THE IMPACT OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION
ON CLEVELAND, 1929 THROUGH 1935

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Master of Arts

By
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The Ohio State University
1958

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Adviser
Department of History
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Chapter I
From Prosperity to Depression - A Survey, 1929 through 1932

Cleveland in 1929 was one of the nation's greatest industrial centers and was also a leader in education and the arts. Cleveland has long been the center of culture and industry for a larger area known as Greater Cleveland, which includes the adjacent suburban communities of Shaker Heights, Cleveland Heights and East Cleveland to the east and Lakewood to the west as well as many more smaller cities and villages. It is common practice to refer to any portion of the metropolitan area as "Cleveland," which is appropriate in many respects, since the people of the suburbs depend greatly upon the facilities and activities of Cleveland proper.

Several groups of statistics will be provided in order to demonstrate the transition from prosperity to depression, and these will cover Cuyahoga County as a whole, as well as Cleveland, whenever possible; the county deserves equal consideration since that part outside of Cleveland proper is occupied almost entirely by this intimate association of cities and villages known as Greater Cleveland.

The official population figures taken in the 1930 Census are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Native White</th>
<th>Foreign-born White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>800,429</td>
<td>597,603</td>
<td>229,487</td>
<td>71,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuyahoga Co.</td>
<td>1,201,455</td>
<td>848,069</td>
<td>276,966</td>
<td>74,827</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2Ibid., p. 467.
These figures indicate the diversity of racial backgrounds in the area, which has resulted in a varied and rich cultural environment. The estimated increase in population of Greater Cleveland from 1920 to 1930 was thirty per cent, which places it near the top for percentage gain among the great metropolitan areas of the nation.³

The depression trend will be demonstrated first of all with statistics on manufactures; the trend in this field is an excellent indicator of conditions since a large number of Clevelanders are laborers and craftsmen who earn their living in the many industrial plants. The level of activity decreased almost one half by the end of 1931. Corresponding figures for 1932 were not located. However, an indicator of the conditions in that year is the fact that a group of sixty-seven companies in the area experienced a total net loss of eight million dollars; in contrast with that performance, the same group of companies realized total net earnings of thirty-three million in 1933.⁴

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³Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 11, 1930, p. A1. Henceforth this newspaper will be designated as CPD.

⁴CPD, June 7, 1934, p. 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Firms</th>
<th>Wage Earners</th>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Value of Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1929</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>2,573</td>
<td>146,881</td>
<td>$229,159,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1929 Cuyahoga Co.</td>
<td>2,781</td>
<td>161,256</td>
<td>$251,942,813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cuyahoga Co.</td>
<td>2,284</td>
<td>109,887</td>
<td>$134,370,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$703,662,798*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The decline in retail business is not so well demonstrated due to lack of figures, but the level of business in 1932 probably reached a low point for the depression in view of other trends:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Stores</th>
<th>Fulltime Employees</th>
<th>Net Sales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1929</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>12,470</td>
<td>46,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cuyahoga Co.</td>
<td>14,825</td>
<td>51,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>13,413</td>
<td>33,658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cuyahoga Co.</td>
<td>16,009</td>
<td>37,803</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unemployment was to become a great problem in Cleveland due to the dependence upon industrial activity for jobs. The normal

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6Ibid., p. 246.
7Howard W. Green, Unemployment and Relief in Cleveland (Cleveland: Cleveland Health Council, 1938), p. 4.

*Figures for 1931 are for plants with an annual production of five thousand dollars or over.
unemployment for the city prior to the depression was about ten thousand.\textsuperscript{10} The peak of unemployment was in March, 1933, but an exact figure is not available but only an estimate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total Number of Gainful Workers</th>
<th>Unemployed Gainful Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April, 1930 Cleveland</td>
<td>394,898</td>
<td>41,184\textsuperscript{11}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyahoga Co.</td>
<td>516,549</td>
<td>46,758\textsuperscript{12}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan., 1931 Cleveland (see 1930)</td>
<td></td>
<td>99,452\textsuperscript{13}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb., 1932 Cleveland (see 1930)</td>
<td></td>
<td>117,562\textsuperscript{14}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March, 1933 Cleveland (see 1930)</td>
<td></td>
<td>198,000\textsuperscript{15}*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As jobs became scarce, married women experienced increasing difficulty in holding jobs, normal female employment was estimated to be one hundred thousand; female unemployment was estimated as follows: 1930 - 5,000; 1931 - 18,000; 1932 - 33,300.\textsuperscript{16}

A rapidly increasing number of persons sought relief funds through 1932, and this trend continued through 1932 for several years.

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\textsuperscript{10}CPD, June 14, 1930, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 799.
\textsuperscript{13}CPD, July 9, 1933, p. 1A.
\textsuperscript{14}Howard W. Green, Unemployment and Economic Status (Cleveland: Cleveland Health Council, 1932), p. 1.
\textsuperscript{15}CPD, July 9, 1933, p. 1A.

*Estimates by Howard W. Green.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Relief Cases (families and individuals on direct and work relief)</th>
<th>Expenditures (direct and work relief, and administrative costs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>4,093</td>
<td>$1,803,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>6,295</td>
<td>$2,506,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>12,932</td>
<td>$5,064,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>24,150</td>
<td>$7,798,000 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In January, 1929, during the period of prosperity, only 2.1 out of every one hundred families in which the wage earner was out of work were on relief; this figure rose to 2.7 families by February, 1932, as savings diminished, thus greatly increasing the relief burden.19

As the economic conditions worsened, young couples found that they could not afford to become married, with the result that marriages and births declined greatly. Applications for divorce and alimony also reflected the depression trend.

17 Howard W. Green, Nine Years of Relief in Cleveland, 1928-37 (Cleveland: Cleveland Health Council, 1937), p. 2.

18 Howard W. Green, Two Hundred Millions for Relief in Cleveland, 1928-38 (Cleveland: Cleveland Health Council, 1938), p. 4.

19 Green, Unemployment and Economic Status, p. 1.

*All figures are for Cuyahoga County.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Marriages</th>
<th>Applications for Divorce and Alimony</th>
<th>Live Births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>11,565</td>
<td>5,263</td>
<td>19,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>9,944</td>
<td>4,708</td>
<td>19,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>7,635</td>
<td>4,012</td>
<td>17,813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>5,455</td>
<td>3,140</td>
<td>16,587</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Construction activity declined as did all business, and resulted in job losses for laborers and skilled tradesmen.*

The above statistics indicate trends that are generally present in a period of economic decline, varying only in degree. There is another aspect of a depression, however, and that includes the changes that occur in the daily activities of the people and the adjustments that must be made; it is this aspect of the years 1929 through 1932 that will be considered in Chapter II.

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20 Supplied by the Office of the Clerk of Courts, Cuyahoga County Court House, Cleveland, Ohio.

21 Ibid.

22 Furnished by the Statistical Analysis Unit of the Division of Vital Statistics, Ohio Department of Health, State Office Building, Columbus, Ohio.

*Since figures were not located for the years between 1929 and 1935, all construction figures have been placed in the Appendix.

†All figures are for Cuyahoga County.
Chapter II

The Growing Crisis, 1929 through 1932

In the memorable year of 1929, Cleveland was bustling with prosperity and optimism. The city was on the threshold of a new era in which several great institutions in the fields of business, education, science and the arts were either recently settled in beautiful new buildings or preparing to build very soon; in the near future, it was expected, these great monuments of concrete and steel containing varied activities would contribute greatly to the lives of Clevelanders and their visitors.

Clevelanders, as was true with most Americans, probably had little comprehension as of October, 1930 of the years of suffering and sacrifice that lay just ahead. On "Black Thursday," October 24, panic seized the New York Stock Exchange and nearly thirteen million shares of stock changed hands. On the following Tuesday, October 29, the great "Crash" resounded throughout the world when over sixteen million shares were traded, with the average price of fifty leading stocks falling almost forty points. The situation continued to deteriorate during the remainder of 1929, in which period investors lost approximately forty billion dollars. In Cleveland on October 29, the Otis-Eaton-Mather financial interests purchased one million shares of stock in an attempt to support the market.

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2Cleveland Plain Dealer, Nov. 4, 1929, p. 16. Henceforth, CPD will be used.
In November, President Hoover attempted to forestall widespread unemployment by meeting with leaders in railroad, finance, trade, industry and construction and requesting that they maintain production and refrain from wage cuts; he also met with labor leaders and requested their cooperation. He called upon the governors and mayors throughout the country for increased public works expenditures. The Cleveland City Council heeded the appeal by issuing an additional $230,000 in sewer and paving bonds for work to begin in 1930; $750,000 had already been voted for the same purpose.

In seeming anticipation of the crisis ahead, the people of Greater Cleveland put the annual Associated Charities Campaign over the top with $4,654,357, a surplus of over four thousand. This achievement earned great local and nationwide acclaim.

In November and December, 1929, several large companies announced plans for expansion, as was in keeping with the President's request. Burdett Oxygen purposely set forward their date to begin plant expansion so as to aid the employment situation; Ohio Bell prepared to install dial phones; Otis Steel and American Steel and Wire were to expand; and the Republic Steel Corporation was formed as a result of the work of Cyrus Eaton and others.

On December 21, the Saturday preceding Christmas day, Cleveland merchants estimated that the shopping crowd was the largest

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3Link, American Epoch, p. 368. 4CPD, Nov. 26, 1929, p. 1.
5CPD, Nov. 27, 1929, p. 1.
6CPD, Nov. 26, 27, 30, Dec. 31, 18, 1929.
they had ever seen. The Great Depression during 1929 did not greatly affect life in Cleveland; an increase in unemployment was recognized and some action was taken, but optimism prevailed.

At the beginning of 1930, the nation settled down to the grim task of battling the unemployment situation. President Hoover asked Congress in January to greatly increase the appropriations for public buildings and roads and for the improvement of rivers and harbors. He had previously called on state and local government officials in November, 1929, to increase their public works expenditures, as was mentioned above. Until 1931, such work in Ohio was handled almost entirely by the local governments, as was the case in most states.

In January, Acting City Manager Harold Burton sought the aid of two thousand industrial leaders in the job of relieving unemployment by staggering available work among as many employees as possible. Two days later he asked the mayors of thirty municipalities in the Cleveland area to increase their street improvement programs. Large industry cooperated by forming the Committee on Private Employment, composed of representatives from fifty-two large companies, for the purpose of promoting the staggered employment plan. Late in the month,

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7CPD, Dec. 22, 1929, p. Al.


Clevelanders displayed their generosity by putting the John Carroll University building fund over the goal of 2.5 million dollars, much to the surprise of many. Eventually, a beautiful set of buildings was erected in University Heights.

In early February, the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland announced that some recovery had very recently taken place in the area in the auto, iron and steel lines, with a resulting increase in employment from the January 30 low point; however, the retail and wholesale trades were reported to be feeling the effects of the widespread unemployment of the two previous months. During February and March, several instances of business expansion were reported: the Eaton Axle & Spring was merging with two concerns in Detroit; the Cleveland Clinic was to begin a $400,000 building program to replace the building destroyed by fire in May, 1929; and Joseph & Feiss clothing manufacturers were expanding.

