage-lined alleys of old city neighborhoods are frequently criticized for their "crowding" effects. Rather, it is such compact building that creates Ohio City's very urban environment. Density (not to be confused with crowding) is the essence of cities, and alleys, closely-built houses with their porches fronting on the street, and the tiny yards are the very qualities that distinguish Ohio City from other, more suburban places.

Many of the yards are enclosed with attractive wrought iron and picket fences. Shade trees planted between street and sidewalk and the many individual flower gardens maintained by neighborhood residents further enhance the area. It is this relationship between house and landscape that gives a pleasant character to Ohio City's streets.

The flavor and variety of the commercial district at W. 25th Street and Lorain Avenue attracts shoppers from all over the city. In addition



to the West Side Market, the Fries & Schuele department store is a local "landmark." Farkas Hungarian Pastries, Athens Imported Foods, Bengé Tobacco, the Cleveland Leather Co., Manuel's Homemade Candies, and the German "Hansa House" are other interesting shopping places. Lorain Avenue, from W. 30th to W. 117th Street, is locally famous as "antiques row"; Cleveland's antique dealers have clustered here to take advantage of the cheap rents. Worth mentioning, too, are some of the local restaurants. Both the Ohio City Tavern and Heck's Restaurant are products of the recent preservation activity, and both are located in buildings that have been imaginatively remodeled. The Crown Cafe and Debrecen offer Hungarian specialities. There are also German and Italian restaurants and several Irish taverns.

Finally, there are the less definable amenities, such things as views and sound. In addition to the many small views created by an unusual street plan, one can enjoy an impressive view of the downtown skyline from the Market at W. 24th Street. The panorama of Cleveland's industrial valley can be seen from the Detroit-Superior Bridge, itself an important local engineering landmark. Lastly, the fog horns of ore boats on the Cuyahoga are frequently heard throughout the neighborhood.

#### Proposals for Conservation

Proposals for Ohio City's conservation rather than preservation rest on the fact that the former concept can be applied more realistically here, given the amount of later construction, some of which is intrusive,

and the area's special diversity of people and multiplicity of neighborhood functions and uses.<sup>19</sup> "Preservation district" frequently suggests the restoration of a pristine historical environment. The term "conservation area," however, is useful for its implication of a neighborhood with an ability to accommodate change, but one which at the same time recognizes the importance of conserving its special inheritance from the past.

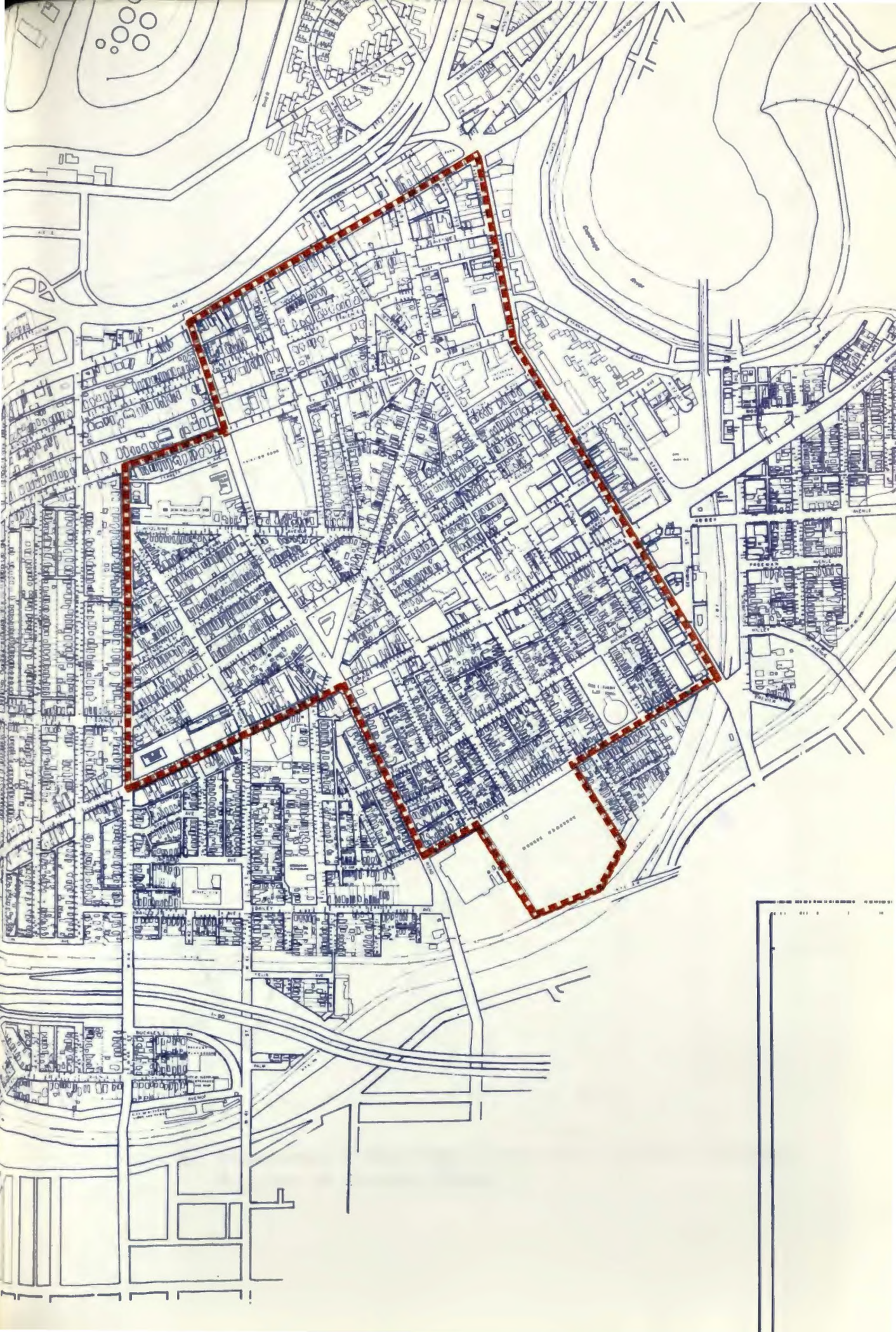
Originally Ohio City embraced that portion of the West Side extending to both the Cuyahoga River and Lake Erie. History and development have altered its size, however, and industry has almost completely taken over the once large residential area north of Detroit Avenue. Thus it is necessary to choose the boundaries of a more salvageable and viable modern district.

The boundaries of a workable conservation area might be as follows (Fig. 7): On the north side, from Detroit Avenue at W. 25th Street west to W. 38th Street; south on W. 38th Street to Franklin Avenue; west on Franklin to W. 44th Street; south on W. 44th to Lorain Avenue; east on Lorain to Fulton Road; south on Fulton to Monroe Street; east on Monroe, the line running south, east, and north to include the Monroe Street Cemetery, then east to W. 25th Street; then north on W. 25th to meet with Detroit Avenue. Structures on both sides of these boundary streets should be included in the conservation area.

While these boundaries differ significantly from those of the Ohio City Preservation District placed on the National Register of Historic Places<sup>20</sup> in October 1974 (Fig. 8), they can be justified. First, such boundaries are inclusive of the historic urban planning design for Ohio

**Fig. 7.      Boundaries of proposed Ohio City Conservation Area.**







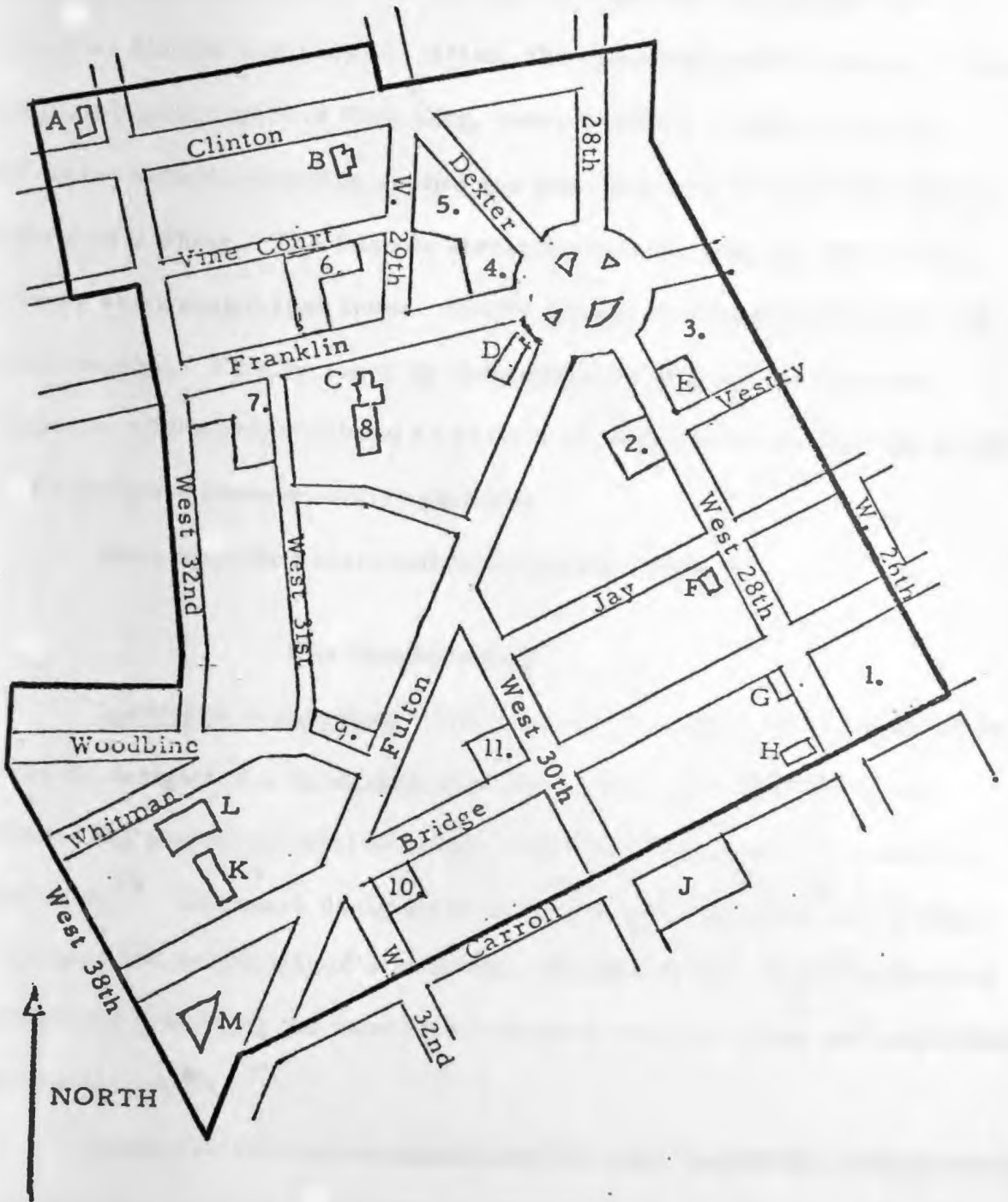


Fig. 8. Boundaries of Ohio City Preservation District, National Register of Historic Places.

City. Secondly, the enlarged boundaries incorporate the commercial district of the neighborhood, including the important structures on such streets as Market and Lorain. Third, the residential area south of Lorain was historically a part of Ohio City, and contains a wealth of smaller structures with the pleasing spatial qualities that are the strength of the district as a whole. The Monroe Street Cemetery, with its 1874 Gothic archway and wrought iron fence, merits inclusion for both historical and visual reasons. Finally, such an enlarged area utilizes the "natural" boundaries of the neighborhood as perceived by persons who live here, and allows for more comprehensive planning.

Some specific conservation proposals follow:

### The Neighborhood

Landmark designation. The area of Ohio City as described above should be designated a Landmark District of the city of Cleveland, and extended the protection offered by the Cleveland Landmarks Commission Ordinance.<sup>21</sup> Landmark designation is crucial both from the standpoint of preserving the neighborhood's integrity, and as a means of giving the area identity and rekindling the interest of residents in preserving and improving their neighborhood.

Landmark District designation would offer important environmental protection by requiring Landmarks Commission review of any proposed environmental change--alteration, demolition, removal, or construction--and the issuance of a Certificate of Appropriateness. No review, of course, would be required for ordinary maintenance and repair.

Landmark review requirements would have the beneficial effect of encouraging new construction that is sensitive to the physical characteristics of the neighborhood. Such requirements might prevent more intrusions of the kind that unfortunately, to some extent, already exist. Fast food chains such as Wendy's Hamburgers and Taco Luke's, both on Lorain Avenue, are of such design, scale and materials as to be incompatible amidst a late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century commercial street. Both are oriented to a "drive-in" business not in keeping with the rest of the commercial district. The parking areas which surround these establishments on all sides have a detrimental effect on neighborhood scale, appearance and use. (It is not the presence of such businesses that is objectionable, but rather their design.) A Landmark District review board should require that parking lots be placed at the rear of buildings rather than allowed in front on predominantly compact, pedestrian-oriented commercial streets. Such "fortress" architectural designs as that of the McCafferty Health Center, also on Lorain Avenue, should be reviewed and modified prior to construction and before any permanent damage is done to the scale and appearance of the neighborhood.