The expenditures of the Associated Charities during January and February reflected the growing unemployment by mounting to $105,200, which was $52,000 over the budget. Requests for help amounted to 2,070 in December, 1,777 in January, and 1,322 in February; the decreasing trend continued into March. The total number of relief cases actually serviced in 1929 was 4,093. The agency did not service all aid requests. The Central Bureau for the Homeless was organized in March, 1930, to give

\[\text{13CPD, Jan. 31, 1930, p. 1.} \quad \text{14CPD, Feb. 5, 1930, p. 16.} \]
\[\text{15CPD, Feb. 21, March 7,} & \text{8, 1930.} \]
\[\text{16CPD, March 27, 1930, p. 3.} \quad \text{17Supra, p. 5.} \]
direction to transient and homeless men; during the period of March through December, 1930, twenty-three thousand interviews were given by a staff of three trained case workers.\textsuperscript{18}

In early April, five of the major suburbs - Cleveland Heights, Lakewood, Rocky River, East Cleveland and Euclid - planned a total of three million dollars worth of paving and sewer construction to begin immediately.\textsuperscript{19} The total road building program in Cuyahoga County as of April 15 gave employment to 3,300 men, and this figure was expected to increase to 5,000 by June 1.\textsuperscript{20}

By the end of April, the decline in employment throughout the nation halted briefly; the index dropped from 99 in December, 1929, to 96.3 in April, when an estimated 2.5 million were unemployed.\textsuperscript{21} Many of the unemployed persons in Cleveland used their free time in a constructive manner in view of the report from the Cleveland Public Library in April that there were two thousand new registrants in the previous month with twenty-five per cent being unemployed persons.\textsuperscript{22} Hard times were no doubt the cause of many people turning to reading during their spare time.

Beginning in April, 1930, and continuing through July, a series of large construction projects were begun and one was in an intermediate stage; several of these were to bring fame to Cleveland. The Abeyton Realty Company began a $750,000 project of home and business construction on the old Rockefeller farm in East Cleveland and Cleveland Heights; work

\textsuperscript{18} Cleveland Foundation, Year Book, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{CPD}, April 7, 1930, p. 1. \textsuperscript{20} \textit{CPD}, April 28, 1930, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{21} Link, \textit{American Epoch}, p. 368. \textsuperscript{22} \textit{CPD}, April 23, 1930, p. 10.
was soon to begin on the Cleveland Municipal Stadium; the Van Sweringen brothers, famous for their accomplishments in developing Shaker Heights, were soon to begin a new company for the purpose of selling notes with which to complete the proposed buildings in the Union Terminal Group; and the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company offered seventeen million in common stock to finance expansion. On May 3, John L. Severance laid the cornerstone of Severance Hall, soon to be the new home of the Cleveland Symphony; Mr. Severance, a very noted citizen of Cleveland, was the donor of the remarkable structure; in June, work began on the Carnegie Medical Block, which was to provide office for many medical men, and the public school administration building was soon begun. In late June the nationally acclaimed Union Terminal, the center of the Union Terminal Group and of railroad activity in Cleveland, was dedicated.

In July the Cleveland Federal Reserve Bank reported that business conditions were at a low ebb in the area due to factory shutdowns resulting from the changes in automobile models.

The criminal element associated with bootlegging activities seemed well entrenched in Cleveland during the prohibition era with numerous instances of gang warfare resulting. With the onset of the depression, other forms of vice appeared. In August, George Matowitz was appointed chief of police and immediately ordered that every racketeer be arrested on sight and promised rearrests until such persons departed.

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23 *CPD*, April 3, 4, 23, 26, 1930.
24 *CPD*, May 3, June 10, July 1, 1930.
26 *CPD*, July 19, 1930, p. 7.
In October, Daniel Morgan, the City Manager, formed three committees to deal with unemployment: one was to find part-time jobs in homes, stores and shops; another dealt with fulltime employment in industry; and the third worked to increase public construction projects. A major project of the third committee was the effective utilization of $575,000 which had been allocated to the Park Department from a councilmanic bond issue for labor. Eighteen thousand men were registered, and successive groups of one thousand were given staggered employment consisting of three days at a time during the months of October, November and December. This work continued into 1931. Following the November 4 election, City Council interpreted the large vote in favor of the five-year bond and tax levy as a mandate to provide more city jobs and proceeded to create one thousand extra jobs per week and hold another registration of unemployed men. This work was soon extended to skilled tradesmen and white collar workers. In late October, the different committees sent out speakers to urge home-owners and business houses to locate more work for the unemployed.

At the national level the unemployment figure reached four million in October. In Cleveland, several more employers began staggering the available work among their employes: the contractors who

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29 Cleveland Foundation, **Year Book**, p. 44.


were members of the Building Trades Employers' Association began the plan in late October; the Cleveland Railway Company announced a ten per cent cut in salary for all employees not working under the new staggered system of employment; the Public Hall also put employees on the same plan and initiated the practice of hiring only unemployed married men for part-time work and retaining only those fulltime employees who were the only wage earners in their families.\footnote{\textit{CPD}, Oct. 29, 31, Dec. 17, 1930.}

The Associated Charities announced in late November that a record number of 162 persons had applied for help on a recent day and that 6,500 families were currently receiving care. In Chapter I, the figure of 6,295 was given for the total number of relief cases in 1930 and should be the more accurate one.\footnote{\textit{CPD}, Nov. 23, 1930, p. A1.} On November 25 the Associated Charities Campaign provided an encouraging note by exceeding its goal of 5.4 million by twenty-six thousand dollars.\footnote{\textit{CPD}, Nov. 30, 1930, p. A19.} Some additional help was forthcoming with the announcement that several trade unions had voted to have working members contribute from fifty cents to one dollar per day to aid the unemployed members.\footnote{\textit{CPD}, Nov. 30, 1930, p. Al9.} A short time later, the State-City Free Employment Bureau, acting as a clearing house for part-time jobs, announced that they were meeting with almost complete apathy in dealing with homes, offices and stores.\footnote{\textit{CPD}, Dec. 9, 1930, p. 7.}

In early December a 1.5 million dollar project for building new
quarters for the Juvenile Court, Detention Home and county welfare offices was begun. Material care for homeless and transient men was being provided by the Wayfarer's Lodge; on December 8 an additional building adjoining the Lodge was opened, thus increasing the capacity from 250 to 900, and the policy regarding length of stay was extended to grant an indefinite period. Those who were able were required to do some work. Unemployed girls and women residing in Cleveland were provided a program of recreation and instruction in practical arts by the Education Department of the Y.W.C.A. On December 10, St. John's Roman Catholic Cathedral began offering free meals in the community house with two hundred men being fed the first day; most of the food was donated. In mid-December City Manager Morgan refused to allow apple selling, although it had produced benefits elsewhere; he regarded the practice as being poor psychology. Further evidence of the depression was the report that outgoing Christmas mail was under the 1929 volume by one million pieces; incoming mail dropped by two million.

At the end of December the Associated Charities announced that new requests for aid during December rose to five thousand, which equalled the total requests for the first nine months of 1930; the organization predicted that it would soon need aid from the city govern-

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38 CPD, Dec. 6, 1930, p. 1.
39 Cleveland Foundation, Year Book, p. 148.
40 Ibid., p. 149.
41 CPD, Jan. 10, 1931, p. 4.
ment. During 1930 another attack on unemployment was the weekly meetings of employment managers of various industries with Associated Charities personnel. During 1930 the problem arose regarding the care of unemployed and sometimes homeless female residents of Cleveland and of transient females. Transient women soon received care from several organizations, including the Y.W.C.A., Women's Bureau of the Police Department, Associated Charities, Traveler's Aid Society, and the Salvation Army. The Y.W.C.A. Educational Department provided for Cleveland residents a program of instruction in the domestic sciences and of recreation. In addition, the Y.W.C.A. established a Friendly Service Bureau for the purpose of providing case work service to female applicants for work and relief.

During this year the public school systems in the area found themselves compelled to curtail expenditures very soon; such action eventually aroused much bitterness on the part of teachers. The Cleveland system announced decreased budgets in 1931 and 1932 and the possible suspension of automatic salary increases; the Cleveland Heights system planned to reorganize the school day into forty-five minute classes so that each teacher could handle one more class during the day; Lakewood was considering the release of twenty-four teachers prior to the 1931-32 school year.

Unemployment in 1930 provided more people with opportunities for

\[44\] CPD, Jan. 3, 1931, p. 12.
\[45\] Cleveland Foundation, Year Book, p. 160.
\[46\] Ibid., p. 149.
\[47\] Ibid., p. 99.
individual recreation in view of the increase in sales of that type of sporting goods over the year 1929. Cleveland bank deposits during the year increased by thirty million dollars over 1929, which is in agreement with the fact that funds were available in the depression years but were not distributed throughout the population so as to constitute mass purchasing power.

Clevelanders began the year 1930 with a belief that employment would soon increase following the needed correction in the stock market, and their optimism appeared justified through April. However, the downtrend soon continued, and as winter approached the local government began its outdoor relief program; cold weather quickly intensified the privation and caused a great increase in requests for charity. Many of those who had jobs were not working fulltime. By the end of 1930 the period of suffering had arrived.

At the beginning of 1931, the situation in Ohio was critical: suffering and unrest were noted among the unemployed, and cases of malnutrition were present among school children. Industry in all of the large Ohio cities had suffered, farm income had dropped forty-two percent between 1929 and 1931, and the plight of the coal mining population in southern Ohio was very serious.

In Cleveland in early January the local Communist leaders headed a march of seven hundred unemployed to a meeting of the City Council;
the leaders were admitted and proceeded to demand a graduated income tax on incomes of three thousand and over, free meals, car fare and text books for school children of the unemployed, the prohibiting of foreclosure of mortgages and eviction from rental units in the cases of unemployed persons, and the opening of vacant buildings to the homeless. City Council reported that its welfare committee offered to meet on the next day with the leaders, but the Communist leaders did not accept the offer and reported to the marchers that their requests had been denied. By January 10, St. John's Cathedral was feeding about eight hundred men each day. On the same day the Lakewood Kiwanis Club completed a clothing drive that provided for fifteen hundred needy families in that city, with surplus items going to Cleveland families.

An actual census of the unemployed was taken in January, and 99,452 employables were found to be out of work. In the same month there was a slight improvement in the employment situation as indicated by the hiring of 1,350 men by one hundred representative industries. Another encouraging note was the report from the Associated Charities that applications for relief in January numbered 4,055, a sizeable drop from 5,133 in December, 1930.