Additional structures. Buildings of architectural and/or historical interest near, but technically outside, the Ohio City area should be affiliated with it. Such structures as St. Emeric's and St. Malachi's Churches, the Ohio City Antiques Center at W. 45th Street and Bridge Avenue, and other visually important buildings on Lorain Avenue beyond W. 44th Street ought to be included.

Zoning. A reassessment of present zoning should be undertaken with a view to protecting the area's low-rise quality that is the result of the predominance of one- and two-family houses. The intimate residential scale this creates should be protected from the possible intrusion of incompatible multi-family apartments and other large buildings. Construction of high-rise buildings should be kept to the periphery of the district.

Local history. Conservation of Ohio City should include further research into local history in order to more fully document the "anonymous" aspects of neighborhood history. The many older residents who have lived here for some time could most likely provide interesting materials for an oral history project. A search for old photographs of Ohio City might profitably result in a kind of local archives that could assist owners interested in the historical restoration of their properties. Such photographs and other printed materials could be transferred to the Western Reserve Historical Society both for preservation and to insure their wide availability for public use.

#### Streetscape/Landscape

Traffic. One of the most annoying and dangerous problems this neighborhood faces is the almost total lack of traffic control. Traffic throughout the area needs to be greatly reduced in speed; citations should be issued for noise and safety violations. These cause serious disruptions of neighborhood tranquility. Automobiles must be adapted to compact city neighborhoods, not the other way around.



Street signs. A distinctive Ohio City street sign should be considered as one way of giving special identity to this historic neighborhood. One idea would be to return the original names to the north-south numbered streets. These names were changed in 1906 in order to attain a uniform street system for the rapidly expanding city. Restoration of the historic names to the few streets that would be affected, however, would restore an additional identity to the neighborhood. Such a recommendation is feasible because the historically compact nature of the district still prevails, and the physical boundaries to the north (the Shoreway) and south (the railroad tracks in the valley) would confine such changes to Ohio City.

Streets. Ohio City's unique street plan should be preserved, and any intrusion of new traffic "distributor streets" avoided. The brick alleys and streets that still exist should be carefully preserved and maintained. These, along with the many trees and possibly new street signs, could serve as strong but unobtrusive design elements to unify the neighborhood visually.

Setbacks. All new construction should conform to existing front yard depths in residential areas. On commercial streets, buildings should be constructed to the sidewalk line.

Landscaping. The many trees that line this neighborhood's streets are a major amenity, and should be properly trimmed and maintained by the city. New trees should be planted wherever possible.

Parks. The city should landscape and better maintain the existing parks and play areas of the neighborhood. Fairview Park, for example, formerly the site of the elegant Kentucky Street Reservoir, is little more than a vacant lot; garbage and an abandoned, macadamized ball field now occupy the small space. Fairview Park's situation, however, is a very central and beautiful one, with schools nearby and many homes bordering its east and south sides. Trees, benches, and perhaps some pathways would make it a nice and useful neighborhood place. A play area with some playground equipment should be included.

Franklin Circle originally served as a public market, then as a city park through the second half of the nineteenth century, when it was bordered by the homes of prominent Clevelanders. Asphalt paving and auto traffic now dominate this land, and the Circle serves as an example of a fine historic resource that has been neglected and misused in the attempt to standardize street patterns and accommodate first streetcar, then auto commuters (see Appendix II).

Franklin Circle should be restored to its former use as a circular park. Streets could easily be routed around the circle, and the addition of landscaping and park benches would restore the integrity of its original design and make a pleasant city park for nearby residents and the employees of adjoining Lutheran Hospital. A historical marker might be placed there describing its interesting history.

In addition to Franklin Circle and Fairview Park, the grounds of the Carnegie-West Library should be more carefully maintained. New

play equipment should be added to the playground that adjoins the library at W. 38th Street.

### Structures

Integration of past and present. Ohio City should not be preserved as a museum piece, but should rather be conserved as a culturally diverse neighborhood with usable and attractive historic houses and other buildings that incorporates, as well, new structures of good modern design. It should be, and can be, a community where both past and present are pleasingly integrated.

This concept has already been demonstrated at the rear of the West Side Market, on W. 24th Street, where the Market, St. Emeric's Church and School and the new Hicks Elementary School combine to form an attractive urban space. The new F. W. Woolworth store, now under construction on W. 25th Street, has been designed in a modern manner that takes into account the older buildings that surround it.

It should go without saying that protective legislation should not "freeze" the neighborhood to a specific period, but should preserve meaningful elements of the past and at the same time encourage new designs for buildings (not reconstructions) that reflect our own age. In this regard, Society Hill in Philadelphia, with its integration of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century townhouses with modern townhouses of similar scale and materials, can serve as a model.

Impact of apartment buildings. Multi-family apartment buildings should be limited in extent, placement and design in order not to have any further detrimental effect. The Riverview Terrace high-rise on W. 25th Street turns its back on the neighborhood rather than integrating with it. Future new housing should meet specific design requirements in order to blend harmoniously with the prevailing neighborhood scale.

Commercial buildings. Efforts should be made to organize the owners of local businesses for the improvement of the commercial areas, whether by means of clean-up, restoration or simple repairs. A program undertaken several years ago by the Medina (Ohio) Community Design Committee can serve as a model for similar efforts in Ohio City. Historic building facades of many Medina merchants were for years cluttered with unnecessary and inappropriate signs, mostly over-sized, each competing with its neighbor for attention. Renderings were made by volunteer architects to show the merchants how their buildings might look if painted, restored at street level, and if new, flat signs were used. The project was adopted and proved successful. Medina residents now have a town square surrounded by a commercial district that reflects its historic character.

Housing. All of the above suggestions are strategies and ideas for the conservation of Ohio City's historic resources and the improvement of the general appearance of the neighborhood. Yet perhaps most important, specific methods need to be suggested both for conserving the housing stock

and for maintaining the important cultural diversity that characterizes this neighborhood today.

Carl B. Westmoreland, who has been a leader of preservation efforts in Cincinnati's Mt. Auburn community, has asserted that when a neighborhood becomes a target for revitalization, the resident population "must be dealt with."<sup>22</sup> The "classic" historic preservation district, of course, usually begins as a low- or mixed-income area and, once "discovered," is gradually transformed into a rather dull enclave of young, affluent professionals. Meanwhile, the very cultural and economic diversity that was the area's initial attraction is lost due to the influx of too many middle- and upper-income persons. The original residents can no longer afford life there and so they quietly move out, taking their poverty with them, into areas that will become the next target for city efforts at neighborhood "revitalization." Rarely are the human and social--not to mention citywide--consequences of large-scale preservation efforts ever taken into account.