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52 CPD, Jan. 6, 1931, p. 1.  
53 CPD, Jan. 10, 1931, p. 4.  
54 CPD, Jan. 11, 1931, p. A12.  
55 CPD, July 9, 1933, p. Al.  
56 CPD, Feb. 4, 1931, p. 15.  
57 CPD, Feb. 24, 1931, p. 6.
In February two great institutions entered upon new eras when the new 4.3 million dollar Lakeside Hospital opened its doors and Severance Hall, the home of the Cleveland Symphony, was dedicated.\textsuperscript{58} Also in February, the citizens of Euclid received some economic relief in the form of a twelve-month installment plan for paying taxes.\textsuperscript{59}

In March, 1931, the Ohio Legislature took positive action in allowing local governments and agencies more freedom in meeting their problems: counties, municipalities and townships were authorized to borrow money and issue bonds for relief; boards of education received authority to supply shoes, clothes, and medical attention to school children; municipalities were permitted to use their share of gasoline and motor vehicle tax revenues for relief; and a state relief commission was created.\textsuperscript{60}

Further improvement was indicated in April by the Associated Charities report of a continued drop in applications from 2,055 in March to 1,599 in April, with 881 in March and 572 in April being accepted.\textsuperscript{61} Also, the program of free meals at St. John's Cathedral was discontinued in April due to a drastic decline in requests.\textsuperscript{62} By June the Apartment House Owners Association stated that the number of vacancies had been sufficiently reduced to warrant no further decreases in rent.\textsuperscript{63}

Even though relief requests were decreasing, it was necessary

\textsuperscript{58}\textit{CPD}, Feb. 1 and 5, 1931. \textsuperscript{59}\textit{CPD}, Feb. 9, 1931, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{60}Lindley, \textit{Ohio in the Twentieth Century}, p. 58.
\textsuperscript{63}\textit{CPD}, June 16, 1931, p. 10.
for City Council to vote a bond issue of three hundred thousand dollars for direct relief to be distributed by the Associated Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau in order to avert a crisis in the relief program. Furthermore, the Council authorized thirty thousand for the milk fund for indigent mothers and children.\textsuperscript{64} Another new service by the city was the furnishing of bathing suits free of charge to children under sixteen on three mornings a week and the renting of suits to adults at a nominal fee, all of which was to cost about seventeen thousand dollars for the season.\textsuperscript{65}

In May the American Legion tried a new program in which the unemployed members were to sell light bulbs for four weeks, a plan which had been successful in Denver.\textsuperscript{66} In June the Communists marched again to a meeting of the City Council and demanded cash for the needy instead of orders on landlords and grocers, a free food and milk fund of one million dollars to be handled by an organization of workers, and the turning over of public buildings to the unemployed for use as rooming houses.\textsuperscript{67}

On the national scene during the period from February to June, an improvement was noted in employment, production, and banking. Then as the summer came, the European depression began to affect the American economy and resulted in further market losses, hoarding of money, and loss of work.\textsuperscript{68} The Chamber of Commerce reported a decline in employment of 5.7 per cent in one hundred Cleveland companies over the period

\textsuperscript{64}\textit{CPD}, April 7, 1931, p. 1. \textsuperscript{65}\textit{CPD}, May 19, 1931, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{66}\textit{CPD}, May 19, 1931, p. 5. \textsuperscript{67}\textit{CPD}, June 16, 1931, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{68}Link, \textit{American Epoch}, p. 369.
of May and June.\textsuperscript{69} The return of many families to the crowded, cheap rental districts from the suburbs was another sign of the decline in employment.\textsuperscript{70}

As of July several suburban city governments had voted a total of \$45,600 in relief bonds in order to repay the Associated Charities for funds spent on their behalf. This provided a very small amount of help in view of the announcement of the Charities in July that one million dollars was needed for the second half of the year over and above every available resource.\textsuperscript{71}

A frustrating situation was reported in August when only \$3,482,000 of the \$41,350,000 in bonds and special tax levies voted in the election of November, 1930, had been utilized, due to court injunctions, red tape, and time consumed in the preparation of plans.\textsuperscript{72}

In August the Cuyahoga Humane Society announced that during the first seven months of 1931 a total of 771 children had been accepted for assistance as compared to 689 in the same period of 1930; of greater significance, the number of unmarried mothers increased by forty-four per cent during the preceding eighteen months.\textsuperscript{73} Recreation became more accessible to Clevelanders as a result of the reduction in admission at first run theaters in August.\textsuperscript{74} Naturally enough, reading was becoming increasingly more popular according to the reported increase of 557,404 in the public library circulation during

\textsuperscript{69}\textit{CPD}, July 8, 1931, p. 6. \quad \textsuperscript{70}\textit{CPD}, Sept. 2, 1931, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{71}\textit{CPD}, July 2, 1931, p. 18. \quad \textsuperscript{72}\textit{CPD}, Aug. 2, 1931, p. Al.
\textsuperscript{73}\textit{CPD}, Aug. 31, 1931, p. 14. \quad \textsuperscript{74}\textit{CPD}, Aug. 27, 1931, p. 17.
the period of January through August over the same period in 1930.75

In the autumn of 1931, many school systems in Ohio did not open on the customary date, and some remained closed until the next tax collection. Teachers' salaries were reduced in many cases and sometimes withheld, and building programs were almost halted.76 The Cleveland School Board was confronted in September with a visit by about forty-five Communists, including pupils' mothers, to the Kinsman School, where they demanded free lunches, clothing, school books, and car fare for needy pupils.77 The Board of Education later replied that it had no legal authority to give material relief; however, it did request that all principals seek out cases of poverty among school children and direct welfare agencies to their families.78 A short while later a citizens' committee began a campaign to raise twenty thousand dollars for the aid of needy pupils with the first collections being made in downtown offices.79 In response to the need, the Telling-Belle Vernon Milk Company provided two thousand half pint bottles of milk daily, and the Volunteers of America began providing daily milk for eight hundred children.80

In mid-September the Cleveland Save-the-Surplus Committee inaugurated the "can a little extra for the needy campaign," which encouraged donations of canned foods.81 The campaign soon included the setting up of a kitchen in the Public Hall annex where utensils and farm

76Lindley, Ohio in the Twentieth Century, p. 62.
77CPD, Sept. 18, 1931, p. 9. 78CPD, Sept. 29, 1931, p. 3.
79CPD, Oct. 3, 1931, p. 3. 80Ibid., p. 3.
81CPD, Sept. 14, 1931, p. 15.
products were donated for the use of those who would do their own canning. 82

As colder weather approached, the Associated Charities made an urgent call for old clothing to be repaired in their sewing center, thus sparing relief funds for the purchase of food. 83 The Presbyterian churches of the area began maintaining a central agency where lists of unemployed church members and job openings were maintained; also, those members with a background in social work were enlisted to help unemployed members. The same churches also began discussion groups where the current social and economic problems were examined. 84

In late September some private opinions were offered concerning wage levels. Monsignor Joseph F. Smith, Vicar General of the Roman Catholic Diocese and well-known friend of labor, stated that members of the building trades should take a reduction in wages on the theory that this would increase the amount of construction. 85 This plan was emphatically rejected by a representative of the trade unions, who declared that substantial wages were necessary in order that purchasing power might be restored. 86 The Cleveland Citizen, a labor organ, soon called for a six hour day in order to spread the work. 87

In early October the Cleveland Railway Company began skirmishing with the City Council over a requested raise in trolley rates to ten cents; the Council granted that rate for cash fare but required that

82 CPD, Sept. 15, 1931, p. 15. 83 CPD, Sept. 24, 1931, p. 3.
86 CPD, Sept. 23, 1931, p. 5. 87 CPD, Oct. 26, 1931, p. 4.
the company sell tickets at a lower rate. In the same month, a crowd of three hundred Negroes, reportedly led by Communists, attempted to return the furniture of an evicted family to their former home near East Forty-Sixth Street and Woodland; police were called and were soon attacked by a few persons in the mob, with the result that two civilians were killed and two policemen injured. Regarding the incident, an editorial writer stated that Negroes were the first to be dropped from local payrolls and were being evicted from low cost dwellings that white people no longer inhabited, with the result that they were ready subjects for Communist agitators.

By early November the welfare fund for needy pupils, now known as the School Children's Dollar Fund and sponsored by former Governor Harry L. Davis, was providing aid to six thousand children with one thousand more to be added; the fund then stood at $13,231 with the goal having been raised to twenty-five thousand dollars. The parochial schools received about three thousand for milk from this fund. Late in the month, the annual Associated Charities drive went over the top again; the goal of $4,650,000 was exceeded by thirty thousand dollars, which was the greatest amount ever raised in any city campaign. Still, the need was never adequately met since the number of relief cases doubled in 1931 and 1932 over the preceding years.

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90 CPD, Oct. 8, 1931, p. 8.
91 CPD, Nov. 3, 1931, p. 6.
92 CPD, Nov. 25, 1931, p. 1.
93 Supra, p. 5.
In December the East Cleveland City Manager, Charles Carran, and ten department heads took ten per cent reductions in salary at the recommendation of Mr. Carran. With the onset of severe weather, the requests received by the Associated Charities rose in the five day period ending December 4 to 1,486, which was an all time high; a total of sixty-five thousand persons were receiving aid at that time with the November cost having risen to $290,000 from $251,000 in October. At Christmas time in 1931, an unusual series of bargains appeared in the silver ware, diamond, and rare import lines; the reported cause was that importers were taking losses in order to obtain ready cash.

The city government was financially successful in 1931 in that it spent one million dollars less than was budgeted for the year; 1.5 million dollars were spent on relief sewers, the paving of eight miles of street, and the construction of the Municipal Stadium, projects which aided the unemployment situation.

During the year the industrial expansion continued: the Erie Railroad executive offices and 1,350 employees moved to the area; Ford Motors announced plans for a seven million dollar assembly plant in Richmond; and twenty-nine additional industrial enterprises started active production during the year. Also, the Addressograph-Multigraph prepared to build a one million dollar plant in Euclid, and General Electric began a one million dollar improvement.

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97 CPD, Jan. 1, 1932, p. 4.
99 CPD, May 15, Feb. 8, 1931.
Cleveland Art Museum became increasingly popular with a total of 375,000 visitors in 1931, which was an increase of seventy thousand over 1930. The services of the Cleveland Railway Company became less popular in 1931 as evidenced by a decline of twenty-two million in the number of riders from 1930, which decline was a good indicator of economic conditions. One favorable development was the drop in the infant mortality rate below all previous rates for the city; this rate was the lowest among the nation's ten largest cities in 1931. According to a statistical survey by Howard W. Green, the rate of unemployment was the highest in those areas of the city in which the proportion of Negro population was the greatest. This fact might well be related to the editorial comment cited above. As the year wore on, a majority of Cleveland industries released married women whose husbands were employed.

During the year 1931, the depression became much more severe in Cleveland and throughout the nation. The frequency of the Communist led demonstrations indicated the growing unrest, and their explicit demands, many of which were later granted, showed that the destitute realized that there were ways of relieving the suffering by greater sharing of material resources. With the further deterioration of the economic picture in the second half of the year, public relief measures

100 CPD, Jan. 6, 1932, p. 9.  
101 CPD, Jan. 27, 1932, p. 4.  
102 CPD, May 2, 1932, p. 2.  
103 CPD, Jan. 5, 1932, p. 2.  
104 Supra, p. 24.  
were not sufficient to care for the unmistakable deprivation of school children, with the result that private citizens began collecting funds for food and milk. The increase in unmarried mothers was another indication of economic deterioration. By the end of 1931, the value of manufactured products in Cuyahoga County had decreased by almost one half since 1929, unemployment had increased by three and one half times since April, 1930, and the relief burden had doubled within the one year period.106 The year 1931 was one of great suffering and, in spite of determined efforts, the difficulties continued to mount.

The year 1932 proved to be a momentous one in Cleveland and throughout the nation. The Hoover Administration was soon to inaugurate measures that were to continue and be greatly expanded under Franklin D. Roosevelt. On January 16, the Congress chartered the Reconstruction Finance Corporation with capital of half a billion dollars and authority to borrow 1.5 billion more; these funds were to be used to stabilize banks and other financial institutions.107

In January the Cleveland Public Library adopted several measures that reflected the growing crisis. The Library announced in early January a ten per cent cut in salary for employees receiving over seventy-five dollars per month and a reduction in funds for purchase of books from twenty-seven thousand to ten thousand dollars per month.108 Later in the month an announcement disclosed a reduction in

106 Supra, pp. 3-5.  
107 Link, American Epoch, p. 372.  
108 CPD, Jan. 5, 1932, p. 7.
staff, postponement of new book purchases and of the replacement of old books, the abandonment of book talks, and the delay of opening time at the branch libraries until twelve or one o'clock whereas it had been nine. As of February 1, the branch libraries in six Cleveland public schools were to be closed.

In February the city saw the beginning of the man-a-block plan; it had already been proven successful in the East. The objective was to locate ten homes in a neighborhood that would each provide two hours per week for ten weeks at a pay rate of fifty cents an hour for one unemployed person. By mid-February there were 160 men in Greater Cleveland at work under the plan.