In Ohio City, potential exists for the conservation of both the physical neighborhood and the heterogeneous community that currently resides here. A number of new Federal and local programs are now in the planning stages that could have a dramatic meaning for proposals in behalf of real community conservation. Specifically, these new programs would make home-improvement loans available to homeowners of all incomes. One of the programs, a local credit union, would make loans of any kind available, and presumably could even help some persons unable

to qualify for conventional loans to obtain new home mortgages. Another would help homeowners to purchase new building materials at cost. The programs are as follows:

Neighborhood Housing Services (NHS), a program developed by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and sponsored by the national Urban Reinvestment Task Force, has scheduled a home rehabilitation loan program for two neighborhoods in Cleveland. One area, on the West Side, includes the westernmost streets of the Ohio City district. The loan program will be accompanied by concentrated housing code enforcement.

Significantly, a large number of local financial institutions have been recruited that are willing, under the NHS program, to make loans to "bankable" homeowners. This is a historic event in a neighborhood that has long been denied credit. Persons who do not qualify for bank loans will be accommodated by a special high-risk revolving loan fund.

The NHS program has already achieved successful results in both Pittsburgh and Cincinnati.<sup>23</sup>

Community Development Revenue Sharing funds are being allocated to the near West Side neighborhood for use as a pool for low-interest home rehabilitation loans. It is expected that approximately 500 loans will be made during the first year of a six-year grant, and the program is scheduled to begin this summer.<sup>24</sup>

An All-Peoples Credit Union is gaining widespread popularity in Cleveland's near West Side and Tremont neighborhoods. As assets multiply, low-interest loans will be available to all members (anyone who

lives or works in these neighborhoods can join by depositing \$5.00), and presumably such a program could have further impact on local housing rehabilitation efforts.

Finally, the Near West Side Neighbors Coalition, a non-profit corporation, was recently established to help local homeowners obtain new building materials at a discount. A pool of home-repair talents is also contemplated, whereby neighborhood residents with plumbing, electrical or carpentry experience would be retained for local home-improvement jobs rather than calling in outside professionals.

Thus it can be seen that, in addition to having a physical inheritance that makes possible and encourages a program for area conservation, crucial economic resources are becoming available to insure that "area conservation" includes the current residents, too. Such a historic blending of circumstances makes it especially crucial that a local framework to guide conservation efforts be developed soon.

#### Community Organization

The Ohio City Association has been in operation for several years now, and has attempted to supply the guidance for private preservation efforts. The OCA has lobbied in behalf of Landmark District designation, promoted the Ohio City neighborhood by sponsoring house tours and slide shows, and now has ambitious plans for adapting the old firehouse (formerly the Ohio City Town Hall) to new use as the OCA headquarters and an Ohio City museum.

So far, though, this group has been unable or unwilling to represent the interest that residents of all incomes share in neighborhood improvement.<sup>25</sup> The dues structure, at \$12.00 per year, is too high for the great majority of Ohio City's residents and, so far, the OCA has recruited its members almost exclusively from the ranks of more affluent property owners and suburbanites who are potential home-buyers. The divisive politics represented by the local conflict over the new Multi-service Center,<sup>26</sup> and the antagonisms of "homeowners" vs. "tenants" that the OCA has engendered should not be allowed to hamper efforts for neighborhood revitalization. Thus, recommendations for Ohio City's future must necessarily include some suggestions for OCA's improvement, if not a proposal for the formation of a new organization.

The Ohio City Association must broaden its constituency and adopt goals that range beyond the "physical betterment" of the neighborhood through the preservation and restoration of property. Specific and more inclusive goals should include the following:

1. Preservation/Conservation of Ohio City's historical and architectural heritage
2. Education of Ohio City residents and the Cleveland community about this heritage
3. Monitoring of new construction in conjunction with the Cleveland Landmarks Commission in order to maintain the prevailing intimate neighborhood scale.



4. Protection of Ohio City's historic buildings by a) the creation of a zoning and tax climate favorable to historic preservation, and b) financial means that will effect building preservation without displacing current residents who wish to stay.

The Ohio City Association should assume responsibility for assisting the Cleveland Landmarks Commission with the development of sound preservation and conservation guidelines and standards for new construction. This organization, housed perhaps in an accessible storefront office with a small staff, should work closely with government and municipal agencies, local business and political leaders, and the community as a whole. Foundation grants and contributions might support the operating expenses of such an office.

Membership in the Ohio City Association must be open to everyone --homeowners, tenants, business people, etc.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, all members of the community should be encouraged to join and to participate in OCA activities. For example, the organization might elicit local support for, and participation in, a thorough neighborhood survey of important architectural and historical resources.

The Ohio City Association should further function as a lobbyist in behalf of civic improvements and as a clearinghouse of information for homeowners and businesses interested in restoring or improving their exteriors. This organization might also sponsor block clean-up drives, and assist the Ward Club with its annual "Home Day" festival.

## Footnotes-- Chapter V.

<sup>1</sup>Of the 782 families residing in Cleveland census tract 1036 in 1970, 109 received social security income and 89 received public assistance or public welfare income. Of 156 family heads with incomes below poverty level, 9.6 percent were persons 65 years and older. With regard to transiency, of the 3,484 persons 5 years old and over counted by the 1970 Census, 1,400 still lived in the same house as the one in which they were living in 1965. Finally, 148 of 1,172 occupied housing units contained 1.01 or more persons per room. 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Cleveland, Ohio SMSA, tables P-2, P-4, H-1.

<sup>2</sup>Cleveland City Planning Commission, "Two Percent Household Survey: Results of All Questions," Cleveland, 1972 (Mimeographed), pp. 21-23. The 1970 U. S. Census did not evaluate housing condition.

<sup>3</sup>Cleveland City Planning Commission, "Tentative Plan: Near West Side," Cleveland, 1944 (Mimeographed), p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>The Cleveland City Planning Commission has, for convenience, divided the city into "social planning areas"; the Commission defines "Near West Side" to be that area bounded by Lake Erie on the north and Lorain Avenue on the south, the Cuyahoga River on the east and W. 65th Street on the west.

<sup>5</sup>"Tentative Plan," p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Klein and Hodne Associates, Ohio City--Central Park West: Technical Report on a Preliminary Plan for the Future Development of the Area (Cleveland: Klein and Hodne, 2032 E. 115th Street, 1958), p. 15.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 23, 21, 16.

<sup>8</sup>Cleveland City Planning Commission, "A Report on a General Plan of Development for the Near West Side Community," by Peter H. Henderson, Cleveland, 1961 (Mimeographed), p. 19.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 18, 30.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-34, 35, 43, 47.

<sup>11</sup>Paul Lilley, "W. Side's Renewal Hopes Up to Urban Bond Issue," Cleveland Press, 23 October 1963, p. A4.

<sup>12</sup>Raymond & May Associates, "Preliminary Near West Side General Neighborhood Renewal Plan," Cleveland, 1967 (Mimeographed).