Also in February the City Council had to give further support to relief agencies to the extent of five hundred thousand dollars for use till March 1; at the same time it petitioned Governor White to call a special session of the legislature for the purpose of providing new sources of revenue for municipal relief. During the month the Associated Charities announced that it was caring for a total of seventeen thousand families and that there were sixty thousand families in Cleveland who had no source of income. At that same time, the Russell Sage Foundation presented figures that indicated that Cleveland was spending less on relief in proportion to its population than were seven other large cities, which included New York, Boston and Detroit.

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109 CPD, Jan. 21, 1932, p. 3.  
112 CPD, Feb. 17, 1932, p. 6.  
113 CPD, Feb. 9, 1932, p. 1.  
114 CPD, Feb. 10, 1932, p. 5.  
115 Ibid., p. 5.
In the same month, the Cleveland Board of Education took drastic measures in reducing the budget, several of which were to reduce headquarters supervision, increase the pupil-teacher ratio, curtail speech correction instruction, and decrease supplies.\textsuperscript{116} A few days later the Board announced the discontinuance of summer school.\textsuperscript{117} Talk of reducing the salaries of Cleveland school teachers had arisen in previous discussion of economy measures. Tempers finally became heated at a meeting of representatives of the Cleveland Teachers' Federation, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Building Owners and Management Association, when the teacher representatives accused the "rich" of a plot to make the teachers appear selfish when the teachers resisted the repeated requests for a reduction in their pay; the two business organizations were acting in an advisory capacity to the Board.\textsuperscript{118} This was only the beginning of the debate over teachers' salaries. In Euclid, the teachers refused to accept an alteration of their contracts for purposes of a salary cut but stated their willingness to accept a delayed payment plan.\textsuperscript{119} The education picture throughout Ohio was poor in 1932 according to John R. Williams, President of the Ohio Education Association, who estimated that over ten thousand teachers were behind in pay and that fifty-eight per cent of all school districts in the state were operating with a deficit.\textsuperscript{120}

In 1932 the President's Emergency Relief Organization was urging every locality to care for its own relief problems. In March Congress allocated surplus wheat and cotton, formerly held by the Federal Farm Board, for distribution by the President's relief organization and the Red Cross in the form of flour and cloth. Out of this project Ohio received eight hundred thousand barrels of flour, several hundred thousand garments and articles of bedding, and seven million yards of cloth. On March 29, Governor White called an "extraordinary" session of the legislature, with positive action resulting. A State Relief Commission superseding the Governor's Voluntary Relief Commission of 1931 was established, with authority to request advice from state and local governments and access to their records. The legislature, furthermore, enabled counties and cities to use money from gasoline taxes and motor vehicle fees for relief needs, and it authorized the reduction of state and county salaries.

In Cleveland there was a flurry of activity throughout the spring of 1932 in an attempt to meet a growing crisis that was to reach its peak in that year. The city was then under the direction of the Democratic Mayor, Ray T. Miller, who had been elected in February in the worst rout of the Republicans since 1911. In March Mayor Miller's

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121 Hicks, American Nation, p. 649.
123 Lindley, Ohio in the Twentieth Century, p. 439.
124 Roseboom and Weisenburger, Ohio, p. 362.
Unemployment Relief Commission announced that idle land in greater Cleveland would be turned over to the needy for gardening, with supplies being furnished by the city.\textsuperscript{126}

Beginning in early April, Cleveland teachers contributed four thousand dollars to the fund which was to provide milk and sandwiches to school children for the remainder of the school year and at summer play grounds.\textsuperscript{127} In mid-April Dr. Charles Arbuthnot of Western Reserve University called for gifts or loans of textbooks to be used in free courses by volunteer faculty members.\textsuperscript{128} City Council began economizing late in the month by reducing salaries of municipal court employes by ten per cent for the remainder of the year.\textsuperscript{129} In May the Council slashed police and firemen's salaries by almost six per cent; there had been a previous cut of four per cent.\textsuperscript{130}

Near the end of April the Cleveland Board of Education announced additional economy measures. Among the first were plans for paying teachers on a twelve month basis, a reduction of dental clinic personnel and headquarters expenses, a discontinuance of retail instruction at downtown stores, and for requiring teachers to pay their own substitutes.\textsuperscript{131} Later, seven school headquarters supervisors were transferred to active teaching.\textsuperscript{132} In May the teachers' salaries were finally cut from six to fifteen per cent, depending upon the salary; this action had been previously recommended by the teachers and was to be in effect during

\textsuperscript{126}\textsuperscript{CPD}, March 20, 1932, p. 1. \textsuperscript{127}\textsuperscript{CPD}, April 5, 1932, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{128}\textsuperscript{CPD}, April 14, 1932, p. 3. \textsuperscript{129}\textsuperscript{CPD}, April 26, 1932, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{130}\textsuperscript{CPD}, May 24, 1932, p. 1. \textsuperscript{131}\textsuperscript{CPD}, April 30, 1932, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{132}\textsuperscript{CPD}, May 20, 1932, p. 3.
the period from July 1, 1932 to December 31, 1933. Last of all, the Board voted a fifteen per cent cut amounting to $318,300 in its annual contribution to the Cleveland School of Education at Western Reserve University. In early May, Bishop Joseph Schrembs of the Roman Catholic Diocese announced that all parochial schools in the diocese would remain open for at least one month into the summer, with attendance being voluntary; classes were to run for half a day and provide manual training, religious education and recreation. The purpose was to provide constructive activities for the children in a period when many would be idle and without means of obtaining proper recreation. At the end of May the Euclid School Board removed sixteen married teachers from the high school staff; married teachers in elementary schools took a salary cut of from $1,200 to $2,000. These were undoubtedly female teachers, although the article was not explicit.

In May the Associated Charities announced a further deterioration in the relief situation: 2,808 applications had been received in March and 3,438 in April, with 1,221 and 1,518 being accepted in the successive months. Fortunately, the cost of relief dropped from $395,098 in March to $373,326 in April due to the man-a-block plan, the statewide distribution of free flour, and donations of clothing. In May, Mayor Miller ordered all able bodied men at the Warrensville Municipal Workhouse to begin cultivating the available land; three

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133 CPD, May 20, 1932, p. 3.  
134 CPD, May 24, 1932, p. 2.  
135 CPD, May 2, 1932, p. 1.  
hundred additional acres belonging to the city at the Brecksville Girls' Correction Home were also to be farmed. Another measure for creating work was the Renovating Campaign which by late May had obtained ten thousand pledges from owners to finance repairing, enlarging and refurnishing in their homes and buildings.

In May and June, 1932, the nation saw the pitiful spectacle of the "Bonus Expeditionary Force" marching to Washington; this body of twelve to fourteen thousand unemployed war veterans sought full payment of their bonuses but returned home unsuccessful. This display aroused the fear of mass lawlessness for the first time. On July 16 the Congress provided relief for the critical situation by authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend three hundred million to states in need and an additional 1.5 billion to states and municipalities for self-liquidating public works. During the period of September, 1932, through June, 1933, Ohio received almost nineteen million of this money. On July 22 the Congress passed the Federal Home Loan Bank Act that established home loan banks for the purpose of loaning money to financial institutions and thus relieving the necessity of their making foreclosures in order to obtain money.

During the month of June several new measures were adopted in

140 Link, American Epoch, p. 363.
141 Ibid., p. 373.
142 Lindley, Ohio in the Twentieth Century, p. 141.
143 Link, American Epoch, p. 372.
a determined effort to gain small measures of relief wherever possible. In Parma the street lights were not used in order to save thirteen thousand annually in spite of the increased danger from accidents and crime. The Cleveland School Board voted against employing two teachers from the same family and anyone in the immediate family of a school official. The salaries of teachers in Shaker Heights, one of the most wealthy of the suburbs, were reduced by twenty-five per cent and the annual increases were eliminated, which made a total cut of thirty-five per cent for the year 1932-33. In Cleveland itself the Mayor’s Relief Garden Committee was making progress by having 2,100 lots, forty by fifty feet, under cultivation by needy families within April, with nine hundred more to be allotted.

Also in June the Associated Charities gave credit to the man-a-block campaign for saving the organization fifty thousand dollars since the origin of the plan in February; it was currently providing work for men. The problem of medical care for the needy was finally alleviated on a formal basis when over three hundred Cleveland physicians offered to provide care at a slight cost or free of charge, depending upon the needs of the family. The patient was referred by a medical bureau without knowing to whom he was being sent. Additional recreation was provided when the ponds at Rockefeller and Brookside parks were stocked with edible fish and opened for fishing by unemployed men on Thursdays.

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144CPD, June 1, 1932, p. 2. 145CPD, June 4, 1932, p. 2.
146CPD, June 7, 1932, p. 5. 147CPD, June 9, 1932, p. 5.
148CPD, June 18, 1932, p. 7. 149CPD, June 27, 1932, p. 2.
only; that was the first time in recent history for such an activity.\textsuperscript{150}

Relief needs had become so great in Cuyahoga County in 1932 that voluntary contributions could pay for only a small portion; during the first half of the year, tax money paid $2,047,474 of the $2,914,834 expended for direct relief.\textsuperscript{151} In mid-July the City Council authorized an additional $200,745 for relief, which constituted a large share of the city income from gasoline and automobile license taxes; $400,000 more was to be paid from the same source by the end of the year.\textsuperscript{152}

On July 31, 80,184 Clevelanders were treated to much excitement when they filled the recently finished Municipal Stadium to watch the Athletics defeat the hometown Indians 1-0.\textsuperscript{153} This was the first of many great sporting events and other types of events to be held in the Stadium.

In September a plan was developed by public and parochial school officials whereby milk and sandwiches would be provided for twenty-five thousand indigent children in the elementary grades.\textsuperscript{154} In mid-November the City Council again provided relief money by voting $760,000 of its $800,000 bond issuing leeway for direct relief.\textsuperscript{155} Soon thereafter, the 1932 Associated Charities drive ended, and for the first time during the depression it fell short of its goal, which was $4,250,000; however, it managed to raise $3,793,326 in a valiant
effort by those who solicited and by the many who contributed to the limit of their ability. 156

Much of the difficulty facing local governments in the depression was found in the situation confronting the county government in late November. The real estate valuation had been lowered with the result that the current tax rate of $2.76 per one hundred dollar valuation would probably result in $970,000 less for operation in 1933 than in 1932, taking into account the fact that probably only eighty per cent of the taxes owed would be collected. The taxpayer was benefited, but the source of relief money was being diminished as the need increased. 157

In November, 1932, the nation voted for a new president and a "New Deal," which would soon affect dramatic action in 1933. In Ohio, Governor White, also a democrat, was reelected for two more years.

As of December the Friendly Service Bureau of the Y.W.C.A. was aiding the younger unemployed women to find homes and jobs and was providing approximately two hundred free beds and two hundred and fifty free meals each month. Older unemployed women were receiving lodging at the Police Women's Bureau to the extent of thirty to fifty each month; the same bureau was aiding fifty to seventy-five transient women per month. 158

The Cleveland Public Library announced that the year 1932 marked

an all time high in the number of visitors, borrowers and books issued; this occurred in spite of a thirty-seven per cent cut in expenditures.\textsuperscript{159} Police Chief Matowitz reported an increase in vice during the year, with special mention given to prostitution.\textsuperscript{160}

In 1932, the number of relief cases was almost double that of the previous year and was eight times greater than in 1929; relief expenditures increased by one half over 1931.\textsuperscript{161} Many families without employment were able to subsist without relief during the early part of the depression by drawing upon their savings, but they finally had to turn to relief. By 1932, marriages in Cuyahoga County had decreased by almost one half from 1929, and births and divorce cases had decreased considerably.\textsuperscript{162} The depression evidently decreased the sense of independence of many married partners. An unemployment estimate as of March, 1933 placed the figure at 198,000, which was the high point of the depression.\textsuperscript{163} As of the winter of 1932-33, nationwide unemployment was estimated to be between thirteen and seventeen million, which was the period of greatest unemployment at the national level.\textsuperscript{164}

The year 1932 was the worst year of the depression in Greater Cleveland; federal funds were finally available but in a small amount, with the relief burden falling mainly upon the county and municipal

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{159} \textit{CPD}, Feb. 17, 1933, p. 13.
\item \textsuperscript{160} \textit{CPD}, Jan. 18, 1933, p. 13.
\item \textsuperscript{161} \textit{Supra}, p. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{162} \textit{Supra}, p. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{163} \textit{CPD}, July 9, 1933, p. Al.
\item \textsuperscript{164} Hicks, \textit{American Nation}, p. 659.
\end{itemize}
governments. It was a year of drastic measures in the city government, libraries, and school systems; intense efforts were made to find small measures of relief, such as the cultivating of unused parcels of land and the man-a-block campaign. Clevelanders struggled courageously in that year. Fortunately, relief was soon forthcoming in the form of federal funds in 1933.
Chapter III

The Beginning of Recovery, 1933 through 1935.