<sup>13</sup>(New York: Random House, Inc., Vintage Books, 1961.)

<sup>14</sup>See especially Donald E. Priest and J. Thomas Black, "Time May Have Arrived for Central Cities' Resurgence," The Mortgage Banker, November 1974, pp. 24-28.

<sup>15</sup>A precise inventory of the housing stock and other buildings in Ohio City--including data on age, size, style and condition--will be essential in any attempt at area conservation. Such an inventory is well beyond the scope of this survey, however.

<sup>16</sup>"Ohio City Preservation District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, prepared by Eric Johannesen, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, February 1974.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>See Appendix I for the official landmark recognition that has been given to structures in and near Ohio City.

<sup>19</sup>The concept of "area conservation" is adapted from a report prepared for use in the Canadian city of Vancouver, although the term "conservation" as it applies to historic environmental resources has long been in use in Great Britain. See Michael Y. Seelig, Time Present and Time Past: Proposals for Area Conservation in Vancouver (Vancouver, B. C.: Department of Social Planning, City of Vancouver, 1973).

<sup>20</sup>The National Register of Historic Places is a listing, maintained by the National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, of prehistoric and historic properties worthy of preservation because of local, state or national significance. National Register listing affords recognition of these properties and provides a measure of protection from adverse effects caused by federally-funded or licensed projects. Owners of National Register properties are also eligible to apply for federal historic preservation grants on a 50 percent matching basis. "The National Register of Historic Places," description of the program issued by the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, n. d.

<sup>21</sup>Secs. 1.4001-1.4009, Cod. Ord. City of Cleveland. The proposed Ohio City conservation area meets the following criteria established for the designation of a Landmark District in Sec. 1.4004 of the Cleveland Landmarks Commission Ordinance:

"(1) Its character, interest or value as part of the development, heritage or cultural characteristics of the City of Cleveland, State of Ohio, or the United States....

(3) Its identification with a person or persons who significantly contributed to the culture and development of the City of Cleveland.

(4) Its exemplification of the cultural, economic, social or historic heritage of the City of Cleveland.

(5) Its portrayal of the environment of a group of people in an era of history characterized by a distinctive architectural style.

(6) Its embodiment of distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type or specimen....

(10) Its unique location or singular physical characteristic representing an established and familiar visual feature of a neighborhood, community or the City of Cleveland. "

<sup>22</sup>Sarah K. Crim, "National Conference of Urban 'Pioneers' Shows Strength of City Revival," The Mortgage Banker, November 1974, p. 19.

<sup>23</sup>William F. Miller, "Loan program set to help fight slums in three neighborhoods," Cleveland Plain Dealer, 17 March 1975, p. A1.

<sup>24</sup>Title I Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, Public Law 93-383.

<sup>25</sup>I have had several conversations about this with members of the OCA, including the president of this group, William T. Stanley, Jr. Appalachian whites who reside here are written off as "hillbillies" who have no concern for neighborhood improvement. Puerto Ricans are perceived to be uniformly unstable, not "home-oriented," although I was able to point out several Puerto Rican families right on my street who are very stable homeowners and who take conscientious care of their properties. Older "ethnics," in the eyes of OCA, are "OK," but so far very few of these have chosen to join this organization.

<sup>26</sup>See p. 82 above.

<sup>27</sup> A nominal membership fee might be charged for support of a neighborhood newsletter. One such group in Ann Arbor, Mich., known as the Old West Side Association, Inc., charges a \$10 annual membership fee for business people, \$3 for property owners, and \$1 for tenants. Another such organization, Historic Walker's Point, Inc., in Milwaukee publishes a small newsletter in both English and Spanish in order to reach all members of their community.

## CONCLUSION

Preservation is a means to an end--not an end in itself.

Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr., Director, Pittsburgh  
History and Landmarks Foundation

Cities, like anything else, succeed only by making the best  
of their assets.

Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great  
American Cities

What are the prospects for the future of this city neighborhood?  
On all counts they appear promising. The opportunities and attractions  
of Ohio City are being sought by a new generation, and the arrival, since  
1968, of affluent newcomers is symbolic of a dormant vitality: these people  
are newcomers by choice. Other, less affluent people are deciding to stay,  
perhaps with the knowledge that their neighborhood is unique and irreplace-  
able, and remarkably valuable in spite of its shortcomings. It is such  
factors that point up the possibilities for the creation of an inner-city  
neighborhood that draws successfully on the important elements of its  
historic past. It is an opportunity that Cleveland cannot afford to lose.

A city neighborhood is a complex organism, made up of diverse bits and pieces impossible adequately to describe. Ohio City is an especially diverse entity, and is now the object of a multiplicity of private and public campaigns for its renewal. These programs need to be encouraged and directed for the benefit of the entire community. Likewise, the opportunity to conserve Ohio City's physical traditions demands that steps be taken now to insure that the integrity of its rich cultural traditions is not lost or compromised.

The neighborhood is, of course, faced with a paradox: as it proceeds on its course of regeneration, it will possibly lose the very heterogeneity that is currently its virtue. This has been, with few exceptions, the inevitable result of most historic district preservation throughout the country. A program for "area conservation," however, could well contain the seeds for maintaining, including, and working with diverse groups of people, all of whom are interested in the area's conservation rather than its wholesale restoration. An economic and cultural mix might be further encouraged by the fact that Ohio City's housing is not comprised of equally desirable and architecturally interesting structures.

So far, displacement of the poor has been minimal because the influx of newcomers has been quite gradual. Much potential exists for a creative organization capable of gaining the acceptance of the whole community with a program that is sensitive to, and inclusive of, current residents. The conservation of Ohio City should be a movement for all residents of the neighborhood, one that operates not only within the confines

of the private housing market, but additionally within the context of an overall housing strategy. The low-interest loans that will be available shortly are an important first step in this direction.

In summary, Ohio City's unique collection of buildings, along with its pleasing human scale and diverse institutional and cultural amenities, make it one of Cleveland's much-needed, but largely lost, inner-city neighborhoods. Ohio City offers Cleveland a kind of paradigm of urban development and contains the makings for a significant revival of the qualities of inner-city living.

It may be the very lack of conventional "landmarks"--of fine civic buildings, monuments, and architecturally notable houses--that makes the current, broader meaning of historic preservation so clear in this city. The exceptional assets of Ohio City merit conservation for reasons greater than style, craftsmanship, integrity or historical associations. More important is this neighborhood's close-grained intricacy of both human and historical physical elements, its bits and pieces ("this is what a city is"<sup>1</sup>) that supplement and support each other and make Ohio City a very special urban place indeed.



Footnote--Conclusion

<sup>1</sup>Jacobs, Death and Life of Great American Cities, p. 390.

## APPENDIX I

The following structures in and near the proposed Ohio City conservation area have been entered on the National Register of Historic Places, maintained by the National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior (location, date[s] of construction, and architect are included):

Ohio City Preservation District, 1836-1913 (see map, Fig. 8)

Detroit-Superior High Level Bridge, Detroit and Superior Avenues, completed 1917, A. B. Lea and Frank R. Lander, Cuyahoga County engineers.

St. Ignatius High School, 1911 W. 30th Street, 1888; 1890-91, Brother Wipfler, S. J.

St. John's Episcopal Church, 2600 Church Avenue, 1836-38, Hezekiah Eldredge

West Side Market, W. 25th Street and Lorain Avenue, 1912, Hubbell and Benes

The following structures and places in and near the proposed Ohio City conservation area have been named Landmarks by the Cleveland Landmarks Commission (information for structures listed above is not repeated):

Carnegie-West Library, 1900 Fulton Road (at Bridge Avenue), 1910, Edward L. Tilton

Detroit-Superior High Level Bridge

Franklin Circle Christian Church, 1688 Fulton Road, 1874-1883, Cuddell and Richardson

Monroe Street Cemetery, Monroe Street, opened 1841, arched gateway 1874

St. Ignatius High School

St. John's Episcopal Church and Parish Hall

St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, 3602 Bridge Avenue, 1870-71, architect unknown

**West Side Market**

## APPENDIX II

The brief land use history of Franklin Circle is one which offers in microcosm a study of the neglect and misuse of this district's special resources.

The discussion of Ohio City's town plan in Chapter I recounted the origin of Franklin Circle. Surveyed in 1835, Franklin Circle was dedicated to public use by the original proprietors of Brooklyn township, and was described in the plat of the allotment made by the county surveyor as follows: "The Franklin place was laid out for public grounds. Its radius is one hundred and forty feet."<sup>1</sup>

This land served as an open market place where families from the neighboring countryside sold their produce until 1857. That year the City Council appropriated the Circle to park use, and erected a white wooden fence around the central portion, leaving a street thirty feet wide around the outer circle. A wooden pavilion and a lily fountain were placed in the center to adorn the diminished plot of ground.<sup>2</sup>

In 1872, Cleveland's newly-created Board of Park Commissioners removed the lily fountain to Public Square, and set out to "resurrect and beautify" the Circle. Franklin Street was laid through the center of the park, the entire circle was graded, trees and shrubbery were planted, and a stone pavilion took the place of the old wooden one. A fantastic "rock work" sculpture ("the newest thing in fashion, . . . borrowed by sentimental travelers from castles of the Rhine"<sup>3</sup>) was crowded into the still further diminished grounds, and walks of flagging and asphalt were laid.<sup>4</sup> One historian has commented: "Very little open space was left after so much garnishment."<sup>5</sup> It was nicknamed "Modoc Park," and it became "quite a political center, William McKinley, among others, holding forth therein when young as a congressman."<sup>6</sup> One visitor to Cleveland, Ohio historian Henry Howe, wrote of the park: "The Circle is a finely ornamented ground on Franklin avenue. . . from which radiates several streets. It has a central rock structure in primitive style; moss and vine, covered with water jets, rivulets, and drinking fountains--a delightful summer evening resort."<sup>7</sup>

But "Modoc Park received its death-blow" in 1907, when the city authorized the Forest City Railway Company to extend its electric rail lines through the grounds.<sup>8</sup> An early twentieth-century panoramic view of Franklin Circle<sup>9</sup> shows its appearance after the tracks had been cut through. The only remnants of the once finely-landscaped park were the trees. Brick paving surrounded the Circle, its six radiating streets were still intact. Two new apartment buildings had been constructed on the

outer edge of the Circle, the "Beckwith" and the "Heyse," the first with Flemish stepped gables, the second with cylindrical turreted towers.

The years subsequent to 1907 were even less kind to this small bit of imaginative city design. The arrival and proliferation of the automobile saw the Circle more and more diminished, given over to asphalt. Today there is no park at all, and not even a single tree. The original design of the Circle, with its six radiating streets, has been all but lost in its demise to little more than a vast and confusing traffic pattern. Today, a modern medical center borders the Circle's southeast edge; Franklin Circle Christian Church, erected in 1874, is situated to the south; and both the "Beckwith" and "Heyse" are still extant. At the northwest edge there is an abandoned hamburger stand (c. 1960) with attendant parking pads, perhaps the final insult.

## Footnotes--Appendix II

<sup>1</sup> quoted in Orth, History of Cleveland, 1:169.

<sup>2</sup> Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:477.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Brooks (Prologue, pp. 231-234) describes Franklin Circle as he remembers it.

<sup>4</sup> Orth, History of Cleveland, 1:169.

<sup>5</sup> Robison, History of the City of Cleveland, p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:477.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio, 3 vols. (Columbus, O.: Henry Howe & Son, 1890), 1:506.

<sup>8</sup> Avery, History of Cleveland and Its Environs, 1:477.

<sup>9</sup> Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

### APPENDIX III

The photographs of Ohio City which follow show the kinds of environmental amenities that characterize this neighborhood and make it worthy of conservation. The photographs were chosen from a combined historical and architectural point of view, and for the ways in which each represents important aspects of Ohio City's aesthetic and cultural inheritance.

All of the photographs were taken by the author.



1. Nearly all of the houses on Jay Avenue--a street once scheduled for clearance and "redevelopment"--have been restored since 1968. Riverview Terrace apartments can be seen at the end of the street.





2. These homes on Clinton Avenue and those that follow (on Franklin) are probably the best remaining examples of the fashionable mansions of the Franklin Circle neighborhood in the district's north end.



3. The brick paving on W. 29th Street is still intact.



4. These simple Greek Revival-style houses are situated close to Franklin Circle. Together with their more grandiose neighbors they illustrate the economic diversity that historically characterized Ohio City.



5. The Carroll Avenue houses in this photograph and the next are representative examples of Ohio City's domestic architecture. Simple vernacular-style structures, their uniform position of gable end to the street, their variety of ornament, and their compact placement creates an urban neighborhood of human scale.



6. Ohio City's "industrious and thrifty mechanics and laborers" lived on streets such as this one.



7. An irregular street plan creates a feeling of enclosed space. This photograph was taken on Woodbine Avenue. The brick house with stepped gables at the center of the picture is probably one of the oldest houses in Ohio City.





8. This district's "walking city" inheritance includes closely-built streets, with schools, church and market nearby. Here the tops of the Urban Community School and St. Patrick's Church can be seen. The commercial buildings on Fulton Road and Lorain Avenue are only a few blocks away.



9. The amenities of an old neighborhood: A stable, jigsaw ornament, a brick drive and decorative wrought iron fence.





10. The intensive use of every parcel of land at the turn of the century is visible today. This city lot is occupied by a number of houses, some without access to street or alley.