The year 1933 witnessed the depths of the depression in Cleveland and throughout the nation during the first three months, then the dynamic action of a new President and Congress, and finally the beginning of the recovery. National production dropped greatly in February, and the financial structure of the country was endangered by the exportation and hoarding of gold, with the banking difficulties reaching a crisis in March.¹ Unemployment in both Cleveland and the nation reached its peak about March, 1933.²

During the period of January through March additional measures were taken to meet the worsening situation. The Cleveland Retail Merchants Board established a "clinic" to aid debtors; the debts were pooled, then reviewed by the merchants, and one payment plan for each individual debtor was developed, thus eliminating many problems.³ Mayor Miller took a five per cent reduction in pay and ordered the same in the salaries of all city directors and their secretaries; this decreased the 1933 salaries of the Mayor and cabinet members to twenty per cent below the amount designated in the city charter.⁴ In March the hourly employees received pay reductions ranging from nine to twenty-eight per cent, with no one to receive less than fifty cents per hour.⁵ In the same month

¹Hicks, American Nation, p. 660. ²Supra, p. 37.
⁵CPD, March 29, 1933, p. 1.
the city closed the Police Women's Bureau and the Blossom Hill Farm for delinquent girls for the remainder of the year. The practice of bartering increased greatly by January according to a Mrs. Ethel Standford-Mehling, who operated the Service Exchange Bureau in her photographic studio; she predicted that her eight month old barter service would soon have to be cared for by someone else due to its size.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated as President on March 4 and quickly began his recovery program by calling a special session of Congress on Sunday, March 5. On March 6 the President closed every bank; on March 9 he presented the Congress with the Emergency Banking Act, and Congress passed the act that very day, which called for the turning in of all gold, the examination and reopening of sound banks, and the appointment of conservators for all others. Banks began opening in Cleveland and throughout the country on March 13; on that day Cleveland's four largest banks, the Cleveland Trust, Central United National, National City, and the Society for Savings, reopened their doors, as did two smaller ones, Continental Industrial and the Capital Bank. Three banks, the Guardian, Union Trust, and Standard Trust (formerly Engineers National), did not open following the bank holiday.

In early April an unsigned survey of low wage conditions that

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disclosed much hardship and greed appeared in the Plain Dealer. Wages in the dress industry ranged from seventeen cents to two dollars and a quarter per day; some waitresses earned only meals and tips; and a good worker in a hat factory might earn sixty cents per day. It was also discovered that some employers required that girls try out for a job without pay and then rejected them, thus receiving free services; and, hundreds of domestic servants were working for keep and cast-off clothing. The article reported that there was a trend among people with resources to shop around for the cheapest possible household labor; the author, however, did report that some industries and employers had refused to become inhuman.\(^{11}\) These conditions were finally attacked in May when an anti-sweat shop ordinance was passed that incorporated state labor laws into the municipal code, thus allowing police effectively to investigate and arrest offenders.\(^{12}\)

Likewise, in April the City Council defeated by a thirteen to eleven vote the Mayor's proposal that salary reductions be raised to thirty per cent.\(^{13}\) But the Mayor bypassed the Council soon afterwards and effected the reductions by an executive decree in order to relieve the desperate financial situation.\(^{14}\) Employees of the Associated Charities also received a salary cut in April; salaries over seventy-five dollars per month were reduced ten per cent and those under

\(^{11}\) GPD, April 4, 1933, p. 1.  
\(^{12}\) GPD, May 23, 1933, p. 1.  
\(^{13}\) GPD, April 4, 1933, p. 1.  
\(^{14}\) GPD, April 14, 1933, p. 1.
seventy-five by five per cent; the majority of the staff had already been cut twenty per cent.\textsuperscript{15} In May some members of the Cleveland Symphony also felt the pinch through a reduction of the minimum wage scale from sixty to fifty-five dollars per week.\textsuperscript{16} This perhaps assisted in the reduction of season tickets for the best seats from fifty to forty dollars for the next season.\textsuperscript{17} In early April, the City announced that 6,271 gardens would be allotted to the needy, a number which was twice that of the previous year.\textsuperscript{18}

On May 22 the Roosevelt Administration began its relief program with the creation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and with it began the recovery from the depths of the depression. A half billion dollars was appropriated with one half to be allotted on a matching basis of three dollars of local funds to one of federal money and the other half to be distributed without matching funds; local authorities could use the money for work relief or dole. Only three states could meet as much as one half of their relief load, and many contributed less than ten per cent.\textsuperscript{19} In Ohio the State Relief Commission was designated as the administrative agent of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and thus distributed the funds; Ohio drew heavily from this source since local funds were quite insufficient.\textsuperscript{20} Some relief measures were finally enacted by the session of the Ohio Legislature

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{CPD}, April 9, 1933, p. 14. \textsuperscript{16}\textit{CPD}, May 24, 1933, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{17}\textit{CPD}, June 4, 1933, p. A6. \textsuperscript{18}\textit{CPD}, April 8, 1933, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{19}Hicks, \textit{American Nation}, p. 667.
\textsuperscript{20}Lindley, \textit{Ohio in the Twentieth Century}, p. 70.
that ended in July. Governor White proposed a general sales tax and specific taxes on luxury items, with the former being defeated. Finally, a cigarette tax was reenacted and a sales tax was imposed on gasoline, with the proceeds from both going for school aid; taxes were levied on golfing, cosmetics, beer, and amusements for poor relief. 21

The children of Cleveland received discouraging news in early June when the Board of Education announced that the school playgrounds would not be opened that summer; this was to effect a saving of $42,163, which was to be used for teachers' pay that was delinquent by two and a half months. 22 News of a more optimistic nature soon followed. Late in the month the Come-to-Cleveland Committee was organized and sponsored by the Cleveland Advertising Club to sell to tourists the idea of visiting Cleveland, the obvious objective being to attract business. 23 Also in July, Howard W. Green, through the use of his market analysis service, presented an estimate of unemployment in June of 157,000, which was the culmination of a steady drop from his previous estimate of 198,000 in March, 1933. 24 Another indication of reviving public optimism and business prosperity was the fact that deposits in Cleveland's four major banks had risen fifty million dollars since December 31, 1932. 25

Through July and August there were additional reports of an

21Roseboom and Weisenburger, Ohio, p. 364.
22CPD, June 6, 1933, p. 17.
23CPD, June 24, 1933, p. 1.
24CPD, July 9, 1933, p. 1A.
25CPD, July 17, 1933, p. 8.
improvement in the economic picture. In mid-July the United States Steel Corporation announced a fifteen per cent wage increase.\textsuperscript{26} The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce reported that the survey of one hundred representative industries indicated a 6.3 per cent increase in employment in July over the preceding month and a forty per cent increase over July, 1932.\textsuperscript{27} Auto sales began to participate in the turnut with July new car sales up thirty-one per cent over June and 186 per cent over July, 1932.\textsuperscript{28} In late August it was reported that various bartering services had almost ceased due to increased relief funds and the business turnut.\textsuperscript{29}

The year 1933 is well remembered for the beginning of the New Deal recovery measures. Starting in May the Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed to support farm prices, and in June the Home Owners' Loan Corporation was established to refinance mortgages; the major effort of the Administration was the National Industrial Recovery Act of June, which aimed at facilitating cooperation among employers in the reduction of working hours, raising wages and increasing employment. To assist the National Recovery Administration, the Ohio Legislature passed the Carney Act, which set aside anti-trust laws, permitted price fixing, and permitted the governor to "accept, demand, and enforce codes of fair practice within industrial groups.\textsuperscript{30}\

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[26]{\textit{CPD}, July 17, 1933, p. 8.} \footnotetext[27]{\textit{CPD}, Aug. 2, 1933, p. 1.} \\
\footnotetext[28]{\textit{CPD}, Aug. 1, 1933, p. 1.} \footnotetext[29]{\textit{CPD}, Aug. 30, 1933, p. 9.} \\
\footnotetext[30]{\textit{Lindley, Ohio in the Twentieth Century}, p. 69.}
\end{footnotes}
Cleveland there was evidence of considerable enthusiasm for the NRA codes in late July. United support was exhibited by 150 retail merchants who agreed to purchase from only those industries that had also signed the pledge of the NRA.\(^{31}\) The next day it was reported that banks and many small employers were hastening to sign the pledge of adherence to the blanket code and that enthusiasm had been mounting for the past week.\(^{32}\) On August 1, Clevelanders were treated to the NRA jubilee, with the raising of the NRA blue eagle flag on the Public Square and a parade which included police and firemen wearing their new uniforms.\(^{33}\) The final day of the campaign for obtaining pledges to the code was September 1, and as of the previous day there were 22,613 employers, representing 185,893 employes, who had signed; additional pledges were of course accepted later.\(^{34}\) The Public Works Administration was authorized by the National Industrial Recovery Act, but the program did not become immediately effective in Cleveland nor elsewhere.

In August the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration was set up to administer unemployment relief funds, whereas the Associated Charities had been performing the task; this was due to the new federal law that required that a public body administer the funds. The Associated Charities continued to care for persons and institutions whose problems and needs were not direct results of the depression; this included hospital care for the poor and crippled, orphanages, old peoples homes,

\(^{31}\) CPD, July 23, 1933, p. 1A.  \(^{32}\) CPD, July 29, 1933, p. 11.  
\(^{33}\) CPD, Aug. 2, 1933, p. 1.  \(^{34}\) CPD, Sept. 1, 1933, p. 1.
and other social services. The Cuyahoga County Relief Administration was now receiving its funds from the State Relief Commission; in late August $1,174,220 was received, which constituted a significant part of the current grant of $3,805,403 to the whole State of Ohio by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. This indicates the magnitude of the problem in Cuyahoga County.

In September the Ohio Public Works Advisory Committee recommended to the federal government that Cleveland receive $9,643,000 for construction of two sewage treatment plants and an incinerator, and $650,000 for improvements in the Metropolitan Park. On September 26 actual construction began on the first two projects which were the first major projects in the nation to be started. This was an optimistic start, but the actual funds for the projects did not arrive for many months, causing much delay and irritation.

In October the State-City Employment Bureau provided a favorable report which compared September, 1933, with September, 1932; calls for skilled labor increased 24.3 per cent, technical workers - 15.4 per cent, women domestics - eighty six per cent, and increases were reported by the seven remaining department. Howard W. Green supplied another estimate of unemployment as of November 1, the figure being 132,280, which was a continuation of the downward trend that began in March.

By November the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was

39CPD, Oct. 3, 1933, p. 1. 40CPD, Nov. 12, 1933, p. 9A.
spending a great deal of money on direct relief, but the prospect of jobs through the Public Works Administration was dimmed by administrative entanglements. On November 1 Harry Hopkins recommended to the President a program of immediate employment and this was the beginning of the Civil Works Administration that was to supply a tremendous amount of employment through that one winter for both relief families and those who were unemployed but had not sought relief. In Ohio the Civil Works Administration was established on November 15, and the State Relief Commission was made the administrative agent for this program as well as that of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. An immense program of public works was quickly inaugurated, with the number of men thus employed in Ohio reaching the two hundred thousand mark by mid-December.\footnote{Lindley, \textit{Ohio in the Twentieth Century}, p. 70.}

By November 26 the program in Cuyahoga County had provided employment for 11,500 men, with a goal of forty-four thousand set for mid-December.\footnote{\textit{CPD}, Nov. 27, 1933, p. 6.}

The men were employed at the Lake Front Drive and on other road work, the maintenance of parks and city grounds, and painting in public schools.\footnote{\textit{CPD}, Nov. 20, 1933, p. 1.}

This program was of course limited to employable persons, for the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration was still caring for the unemployables.

In November Harry L. Davis, a Republican, was elected Mayor after a hard fought contest with Ray T. Miller. Davis immediately decried the poor financial condition of the city government; on November 15, the city employees received only seventy-five per cent of their wages in
cash and the rest in scrip.\textsuperscript{44} In late November another Associated Charities Drive ended short of its goal, this being the second such occurrence during the depression; the goal was $3,985,000 with $3,368,492 being raised. However, seventeen thousand more pledges were received in 1933 than in 1932 which points to the improved conditions.\textsuperscript{45}

In December a Public Works Administration loan of $336,000 finally arrived for the completion of the Huron Road Hospital, but the great bulk of the anticipated grant was still being delayed.\textsuperscript{46} The upturn in employment leveled off in Cleveland during December according to the survey of one hundred representative firms; the employment figure actually dropped a slight bit in this report, but the average hiring rate rose from 41.7 to 41.8 cents an hour for a new depression high.\textsuperscript{47} Christmas buying reflected the improvement of recent months with a fifteen to twenty per cent increase over 1932, which included luxury items in a much greater proportion than in 1932.\textsuperscript{48}

During 1933 the beginning of recovery was evident throughout the nation, and in Cleveland the trend was especially prominent. There it was of course due largely to the buying power resulting from massive federal relief contributions. In the industrial area of the economy a marked improvement occurred as was indicated in a report on sixty-seven companies in Greater Cleveland: in 1933 the composite net earnings of these companies had risen to thirty-three million dollars from a net

\textsuperscript{44CPD}, Nov. 29, 1933, p. 9.  \textsuperscript{45CPD}, Nov. 30, 1933, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{46CPD}, Dec. 7, 1933, p. 8.  \textsuperscript{47CPD}, Dec. 31, 1933, p. 2A.
\textsuperscript{48CPD}, Dec. 20, 1933, p. 6.
loss of eight million in 1932; this degree of recovery was greater than the national average. The Chamber of Commerce reported that eighteen new factories and thirty-three new sales offices were established in the area during 1933. Still, the manufacturing activity was less than half that in 1929.

By the end of the year, new car sales had risen by fifty percent over sales in 1932.

The number of persons receiving relief and the cost of the program increased greatly in 1933 due to the continued decrease in personal savings and the encouragement to go on relief resulting from the federal relief program. The unemployment estimate of 132,000 in November is a most important indicator of the economic upturn.

With the return of job opportunities the financial risks involved in marriage declined proportionately, with the result that the number of marriages increased for the first time since 1929; at the same time the number of applications for divorce also increased. The number of births continued to decline slightly as a result of the decline in marriage in 1932.

The recovery trend in business in 1933 was to continue into 1934 and beyond, but it was in a sense a false recovery since relief rolls continued to mount; however, human suffering declined, and this

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49 CPD, July 7, 1934, p. 12.
50 CPD, April 22, 1934, p. A15.
51 Infra, p. 73.
52 CPD, April 22, 1934, p. A15.
53 Infra, p. 74.
54 Supra, p. 46.
55 Infra, p. 75.
was the extremely important consideration.

By early January, 1934, forty projects had been submitted to the Public Works Administration from Cuyahoga County, with thirteen being approved, but the receipt of funds was still far off.\(^{56}\) It was in this month that Cleveland's "Hoovertown" was eliminated by a New Deal project, the Civil Works Administration; this action was part of the project of cleaning up the East Ninth Street dump. Those who had been dwelling in the makeshift shacks spoke of applying to the CWA and thus leading a better life; one remarked that Hoover had put them there and that Roosevelt was removing them.\(^{57}\) In mid-January the Cleveland banks reported a great upsurge in deposits during the half month period, a trend which they attributed to increased confidence resulting from federal insurance policies; many crumpled bills of large denominations were deposited with accompanying comments that indicated that much of it had been hoarded money.\(^{58}\) The depression years seem to have had their effect even upon a high school girl's choice of courses; one high school teacher reported that girls had become anxious to learn about budgeting and other economy measures as taught in domestic art courses.\(^{59}\)

The week ending January 18 marked the high point of Civil works Administration activity in Ohio when a total of 241,988 men and women were employed.\(^{60}\) The federal government soon ordered, however, that

\(^{56}\) CPD, Jan. 2, 1934, p. 9. \(^{57}\) CPD, Jan. 6, 1934, p. 9.
\(^{58}\) CPD, Jan. 11, 1934, p. 2. \(^{59}\) CPD, Jan. 15, 1933, p. 5.
\(^{60}\) Lindley, Ohio in the Twentieth Century, p. 444.
the program be reduced, and this reduction was a prelude to its liquidation. As of that time the Cuyahoga County CWA payroll included 41,500 persons.

During 1934 the Cleveland city government, and especially Mayor Davis, fought a continual financial battle. In late January the city learned that there was no immediate possibility of receiving more loans and grants from the Public Works Administration due to the city's lack of resources and to bond issuing limitations. In mid-February Mayor Davis went before the Taxation Committee of the Ohio State Senate to ask that legislation be passed that would allow Cleveland to pay only the interest on 1934 and 1935 bonds to bondsmen who would give their consent and furthermore allow the use of the funds resulting from such action for current operations; he stressed that the only alternative was to reduce city services by one half. Later in the month the city defaulted for the second time on payment of the principal due on bonds but was meeting the interest payments.

During February there were continued reports of economic recovery. The local Federal Reserve Board reported that Cleveland retail trade was up thirty-three per cent in January, 1934, over the previous January; this was the second largest increase in the nation. In late February there was a report that private industry had been hiring persons formerly on CWA roles at the rate of fifty per day, with the bulk of the hiring

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61 CPD, Jan. 23, 1934, p. 8.  
62 CPD, Jan. 21, 1934, p. 8A.  
64 CPD, Feb. 28, 1934, p. 12.  
being done by the automobile parts and materials companies.\footnote{CPD, Feb. 28, 1934, p. 1.}

By late March the city government had not received the legislative assistance requested by Mayor Davis with the result that the predicted reductions in service were necessitated. Included were the non-use of one half of the street lights, the closing of four bridges across the Cuyahoga river to vehicles as a result of swinging them open for boat traffic and leaving them open, a reduction of garbage collections to once a month, and the release of ten public health nurses and two district physicians.\footnote{CPD, Mar. 27, 1934, p. 1.} A few days later the state legislature granted its approval for the sale of deficiency bonds, which was an alternative proposal that had been submitted by Mayor Davis; such action also had to receive the approval of the voters, which was soon forthcoming.\footnote{CPD, Mar. 28, 1934, p. 1.} The legislature rejected the city's plan for refunding the bonds.\footnote{CPD, Mar. 30, 1934, p. 1.}

As of late March the Home Owners' Loan Corporation had proven to be of considerable benefit to Cleveland home owners; the agency, in conjunction with the Union Trust Company, had returned forty-four families to their homes and had prevented foreclosure action in ninety-five other cases.\footnote{CPD, Mar. 30, 1934, p. 1.}

The Civil Works Administration ceased operation in Ohio as of March 31, at which time there were thirty-two thousand persons still on

\footnote{CPD, Feb. 28, 1934, p. 1.}
the payroll. 71 Most of the persons were placed on direct relief ex-
cept for a small work program termed Federal Work Relief that was
carried on under the auspices of the State Relief Commission; this
situation continued until the beginning of the Works Progress
Administration program in the fall of 1935. 72 In Cuyahoga County there
were nineteen thousand persons on the CWA payroll as of March 31; less
than six thousand of these persons remained on work relief as of April
2, with the remainder going on direct relief. 73 This meant that
approximately 35,000 of the 41,500 persons on the CWA rolls as of
mid-January had to return to the direct relief rolls of the Cuyahoga
County Relief Administration, thus creating the necessity of lowering
the subsistence allotments to relief families. 74

In April the Cleveland Children's Bureau provided the gratifying
report that fewer babies had been abandoned during the depression years
than ever before; there were only two instances in 1933. 75 The report
on new car sales for the first quarter of the year provided the
encouraging news that sales were up seventy-six per cent over the same
period in 1933. 76 In late April the Chamber of Commerce reported an
estimated drop in unemployment of fifty per cent from the estimated high

71 CPD, Mar. 28, 1934, p. 1.
72 Lindley, Ohio in the Twentieth Century, p. 447.
73 CPD, April 2, 1934, p. 4.
75 CPD, April 2, 1934, p. 11.
76 CPD, April 1, 1934, p. 23A.
of 198,000 of March 1933, to a figure of about 100,000. 77

During early April the problems of the city government did not reflect the downturn in the economy; citizens were clamoring for a restoration of cuts in garbage collection service and street lighting, both of which demands were met, and the city employees had not been paid for six weeks. In May a measure of relief arrived as a result of a favorable vote by the citizens of Cleveland on the deficiency bond issue, that allowed the city to sell four million dollars worth of bonds. The city immediately announced a street cleaning program, the opening of playgrounds for the summer, an improved crime control program, and a restoration of the reductions in municipal salaries. 78

In May a different form of relief was announced when the Federal Emergency Relief Administration gave its approval to a project of the Buckeye Cooperative Homesteads Association for moving families out of the city and into the rural areas. One phase of the program was to cost over two million dollars and effect the permanent resettlement of five hundred families on small farms; the other phase was to cost five hundred thousand dollars and consist of moving two hundred families to areas just outside Cleveland, and the wage earners were to commute to their part-time jobs in Cleveland. 79

Favorable economic reports continued to be circulated in June. The State-City Free Employment Bureau reported an increased number of job openings in several categories: the total number of jobs in May was up forty-eight per cent over April and ninety-one per cent over May, 1933;

77 CPD, April 22, 1934, p. 15a.  78 CPD, May 16, 1934, p. 1.
and employment for women domestics in May was up twenty-nine per cent over April and ninety-three per cent over May, 1933.\textsuperscript{80} Actually these percentage increases did not reflect a significant number of job openings in terms of actual numbers.\textsuperscript{81}

The school problem was still a critical one: in Lakewood the public schools closed a week early in June and planned to open one week later than usual in September in order to effect a saving of about twenty-three thousand dollars.\textsuperscript{82}

The problem of actually obtaining funds from the Public Works Administration was a long and involved one in the case of Cleveland as well as in other places throughout the nation. Three major projects included the construction of the easterly and southerly sewage treatment plants, an incinerator, water mains, and the modernization of the westerly plant. Some of this work was started in the fall of 1933 and had continued into 1934. By April the funds had not been received from Washington, with the result that laborers were being paid half of their wages in scrip.\textsuperscript{83} In July, 1934, the City Council voted to accept the strict conditions required by the PWA, and this action resulted in the newspaper report that $8,990,000 had been released by the federal government.\textsuperscript{84} By December, 1933, another report stated that only $1,687,000 had been received due to "necessary" red tape.\textsuperscript{85}

In mid-July a most serious incident involving Communists

\textsuperscript{80}\textsuperscript{CRD}, June 2, 1934, p. 3. \textsuperscript{81}\textsuperscript{Infra, p. 74.}
\textsuperscript{82}\textsuperscript{CRD}, June 2, 1934, p. 11. \textsuperscript{83}\textsuperscript{CRD, April 21, 1934, p. 4.}
\textsuperscript{84}\textsuperscript{CRD, July 10, 1934, p. 1.} \textsuperscript{84}\textsuperscript{CRD, Dec. 6, 1934, p. 1.}
occurred when they marched upon three district offices of the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration and proceeded to assault a few of the relief workers; police were soon called, and in the resulting scuffle two of the agitators were killed and three others were wounded, including one policeman. 86

From July through the remainder of the year there was a continuation of the uptrend in the economy. At the same time the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration saw its relief rolls increasing; however, by the end of July the organization was able to announce an increase in the average monthly allowance granted to 36,780 families from $24.50 in July to $27.00 in August. 87 Fortunately, the pessimism resulting from the elimination of the Civil Works Administration program in the spring was not justified. On August 15 the Italian people in Holy Rosary Parish on Mayfield Road gave prominent evidence of the improved conditions by celebrating the annual Feast of the Assumption with a fireworks display for the first time in three years; the festivities in general approached those of pre-depression days. 88

In mid-September the report on the recent tax collection stated that the collection was three million dollars over expectations; credit for this development was given to the Home Owners' Loan Corporation in addition to the general improvement. 89 In early October an unofficial report stated that the deposits in three of the large commercial banks

86 CPD, July 14, 1934, p. 1. 87 CPD, July 28, 1934, p1
88 CPD, Aug. 16, 1934, p. 1. 89 CPD, Sept 16, 1934, p. 18A.
had increased by 62.6 million dollars during the previous twelve months.\footnote{CPD, Oct. 6, 1934, p. 10.}

The Ohio Relief Production Units program was a novel one that began in July and ended in May, 1935, having been considered a failure from an official standpoint.\footnote{Lindley, \textit{Ohio in the Twentieth Century}, p. 454.} In Cleveland two idle factories for making suits and hosiery were utilized by idle men who produced items for other unemployed persons; it seems unlikely that such work was considered a failure by the participants and the benefactors.\footnote{CPD, Nov. 9, 1934, p. 1.}

Public attention was overwhelmingly focused on the staggering sums dispensed by public relief agencies, but a form of relief work was proceeding relatively unnoticed as a result of the generosity of the public school teachers who had been furnishing supplies to needy pupils.\footnote{CPD, Nov. 25, 1934, p. 15A.}

As is always true, the size of their contribution is difficult to estimate.

In November, 1934, the annual Associated Charities drive exceeded the mark of the previous year by sixty thousand dollars but still fell short of the 3.5 million dollar goal in raising \$3,026,747.\footnote{CPD, Nov. 28, 1934, p. 1.} During the last quarter of 1934 the total number on the relief rolls of the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration continued to rise, but at the same time the number added each week was gradually declining. In October
there were 45,524 families on relief. The total for November considerably exceeded the estimate by reaching the fifty-four thousand mark. The organization received for relief needs in December from the State Relief Commission $2,301,160 which was the largest amount received up to that time. As of the week ending December 22 there were 946 new families added to the relief rolls, which was the lowest weekly increase since the beginning of the current downward trend in early November.

During November and December the public school officials as well as the county welfare officials were experiencing considerable concern over the availability of operating funds. One reason for this was the defeat of the 4.5 mill county welfare levy in the November election. In mid-November the North Olmsted School Board announced that their schools would close on December 21 for an indefinite period of time as a result of the defeat of the three mill school levy in the November election. This was the first instance of such action in the county.

In December the school board in the well-to-do suburb of Cleveland Heights announced that the schools would be closed for an extra two weeks at Christmas time due to dwindling tax returns and that the teachers were to receive no pay for the period. Relief for the troubled situation was soon forthcoming as a result of the passage in mid-December of state legislation increasing the tax rate on intangibles from five to six per

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96 CPD, Nov. 16, 1934, p. 3.  
97 CPD, Dec. 1, 1934, p. 4.  
99 CPD, Nov. 16, 1934, p. 1.  
cent, instituting a state sales tax, and renewing other levies. 101

The city government was facing continued financial difficulties as was evidenced by the fact that twenty-three thousand dollars was removed from a fund earmarked for badly needed police and fire equipment in order to meet deficits in other divisions. 102

Concurrent with local government problems, the economic picture continued to brighten. The retail merchants announced that Christmas buying through mid-December was twenty per cent above 1933 and was at the highest level since 1929. 103 The steel industry of the whole northern Ohio area was benefitting from the increased automobile sales with operations at fifty-six per cent of capacity, which was an especially high level for the season and a sizeable increase from the 1934 low of ten per cent in August. 104 The Chamber of Commerce survey of one hundred representative industries showed a 5.1 per cent increase in employment in December and a 6.1 per cent increase over December, 1933. 105

During 1934, seventeen new manufacturing concerns were established in Cleveland, and thirty firms carried out expansion programs. Factory payrolls rose thirty-seven per cent, and the average number of employes increased by twenty-one per cent. 106 An indicator of the trend in retail lines is found in the report of the Federal Reserve Bank that commercial failures declined by fifty-five per cent during the first eleven months of 1934 over the same period in 1933; the report also

105 CPD, Dec. 30, 1934, p. 1A.
stated that operations in the total economy of the area were higher toward the end of 1934 than in the comparable period of 1933. 107

By the end of 1934, the program of direct and work relief as administered by the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration had become almost twice as large as in 1933. 108 This indicates that additional families who had up to that time maintained themselves by means of sayings or help from friends and relatives were being forced to go on relief.

The unemployment situation improved slightly during 1934. The estimate of about 100,000 as of April 1 did not change appreciably through August; the estimate rose to 116,600 as of November 1, 1934, which was still beneath the estimate of November, 1933. 109

The number of marriages in the county continued to increase during 1934 but the number of applications for divorces again declined slightly after showing an increase in 1933; the birth rate followed the marriage trend by showing an increase for the first time since the depression began. 110 Although the divorce applications decreased, the total alimony payments rose from $117,757 in 1933 to $143,702 in 1934, which also may reflect the improvement in the local economic conditions. 111

The year 1934 was certainly not a spectacular one from the standpoint of recovery: business conditions continued to improve due to

108 _Infra_, p. 74.
109 _Infra_, p. 74.
110 _Infra_, p. 75.
the large influx of federal funds in the form of relief payments, but unemployment remained stationary during the last three quarters of the year. With the liquidation of the Civil Works Administration the unemployed no longer made a significant material contribution to the area but could only accept the dole; this situation continued well into 1935. Still, the year marked a great advance over 1933 since the unemployed were no longer facing the desperate situation that prevailed in the years prior to the beginning of the federal relief program.

At the beginning of 1935, President Roosevelt's new relief program was an important topic; the basic philosophy was that jobs, not the dole, would be furnished to people on relief, and the jobs were to be suited to the abilities of the workers. The Cuyahoga County Relief Administration regarded these federal plans as the cause of increased applications for relief by mid-January in anticipation of obtaining these jobs. 112 Industrial activity was maintained at a higher level than was expected during January and February. This was due primarily to the production of 292,765 units in the local automobile industry in January, which was the highest monthly figure since 1929. The industries producing glass, steel and other parts for the automobile industry also maintained a high production level during the period. 113 A survey of one hundred industries indicated that employment had risen in January by 6.7 per cent over December, 1934. 114

In a special election on February 19 the people of Cleveland

and the county responded favorably to two tax levies. The County Commissioners were greatly concerned about the source of future funds for the care of pensioned mothers, soldiers, and sailors, the sick, and other unemployable persons; the passage of the 3.2 mill welfare levy assured the receipt of nearly five million dollars to meet these needs. The citizens of Cleveland approved a 4.4 mill operating levy for the aid of the hard-pressed city government, and Mayor Davis immediately promised a restoration of the salary cuts taken by police and firemen. This promise was politically inspired and was not fulfilled.

In late February the financial situation had become desperate in the local Catholic school system; as a result, the City Council unanimously voted approval of a resolution urging that state aid be furnished to the Catholic schools of Cleveland and forwarded copies of it to Governor Davey and the Legislature which was already considering a bill for that purpose. The Superintendent of Schools of the Catholic Diocese states that the schools might be closed if aid was not forthcoming; two examples of the problems being faced were that some teaching sisters were receiving as little as five dollars per month and some whole classes had to share one book in a particular subject. The lower house of the Legislature ultimately defeated the proposal. The Cleveland public school system at the same time appeared to be enjoying an improved financial situation: a seven thousand dollar purchase of

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115 CPD, Jan 20 and Feb. 20, 1935.
supplementary reading books was made, which was the first time such an expenditure had been made in three years, and evening classes were opened at Jane Addams School at a cost of five dollars per course to girls over eighteen years of age. Also, and most important, the salaries of teachers were raised anywhere from eighty to one hundred dollars per month for the period of May through December, 1935; this was the initial action in the restoration of salary reductions. In June the Board announced that the teachers would receive another salary raise as of January 1, 1936, which would vary from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars per year.

On April 8, 1935, another great advance in the federal relief program was set in motion with the passage of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, which established the Works Progress Administration; the objective was to provide work compatible with the abilities of the individual for all employable persons, with the care of unemployable persons being returned to local governments as of November 1, 1935. As was the case with the PWA program, there was to be further delay and irritation before the WPA program finally began operating in August.

The upsurge in employment that was noted in January in the local automobile industry continued into the spring, and by that time many more optimistic reports began to appear that indicated that the recovery trend was in motion again. The State-City Employment Bureau reported
that job openings in March increased by thirty-five percent over
February, due to continuing high production of automobiles.\textsuperscript{122} In
May the report on the one hundred representative firms stated that the
total April employment in the reporting establishments was 67,762, a
gain of 1.4 per cent over March, and the highest monthly figure since July,
1930.\textsuperscript{123} The Cuyahoga County Relief Administration reported in May
that the number of persons on their relief roll dropped to 52,704 as of
May 1; the largest number recorded as of that time had been 55,320 in
January, 1934, and the decline over four months from that figure to the one
of May 1 was the longest sustained decline of the depression.\textsuperscript{124}

New car sales contributed to the upturn of the economy by
registering a gain of 8,278 or seventy per cent during the first five
months of 1935 over the same period in 1934.\textsuperscript{125} In July the four largest
banks in Cleveland reported that their total deposits had increased by
twenty million dollars during the preceding three months, an increase
which was accepted as a healthy trend by most persons except for the few
who thought it indicated a lack of confidence in the national government.\textsuperscript{126}

During 1935 Governor Davey began insisting that the relief
needs of the State be met by taxes at the local government level, thus
saving the additional expense of administering a statewide relief program.
The General Assembly complied by passing the Carey Act, which allowed

\textsuperscript{126}\textit{CPD}, July 3, 1935, p. 12.
the counties to issue state financed relief bonds to the extent of one fifth of one per cent of the tax duplicate. The Governor's actions, generally speaking, were not well received by relief authorities in Cleveland, who became quite vocal as a result of their belief that the Governor was attempting to avoid his own responsibilities for the relief problems. Another problem was the strained relationship between the federal and state authorities. One cause of this development was the investigation by the Legislature into the federal administration of relief in Ohio. Another cause was the fact that the State had contributed only six million dollars towards meeting relief needs during the first three months of 1935, which barely met the minimum requirement. On August 20 Harry Hopkins, the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, warned a relief committee from Ohio that the relief situation in Ohio was the worst in the nation; he attributed the difficulties to a lack of public support for relief measures and an indifference of state authorities, which was considered a slap at Governor Davey. Hopkins had previously given notice that FERA funds for the support of unemployed persons would be halted as of November 1 and that further federal relief would be limited to those on the payrolls of WPA projects; the latter promise afforded very little comfort in view of the delay in starting such work.

On July 18, 1935, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration announced that its August relief program would be reduced due to

128Ibid., p. 80.
129CPD, July 25, 1935, p. 1.
insufficient resources at both the federal and local government levels. This caused the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration immediately to return to the undesirable practice of issuing grocery orders rather than giving cash to each relief client for that purpose. They also eliminated the sewing project, and reduced expenditures for clothing and food.\textsuperscript{131}

On July 25 the federal grant to Ohio for August was raised from a previously announced four million dollars to seven million dollars, which only delayed the crisis for one month.\textsuperscript{132} On July 25, the relief problem worsened when the work relief program of the FERA was suspended due to expiration of funds. This action caused the return of 7,300 workers to the care of the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration until the WPA projects began.\textsuperscript{133}

After much planning in Washington and expectation in Cleveland, the Works Progress Administration actually put men to work throughout Ohio on August 12. In Cleveland, 2,287 men reported to work the first day at forty-three different projects, many of which had been started under the FERA work relief program; many more projects started within the succeeding weeks.\textsuperscript{134}

Business conditions continued to improve throughout northern Ohio for the sixth week in succession as of mid-August; this was a period when a slump was expected. The unemployment estimate as of August 1 had dropped to 93,700 from approximately one hundred thousand

\textsuperscript{131}\textsuperscript{131CPD, July 18, 1935, p. 1.} \textsuperscript{132}\textsuperscript{ CPD, July 25, 1935, p. 1.} \textsuperscript{133}\textsuperscript{ CPD, July 28, 1935, p. 2A.} \textsuperscript{134}\textsuperscript{ CPD, Aug. 11, 1935, p. 2A.}
during the previous winter. The State-City Employment Bureau reported in early October that there had been a steady increase in job openings since June and that there was a continuing shortage of domestic help, machinists, and other classes of skilled laborers.

The September grant from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration totalled six million dollars for the State of Ohio; one million dollars went to Cuyahoga County, which was estimated to be four hundred thousand dollars less than the amount needed to maintain the current relief standards. As a result, a majority of the Board of the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration was in favor of resigning because they believed that the federal government was using them as a buffer against the reaction that would follow a lowering of relief grants; such action was not taken as a result of the leadership exerted by the Chairman, Marc J. Grossman. Fortunately, relief was soon forthcoming as a result of the substantial vote on October 1 favoring the county poor-relief bond issue in the amount of $2,725,000. In mid-October the FERA provided additional help by promising to supply funds for direct relief through the month of November instead of halting the operation as of November 1 as had been previously planned; this action was due to the lack of progress in the WPA work relief program. Local officials expressed the fear that this action would only encourage Governor Davey in his apathy towards their problems. As a result of the above

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two developments, the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration restored the
cash-payment plan of providing groceries and the reductions in food and
clothing made in July.\textsuperscript{140} No further federal aid for direct relief was
provided in Ohio after November, 1935.\textsuperscript{141}

Following the beginning of the WPA projects in mid-August,
the size of the program increased steadily throughout the remainder of
1935; by mid-December the total number of employed persons had risen to
forty-five thousand in Cuyahoga County.\textsuperscript{142} As of the end of December
there were 173,170 persons employed by WPA throughout the State of Ohio,
and the high point of 186,000 was reached in March, 1936.\textsuperscript{143} A large
portion of the WPA work consisted of road repair, park improvement, and
the maintenance of public buildings. In addition, the original intention
of the WPA to provide work compatible with the worker's background was
fulfilled to a significant degree; in Cuyahoga County this program con-
sisted of geographic and sociological surveys, work for high school and
college students through the National Youth Administration, concerts and
plays, and the dissemination of general health information.\textsuperscript{144} Other
white collar workers prepared the Ohio Guide, indexes of newspapers,
and inventories of local, state and federal archives.\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{140}CPD, Oct. 25, 1935, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{141}Lindley, Ohio in the Twentieth Century, p. 448.
\textsuperscript{142}CPD, Dec. 19, 1935, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{143}Lindley, Ohio in the Twentieth Century, p. 448.
\textsuperscript{144}CPD, Aug. 29, Sept. 10, Sept. 15, Nov. 24, 1935.
\textsuperscript{145}Roseboom and Weisenburger, Ohio, p. 368.
The Chamber of Commerce report on the one hundred representative firms for October, 1935, revealed that employment within those business organizations had reached the highest point since May, 1930.\textsuperscript{116} The monthly unemployment estimate for October was 75,700, which was the lowest one since 1930.\textsuperscript{117} The estimate for November dropped significantly to 58,600; both this figure and the one for October include those people employed by WPA so that the estimate reflects only the employment progress in private firms.\textsuperscript{118}

In the November election the citizens of Cleveland elected Harold H. Burton, Republican, as their new Mayor with a record majority of thirty-five thousand votes over the Democratic candidate and former mayor, Ray T. Miller.\textsuperscript{119} Mayor Burton took immediate action to reduce city expenditures in order to provide adequate relief care and vital services; one dramatic move was to eliminate the patronage policy and its benefactors as practiced by some members of the City Council.\textsuperscript{150} The Associated Charities Drive managed to raise a total of $2,209,103 towards a goal of $3,250,000 which was the largest amount raised in any city in the nation up to that time during 1935.\textsuperscript{151}

In December Mayor Burton took positive action towards the completion of a long planned and ultimately very important highway along the lake shore in an easterly direction from the down-town area; he asked

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{116} CPD, Nov. 3, 1935, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{117} CPD, Oct. 18, 1935, p. 10.
\item \textsuperscript{118} CPD, Nov. 15, 1935, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{119} CPD, Nov. 6, 1935, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{150} CPD, Nov. 14, 1935, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{151} CPD, Nov. 28, 1935, p. 1.
\end{itemize}
the WPA to begin this six million dollar project on land to which the title was still under dispute. Another important WPA project in the life of Greater Cleveland was the 2.8 million dollar improvement at the Cleveland Airport, which began on November 29.

During 1935, the progress of the Public Works Administration projects became apparent with the completion of some structures and the beginning of others. The Huron Road Hospital, the city incinerator, one of the sewage disposal plants, and some street and sewer projects were completed, with work in progress on parks and streets and on one other sewage disposal plant. Of great significance to the City of Cleveland was the beginning of the construction of three housing projects. The city was to receive between nine and twelve million dollars for the erection of these three projects, an amount which represented about ten per cent of the total funds spent in the nation for public housing.

The year 1935 resembled 1933 with respect to the marked economic recovery that had occurred; however, there was a significant difference in that the amount of employment in private firms rose considerably, an objective which was a principal aim of the New Deal. All areas of the local economy reflected the recovery that occurred during 1934 and 1935.

While private employment rose, great numbers of people were on the direct and work relief rolls, a situation which was the result of

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153 CPD, Nov. 28, 1935, p. 5.
154 CPD, Nov. 18, 1935, p. 2.
157 Infra, pp. 73-75.
several factors; first, the savings of many families had become de-
leted, and they could no longer obtain help from friends and relatives;
secondly, it was only natural that many persons would hasten to go on
relief when it was work relief rather than the dole, as had been the
case when the huge WPA program began. Two factors of a more subtle nature
were the mental and physical retardation of many men due to the long period
of unemployment and the technological improvements that reduced the
number of job openings during the period between 1929 and 1935.\footnote{158}

Regardless of whether a person was on direct relief or work
relief, he was receiving far better material care in 1935 than he had re-
ceived at any time during the depression as a result of the slowly in-
creasing quality of relief care. The morale of the people was greatly
improved because of the opportunity many enjoyed of being able to work and
thus make some contribution to the local society in return for relief
payments rather than being on the dole.

The residents of Cleveland in particular and of the urban areas
throughout the county had passed through great difficulties during the
years prior to 1933 when men lived in shacks in the city dump, when
barterening services and scrip were found necessary, when families were
continually being evicted from one dilapidated dwelling after another,
and when every possible measure was needed to produce even the smallest
bit of relief. By the end of 1935 the people were engaging in large scale
Christmas buying and preparing for a 1936 New Year's celebration as in
the pre-depression days; Clevelanders along with all Americans, were

\footnote{158 CPD, Dec. 9, 1935, p. 1.
approaching a more normal life as of the close of 1935.

Cleveland was a wealthy city with a highly developed industrial economy. It had participated fully in the expansive boom of the 1920's, and the economic collapse after 1929 had jolted it far more seriously than Cincinnati and Columbus. By 1935, as we have seen, it had gone through the travail of adjustment, and recovery had been partially achieved.
Appendix

Manufactures in Cuyahoga County:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Firms</th>
<th>Wage Earners</th>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>Value of Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>103,333</td>
<td>$99,488,000</td>
<td>$512,946,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>2,276</td>
<td>126,568</td>
<td>$152,374,847</td>
<td>$783,342,143(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Retail activity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Stores</th>
<th>Fulltime Employees</th>
<th>Net Sales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>13,413</td>
<td>33,658</td>
<td>$275,935,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuyahoga Co.</td>
<td>16,009</td>
<td>37,803</td>
<td>$322,968,009(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>13,924</td>
<td>47,601(1)</td>
<td>$355,210,000(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuyahoga Co.</td>
<td>16,526</td>
<td>53,960(3)</td>
<td>$412,109,000(3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1Green, Unemployment and Relief, p. 4.  
2Supra, p. 3.  

*Figures include only those plants with an annual production of five thousand dollars or over.

†Figures include part-time employees.
Unemployment estimates for Cleveland:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total Number of Gainful Workers</th>
<th>Unemployed Gainful Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March, 1933</td>
<td>3944,898 *</td>
<td>198,000 †</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov., 1933</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>132,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April, 1934</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>99,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug., 1934</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>102,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov., 1934</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>114,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug., 1935</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>93,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov., 1935</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>58,600 †</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relief cases and expenditures for Cuyahoga County:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Relief Cases (families and individuals on direct and work relief)</th>
<th>Expenditures (direct and work relief, and administrative costs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>39,019</td>
<td>$16,729,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>72,187</td>
<td>$32,223,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>92,438</td>
<td>$36,472,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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4 Supra, p. 4.
5 CPD, Nov. 12, 1933, n. A9.
6 CPD, April 22, 1934, p. A15.
11 Green, Nine Years of Relief, p. 2.
12 Green, Two Hundred Millions, p. 4.

*As of 1930 census
†Figures include WPA and PWA workers.
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Marriage, divorce, and birth statistics for Cuyahoga County:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Marriages</th>
<th>Applications for Divorce and Alimony</th>
<th>Live Births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>6,257</td>
<td>4,045</td>
<td>15,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>7,801</td>
<td>3,975</td>
<td>15,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>7,716</td>
<td>4,117</td>
<td>15,861</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Construction activity in Cleveland:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Establishments</th>
<th>Total Value of General and Subcontracts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>$14,597,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>$20,739,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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13 Supplied by the Office of the Clerk of Courts, Cuyahoga County Court House, Cleveland, Ohio.

14 Ibid.

15 Furnished by the Statistical Analysis Unit of the Division of Vital Statistics, Ohio Department of Health, State Office Building, Columbus, Ohio.


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