11. The 1874 Franklin Circle Christian Church, the "Beckwith" Apartment House, and "Burger'n Hamburgers" on Franklin Circle.



12. Carnegie-West Library and St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church.



13. At the northeast corner of Detroit Avenue and W. 25th Street, the Campbell Building and St. Malachi's recall the once-large Irish neighborhood of the "Angle."



14. Historic St. John's Church is today situated amidst small industrial enterprises.



15. Market Street.





16. This fine commercial building, with its interior still intact, is currently unoccupied.



17. A view of Lorain Avenue in the commercial center of Ohio City. In the distance is the water and clock tower of the West Side Market.





18. Close-up of the West Side Market, a Cleveland landmark.



19. The produce stall at the rear of the Market. In the background is the 1909 building of the Fries & Schuele Company.

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

- Alburn, Wilfred Henry, and Alburn, Miriam Russell. This Cleveland of Ours. 4 vols. Chicago, Cleveland, and Indianapolis: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1933.
- American Institute of Architects, Cleveland Chapter. Cleveland Architecture, 1796-1958. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1958.
- The Architecture of Cleveland: Twelve Buildings, 1836-1912. Selections from the Historic American Buildings Survey, no. 12. Cleveland and Washington, D. C.: A Joint Publication of the Western Reserve Historical Society and the Historic American Buildings Survey, 1973.
- Avery, Elroy McKendree. A History of Cleveland and Its Environs: The Heart of New Connecticut. 3 vols. Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1918.
- Beautiful Homes of Cleveland. Cleveland: The Cleveland Topics Company, 1917.
- Benton, Elbert Jay. Cultural History of an American City--Cleveland. 3 vols. Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1943, 1944, 1946.
- Brooks, Charles S. Prologue. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931.
- Campen, Richard N. Architecture of the Western Reserve, 1800-1900. Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1971.
- The Centennial: Franklin Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, 1833-1933. Cleveland: n. p., 1933.

- Chapman, Edmund H. Cleveland: Village to Metropolis. Cleveland, Ohio: The Western Reserve Historical Society and The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1964.
- Cleveland Illustrated, 1893. Cleveland: The Consolidated Illustrating Co., 1893.
- Coates, William R. A History of Cuyahoga County and The City of Cleveland. 3 vols. Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, 1924.
- Cram, George F.; Beers, J.H., and Bennett, J.Q.A. Atlas of Cuyahoga County and the City of Cleveland, Ohio. Chicago: George F. Cram & Co., 1892.
- Diamond Jubilee: Franklin Circle Church of Christ, Cleveland, 1842-1917. Cleveland: n.p., 1917.
- Downing, Andrew J. Cottage Residences. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1842.
- Ellis, William Donahue. The Cuyahoga. Rivers of America Series, Edited by Carl Carmer. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.
- Frary, I. T. Early Homes of Ohio. Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, 1936.
- Graham, Roy Eugene, and Jones, Ben Calloway III. Progressive Preservation: A Guide to the Understanding and Implementation of the Preservation of Historical Architecture in Texas. Austin: The Graduate Program in Community and Regional Planning, The University of Texas at Austin, 1972.
- Green, Howard Whipple. Population Characteristics by Census Tracts, Cleveland, Ohio. Cleveland: The Plain Dealer Publishing Company, 1931.
- Hatcher, Harlan. The Western Reserve: The Story of New Connecticut in Ohio. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1942.
- History of St. Patrick's Parish, 1853-1903: Memorial of the Golden Jubilee. Cleveland: Catholic Universe Publishing Company, 1903.
- Howe, Henry. Historical Collections of Ohio. 3 vols. Columbus, Ohio: Henry Howe & Son, 1890.

- Jacobs, Jane. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York: Random House, Inc., Vintage Books, 1961.
- Joblin, Maurice. Cleveland, Past and Present. Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1869.
- Johnson, Crisfield. History of Cuyahoga County, Ohio. Cleveland: D. W. Ensign & Co., 1879.
- Johnson, Johnson & Roy, Inc., Consultants. Marshall: A Plan for Preservation. Marshall, Mich.: Marshall Historical Society, 1973.
- Klein and Hodne Associates. Ohio City--Central Park West: Technical Report on a Preliminary Plan for the Future Development of the Area. Cleveland: Klein and Hodne, 2032 E. 115th Street, 1958.
- Kouwenhoven, John A. The Arts in Modern American Civilization. New York: W. W. Norton Company, Norton Books, 1967.
- Kunkin, Dorothy, and Byrne, Michael. Appalachians in Cleveland. Cleveland: Institute of Urban Studies, Cleveland State University, 1972.
- Lake, D. J. Atlas of Cuyahoga County, Ohio. Philadelphia: Titus, Simmons & Titus, 1874.
- Levy, Donald. A Report on the Location of Ethnic Groups in Greater Cleveland. Cleveland: Institute of Urban Studies, Cleveland State University, 1972.
- Lynes, Russell. The Domesticated Americans. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.
- Maass, John. The Gingerbread Age: A View of Victorian America. New York: Bramhall House, 1957.
- MacCabe, Julius P. Bolivar. A Directory of the Cities of Cleveland & Ohio, For the Years 1837-38. Cleveland: Sanford & Lott, Book & Job Printers, 1837.
- Manual and Directory of the Franklin Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church. Cleveland: n. p. 1907.
- Morse, Kenneth S. P. Cleveland Streetcars, Part II. Baltimore, Md.: By the Author, 3700 Woodbine Avenue, 1964.

- Old West Side Association. Old West Side, Ann Arbor, Michigan: A Report on the Environmental Survey of a Neighborhood, conducted by Richard G. Wilson, Edward J. Vaughn; Mrs. George E. Downing, Consultant. Ann Arbor, Mich.: n.p., 1971.
- Orth, Samuel P. A History of Cleveland, Ohio. 3 vols. Cleveland: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1910.
- Pap, Michael S., ed. Ethnic Communities of Cleveland. Cleveland: Institute for Soviet and East European Studies, John Carroll University, 1973.
- Payne, William. Cleveland Illustrated: A Pictorial Hand-Book of the Forest City. Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1876.
- Peet, Elijah. Peet's General Business Directory of the Cities of Cleveland & Ohio, for the Years 1845-6. Cleveland: Sanford & Hayward, Printers, 1845.
- Reps, John W. The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Town Planning in Frontier America. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Rice, Harvey. Pioneers of the Western Reserve. 2nd ed. New York: Charles T. Dillingham, 1888.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Sketches of Western Reserve Life. Cleveland: William W. Williams, 1885.
- Robbins, L. S. Decentralization: A Problem in Cleveland's Future. Cleveland: The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, 1941.
- Robison, W. Scott. History of the City of Cleveland: Its Settlement, Rise and Progress. Cleveland: Robison & Cokett--The Sunday World, 1887.
- Rose, William Ganson. Cleveland: The Making of a City. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1950.
- St. Malachi's Memorial Church. Cleveland: n.p., 1947.
- Seelig, Michael, Y. Time Present and Time Past: Proposals for Area Conservation in Vancouver. Vancouver, B. C.: Department of Social Planning, City of Vancouver, 1973.

- Tallmadge, Thomas E. The Story of Architecture in America. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1927.
- Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1857-1932. Cleveland: n.p., 1932.
- Tunnard, Christopher, and Reed, Henry Hope. American Skyline. New York: The New American Library, Inc., Mentor Books, 1956.
- Warner, Sam Bass, Jr. The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962; reprint ed., Cambridge: Harvard University Press and The M.I.T. Press, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Whiffin, Marcus. American Architecture Since 1780: A Guide to the Styles. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1969.
- Whittlesey, Charles. Early History of Cleveland, Ohio. Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1867.
- Whyte, William H. The Last Landscape. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., Anchor Books, 1970.
- Work Projects Administration, Ohio Historical Records Survey Project, Service Division. Parishes of the Catholic Church Diocese of Cleveland: History and Records. Cleveland: Cadillac Press, 1942.
- Works Progress Administration in Ohio. Annals of Cleveland, 1818-1935: A Digest and Index of the Newspaper Record of Events and Opinion. Cleveland, 1937. (Multigraphed.)
- Ziegler, Arthur P., Jr. Historic Preservation in Inner City Areas: A Manual of Practice. Pittsburgh: The Allegheny Press, 1971.

#### Periodicals

- Chapman, Edmund, H. "City Planning Under Mercantile Expansion: The Case of Cleveland, Ohio." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 10 (December 1951): 10-17.

Cleveland Daily True Democrat, 6 March; 14 October 1851.

Cleveland Leader, 3, 4 April 1854.

Cleveland Plain Dealer, 2 April 1910; 17 March 1975.

Cleveland Press, 23 October 1963; 1 August 1970; 10 September 1971.

Crim, Sarah K. "National Conference of Urban 'Pioneers' Shows Strength of City Revival." The Mortgage Banker, November 1974, pp. 15-22.

Graf, LeRoy P., ed. "The Journal of a Vermont Man in Ohio, 1836-1842." The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly 60 (April 1951): 175-199.

Griffith, Gary. "Recycling the City." Cleveland Magazine, October 1972, pp. 46-54.

Huxtable, Ada Louise. "Revitalization of Cleveland at a Turning Point." New York Times, 23 November 1973, p. 37.

O'Donnell, Thomas E. "Influence of the Carpenter's Handbooks in the Early Architecture of Ohio." Architecture 55 (March 1927): 169-171.

Ohio City Argus, 1836-1838.

Priest, Donald E., and Black, J. Thomas. "Time May Have Arrived for Central Cities' Resurgence." The Mortgage Banker, November 1974, pp. 24-28.

Thomas, Jason. "Ohio City." Cleveland Plain Dealer, Saturday, The Plain Dealer Home Magazine, 17 August 1974, pp. 1-5.

#### Public Documents

Cleveland City Planning Commission. Cleveland Policy Planning Report, Volume 1. Cleveland: n.p., 1975.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Cleveland's Abandonment Problem in 1973: Survey Results and Policy Issues." Cleveland, 1974. (Mimeographed.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Poverty and Substandard Housing: An Analysis of Residential Deterioration in Cleveland." By John Linner. Cleveland, 1973. (Mimeographed.)



- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Report on a General Plan of Development for the Near West Side Community" By Peter H. Henderson. Cleveland, 1961. (Mimeographed.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Tentative Plan: Near West Side." Cleveland, 1944. (Mimeographed.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Two Percent Household Survey: Results of All Questions." Cleveland, 1972. (Mimeographed.)
- Cleveland Landmarks Commission. Cleveland Landmarks Commission 1973 Annual Report. Cleveland: n. p., 1973.
- U. S. Census Office. Census Reports, Eighth Census, 1860. Vol. I, Population, Ohio-Cuyahoga County. Microfilm, Cleveland Public Library. New York: Recordak Corporation, n. d.
- U. S. Department of the Interior. Census Office. Census Reports, Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900. Vol. I, Population, pt. 1.
- U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Thirteenth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1910. Vol. III, Population.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Cleveland, Ohio SMSA.
- U. S. Department of the Interior. Census Office. Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880).
- U. S. Federal Housing Administration. The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities. Edited by Homer Hoyt. Washington, D. C.: Federal Housing Administration, 1939.

#### Unpublished Source Materials

- Campen, Richard N. "Story of Ohio City." Cleveland, 1968. (Type-written.)
- Galford, Justin B. "The Foreign Born and Urban Growth in Cleveland, 1850-1950." Livingston, N.J., 1966. (Typewritten.) Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio. Originally prepared as a chapter for "The Foreign Born and Urban Growth in the Great Lakes, 1850-1950: A Study of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Milwaukee." Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1957.

Nowie, Robert, and Brilvitch, Charles. "Ohio City Property Owners in 1869." Cleveland, 1974. (Typewritten.) Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.

"Ohio City Preservation District." National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form. Prepared by Eric Johannesen, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, February 1974.

Rusk, Sarah E. "Hezekiah Eldredge (1795-1845): Master Builder of Western New York State and the Western Reserve." M. A. thesis, n. p., n. d. Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

Weiner, Ronald R. "A History of Civic Land Use Decision Making in the Cleveland Metropolitan Area, 1880-1930." Ph. D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1974.

Works Projects Administration, Federal Writers' Program, "The Peoples of Cleveland." Cleveland, 1942. (Typewritten.)

Raymond & May Associates. "Preliminary Near West Side General Neighborhood Renewal Plan." Cleveland, 1967. (Mimeographed.)

#### Interviews

Hedderon, Bruce. Canadian Consulate, Cleveland, Ohio. Interview, 21 February 1975.

Wagner, Edward. WSFS Development Corporation, Cleveland, Ohio. Interview, 18 December 1974.

#### Prints and Photographs

Butler, Margaret Manor. A Pictorial History of the Western Reserve: 1796 to 1860. Cleveland: The Early Settlers Association of the Western Reserve and The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1963.

Cleveland Picture Collection. Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio.

Picture Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.



*Ohio City: A Proposal for Area Conservation in Cleveland*

Carol Poh Miller

The author's master's thesis, written in the mid-1970s as the first preservation efforts were underway in Cleveland's Ohio City neighborhood. Poh argues for the conservation of Ohio City's diverse cultures and people, as well as its distinctive architecture.

This thesis was submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the George Washington University in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



MSL Academic Endeavors is the publishing imprint of the Michael Schwartz Library at Cleveland State University.

<http://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu>