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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce slogan "Best Location in the Nation" has been lengthened to include "for Negroes." Cleveland Negroes apparently made the addition, but, however it came to be there, the writer has frequently heard the statement made by Cleveland Negroes. This is not too strange since at least one national Negro publication carried an article which listed Cleveland as one of the "Ten Best Cities in the Nation for Negroes." ¹

The National Conference of Christians and Jews made its 1952 award to Cleveland. The award was for "greatest progress in intergroup relations" and was awarded to Cleveland primarily on the basis of reports of progress in 1951, submitted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, the Urban League and the Cleveland Round Table. ² The emphasis was upon progress toward integration rather than specific gains on the part of minority groups. This award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews is mentioned, not for its explicit value but as a further evidence of the belief that Cleveland is considered one of the best locations in the nation for Negroes.

The question arises, then, concerning just how good is the "best" location, and the purpose of this research is specifically that—to determine objectively the status of the Negro in Cleveland.

²Information secured from Dr. James Noble, Executive Secretary of the Cleveland Branch of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.
"Goodness" implies conformity to values held by those who make this judgement. What are the criteria of "goodness"? There are several places in the literature on Race where an organized set of criteria appear. Spokesmen for the Negroes have been informative in their statements. For instance, Langston Hughes stated that "what I and thirteen million other American Negroes desire" is summed up in the following:

1. A chance to earn a decent living, and at any trade or profession open to other Americans.
2. Equal educational opportunities.
3. Decent Housing.
4. Full participation in government.
5. A fair deal before the law.
6. The same public courtesy that is normally accorded other citizens.
7. Social equality insofar as public services go.

Gunnar Myrdal's monumental An American Dilemma, sets forth the following

"Rank Order of Discrimination" supported by white Americans:

Rank 1. Highest in this order stands the bar against intermarriage.
Rank 2. Next come the several etiquettes and discriminations which specifically concern behavior.
Rank 3. Thereafter follow the segregations and discriminations in use of public facilities such as schools, churches and means of conveyance.
Rank 4. Next comes political disfranchisement.
Rank 5. Thereafter come discriminations in law courts, by the police and by other public servants.
Rank 6. Finally come the discrimination in securing land, credit, jobs or other means of earning a living, and discriminations in public relief and other social welfare activities.

Myrdal states that the Negro's own rank order is just about parallel.

---

but inverse, to that of the white man. However, he admits that the list is hypothetical and is constructed upon his observations.

The accuracy of Langston Hughes' statements of what the Negro wants is given substantiation by the statements of fourteen other Negro leaders. Each was asked to write, for publication in a book, what they regarded as the demands of their people. Writing independently, they yet showed a striking similarity of viewpoint. Nor was there significant deviation from the wants expressed by Hughes.\(^5\)

A comparison of the "Rank Order of Discrimination," as listed by Myrdal, and the seven wants of the Negro, as listed by Hughes, shows great similarity. The most significant difference is that Hughes makes no mention of intermarriage. There is also a difference in the order of listing the various items. How then to determine which items were most important and which least important, or even if these lists included what the Cleveland Negro considered valid criteria of status.

Myrdal's hypothetical "Rank Order of Discrimination" has already been tested in Columbus, Ohio, and found "by and large an accurate portrayal of the sensitivity of Negroes in Columbus, Ohio, to discrimination.\(^6\)

Since Langston Hughes' list of what the Negro desires is in essential agreement with Myrdal's list, was written by a Negro and has the advantage of being positively stated, it was tentatively accepted

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as a valid criterion of status from the Negro viewpoint. Before finally accepting it, however, it was necessary to determine whether or not Cleveland Negroes valued the same goals in the same way.

The method employed in testing the validity of Hughes' list of desires was as follows: Hughes' list of desires was put in a questionnaire, but in a different order. That is to say, all resemblance to his rank order was destroyed (See Appendix I). There was space on the questionnaire for additional items. The respondents were requested to list all the items, including any they might have added, in the order of importance to them.

Arbitrary weights of 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1 were given to first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh place rank order positions. That is to say, the respondent's choice for most important item had a weight of 7, second choice had a weight of 6, and on down the rank order with descending weight. By so doing it was possible not only to get a rank order of the various "wants" but also to determine the degree of difference in their importance.

At the bottom of each questionnaire were spaces to indicate residence at sometime in Cincinnati, Columbus and Cleveland, and a question as to which was "best" for the Negro.

It was assumed initially that there would be a high degree of consensus in the Negro population as to what was desired. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to get a fairly representative cross-section of the Negro population in Cleveland, using the general socio-economic categories of domestic, unskilled, skilled and white collar workers, and equally divided between male and female. One hundred completed
questionnaires were secured and scored. In addition, twenty-five interviews were held, ten with professional men and women, by appointment, and fifteen with mechanics, barbers, elevator operators, cooks, students, etc., chosen by chance encounter or availability. The interviews were expected to be a sort of double-check on the validity of the questionnaires.

The results of the questionnaire show no significant difference between Hughes' list of "wants," but some variance in ranking them in importance. There is agreement of first, fifth and last rank items as may be seen from an examination of Table 1, but the other "wants" assume different positions of importance. The only additional "wants" written into the questionnaires were generalized desires for complete equality as a human being. There were six such additions.

Table 1. A Comparison of Hughes' Ranking of "Wants" with the Rank Order of a Sample of 100 Cleveland Negroes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Equality Wanted</th>
<th>Hughes' Rank Order</th>
<th>Cleveland Negroes' Rank Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtesy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Services</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean scores of the various items seem to indicate a definite hierarchy of wants so far as Cleveland Negroes are concerned.
Table 2. Mean Scores of Types of "Wants" and Rank Order of Means of 100 Negroes in Cleveland, Ohio.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Equality Wanted</th>
<th>Mean Scores</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtesy</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Services</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The twenty-five interviews did not change the rank order revealed in the questionnaires but eight of the professional people interviewed felt that decent housing ranked first. This is probably a reflection of the fact that the professional people had already achieved economic security. If this hypothesis is correct, the professional people would be in agreement with the majority of the rest of the sample who felt that economic opportunity came first in importance.

In the absence of any contrary findings, Hughes' list of "What the Negro Wants" was taken as a guide concerning what to look for in evaluating the Negroes' status in Cleveland. Facts concerning the achievement of these wants should indicate the status of the Negro in Cleveland and a comparison of Cleveland with Columbus and Cincinnati should test somewhat the Cleveland Negroes' statement that Cleveland is the "best" city for Negroes.

One other item on the questionnaire should be reported at this point. Only eleven of the respondents had lived in either Columbus or Cincinnati, but they, along with seventy-seven other respondents,
considered Cleveland the best city in terms of opportunity to achieve the wants rated on the questionnaire. Twelve respondents did not indicate a choice among the cities.

Having determined what general areas of achievement were considered important, the next task was to obtain factual data of a comparative nature.

It is evident by a glance at the list of wants that some are far more subjective in nature than others. For instance, economic achievement and factors related thereto can be secured from Census data, the records of the Ohio State Employment Service, the Urban League and the Community Relations Board. On the other hand "a fair deal before the law" is largely subjective and "the same courtesy that is normally accorded other citizens" is almost impossible of evaluation in other than subjective terms. Educational achievement data are available in Census records and local practices observable where segregation and discrimination are concerned. Data on housing are likewise available in Census records. That is, the concentration or dispersion of the Negro population throughout the city can be learned easily, but the meaning of those data must be secured in some other way. If there is apparent segregation, is it a matter of choice on the part of Negroes that they live together or is it enforced through social control measures? Participation in Government can be determined by ascertaining the availability of the ballot and extent of employment in Government either as office holder or Civil Service employee, but "equality insofar as public services go" is considerably more difficult to determine. It seemed obvious that inequities of public services would not be a matter of record anywhere, and at best much of the data gathered in regards to this want must be subjective. It was thought
that certain types of public service might be classified without
callenge as equally available to Negro and white. Public transporta-
tion would be an illustration of such. Availability of service and
welcome at certain theatres, cafes and other public places would be
more difficult to ascertain.

The above mentioned problems of observation, or collection of
data narrowed the observational techniques down to two—the collection
of pertinent statistical data and the interviewing of people who knew
and could reveal the more subjective data.

The primary sources of statistical data were the Sixteenth
Census of the United States, Reports of the Ohio State Employment
Service, Annual Reports of the various Area Community Councils, the
files of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples,
Reports of the Urban League, Senate Committee Hearings, the Cleveland
Health Department Annual Reports, and the Cleveland Police Department
Annual Reports. Corroborating evidence, though not strictly classified
as statistical, was obtained from the Community Relations Board, the
agency in Cleveland responsible for administering the Fair Employment
Practices ordinance of the City of Cleveland.

The decision as to who should be interviewed was determined
in the following manner: The Executive Secretaries of the Urban League
and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were
asked to name the outstanding Negro leaders who could give the informa-
tion desired. Practically the same names appeared on both lists. The
persons they named were then interviewed and at the end of each interview
a request was made for a list of outstanding Negro leaders who could
give the needed information. Again and again the same names
appeared on the list with once in a while an omission or a new name added. The list includes a surgeon, a dentist, a Law Director, three ministers, two city councilmen, a newspaper editor, an elementary school principal, two Y.M.C.A. directors, one college professor, a community Areas Council director, two lawyers, one president of a Negro life insurance company, an operator-owner of five drug stores, a "ward boss", and the officers of three Negro protest movements. Other Negroes interviewed included 15 college students, five high school students, two newspaper reporters, a Negro newstand operator, an elementary school teacher, three Y.M.C.A workers and two social workers. The latter were random samplings to determine to some degree if the Negro leaders had been giving distorted testimony. When their statements supported those of the Negro leaders it seemed fruitless to pursue this course further.

Finally, the matter of comparing Cleveland with Columbus and Cincinnati, it soon became apparent, would be exhaustive in money and time if an attempt were made to compare relative achievement in all areas of this research. Hence it was decided to compare statistical data for the first three top ranking "wants"—first, second and third choices incidentally of the National Negro Spokesmen and the 100 Negroes sampled in Cleveland—in the belief they would be trustworthy indices of comparative status ratings of the three cities.
CHAPTER II
ECONOMIC STATUS

Between 1910 and 1920, the Negro population of Cleveland increased from 8,148 to 34,151. The Great Migration was fostered by industry, primarily steel and iron, which needed laborers for heavy work. Most of the Negroes from the South were farm laborers and unskilled, to whom promise of high wages proved to be an adequate incentive. Once started, the migration continued, though at a decreased rate. Eighty-one per cent of the Negroes in Cleveland were migrants in 1920. In 1930, 76.8 per cent were migrants. The total Negro population in 1930 was 71,899.1

Charles W. Chesnutt, Cleveland's outstanding Negro author, described the economic opportunity thus in 1930:

There are many colored men in the building trades, especially in the rougher and harder work. They are received in most of the building trades unions, the notable exceptions being the electrical workers, the plumbers and the structural iron workers. But in the distribution of work through the unions, they are generally the last to be considered. The waiters', waitresses' and cooks' unions do not admit colored members.

The thousands of places as clerks and salesmen in the great department and chain stores are closed to them with very few exceptions. Recently one of the chain store companies has had a store in a colored neighborhood with an entire Negro personnel.

There are no Negro conductors or motormen of the Cleveland Street Railway. The East Ohio Gas Company, The Ohio Bell Telephone Company, indeed none of the great public utilities employ colored people in anything but the humblest positions. In many of the industrial plants they are employed for the harder kinds of labor but have suffered disproportionately by the recent industrial decline, being generally the first to be let out when the force is reduced.

There are about thirty-five colored lawyers practicing in the courts of the city and county, mostly in the Municipal and Police Courts. They have little commercial business...never appointed receiver or referee in an important case.

There are fifty Negro doctors practicing in Cleveland. Six are attached to the staff of Lakeside Hospital, the main teaching unit of Western Reserve University...Charity Hospital, a Catholic institution, has a Negro physician in the roentgenological department. The Salvation Army maternity home and hospital for colored women has an all-Negro staff, with the exception of a white chief-of-staff.

There are colored patrolmen and detectives, but no Negro firemen—perhaps for social reasons since the firemen live in the stations. They are called for jury duty just as other citizens though not accepted on juries quite as often. They have at least one clerk or deputy in each of the county offices, and have put forward candidates for the office of judge, so far without success.

In the Federal Post Office, where places are under the Civil Service they hold many of the low-salaried positions, as office clerks, postal clerks and mail carriers. Several of them have been employed as government meat inspectors in stockyards and abattoirs.

There are nearly a hundred colored teachers in the public high and grade schools, and colored teachers are trained in the normal school.

The Quincy Avenue Branch of the Cleveland Public Library employ one colored young woman, and the Sterling Branch Library has two. The library has five colored pages. The total number of professional librarians in the whole system is between three hundred and fifty and four hundred, besides others who work part time, so that the Negro is not over-represented.

The reaction to the barrier of segregation which confronts the Negro almost everywhere has resulted, in Cleveland as elsewhere, in the effort to supply among his own people many of the opportunities which he is denied.2

The increase in Negro population was not so great between 1930 and 1940 as in the decades between 1910 and 1930; however, they numbered 34,509, or 9.6 per cent of the population, in 1940. The age distribu-

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tion for white and Negro in 1940 was approximately the same, the median age for each population category was 31 years.\(^3\)

The employment situation in 1940 was as follows: Of the total population 14 years and older, both Negro and white, about 56 per cent of each was in the labor force. Of the white labor force, 81.9 per cent were on other than emergency work, while 6.0 per cent were on public emergency work, with 12.1 per cent seeking work. On the other hand, of the Negro labor force, 59.6 per cent were on other than emergency work, while 22.0 per cent were on public emergency work, and 18.4 per cent were seeking work. (See Table 3).

Table 3. The Labor Force in Cleveland, Ohio, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Labor Force</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population 14 Years Older and Over in the Labor Force</td>
<td>363,332</td>
<td>36,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent of Population 14 Years and Older</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed except on Public Emergency Work</td>
<td>297,546</td>
<td>21,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed on Public Emergency Work</td>
<td>21,902</td>
<td>8,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Seeking Work</td>
<td>43,884</td>
<td>6,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent of Labor Force Employed except on Public Emergency Work</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent on Public Emergency Work</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Seeking Work</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A tabulation of numbers and percentages in the various occupational classifications reveals a very disproportionate division of employment. Nearly two-thirds of the Negroes were employed in either domestic, service worker or labor jobs. (See Table 4) A slightly higher percentage of the Negro labor force was women, 32.2 per cent. White women comprised 28.1 per cent of the white labor force.¹

Table 4. Percentages of Negro and White Population in Labor Force in Cleveland by Classification, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Per Cent of White Workers</th>
<th>Per Cent of Negro Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Semi-Professional</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors, Managers and Officials</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Sales and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>operatives and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service Workers</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective Service Workers</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers, except Domestic and Protective</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, except Farm and Mine</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A tabulation of the Negroes' share of the jobs shows, perhaps, the clearest picture for 1940. The Negroes, remember, furnish ten per cent of the labor force. The percentage of jobs in the various categories which Negroes occupied is shown in Table 4.

Of those seeking employment in 1940, about 18.4 per cent were Negro.⁵ This, plus the disproportionate number on Public Emergency Work,

⁵Ibid., pp. 698, 700.
lends considerable support to a statement the writer heard many times during interviews with Negroes, "The Negro is the last to be hired and the first to be fired."

Several historical changes have radically affected the economic opportunity of the Cleveland Negro during recent years. World War II, the post-war years of heavy production for consumers, and, after June 1950, the Korean War, have each helped to create and sustain a high demand for labor, particularly in industry. Another important factor has been the National Fair Employment Practices Commission, and since March 1950, the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance of Cleveland which makes it illegal to discriminate against any person because of race, color, religion or nationality. The latter is of such importance it will be discussed in detail later, and some of its effects related.

On July 31, 1941, Frank G. Jones, Cleveland Relief Commissioner made the statement that in Cleveland the only plants giving reasonable employment to Negroes were foundries. His words as reported in the Plain Dealer were as follows:

These jobs are mostly "Negro jobs"—jobs that are usually refused by white workers when they are able to secure others... Most employees state as prime reasons that they have never employed Negroes and therefore are not willing to employ them now. Other employers state that there is deep-seated labor and union objection...there is a great deal of buck-passing by both employers and the union. This was six months after the first Negro men were drafted.

In August of the same year Mayor Blythin was appealing publicly for

7Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio, July 31, 1941.
8Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio, February 19, 1941.
industry to hire Negroes. 9

Northrup writing in 1944 noted that Negroes had made vain efforts to join the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Cleveland. He also noted that Negro painters had been able to make some gains as a result of the federal government's racial quotas on public construction, even to the extent of gaining admission to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers in Cleveland for the first time in recent years. 10

Changes were taking place in other areas also. According to the Executive Secretary of the Urban League in Cleveland, many new industries accepted Negroes for the first time during the labor shortages of World War II. Some of them, particularly in the tool industries had never had Negro employees, even in menial positions.

City Hospital, operating under Civil Service regulations had 69 Negro nurses and 29 Negro interns in 1945. There were two Negro nurses at Lakeside Hospital (Western Reserve University). Thirteen out of 39 Negro doctors in Cleveland could practice in existing hospitals. 11

An issue considered important by Negro leaders had its inception in 1943. The News headlined the article about it, "Dream of Negro Hospital Here Takes Shape." 12 Apparently thirty-nine doctors were in on the original plan to pool their own resources and then raise additional

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9Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio, August 14, 1941.
11From the "Minutes" of the N.A.A.C.P. Hospital Committee meeting with representatives of the Cleveland Hospital Council, September 18, 1945.
12Cleveland News, Cleveland, Ohio, October 10, 1943.
funds to finance the building, but only nine got around to putting anything into the fund. Exactly why is not clear. It is clear, however, that the N.A.A.C.P. and other Negro organizations took a stand against it. The notable exception was the Future Outlook League, which came out in support of the hospital.

The N.A.A.C.P. took the position that Forest City Hospital, as it was to be called, would foster segregation by giving all the other hospitals a chance to refer all Negro patients to it. (Forest City Hospital was to have had a non-discriminatory policy according to its proponents.) The National Alliance of Postal Employees took much the same position. The Cleveland Industrial Union Council took a stand against the proposed hospital.13 Conversely the Future Outlook League, in a memorandum to the N.A.A.C.P., March 19, 1946, went on record as favoring the Hospital because, "Certain types of segregation have been tolerated and must continue to be tolerated until the Negro is both financially and economically able to throw the yoke off himself."

The minutes of the Hospital Committee meetings with the Cleveland Hospital Council, copies of which were made available to the writer by the N.A.A.C.P., reveal that there finally came to be almost unanimous disapproval of the construction of Forest City Hospital on the part of both white and Negro persons involved in the discussions, with the exception of the sponsors. Without approval of the Cleveland Hospital Council a fund-raising campaign was impossible, and so the plan was dropped.

13 From the "Minutes" of the Hospital Committee of the Cleveland Hospital Council, March 13, 1946.
In 1947, the Future Outlook League resorted to mass picketing and boycotting of stores and industries in the Negro areas which did not employ Negroes. In the case of the Dairy Industry, violence of a sort was resorted to when other methods seemed to fail. Milk trucks were overturned and bottles of milk smashed. These losses convinced the dairies of the wisdom of hiring Negro driver-salesmen to prevent further property damage. Many such salesmen now serve Negro areas. 14

It was in 1947 also that the city's first Negro chemist was hired for one of the water plants. 15

In 1948 representatives of the Urban League contacted 254 new employers in an effort to have them hire Negro workers. Sixteen complied. 16 After nearly a year of negotiations and conferences a news release made known to the general public the disposition of management and union—their willingness to employ Negroes as driver-salesmen in the major baking companies. This took place in 1948, and was the first time in the history of Cleveland that such an agreement was made with the major baking companies. Within three months there were seven Negro driver-salesmen, serving predominantly Negro areas. 17

In 1948 the Urban League investigated the situation in department stores and reported:

According to information obtained and to observation, the employment of Negroes in major department stores of Cleveland is confined

14 Marcus Battle, Community Organization and The Urban League, M. A. Thesis, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, May 1, 1950, p. 30.
15 Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio, May 22, 1947.
16 "Memo To The Budget Committee", The Urban League, Cleveland, no date.
17 Marcus Battle, op. cit., p. 32.
mainly to food service, custodial and labor jobs. The general picture indicates that there is an official or unofficial policy on the part of the large department stores to use white sales and clerical workers only. Irrespective of job classifications the overall employment of Negroes in the leading department stores of Cleveland is low.18

There were actually a few Negro women working as sales people in several of the large department stores, but apparently they were "passing." Just how many is unknown; several of the writer's respondents knew of three or four such cases, and in each of the cases the saleswomen were indistinguishable from a white person.

A report of the Urban League of Cleveland, Ohio, dated May 1949, gave the following picture:

Negroes constitute approximately 14.0% of the total number of foundry workers, 13.2% in non-ferrous metals, 17.0% in food and kindred establishments, 14.9% in construction work, 11.7% in transportation, 3.2% in Printing and Publishing, 31.9% in service, 1.3% in apparel, 1.5% in government, and 1.4% in public utilities.19

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE ORDINANCE AND AFTER

Cleveland is a cosmopolitan city. In 1930, only 27 per cent of the whites had native white parents, 39.1% per cent had foreign or mixed parentage, and 25.5 per cent of the total population of whites was foreign-born. The remaining eight per cent were Negro. In 1940, the percentage of whites with foreign-born parents was still 22.7.20

In 1951, there remain many neighborhoods known by the various terms for

18Committee on Department Store Employment, "Facts About The Integration Of Negroes In Department Stores," The Urban League, Cleveland, July, 1948.
19Made available by Shelton B. Granger, Director, Department of Industrial Relation, Cleveland Urban League.
ethnic groups, "Hunkie Town," "Little Italy," "Irish Town," "German
town," etc., and there are the usual neighborhood differences identi-
ifiable as religious, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Protestant,
Jewish, etc., all of which make for misunderstanding and tension. The
Negro population must be included in these identifiable groups.

It was in response to the needs of these minority groups that
the Community Relations Board was established by the City Council as a
department of the city, the first of its kind in the country, on
March 5, 1945. The Negro minority was just one of the many. The
stated function of the Community Relations Board was as follows:

...to promote amicable relations among the racial
and cultural groups within the community; to take
appropriate steps to deal with conditions which
strain relationships.  

The Cleveland News, April 14, 1945, saw the function of the
Community relations more narrowly, however, and stated:

...Selection of the new racial amity board came
at a time when the local problem needs real
attention.

Almost from the first, most of the complaints about discrimination
lodged with the Community Relations Board had to do with Negroes.

In 1947, Mayor Thomas A. Burke appointed a Law Committee to
hold hearings for the Community Relations Board on Employment
Discrimination. The hearings resulted in the following conclusions:

That discrimination in employment in manu-
facturing due to color affects at least (and at a
minimum) one out of every four job openings
available on an overall basis in Cleveland.

In certain occupational categories as retail
sales, professions such as engineering, accounting,
banking and journalism (and others) discrimination

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21 From a brochure published by the Community Relations Board.
due to color is virtually absolute to the point of exclusion. In certain trades, discrimination due to color is practiced with the sanction of union locals. Many union locals, however, particularly stress a non-discriminatory policy. While Negroes work in all the occupational categories, in many they are employed only by Negro-owned businesses.

The overall trend of Negro employment in manufacturing establishments has increased from slightly less than 1% in 1940 to slightly more than 8% in 1947. However indications are that the hiring of Negroes in most types of employment in manufacturing trades has declined markedly since W-J day. In other words, factories have in many instances retained Negro workers employed during the war but are hiring none or few, except in a menial capacity, at the present time.

Employer's organizations, while agreeing on the existence of racial discrimination in employment are opposed to legislative enactment prohibiting such discrimination.

Labor Union organizations also agree that racial discrimination in employment exists, and that some of their members encourage such discrimination, nevertheless, endorse legislative measures prohibiting such employment policies.

In selected companies following a policy of interracial employment, no difficulties of any lasting nature were encountered nor were any segregated facilities of any kind established to "avoid" problems.22

As a result of these findings, or, rather, armed with these findings, the Executive Director of the Community Relations Board, Frank W. Baldau, sent a report to the City Council January 29, 1948, setting forth the desirable features recommended for incorporation into an anti-discriminatory ordinance. This was not acted upon, however, until two years later; after much heated discussion in the City Council, a compromise was settled upon. The Chamber of Commerce proposed to the Legislative Committee of the City Council on December 1, 1948, a "Cooperative Employment Practices Plan."

A Committee on Employment Practices, composed of eight

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members appointed by the Mayor of Cleveland plus an equal number of employers designated by the Chamber of Commerce, was established to develop a voluntary program of fair employment practices for Cleveland employers in 1949.23

There are three Negro Councilmen on the City Council, one white who was elected from a "Negro" ward, and five other Councilmen from wards containing large numbers of Negroes, and so, when the voluntary plan failed to change the pattern of discriminatory practices, representatives of the Negro population again began agitating for an ordinance.

It is generally conceded that the voluntary Cooperative Employment Practices Plan did not eliminate discriminatory hiring practices in Cleveland, but did accomplish the following, according to the Ohio State Employment Service:

Greater cognizance of the problems of employment discrimination by labor, employers and the general public; some revision of employment application forms to eliminate reference to race, religious creed, color, national origin or ancestry; and deletion from help wanted ads and help requisitions discriminatory specifications in Cleveland newspapers.24

In December 1949, 57.2 per cent of the job orders and job openings (268 out of 468) at the Ohio State Employment Service office in Cleveland discriminated against Negroes.25 About two months later the City Council passed the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance, to become effective March 12, 1950.26

______________________________
24 Ibid., p. 3.
25 Ibid., p. 3, 4.
26 Ordinance Number 1579-48.
Industries which were utilizing Negro workers in January
1950, include: Iron and steel foundries, 41 per cent; Services, in-
cluding hotels, laundries, hospitals and building service, 25 per cent;
non-ferrous metals, 16 per cent; government, 19 per cent; transportation,
11 per cent; and wholesale and retail trade, including restaurants,
eight per cent. Relatively few Negroes were employed in the apparel,
textile, furniture, paper, petroleum, machinery, public utilities, and
finance, insurance and real estate industrial groups.\textsuperscript{27}

It seems well to include at this point the status of the Negro
in labor unions at the beginning of 1950, for labor unions came under
the new Fair Employment Practices Ordinance. Through constitutional
or ritual provisions or by tacit consent of the union membership, many
Negro workers are excluded from apprentice and employment opportunities
which are available to other workers. The following unions tended to
practice exclusionist policies:\textsuperscript{28}

1. Unions which excluded Negroes by provision in Ritual:
   Machinists, International Association of (A.F.L.)

2. Unions which excluded Negroes by provision in Constitutions:
   A.F.L. Affiliates:
   Airline Pilots Association
   Commercial Telegraphers Union
   Masters, Mates and Pilots, National Organization
   Railroad Telegraphers, Order of
   Railway Mail Association
   Switchmen's Union of North America
   Wire Weavers Protective Association, American

   Unaffiliated Organizations:
   Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of
   Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of
   Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of

\textsuperscript{27} Cleveland Report on Minority Groups, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., pp. 9, 10.
Railroad Yardmasters of America
Railroad Yardmasters of North America
Railway Conductors, Order of
Train Dispatchers' Association, American

3. Unions which habitually excluded Negroes by tacit consent:
A.F.L. Affiliates:
Asbestos Workers, Heat and Frost Insulators
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of
Flint Glass Workers Union, American
Granite Cutter, International Association of
Plumbers and Steamfitters, United Associates of Journeymen

4. Unions which afforded Negroes only segregated auxiliary status:
A.F.L. Affiliates:
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, Brotherhood of
Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Welders and Helpers,
Brotherhood of
Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood of
Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express
and Station Employees, Brotherhood of
Rural Letter Carriers, Federation of
Sheet Metal Workers, International Association of

Unaffiliated organizations:
Rural Letter Carriers Association
Railroad Workers, American Federation of

It will be observed that the majority of unions listed above
are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. While no affiliates
of the Congress of Industrial Organizations limit participation or employ-
ment of Negroes by constitutional or ritual provisions, there are a few
C.I.O. unions whose practices do not conform with the International's
non-discriminatory policies.

In the summer of 1951, according to the Director of the Department
of Industrial Relations of the Urban League in Cleveland, The Brotherhood
of Electrical Workers had accepted 38 Negroes. The Wood, Wire and Metal
Lathers Union had accepted two, the Plumbers and Steamfitters Association
had accepted 55, and a "few" had been accepted in Typographical Workers,
Bakery Drivers and Machinists local unions. The only C.I.O. local,
apparently, where there are no Negroes at all is the Brewery Workers Union.
Bar Tenders have had separate unions, but are now integrating.

Ten months after the Fair Employment Practice Ordinance became law, the Community Relations Board which had been charged with its administration made an "Interim Report." Excerpts from it follow:

Sixty-four cases of alleged discrimination in employment practices have been filed with the Community Relations Board between May and November. These have involved situations such as: discharge of wife due to race of husband; refusal to hire because of race; employment application blanks requesting information on applicant's race, religion, or national origin; segregation of employees due to race; and help-wanted ads designating race.

An interesting account of the way in which a discriminatory hiring policy has been eliminated involves a manufacturing concern in which management had indicated a willingness to hire Negro women as production workers but felt that the hostility of its white employees was a problem. Shortly after the passage of the FEP ordinance, the management had copies of the law posted on its employee bulletin boards, enlisted the cooperation of the union officers, and hired five colored girls for production work. For almost a week threats were made by some white employees of quitting. Both management and union remained firm, citing their responsibility under the law, and the gradual acceptance of the Negro employees soon took place. The company now has approximately thirty Negro women on production work and will hire any other qualified applicants who are referred.

Due directly to the educational and conciliation responsibility vested in the Community Relations Board, the following has been achieved in the past few months:

| Employment of some Negro sales and clerical employees in several Euclid and Prospect Avenue retail stores. |
| Elimination of discriminatory employment information from job application blanks by conference with employers and |

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29 "Interim Report on the Administration of the Cleveland FEP Law," by the Community Relations Board, Cleveland, Ohio, December 7, 1950, pp. 1-3.
employment agencies and through cooperative action with employer organizations and Western Reserve University Business Administration Department. Interpretation of responsibilities of industrial and business employers in maintaining non-discrimination policies through group conferences and one institute sponsored by Western Reserve University.

In addition to the broadened employment policies resulting from investigation and conciliation of complaints, an encouraging number of employers have voluntarily revised their employment policies because of awareness of the municipal fair hiring law.

For example, several branch offices and plants of nationally known corporations have, within the past six weeks, added minority group employees to their office or production force, although previous efforts by community agencies had never been able to change these hiring policies. The agencies, principally the Urban League and O.S.E.S., report that their efforts in "selling employers on well-qualified minority group applicants meet with frequent success" and credit the passage of the fair hiring ordinance with the change in attitude.

The achievements cited in the foregoing paragraphs should not be interpreted as indicating that employment discrimination has disappeared as a factor in Cleveland's labor market. Our experience is based on contact with or knowledge of less than one hundred employers. It is estimated that thirty-six hundred employers of twelve or more persons operate within the corporate limits of Cleveland and are potentially subject to the FEP law.

Another sign of the changing practice of employers comes from the files of the Urban League. January through October, 1950, there were at least 49 new job openings for Negroes. This means that for the first time Negroes were upgraded to hitherto closed work categories, or new firms accepted Negroes for the first time. Twenty-one of these 49 were with concerns accepting Negroes for the first time.30

The same "Special Bulletin," however, warned that although it

would appear that considerable progress had been made in job development and opportunities for Negroes in Cleveland during the year, their files contained numerous examples pointing to the contrary. The author went on to state that in many cases it was racial identification that was the obstructing factor. The evidence, he contended, was found largely in two observations:

1. The number of persons employed below and outside their skills and abilities, as:
   a. Clerks working in menial capacities
   b. College graduates (male working as messengers, receptionists, etc.,)
   c. The industrial engineer trained at Purdue University working in the storeroom of an insurance company.
   d. The experienced newspaper reporter and columnist working as utility man in a production plant.
   e. The Case Institute graduate (June 1950) with degree in electrical engineering who had to work as delivery boy at Shaker Food Town until last week when he entered industry as a maintenance worker.
   f. The WRU graduate (June 1950) with degree Master of Business Administration, who served as a teaching assistant in WRU's Department of Industry for one year, and who, after all his classmates had found placements in industry, was forced to accept a teaching position in New Orleans, La.

2. Unemployed persons who have skills and training desired by current employers including key punch operators, welders, operators, laboratory technicians, retail clerks, personnel workers of various levels, dieticians, salesmen, machine operators, and production workers of various levels.31

It is also probable that the placement of 21 Negroes with concerns formerly closed to them represents most of the Negroes getting into such new openings. This cannot be stated categorically, but the Urban League has a very fine reputation for social wisdom and cooperation

31Ibid., p. 3.
in Cleveland. In the last decade they have helped many employers, short of help, and trying Negroes in new positions, secure the best qualified for the position. Still more important, they have taken the prospective employee and schooled him thoroughly in what to expect and how to conduct himself. Because of this thorough preparation and the careful choosing of personnel for new openings, most of these openings have been filled with a minimum of friction between employees. The new Negro employee has to endure about a week of intense harassment, but if he survives that, the atmosphere gradually returns to "normal." One interesting phenomenon in connection with new openings is the almost inevitable request to the Urban League for light-skinned Negroes, and, in the case of females, for "good looking" ones.

By April, 1951, there appeared to be some significant gains in the procurement of jobs in areas traditionally having few Negroes.\textsuperscript{32} Negroes as per cent of the total employed changed thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Group</th>
<th>September, 1950</th>
<th>April, 1951</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apparel</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone, Clay and Glass</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabricated Metal Products</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery, Non-electrical</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical Machinery</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation Equipment</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Non-Manufacturing}

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether it represents a permanent change in the pattern of discrimination or, rather, a tightening labor market is not clear, but

\textsuperscript{32}From "Race Composition of Employees of Selected Employers Reporting to Ohio State Employment Service," Ohio State Employment Service, Cleveland, Ohio, April, 1951.
between January 1, and May 31, 1951, the Urban League received orders for workers which more than doubled those of the previous year during the same period.\footnote{\textit{Trends and Reports,} The Urban League, Cleveland, Ohio, June 1951.}

**THE CHANGING PATTERN**

It is the opinion of the writer that the status of the Negro has improved greatly since the Fair Employment Practice Ordinance became effective. It grows out of impressions which cannot be proven with statistical data, but the writer believes the ordinance has helped in two ways: 1) by giving employers with non-discriminatory ideals a satisfactory reason for disregarding the prejudice of employees already working, and 2) by giving employers who have no such ideals, but need workers to make more money, a satisfactory reason for employing Negroes. Each can cite the law as proof of why he must hire Negroes.

Whether the above be true or not, there are unmistakable signs of improved economic opportunity for the Negro. A few illustrations will be cited below. These are in addition to the new openings already cited in the discussion of labor unions.\footnote{Information secured from the Urban League, and the Community Relations Board, Cleveland, Ohio.}

Cleveland's first Negro Electrical Inspector was appointed in the summer of 1951. This was made possible only in 1950, because it was only then that the electrical union admitted Negroes, and union membership is mandatory for an Electrical Inspector.

Cleveland's first two Negro women pharmacists to be employed by a large concern managed by whites secured positions in 1951.
In December, 1950, only three department stores had Negroes in sales or clerical positions. At least one Negro was working in sales or clerical departments in each of the large department stores in the summer of 1951. These represent new openings and are in addition to the few who have been working there for years, but were "passing."

Two garment manufacturers who formerly conducted segregated shops had abandoned the practice, and, in addition, two other major employers in the garment industry had employed Negro power machine operators for the first time in 1951.

One of Cleveland's newest large employers in 1951 was the Cadillac Tank Plant. Although more than half of the first applications for work filed were by Negroes, none were hired outside custodial categories in the early months of hiring. Skilled and technical workers with good work records were passed up. However, management has since changed this practice and by summer of 1951, there was at least one Negro in most of the categories requiring skilled workmen.

One of the most interesting and revealing illustrations of Negro status, and, at the same time, most revealing of the effect of the Fair Employment Practice Ordinance, is the story of the Yellow Cab Company.

The Yellow Cab Company is the owner of the Zone Cab Company and its subsidiary, the City Cab Company. Ostensibly there are three cab companies operating in Cleveland, but actually there is a monopoly. The City Cab Company had all Negro drivers and there were only white

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drivers in the other companies prior to November 2, 1950. This segregation included more than assignment to particular cabs.

City Cab drivers have been hampered by a series of restrictions on their operations that have not been experienced by employees of the other companies. Some examples are: (1) A City Cab taking a fare to the Municipal Airport cannot secure a passenger for the return trip. (2) At the Union Station, City Cabs are permitted to pick up Negro passengers only and cannot wait in line at the same stand as other cabs. (3) Cab stands outside of the area of the city primarily populated by Negroes are "off limits" to City Cabs. (4) All telephone calls for service are handled through the central switchboard of the Yellow Cab Company and operators frequently question callers as to whether a City Cab "would be acceptable" (thereby leaving the impression that under normal circumstances City Cabs are not desirable. (5) City Cab drivers claim that the dispatching system at the central switchboard grants leaving only "overflow or unwanted" orders for City Cab service. (6) The use of radio cabs has apparently proven to be an asset to the Yellow Cab Company as evidenced by their continued use. Nevertheless, City Cabs have never had the benefit of such services enjoyed by both Yellow and Zone Cabs. (7) Inadequate and separate sanitary facilities are provided for City Cab drivers.36

After many conferences with Yellow Cab and Taxicab Drivers Union representatives, the Urban League failed to get a change in the situation, so prepared and filed a complaint with the Community Relations Board under provisions of the F.E.P. Ordinance, June 30, 1950. As a result of action by the Community Relations Board, six City Cab drivers were transferred to Yellow Cabs. They were, however, assigned to Negro neighborhoods.37 The Director of Industrial Relations of the Urban League stated, during an interview in June 1951, that there were 104 Negro drivers on Zone and Yellow Cabs—a substantial change in the pattern.

37 Ibid., p. 3.
CITY GOVERNMENT

Since 1934, when the City of Cleveland adopted a Civil Service Code, there has been no record kept that would distinguish between white and Negro personnel. In the absence of a more accurate source of data, the writer had to resort to interviews. It was quickly apparent that white directors of departments were unwilling to discuss the matter at all, so the writer turned to interested organizations, such as the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Community Relations Board, and to Negroes in places of responsibility in the city government, particularly a member of the Civil Service Commission, and an Assistant Law Director. It is generally believed among these and other Negro leaders interviewed that Negroes have their share of the jobs furnished by the City.38

In the important positions in the City Government it is easy to ascertain exact data. Everyone knows the few Negroes by name. In the Department of Law there is one Negro Assistant Director out of 14. He was appointed about 18 years ago and has served continuously since. In the Criminal Branch, there is one Negro Assistant Prosecutor out of 16.

The Civil Service Commission is comprised of three members. One of them is a Negro, and is President of the Commission. He served three terms as City Councilman and has been on the Civil Service Commission since 1934. He disclaims any credit for the change, but he

38For number of personnel in various departments, vid., The City Record, Official Publication of the City of Cleveland, January 31, 1951, pp. 156-257.
recalled, during an interview, that in 1928 one could count all the Negroes in City Hall on one hand. At that time there were many Negroes working for the city but most of them were at garbage collection. He also recalled that the first Negro who took the Civil Service test got to do so only after much "string pulling" and persuasion.

There are 15 Municipal Court Judges. One of them is a Negro. He was first appointed in 1942, and ran for the office in 1943, but was not elected. He ran for election again in 1945, won, and has served continuously since. He is highly esteemed by both the white and Negro population. Other branches of the Municipal Government and the number of Negroes holding positions is given in Table 5.

Table 5. Negroes in the Municipal Government of Cleveland, Ohio in 1950.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Total Number of Positions</th>
<th>Number Occupied by Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of Law, Civil Branch</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Law, Criminal Branch</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Service Commission</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Court Judge</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Court Clerks</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bailiffs</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing and Wrestling Commission</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Councilors</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board of Appeals (Zoning)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probation Officers</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One Negro has been a switchboard operator in the Division of Light and Power, Department of Public Utilities for years. At first he had the title of Junior Electrical Switchboard operator, but was not allowed to function because the Union would not recognize him. About twelve years ago, during Frank Lausche's mayoralty, the matter was
straightened out, and since then Crawford has moved up to Senior and, finally, to one of four Chief Electrical Switchboard Operators. Besides the chief operators, there are 1½ Senior and 22 Junior operators.

Prior to 1942, it was the custom to have Negro patrolmen serve one to two years and then assign them to detective duty in the Negro areas. Detective duty—an assignment, not rank grade—carried a Lieutenant's pay, and so most of the patrolmen were satisfied and never attempted to get promotion in rank by way of Civil Service examination. The few who did take the examination were turned down for physical reasons. The Department was reorganized in 1942, however, and the policy changed. In 1945 or 1946 the first Negro got promoted to Sergeant. Now there are five Negro Sergeants, four of whom have college educations, and, it is believed, can qualify for promotion.

A significant change has taken place in the last year or so. A few Negro officers have been assigned duty directing traffic in other than Negro districts. The practice of assigning Negro Patrolmen to Negro districts remains, but any experiment in the direction of change is considered important to Negro leaders. The writer has never seen a Negro patrolman serving in the downtown business district during the last three years, but has every reason to believe the accuracy of this information concerning a few Negro officers being given assignments outside Negro districts. In Central Area, white officers are seldom seen.

There were, in the summer of 1951, four Negro policewomen in a Women's Bureau of 35.

In the City Government's clerical jobs there were estimated to be 75-100 Negroes in the summer of 1951.

In the Division of Streets, where Negroes have traditionally
served, a large number of Negroes were working in the summer of 1951. The exact number is unknown, for reasons already cited, but it is believed by Negro leaders who make a point of keeping up with the Negro's progress that most of their share of the City Government's jobs are in the Division of Streets. Garbage Collection and Maintenance comprise most of the assignments.

The other area where Negroes share significantly in the City Government's jobs is in the Transit System. There are approximately 4,300 people employed in the Transit System, of whom approximately 700 are Negro.

The Transit System is important for another reason. In 1942 when the City took it over, it was considered "white" above the maintenance jobs. In 1951 there were many Negro motormen on streetcars, but usually with white conductors. On the busses, however, there were many Negro Driver—Conductors, and it was not too unusual to see one assigned to an area predominantly white.

PROFESSIONAL AND SELF-EMPLOYED NEGROES

There are approximately 2,500 attorneys listed in the Cleveland Telephone Directory for 1951. There are 41 Negro attorneys in Cleveland, comprising around 1.6 per cent of the total number of attorneys in the city. Of these 41, one is a Municipal Judge, three are City Councilmen, one is a former State Senator, two are former State Representatives, one is a former member of the State Parole Board, one is a member of the

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39 Information taken from The Official Business and Professional Directory of Cleveland, Ohio, 1941, C. M. Kynette, Editor and Publisher, Cleveland, Ohio. (A Negro Publication and considered essentially accurate for 1951).
City Civil Service Commission, one is Assistant Law Director, one is Assistant County Prosecutor, and one is Assistant Police Prosecutor.

There are approximately 1,575 physicians and surgeons (M.D.) listed in the Cleveland Telephone Directory for 1951. Of this number 42, or 2.6 per cent, are Negro.

There are approximately 1,000 dentists listed in the Cleveland Telephone Directory, 28 of them Negro—2.3 per cent.

Of the approximately 1,000 Protestant Clergymen listed in the 1951 Cleveland Telephone Directory, 92 are Negro Clergymen, 9.2 per cent of the total.

There are 2,600 members in District 4, Ohio State Nurses Association, but Negro Nurses are not included for they are not allowed to join in Cleveland. There are, however, about 100 Negro Nurses, or 3.7 per cent of the total. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was preparing legal action to force District 4 to admit Negro Nurses in the summer of 1951.

According to information obtained through interviews, only four of Cleveland's 11 hospitals which train professional nurses will accept Negro trainees or Trained Nurses. Only one of the four has been doing so for long—since the early 1930's, and of the other three, the first one to break the all-white rule, did so in 1945. The second one to break the rule did so under pressure from a United States Congresswoman, who is also a donor of considerable importance to that hospital

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40 A letter to the N.A.A.C.P., and made available by the Cleveland Branch, from Dorothy I. Hyde, Attorney for District 4.
41 Source: Mrs. Madge Jackson, Industrial Field Secretary, The Urban League, Cleveland, Ohio.
42 Call and Post, Cleveland, Ohio, June 9, 1951.
(or so it is believed at the Cleveland Branch of the Urban League).

Whatever the reasons, it is unmistakably clear that Negroes have not yet been able to achieve equal economic status with the white population. The foregoing findings, however, do seem to indicate an unstable status relationship and a gradually improving opportunity for the Negroes of Cleveland.
CHAPTER III
THE RIGHT TO OWN A HOME ANYWHERE

The second most important item on the list of what the Cleveland Negro wants is decent housing and the right to own a home anywhere. In every interview which the writer has had with Negro leaders, housing has been cited as a major Negro problem. There has been a housing shortage in Cleveland since 1940 for both white and colored, but it has been more acute for the colored population for reasons which the following pages will reveal.

A large part of the housing problem appears to be economic, and one common to any group migrating from a rural setting to an industrial city. In the case of the Negro, however, other social factors came to play an important part.

In 1910, there were 8,418 Negroes in Cleveland, 1.5 per cent of the total population. Of this number, 58.1 per cent lived in Central Area, a section of the city comprised of twenty-three census tracts (see Appendix II), while the balance of the Negro population was scattered throughout the city in small numbers. (Seventy-one of the 206 Census tracts had no Negroes, 53 had four or less, 37 had from five to 19, 12 had from 20 to 39, and 11 had from 40 to 69. The rest of the Negro population was concentrated in 23 Census tracts.)¹

It seems possible that there was no strict policy of segregation in 1910, for although 58.4 per cent of the Negro population lived in Central Area, they comprised only 5.3 per cent of the area's population.²

²Ibid., p. 107.
World War I and the stepped-up industrial program brought Cleveland a problem well described by former State Senator Harry E. Davis in his *History of the Negro in Cleveland* (not yet published):

War industries—induced a mass movement of colored workers into Cleveland which almost completely submerged the older elements of the colored population. Industry sent agents into the South to recruit labor, and they were brought to Cleveland in carloads. Many of them came with only the clothing they were wearing with no preparation for housing, and with little idea of the problems they must inevitably encounter.3

Persons interviewed by the writer stated that agents would approach Negroes loafing around railroad stations in small southern towns, tell them of the opportunities in Cleveland and "hand them a ticket to Cleveland." One informant, a prominent Negro minister felt that some of the social problems of the 1920's grew out of the presence of a large number of "loafer" types.

Be that as it may, the Negro population in Cleveland increased 26,003 in the decade between 1910 and 1920, and as their numbers increased, so did the degree of concentration in Central Area. In 1920, Negroes were 21.0 per cent of the total population in Central Area and 73.2 per cent of the Negro population was concentrated in the Central Area.4

The concentration of Negroes in Central Area continued for the next two decades. In 1930, 61.2 per cent of the Central Area population was Negro, and 82.4 per cent of the total Negro population resided there.5

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By this time the Negro population had grown to 71,899, 8.0 per cent of the total Cleveland population. In 1940, the Negro population had increased to 84,504, 9.6 per cent of the total population. Eighty-two per cent were in Central Area, comprising 71.1 per cent of the total population in the area. So, in thirty years Central Area changed from an area whose population was 5.3 per cent Negro to one whose Negro population was 71.1 per cent of the total.

While Central Area was gradually becoming a "Negro Area," its houses were gradually becoming slum dwellings. In a period of fifty years, Central Area changed from an area of fine homes to an area of worn out homes. Smoke and dirt carried from the oil refineries and steel mills in the flats along the Cuyahoga River have taken their toll. The extension of industrial areas along the railroads and the extension of food terminals and warehouses have seriously affected the desirability of the area for residential purposes. The original owners have long since left the area, and a succession of European groups have occupied many of the homes before moving on to be assimilated into the rest of Cleveland. At the same time, land prices and methods of municipal financing tended to force constantly greater usage of the property to secure income from it. Since the renters were low-income groups, increased revenue could be secured in only one way, a doubling-up of the families using the property. As is usually the case in such a situation the houses were allowed to deteriorate.

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7 Ibid., p. 709.
8 Research Committee, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, The Central Area Social Study, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, July 1944, pp. 43, 44.
One unique factor, among the many which have played a part in the deterioration of the Area, and the one which distinguishes it from other deteriorating areas, is the fact that Central Area is not only the place Negroes do live, but inferentially, it is the place where most of them must live. Consequently, all cultural levels of Negro peoples live in the Area. 9

Practically all housing construction stopped during World War II, and between 1946 and 1950 only 12 new family units were built in Central Area. There is a bright spot in the picture, however. Two slum-clearance projects in 1937, Cedar Apartments and Outhwaite Homes, and Carver Park Apartments built as a war workers' housing project in the 1940's, have a total of 1,429 family units which house low-income families. There will be more about public housing later. It is sufficient to state here that in the public Housing units safeguards are taken to prevent overcrowding, hence families displaced during their construction had to move into other low rent housing and relatively few of them got into the public housing units. Two hundred seventy families were dislocated for the construction of Cedar Apartments' 650 units, of whom 81.9 per cent moved into other parts of Central Area. Central Area residents filled most of these units when finished. 10 The Carver Park apartments got none from Central Area.

The 4th Annual Report of the Central Area Community Council, 1947, gives a dreary report:

Overcrowding in Central Area means that as many as 24 families live in homes built to accommodate one family; as many as 31 people share a

9Ibid., p. 45.
single bathroom and kitchen; there is hardly a third floor attic that is unoccupied. Families with growing children live in basements, garages, or piled up on their neighbors. Over 100,000 people in Central Areas are squeezed and jammed into old, worn-out, unsafe and unsightly dwellings. Absentee landlords hold houses for speculation and not for the welfare of the people.\textsuperscript{11}

The foregoing report does not exaggerate actual conditions. The dwelling with 24 families in it, cited above, had 5\textsuperscript{1/2} persons in it. Average rental was $27.00 per month, producing $3,400 a year income for the owner.\textsuperscript{12}

The same issue of \textit{Call and Post}, from which these facts were gained, carried a story about a one-floor store divided into "one-room suites," eight by ten feet each, and renting at $25.00 to $30.00 per "suite." One family in this building had four children.

The Community Areas Council has a collection of hundreds of pictures of Central Area dwellings, inside and out, taken by the \textit{Call and Post} and the Fire Department. These pictures show almost unbelievable deterioration and poverty and have been shown to groups throughout the city in an effort to stimulate concern for the area in the mind of the general public, and particularly to foster sentiment for more slum-clearance projects and public housing. So far the effort has been in vain.

There are thousands of units illegally converted for multiple occupancy in defiance of every code of the city of Cleveland pertaining to housing. There are also hundreds which have been condemned by the city as unfit for habitation, yet are still occupied.\textsuperscript{13} It was an article in the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[11]\textit{Ibid.}, p. 3.
\item[12]\textit{Call and Post}, March 29, 1947.
\item[13]From a statement made by Mrs. Clayborne George, representing the Central Areas Community Council before the Joint Senate-House Committee Investigating Housing, Cleveland, October 12, 1947.
\end{footnotes}
News about such a group of dwellings that carried the headline, "East Side Squalor Section, City's Shame Threatens Welfare of 12,000 Citizens."²

The Cleveland Press, which specializes in spectacular news and human interest stories, conducted an editorial and feature article campaign in June of 1951 exposing the unsafe and unsanitary conditions existing in sections of Central Area and urging the Fire Inspectors to enforce the city codes. The problem lies, however, not in the Fire Department's indifference to city ordinances, but in its adjustment to the facts. There is nowhere for these people to go. The result of the Press' Campaign is clearly depicted in the following article:

Residents of Cleveland's Central Area, hard-pressed by the combined evils of high rents and ramshackle dwellings, so tightly overcrowded that when they are vacated from a building to safeguard their lives they must sleep in the police station, will get more attention from the Mayor's office in their present plight, but face a bleak future. Nor is there very much hope in sight for any serious improvement in their present dwellings so unsafe and unsanitary that civic leaders have been fighting for many months to get the City to at least give them regular inspections.

This was the discouraging result Friday of an emergency meeting called in the office of Mayor Thomas Burke, at which the city's chief executive and several other officials expressed their utter helplessness of a growing housing crisis which reached its climax last week when sixty families were evicted from two buildings and three days later had found nowhere to move.¹²

In October 1949, there were the following numbers and types of dwellings in Central Area:

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¹⁵Call and Post, June 9, 1951.
Table 6. Numbers and Types of Dwellings in Central Area of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1949*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dwelling</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent of City total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One-family</td>
<td>3,472</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-family, side by side</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-family, up and down</td>
<td>1,622</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row Houses, Terraces</td>
<td>1,245</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flats over Stores</td>
<td>2,504</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Family</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment Buildings</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Dwellings</td>
<td>2,762</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A study of Central Area affords only a partial picture of the status of Negro housing, though to the Cleveland Negro its existence and his difficulty in getting out of it has caused much bitterness.

The fact is that while the Central Area has had an increased concentration of Negroes, other areas of the city have gradually been reclassified as "Negro Areas" by an expansion of the areas within Central Area occupied by Negroes, and by invasion of residential sections outside Central Area.

The general pattern of expansion and invasion has been to follow the Jewish population as it left one area for another. The first and the general direction of Negro population movement was east along the streets already containing Negroes, out as far as 105th Street, then to areas contingent upon Central Area, and finally by expanding small pockets of Negroes in areas where they have been for many years.

The area known as the Hough Area is one of the sections contingent to Central Area where Negroes have found homes. Hough Area is bounded by Euclid Avenue on the south, East 55th Street on the west, Superior Avenue...
on the north, and 105th Street on the east. Its census tracts are L-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and R-6, 9. The proportion of Negroes there is still small, but increasing.

Hough Area, although largely residential, has been profoundly affected by the movements of business and industry of Greater Cleveland. It lies within a zone of deteriorating buildings and consequent devaluation of real estate values. The result has been a general exodus of owners to better residential areas and a turning over of homes to low-income groups, and, in recent years, to newcomers to Cleveland. Some sections of the area have long been characterized as boarding house or "apartment" areas, while others have housed low-income families with relatively large numbers of children. War-time housing shortages and increased population resulted in accentuated congestion of housing. Conversion of one family dwellings into multiple dwellings has been the major building activity there in recent years.17

The Kinsman-East 79th Street Area, including Census Tracts N-3, 6, 7, 8 and T-1, is an already deteriorated area. It represents a southeast thrust of the Negro population and it, too, is contiguous to Central Area. The area is still predominantly white, but in two of the five census tracts, Negroes outnumber whites. In all there is a trend toward increase in the Negro population. Because it is a low rent area, many Negro newcomers have settled there. The relationship between white and Negro show the strains common to areas where one population is displacing another.18

The Glenville Area, including Census Tracts K-9, P-4, 5, 6 and

18 Ibid., p. 10.
R-1, 2, 3, 5, is divided by 105th Street running north and south. All of the area is in the upper half of the rental range, and several of the tracts contain very fine homes. Many of the more successful Negro families live in Glenville Area. Four of the tracts, P-4, 5, and R-1 and 2 are now more than half Negro.

The Mount Pleasant Area, including Census Tracts S-8, T-7 and 8, is a section of predominantly two-family dwellings, and again is in the upper half of the rental range. It is considered a desirable neighborhood among Negroes. Although white predominate slightly in two of the tracts, the area is now considered "Negro."

There is one other small section which should be described. It lies isolated in the south-eastern corner of the city in Census Tract V-2. The Negro population grew more than fivefold between 1940 and 1948, and lives, for the most part, in temporary housing. There is a large amount of industry there and the section has come to have a bad reputation among the better class of Negroes. They look upon it as a slum transplanted.

In general the expansion, or invasion, of the Negro population has been into areas of much better housing. Homes increase in value and attractiveness as the Central Area extends east toward 105th Street. The same is generally true in the Hough Area. The Glenville Area and the Census Tracts along 105th Street are in the upper rental range and have many desirable dwellings. The same is true of the Mount Pleasant Area.

Not all the streets in census tracts where Negroes are listed have Negro homes on them. A strenuous effort is made by white home owners to resist or contain the invasion of Negroes, and the effort is aided by the policies and practices of financial and real estate concerns. Where the attempt to buy a home on a "white" street is successful, it is usually
through subterfuge—getting a white friend to buy the house or by paying an exorbitant price. The writer has interviewed numbers of Negro home owners who have bought homes in the more desirable sections, and, in every case, these conditions have held. A few case histories will perhaps better illustrate the situation.

An outstanding minister of one of the large Negro churches decided he wanted to get out of Central Area. He knew where he wanted to go—out in the Mount Pleasant area, and not in the section assigned to the few Negroes there. No white home owner would sell to him, even though the house had a "for sale" sign out front. No real estate agent would secure a home for him. He finally got a white friend to buy for him the home which he wanted. The result was a frenzied attempt of the other white home owners to sell.

Another case which came to the writer's attention is that of a very successful Negro publisher. He wished to buy a house on a street classified as "white." He wished to finance $10,000 of the total cost of the home and so he called upon the banker from whom he could ordinarily get a $20,000 business loan on a moment's notice. The banker would not loan him a cent on the house he desired, but would loan him money to buy in "Negro" neighborhoods. The money finally came from a Negro insurance company.

Still another case is that of a prominent leader in a national Negro organization. He and several friends wished to buy a five-family apartment house on a "white" street. They had three-fourths of the $40,000 cost price, and tried to borrow the other $10,000. No bank would do business with them in spite of the gilt-edged mortgage. They finally bought, but had to get the money from Negro sources.

The Executive Secretary of another national Negro organization
was the first Negro to buy on his street. He bought through a white friend also. It was "not for sale" to him.

One of Cleveland's outstanding surgeons, a professor in a large Cleveland University, a Negro, tried to buy in a very desirable "white" district. No one would sell to him. He finally paid cash (reputedly $50,000) and bought the home through a white friend. Immediately the doctor received all manner of threats, but he moved in anyway. On the first night of his occupancy somebody placed a stick of dynamite under the porch. Police were called and no further violence was perpetrated, but threats and harassment continued for some time. That street of fine homes is now almost solidly Negro.

Another illustration of collusion and violence to prevent Negroes from building in "white" areas is the case of a law firm messenger who was also preparing for the bar. He bought a piece of property in the "Heights" through a white friend. The white friend conducted all the financing and construction of the home. The home was nearly completed before the Negro appeared on the scene and let it be known he would be the occupant. Then the neighborhood went "up in arms." When the Negro insisted on his rights, the house was set on fire one night. The Building and Loan Association cancelled the loan and the law firm discharged the messenger. It was only after a lawsuit, which the court decided in favor of the Building and Loan Association's right to cancel the loan, that the Negro got any of his money back. The lawyer who handled the suit and gave the writer this case history, almost had a riot on his own street when he bought into a "white" street just a few blocks from other Negro homes.

The last illustration which will be cited is that of a Negro educator in a Cleveland college. He and his wife were living in a three-room apartment and decided to buy a house. There was nothing available
to them which could be rented. They went first to the banks and were
given discouragement in buying a home. They then called upon a Real
Estate Broker and told him their desire, about the size house they wanted
and the approximate price range. They were shown a number of houses which
were listed as "for sale to Negroes," but all of them were too large for
their taste. They saw a house advertised in the newspaper at $10,000, and
although it was more than they wished to pay, the wife went out to look at
it. The wife is quite light in color, and, in fact, is thought to be white
by many people. She was cordially received by the owner of the house.
She liked the house, and left after telling the owner that her husband
would be out to see the property the next day. When the husband arrived
next day, the owner, recognizing unmistakable negroid physical traits,
refused to let him see the house. She frankly stated that she could not
sell to a Negro.

Finally, the professor and his wife found a small home in a
neighborhood partly settled by Negroes. Whites were living in the home,
and so they did not try to investigate the inside of it. Instead, they
called the real estate broker. It happened that he had the house listed,
but he discouraged them. He told them the house was in the $8,000 to
$8,500 class and that they could finance only about a half of the cost. The
professor then asked the broker about Federal Housing Authority loans and
was told Negroes could not get them. It happened that the professor had
a friend in the Cleveland office of the F.H.A., and so he turned there
next. The friend interceded for him and the F.H.A. made an appraisal of
the house at approximately $5,000. Acting independently of the real estate
broker, the professor bought the house for $5,500, made a large down payment
and financed the balance through the F.H.A. Incidentally, it is widely
believed that this was one of the first, if not the first F.H.A. loan to
a Negro in Cleveland. This took place in 1944. There were subsequent loans to Negroes by the F.H.A. but Negro leaders are unanimous in accusing this agency of following the same principles as the banks in maintaining Negro segregation.

Bankers apparently make no attempt to hide their discriminatory loan practices and at least one successful Negro who was interviewed agrees with their wisdom. This respondent secured a loan to build a three-story brick building in Central Area, the building to have offices for two dentists on the first floor and apartments on the upper floors. The respondent, himself a dentist, when first visited by the writer, had patients in each of three chairs. This fact is beside the point, though it does suggest a lucrative practice. At the time he secured his loan, he inquired of the banker concerning discriminatory loan practices and was told quite frankly that it was simply good business. They had to safeguard mortgages and the investment of their mortgagees. If Negroes move into a "white" neighborhood, real estate values go down and "everybody loses money."

These accusations have been made openly, as for instance in statements made by both the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People before the Joint Senate and House Committee on Housing, meeting in Cleveland, October 21, 1947.

A further inventory into the situation reveals that methods of restrictive financial practices by our leading agencies such as banks, real estate and loan associations, real estate boards, etc., limit loans to Negroes, lower their appraisals on property Negroes desire to purchase, refuse loans in certain neighborhoods, and otherwise make it extremely difficult for members of this race to become home owners...The play of local custom must carry a strong responsibility for this condition out of which grows many social, personal and other problems that the community at large must wrest with.

An additional handicap faced by potential Negro
home purchasers has very strong economic implications. Although in the consumer market Negroes are generally able to exercise their purchasing powers in a free market situation, this is not true in housing. Because of the marginal character of housing, its ownership borders on many social as well as economic conditions. Reference is being made here to the use of restrictive covenants serving to further limit the housing market to Negro buyers.19

We would like not only to focus attention on the ugly slum conditions in Cleveland, high rents, inflated purchase prices, and ghettos but also on the forces which create them. Gentlemen, you must be aware of the discriminatory practices of the real estate board, the home builders, the building and loan associations and the mortgage investors. These agencies have been the instruments through which restricted areas have been maintained with an amazing pattern of exactness. Insurance Companies have refused coverage on properties within the area designated as "Negro." Abnormal bank appraisals in relation to prospective home buyers set tone for discriminatory practices. Restrictive agreements between real estate dealers and slanted merchant's credit reports are part of the whole picture which relegate Negroes new to city living into slum and restricted areas as a first step in their urbanization. Racial tensions mount under such conditions. Not only have Negro families doubled up, but they have been forced to live in unsightly quarters which would normally be demolished as unfit for human habitation. The Jim Crow practice in housing is becoming so common that even government policies have served as devices to strengthen residential segregation. The Federal Housing Administration followed a pattern strikingly similar to private agencies in one of its Underwriter Manuals. To quote the particular manual, "deed restrictions should be imposed upon all land in the immediate environs of the subject location" and "prohibitions of occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended!..Moral suasion and oral persuasion on private enterprise to voluntarily lift restrictions on low-cost homes has failed completely. There is still an iron

19 Sheldon B. Granger, "Statement of the Urban League of Cleveland before the Joint Congressional Committee on Housing, October 21, 1947" (Cleveland, 1947), p. 2.
band around the purchase of property in desirable residential areas.\textsuperscript{20}

The owner—editor of the Call and Post, Cleveland's leading Negro weekly paper, suggested during an interview that three kinds of segregation should be discussed under the housing problems of Negroes: segregation in homes available for purchasing, segregation in the allocation of public housing units, and segregation practices when construction companies try to get financing to build for Negroes. He blamed the latter as the main reason so few Negroes have secured new homes.

The situation is not clear as to just what Negro occupancy does to the value of property adjoining and in the vicinity of his residence. It is clear that the value is decreased drastically so far as whites are concerned, but its actual dollar value seems to be greatly increased initially. Other Negroes, house-hungry, are willing to pay premium prices for these newly available residences, and usually do.

Certain real estate brokers have wide reputations for dealing in this kind of business, at least one Negro realtor among them. They approach all the white neighbors of Negro home owners and offer to secure purchasers willing to pay, sometimes thousands of dollars over the market value.

One Negro doctor, whose wife is quite light in color, reported to the writer a number of instances where his wife priced property. A day or two later a darker woman was sent to look at the property and she was given a price $5,000 to $10,000 higher. Such practices, plus the

\textsuperscript{20} Clifford E. Minton, "Statement of the Cleveland Branch N.A.A.C.P. before Subcommittee of the Joint Senate and House Committee on Housing, October 21, 1947," The N.A.A.C.P., (Cleveland, 1947).
discriminatory financial practices, make it extremely difficult for most of the Negro population to purchase homes, even in neighborhoods marginal to "Negro" areas.

PUBLIC HOUSING

The city of Cleveland has 5,179 low-income housing units. According to the Director of the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority and Chairman of the City Planning Commission, the closest estimate possible is that 40-45 per cent, or 2,400-2,500 of the units have Negro families in them. The reason for the estimate is twofold. No records are kept which indicate race of the occupant and there are frequent changes in occupants. Actually this is about the percentage of Cleveland's public housing located in Central Area. Forty-two and five-tenths per cent of the units provided in public housing are in the Central Area. The Director stated, however, that allocation of Public Housing dwelling units was on the basis of need, hence the Negro proportion was four times as high as the Negro population ratio for that reason. The financial circumstances which make a family eligible for a public housing unit are these: $2,000 maximum income, plus $200 for each minor dependent. Income can go up $600 before the occupant is asked to leave.

The worst complaint which Negroes interviewed had to make about public housing was segregation and too few units. They resented the perpetuation of social practices already established in the city, and, of course, public housing is the one hope of the many low-income families. According to respondents in a position to know, whites and Negroes are strictly segregated in the housing units and several of the Public Housing developments are closed to Negroes entirely.
HOUSING NEEDS

Fortunately, the 1950 Census of Housing, a special tabulation for local Housing authorities was made available to the writer by the Director of the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority. The special tabulation is based on a ten per cent sample of actual Census returns in Cleveland, Ohio. The number of substandard dwellings was set at 37,612. Whites occupied 24,644 of the substandard dwellings, Negroes 12,968. The same special tabulation also shows that, of the substandard dwellings occupied by whites, 24.5 per cent are dilapidated, and that 64.1 per cent of the substandard dwellings occupied by Negroes were in a dilapidated condition.21

The foregoing facts make it amply clear why decent housing and the right to live anywhere comes high on the list of what Cleveland Negroes want. It seems fitting to end this chapter with an excerpt from an editorial of June 9, 1951, as a sort of progress report.

Cleveland has a sensible housing code. Enforcement of this code during the past twenty years would not only have saved property values but lives as well. Primary reason why there has been little diligence in the enforcement of these codes is the undeniable fact that most of the violations occur in the rat-infested, slum ridden Central Areas within which a large majority of the city's Negro citizens are forced to live.

Forced to live?

That's right. Forced to live in ghettos because gentlemen's agreements among Cleveland's financial institutions make it almost impossible for Negroes to finance homes outside areas that are either slums or about to become slums. Since only a relatively few Negroes can accumulate the cash to buy homes, the

majority who desire to say goodbye to the rats, the poorly lighted and poorly-patrolled streets, must restrict themselves to the purchase of property which local banking and lending institutions will finance for them.

As if this condition was not horrible enough, a horde of ghoulish exploiters, most of them living outside the area, have discovered veritable gold mines in the purchase and exploitation of the fire-trap dwellings, relics of past glory, in which the teeming masses of Negroes must live. Into these rat holes, these ghouls have stuffed family after family, in some cases as many as 10 families in space adequate to house one at rents that could secure clean, safe housing for almost any citizen with a white skin.

Now added to this horror come a few despicable councilmen who under the guise of "helping the poor people" seek to bypass even the minimum requirements for safety. Fronting for these greedy landlords, they are seeking to prevent the undermanned fire and health department from insisting upon at least enough compliance to prevent fire and epidemic.22

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22 Call and Post, Cleveland, June 9, 1951.
CHAPTER IV
EDUCATIONAL STATUS

Cleveland Negroes ranked equal opportunity to get an education as their third most important "want." Since economic sufficiency would seem to determine to some degree the amount of educational opportunity, one would expect to find the Negro population of Cleveland to compare unfavorably with the white population on an educational achievement rating.

In 1940, 39.3 per cent of the total Cleveland population was 24 years old or younger. Of the Negro population 39.6 per cent were 24 years old or younger.\(^1\) In school attendance, however, the Negro population exceeded the white. Of the Negro population 24 years old or younger, 65.0 per cent were attending school, whereas 57.4 per cent of the white population in the same age category were attending school.

Table 7. School Attendance of Negro and White Population 5–24 Years of Age in Cleveland, Ohio, 1930 and 1940.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 7 reveals a change in percentage of population attending school in 1940 as compared with 1930, and might give a clue as to why

equal educational opportunity is still ranked relatively high by Cleveland Negroes. In 1930 only 54.4 per cent of the Negro population of school age were attending school whereas in 1940 the percentage had climbed to 65.0. However, the age composition of the Negro population had changed somewhat within the 5–24 years age category.

Table 8. Negroes of School Age in Cleveland, Ohio, by Percentage of Total Negro Population in Age Categories, 1930* and 1940**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Category</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total Negro Population 1930</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total Negro Population 1940</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5–9 Years</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–14 Years</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15–19 Years</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20–24 Years</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Perhaps the only conclusion to be reached from these figures is that Negroes had equal educational opportunity in 1940, and that they were taking advantage of it.

A comparison of median years of school attendance of persons 25 years old and over, however, reveals an important difference in achievement. In 1940, the median years of school attendance for the white population 25 years old or older was 9.4, for the Negro population in the same age category 7.5. These figures are undoubtedly affected by the number of Negro migrants from the South.

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2Ibid., p. 179.
There seemed to be only one question remaining relative to educational opportunity for Negroes in Cleveland. Since Negroes are concentrated in certain areas, schools that serve those areas will have largely Negro student populations. The question, then, has to do with the quality of those schools. Are "Negro" schools of equal quality with "white" schools in terms of equipment and teaching staff?

A definitive answer to this question could be made only after an exhaustive survey, but since this study concerned status from the Negroes' viewpoint it was felt the subjective evaluations of Negroes would reveal the necessary indices.

According to the Editor of the Call and Post, the Executive Secretaries of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League, and the other Negro leaders interviewed, there is no complaint against the educational system of Cleveland so far as treatment and facilities offered to Negro students are concerned. The buildings are older, of course, in sections of the city where Negroes are concentrated, but apparently they are in good repair.

Interviewees were asked specifically if they knew of any discriminatory practices engaged in by either teachers or school board. The only two complaints mentioned did not have to do with quality of education offered Negro students. One of the complaints had to do with the general policy of segregation in Cleveland. The school district served by Central High School was redefined several years ago, and it is believed the purpose was to make Central High School a "Negro" school. The second complaint was concerned with Negro teachers. There is a trend, apparent to some of the Negro leaders, to make complete Negro faculties in some of the "Negro"
schools. They deplore this on the grounds that it is not integration but segregation, yet allows white school authorities to point with pride to "so many Negro teachers" in Cleveland.

On the college level there are no openly discriminatory official practices such as maintaining "quotas," and there are Negroes in all the Cleveland Colleges.
CHAPTER V

PUBLIC COURTESIES ACCORDED NEGROES

This chapter is concerned with the most subjective data of the whole research and the most difficult to pin down to specifics. The anonymity of a large city allows, if not encourages, the dropping of many restraints on the streets and the practice of behavior traits which would not be tolerated in private gatherings. Shoving to get on a bus, pushing to get served in a store, stepping in front of others at doorways, and in general seeking to gain personal advantage without regard for the feeling or safety of others is common practice in downtown Cleveland.

Even in face-to-face contacts in Cleveland there is a great deal of difference in observable social graces. Cleveland has many ethnic groups and many migrants from other sections of the United States, each having slight or great differences in manners and meanings attached to particular social traits. In such a heterogeneous population it is not safe to say that a particular culture trait in the realm of manners is necessary to show respect, nor that some other specific trait connotes disrespect.

How then find some criteria for "public courtesy normally accorded other citizens?" Or, to put it another way, what is present in a situation where such courtesies are not accorded?

It soon became apparent to the writer in the course of 25 interviews that the respondents did not refer to racial etiquette or anything so obvious, but rather to a consciousness of being thought of differently from other American citizens. Even this research was cited as an illustration. "What makes white people think Negroes are different from other American citizens, some kind of *thing'?" Five or six Negroes
refused to fill out the questionnaire concerning "what the Negro wants," citing some similar reason for refusal. Approximately a fourth of the respondents indicated that their "wants" were what everybody else wanted.

This sense of being thought of as "different" and resentment for it seemed to lie close to the surface of the mind of each interviewee. Sometimes the resentment was openly expressed even though, usually, the tone of voice and the words used were intended to exclude the interviewer as an offender.

There are many historical reasons why the Negro in Cleveland believes he is thought of as "different." He is conscious of his ancestors' socio-economic status as slaves and later as freedmen. He is conscious of present day practices of segregation and discrimination and believes that any changes in the practices are due to Negro pressure, not changes in white attitudes.

Not the least of the practices which perpetuated the idea of "difference," have been those of the Cleveland newspapers. As early as November 10, 1818, the Cleveland Register had an editorial written in quite superior tones about "two gentlemen of color." The "two gentlemen of color" had got into a serious disagreement. One being large and the other small they decided to emulate their white "betters" and have a duel. The editor opined facetiously that the unique arrangement might have a point, however.¹

Even in death the Negroes were separated. The Cleveland Herald, November 1824, in an editorial on health conditions stated that the total

¹The Cleveland Register, Cleveland, Ohio, November 10, 1818.
population was numbered at one thousand souls. Among those listed as having died in the preceding year was one "man of color" who had drowned and one who had died of fever.²

The newspapers had no uniform way of referring to Negroes until about the time of the Civil War. A single article might refer to them as "colored," as "Negroes," and as "blacks."³ After the Civil War the general tone of the papers was more respectful toward Negroes, but still identified them as "colored people" or "Negroes."⁴

The Cleveland Newspapers even reported the kind of social experience which makes the Negro particularly conscious of his difference, such things as pressure being brought to bear on the colored barbers to compel them to barber exclusively on one race or the other⁵ and outspoken antagonism to legislation which would give equal rights to white and colored men on railroads, steamships, and all other public conveyances, as well as in hotels, public schools, churches, and other institutions.⁶ At least one editorial stated that theatrical managers would lose money were they to permit the entrance of colored patrons to all parts of their houses.⁷

The newspapers were not alone, however, in making the Cleveland Negro aware that he was thought of as "different." In November of 1874, Benjamin Gardner, a Negro, brought suit for damages against J. A. Ellsler, proprietor of the Academy of Music. Gardner had bought a ticket for the dress circle, but when he tried to occupy his seat the ushers stopped him.

³Annals of Cleveland, op. cit., Vol. XXIII, abstract 1039.
⁴Annals of Cleveland, op. cit., Vol. XLVI, abstract 1787.
Judge Griswold of the Ohio Supreme Court ruled that, if a man buys a ticket to enter a place of amusement, which place is the building of the seller, if before he enters the premises and gets his seat—that is, before the license becomes executed—he is stopped on the threshold by the owner; if he says to him "you cannot go in and occupy a seat," the owner has the legal right to do so, and for this refusal he is not liable to an action in damages by the holder of the ticket. 8

The foregoing illustrations are not intended to be exhaustive, but, rather, samples of the sort of thinking indulged in by whites and the sort of differential treatment accorded the Negro in the past.

The contrast between the newspapers cited above and Cleveland newspapers since 1948 seems quite remarkable, for since 1948 news stories about Negroes do not identify them as such. And, as has been indicated in the foregoing chapters, other practices involving differential treatment of the Negroes have gradually undergone some change, but not enough to allow the most fortunate of Negroes to forget they are thought of as "different."

It is probably true that the matter of resentment over being thought of as "different" could be magnified out of proportion, but it seems to the writer that in many cases Cleveland Negroes are psychologically prepared to look for this phenomenon and to interpret experiences accordingly. There are enough unmistakable evidences, however, to keep the Negro conscious of the fact. The foregoing chapters are replete with illustrations, but it seems appropriate to cite some specific illustrations

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8 Ibid., abstract 2354.
which were given by Negroes when questioned about differential public courtesies.

One mother told of her two daughters' experiences. The two Negro girls had a white girl friend with whom they played during grammar school days. During the same period of time they would visit each others' homes. When the girls reached Junior High, however, the white mother forbade further association of her daughter with the Negro girls. The consequent snubbing and discourteous remarks were a source of considerable pain to the Negro girls.

According to several interviewees, one of them a social worker in an area of mixed racial composition, the experiences related in the preceding paragraph are the normal pattern for childhood interracial friendships which endure until around adolescence.

One Negro mother told the writer that she purposely prepared her child for a world that would be constantly making him aware of his color. Her technique was one designed to make the child prejudiced against the hardness and lack of warmth in anything white—a house, a dog, or anything else.

Negro men frequently find themselves ignored when in groups where introductions are made. This, and being ignored in conversations, seem to them to be because of their color. When included in the conversation, the whites frequently offend by making such references as "your people," or again by discussing some phase of the "Negro problem," but making it plain that "present company is excepted."

Some of the interviewees considered the lumping of all Negroes into one stereotyped mass as the cause of many affronts to them. They resent the assumption that all Negroes have the social traits of the
"average" Negro. Several interviewees gave illustrations of experiences during periods of tension. For instance, a Negro man employed in an office at the Cleveland Airport had thought he was completely accepted as an individual until a Negro high school student stabbed a white high school student and considerable public reaction was aroused. The interviewee stated that he left work one day with everything cordial and returned the next to find himself an outcast.

Three of the interviewees were native-born Cleveland Negroes attending college. They too expressed feelings of resentment for the white attitude that Negroes were "different," but they stated that they simply avoided places where they could expect to encounter discourteous treatment, and tended strictly to their own business. Each contributed a bit of added insight relative to this area of the research. They felt that the Negro migrants from the South invited discourteous treatment by "carrying a chip on their shoulders." Added to the migrants' expectation of discourteous treatment was the fact that they did not know how to conduct themselves in a big city nor the meaning of certain words in a new context. For instance, one of the Cleveland-born Negroes took a migrant from the South to a shoe store. The Clevelander had always been treated courteously and, in fact, as a special customer by the shoe salesman. On the day this visit took place, the salesman greeted the two customers with a warm smile and a "what can I do for you, boys." The migrant started to retort in anger because he had been addressed as "boy." The Clevelander cursed him and got him hushed, but not before the salesman became angry, too.

Most frequent illustrations of discourteous treatment were
anecdotes about attempts to rent or buy homes and attempts to get jobs in response to help-wanted ads. The Negro would phone and be cordially invited to "come on over," only to see consternation come over the home owner's face when it was discovered the applicant was a Negro, and in the case of jobs, be told the job was filled. Numerous illustrations of this sort of thing have already been cited in the chapters on Housing and Economic Achievement, but it seems appropriate to end this chapter with an almost typical example of the sort of offensive treatment often given Negroes who apply for "white" jobs. It also illustrates why common courtesies accorded other citizens is an issue with Negroes in Cleveland. The interviewee was a migrant from Spartanburg, S. C., and had had two years of business training in a southern college.

I called in response to an advertisement of a downtown store who needed a bookkeeper and junior accountant or an accountant's assistant. I was informed over the telephone to come down for an interview. When I arrived at the office and announced my name, there was quite a shuffle, just as ants react when disturbed by some foreign intruder. I waited ten minutes—twenty—and finally after about a half-hour, a young lady who had been munching lazily on a bar of candy came over and said "We are sorry, we're all filled up." I knew the reason why I had been made to wait. I asked permission to speak to the interviewer or the one responsible for hiring. She appeared stunned for words. She picked up the telephone and called a Mr. Jones. Mr. Jones told her that there was nothing to offer and tell 'it' to be on its way. I heard the remarks from where I was standing. Again the receptionist said, 'Nothing doing—sorry.' At that I told her, that I did not want the job but I did wish to have a talk with an interviewer if he had the time. Evidently Mr. Jones heard me and came out of his office with all fangs showing. Says he, 'Look here fellow, I said the job was filled, what do you want to start—a war!'

I was mad as hell and decided to give him a piece of my mind but changed and displayed all the qualities of a gentleman.
I said that I had no intention of starting a war. My wish was to have an interview with him. He then invited me into the office after I had introduced myself. He said, 'I am head over heels with reports. Just what do you want to know?' I told him that it had been several weeks that advertisements had been appearing in the Plain Dealer, and evidence that they were in need of employees or that they wished to take applicants for future help. He informed me that the company had always hired when vacancies were created but did not file and keep applications on record. Then I said that it seemed a waste of money to run all of those useless advertisements. Too, I said that after the reception that I had received in the office I was under the impression that the advertisements were limited to white people only. He twisted in his chair and said, 'We make no discriminatory practice in hiring here. We have a Negro boy that has been here fifteen years and two girls that have been with us for more than ten years. They are the nicest people anyone would want to meet.' He further stated, 'Since you wish to bring the racial question into the picture, you people are always trying to bulge in where you are not wanted. Why don't you take things easy and everything would be better for your race and everybody else. You only antagonize your would-be friends and make things worse.' I retorted with a remark that ended the so-called interview. Then your hiring is limited to those of the white race. It's a pity that you don't limit your sales accordingly. 'Oh no!' said he, 'We have colored people working here.' I said surely you have in menial capacities. You have also referred to my race as "you people." I am an individual but not an "it." He said that he was sorry to have made the remark and that he really didn't mean to insult me. He said he was reading at the time and became befuddled between what he was saying and the material that he was reading. He further stated that he would make an exception and take an application from me and keep it in his personal desk drawer.

Other specific complaints were as follows and actually in some cases represent a sort of stereotyped thinking: (1) Whites always lump all Negroes when speaking of them and never speak of a Negro as an individual. (2) Negro professional men may join professional societies but their wives are not accepted as equals by wives of white professionals. (3) White clerks in stores serve white customers first regardless of the
order in which the customers arrived. (4) When white men vacate a seat on a bus or street car they always see that a white woman gets the seat. (5) White people are courteous enough when they are taking your money, but when you want a job to get some of their money, you are just dirt. (6) White people are always talking about the "Negro problem;" what are we, some sort of disease? (7) Whites are always inferring that Negroes are not true Americans.

It is not difficult to see why one of the Negro "wants" is "the same public courtesies accorded other citizens" for there is much evidence that he does not now receive them in many of his contacts.
CHAPTER VI
EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

There seems to be an inconsistency in the Cleveland Negroes' attitude toward the kind of treatment to be expected before the law. On the one hand the right of recourse to law is frequently cited as one of the most desirable features of life in Cleveland. The Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. believes that lawsuits or the threat of lawsuits have been a major factor in the "advances" the Negro has made in Cleveland. Other interviewees have expressed great appreciation for the fact that they can "call in the law" when their rights or property are threatened, or their persons are abused. Yet, along with this is a widespread belief that the Negro is more liable to arrest than is a white person, and once arrested is more liable to being charged with a crime and being convicted.

Records of the Cleveland Police Department for 1950 tend to support this belief, but do not prove it. Of the 3,082 arrests for "Class I" offences, which include felonious homicide, rape and assault to rape, robbery and assault to rob, aggravated assaults, burglaries, larcenies, and auto stealing, 1,577 persons were released without charge, 961 of the number being Negroes. Of the 1,505 persons charged, 700 of them were adult Negroes and 176 Negro juveniles. Three hundred eighty-eight adult whites and 241 white juveniles were charged. Stated percentagewise Negroes comprised 67 per cent of those arrested and released without charge, and 59 per cent of those charged with crimes. Negro adults were charged with 64 per cent of the crimes committed by adults, and Negro juveniles 42 per cent of the juvenile crimes. (See Table 9). A slightly higher per cent of whites were released without charge (61 per cent) than was the case for
the Negroes (57.8 per cent).

Table 9. Total Arrests in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1950, Number Released Without Charges, and Those Charged, by Race, for "Class I" Offenses.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal Action</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Adults Arrested</td>
<td>1245</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Released Without Charge</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults Charged With Offenses</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juveniles Charged With Offenses</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Annual Report, Fiscal Year Ending December 31st, 1950, Cleveland Police Department, Cleveland, Ohio, pp. 80-82.

"Class II" offenses, which includes all other crimes not listed in "Class I" comprised the major number of offenses in 1950. Total arrests for "Class II" offenses for white and Negro adults numbered 88,906. Of the total 4,580 whites and 1,968 Negroes were released without charge. Charged with offenses were 60,107 whites and 21,010 Negroes. Juvenile offenses numbered 1,241, among which were 438 Negro juveniles. (See Table 10).

Table 10. Total Arrests in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1950, Number Released Without Charges, and Those Charged by Race, for "Class II" Offenses.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal Action</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Adults Arrested</td>
<td>64,687</td>
<td>22,978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Released Without Charge</td>
<td>4,580</td>
<td>1,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults Charged With Offenses</td>
<td>60,107</td>
<td>21,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juveniles Charged With Offenses</td>
<td>803</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ibid., pp. 80-82.

A percentage distribution of those figures reveals that adult
Negroes and whites were released without charges in about the same proportions, 3 per cent of the Negroes and 7 per cent of the whites. There is considerable change in the proportionate numbers charged. For "Class II" offenses only 26 per cent of the total is adult Negro, whereas for "Class I" offenses they made up 59 per cent of the total. Negro juveniles make up 35 per cent of the total juveniles charged with "Class II" offenses, whereas they were 42 per cent of "Class I" offenses for juveniles.

Records of convictions were not available for any year, and the Annual Report covering 1950 was the first one giving "released without charge" figures by race. The figures for 1950 would seem to support the Cleveland Negroes' idea that Negroes are more liable to arrest and, once arrested, more liable to being charged with an offense. Interpretation of such figures is extremely tricky, but one thing is certain. Negroes are arrested and charged with offenses disproportionately to their numerical distribution in the total Cleveland population. Comprising only about 10 per cent of the total population in 1950, they constituted 64 per cent of those charged with "Class I" offenses and 26 per cent of those charged with "Class II" offenses. It can be seen why Negroes think they are more liable to arrest and to being charged with an offense, but the questions remain unanswered whether or not they get differential treatment in court.

The Cleveland Police Department also made available its Annual Reports covering the years 1949, 1948 and 1947. As has been indicated, these reports do not include such a complete classification by race, but they do list by race the numbers of adults and juveniles charged with offenses. Again the figures indicate why Negroes might think as they do, but the figures do not prove a conspiracy. In 1947, adult Negroes were
charged with 54.7 per cent of the "Class I" offenses. In 1948, they were charged with 59 per cent; in 1949, they were charged with 64 per cent, and, as has been indicated, in 1950 with 64 per cent of the offenses. During the same years the proportion of Negro juveniles has also gradually increased from 34 per cent in 1947 to 36 per cent in 1948 and 1949, and 42 per cent in 1950.

What conclusion is to be drawn from these facts, then? Conscious of inconclusive evidence in the statistical data, the writer consulted the one man who is best informed on the Cleveland Negroes' treatment "before the law," the Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is his opinion that Negroes are more liable to arrest on suspicion and to being charged with an offense, but he believes that in the courts the Negro gets the same treatment as the white. He feels also that a part of the Negro population's ambivalence toward the law--faith in its use to safeguard rights on the one hand and expectation of differential treatment by law enforcement officers on the other--is a hangover from experiences in the South. The expectation of differential treatment is greater than the fact of differential treatment.
CHAPTER VII

FULL PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

Politics has been a most notable exception to the general pattern of segregation in Cleveland. In 1870, Negroes comprised only 1.3 per cent of the total population of 92,829.1 It was in 1870, shortly after the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, that the Plain Dealer caught the Leader completely off guard by coming out in favor of nominating a colored man for Congress. The Leader reminded its readers that the Plain Dealer had formerly hated Negroes and was proposing the nomination of a colored man for Congress for an ulterior purpose, the catching of all the colored votes in the district.2

Whatever the motives of newspapers or of the general public, Negroes became an active minority in politics. The legal profession, traditional source of American politicians, seems to have been open to Negroes in Cleveland from the beginning. Two Negro lawyers, Holden and Washington, ran for the State Legislative in 1876, but were defeated.3

Another Negro lawyer, John P. Green, described as a light-skinned, fine-looking man with "good hair" was elected Justice of the Peace in 1873 and in 1881 was elected state representative. His election was of necessity with the aid of white votes for in both decades the Negro population comprised only about one per cent of the total. After two terms as Representative, Green was elected to the Ohio Senate.4

It was 1910, however, before a Negro was elected to fill an office in the Municipal government. In that year Thomas W. Fleming was elected councilman-at-large.

Before the next decade had ended, the Great Migration was well under way, and, as has been demonstrated, the Negro population was crowded into one general section of the city. By 1930, three political subdivisions, wards 21, 23 and 24 were "Negro" wards having 58.2, 72.4 and 70.2 per cent Negro population.5

During the nineteen thirties there was a redistricting of wards and a reduction of their number from 40 to 33. The result was that newly designated wards 11, 12, 17 and 18 were two-thirds to three-fourths Negro in 1940, and three wards were about one-fourth Negro, wards 16, 19 and 32.6

It would be expected that the four "Negro" wards would elect Negro councilmen to represent them. Such has come to be an established pattern except in one of the wards. Ward 12 was represented by Herman H. Finkle, a white man of Jewish faith for the thirty-five years preceding his death in 1952. A Negro councilman was appointed to fill out his unexpired term.7

At the time this research was concluded, there were no Negroes in the state or national legislative bodies from Cleveland, but a "Who's Who" of Negro civic, educational and religious leaders included one former State Senator, two former State Representatives, and one former member of

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7 Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 28, 1952, p. 1.
It has already been revealed in Chapter I that Cleveland Negroes are believed to have their share of jobs furnished by the city, particularly those covered by the Civil Service Commission. Chapter I also revealed the status of the Negro in elective and appointive positions.

There are no figures available to indicate the numbers involved, but Negroes do serve on the Petit and Grand Juries. In fact, the foreman of the Grand Jury in 1950 was a Negro minister. Incidentally, it was the first time a Negro had served as foreman.

It seems sufficient at this point to state simply that Negroes in Cleveland have achieved practical equality in the right to "full participation in government." The fact that "full participation in government" was ranked next to last on the list of "wants" may be due to accepted achievement.

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CHAPTER VIII
EQUALITY OF PUBLIC SERVICES

Much information about the status of Negroes, where public services is concerned, can be obtained by simple observation. Much of it, however, is more obscure, and little of it a matter of statistical record. Most of the information in this chapter was secured through interviews and sources of information suggested by interviewees.

Public transportation is the most important public service so far as numbers are concerned, and the writer heard no hint of complaint relative to inequality of service in Cleveland.

Apparently there is no complaint from Cleveland Negroes relative to other public services offered by City and County agencies except, strangely enough, garbage collection. Several of the interviewees insisted that when a street becomes mostly Negro, garbage collection becomes very erratic, and in some cases ceases altogether.

Old-age assistance grants and other forms of public relief saved the city from having to make provision for an aging Negro population, but the problem of dependent Negro children could not be rid of so easily.

In 1949, the Children's Council of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland undertook a study to determine the amount of service to Negro children in Cleveland. The conclusions of this study are as follows:

1. There is greater limitation of service to Negro children than to other children due to the fact that certain agencies have policies which, in effect, limit service to these children.
2. Most of the Catholic agencies give service to children on the basis of individual need without regard to race and meet the needs of the minority group within

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the religion. (Of the 615 Catholic children reported in the Inventory Study, 3.4 per cent were Negro.)

3. The Jewish agencies offer service to children of the Jewish faith on the basis of individual need without regard to race. (There are no Negroes of the Jewish faith in Cleveland.)

4. Most of the private non-sectarian agencies, within the limits of their capacities and functions, give service to children on the basis of individual need without regard to race.

5. The public agencies give service to children on the basis of need without regard to race. Due to the lack of private institutional facilities available to Negro children, the public agencies must serve large numbers of them. (The questionnaires revealed that of the total number of children served by the public agencies, from 33 per cent to 53 per cent were Negro.)

6. Most of the Protestant agencies offer either no service or limited service to Negro children and do not meet the needs of the minority group within the religion. (Foster Care Inventory showed that of the 1192 children 35.7 per cent were Negro.)

Contrasted with the equality in City and County public services is the inequality of service where private agencies have public service for sale. Negroes can now get food and lodging in most of the downtown restaurants and hotels which handle transient guests. For the hotels this is a recent change, and one seldom sees a Negro in a hotel lobby except during a convention. If a Negro has a reservation he secured by mail, there is no difficulty when he arrives to take a room. Negroes are seldom seen in the better restaurants. This may be due to economic or other reasons, but some of the Negroes interviewed said that Negroes are "given the treatment" if they try to go there. It is purely an impression received during interviews, but the writer feels the Negroes, who could afford it, do not go to the better restaurants because they wish to avoid possible embarrassment. The Community Relations Board reports "several
complaints" against "certain hotels and restaurants."\(^2\)

In 1949, one of the leading downtown hotels rented a ballroom to one of the large Negro Greek-letter fraternities, not knowing it was Negro. When they discovered the truth they tried to break the contract. Elaborate preparations had been made and invitations sent out by that time, however. The Community Relations Board was called in by the Negro fraternity. "Several days of contact and negotiation were successful and the affair went ahead without interruption."\(^3\)

The Young Women's Christian Association has a "good" record according to the Negro leaders interviewed—no tradition of segregation or discrimination.

The Young Men's Christian Association, however, has created much bitterness among Negroes, especially Central Y.M.C.A., which is just at the downtown limit of Central Area. Traditionally it has refused rooms to Negroes and restricted its pool to whites. Its pools are no longer restricted, nor is its membership. When a Negro attempts to get a room there, however, he is referred to Cedar Y.M.C.A., but they have been known to take Negro overnight guests.

Cedar Y.M.C.A. was built on Cedar Avenue and 79th Street, supposedly, to serve as an "interracial" center, but it has had few white youths, and none now. All of its staff are Negroes. The deliberate or planned status of Cedar Y.M.C.A. as a segregated unit is reflected in the fund-raising regulations governing campaigns. White Y.M.C.A. units were

\(^2\) Frank W. Bauldan and Roosevelt S. Dickey, Report for 1949, the Community Relations Board, Cleveland: January 1950, pp. 9, 10.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 7, 8.
assigned specific areas for solicitation. The Cedar Y.M.C.A. had the whole city for its solicitation.

The Glenville Y.M.C.A., organized in 1950, is purposefully "interracial." It is in a store building and uses the recreation facilities of Negro and white churches in the area. It has a white secretary as the executive and a Negro as an associate executive. The Chairman of the Committee of Management is a Negro, and it has an "interracial" mothers' council.\(^4\) When the writer visited the Glenville Y.M.C.A., he found white and Negro boys happily playing ping-pong and others looking at a television program. Still another mixed group were "rough-housing" in the back of the room. There was no evidence of race consciousness.

Negro acceptance at places of recreation and entertainment varies considerably.\(^5\) Movie theatres have not segregated Negroes since 1934, when lawsuits forced them to stop the practice. Swimming pools operated by the City Recreation Department are not restricted, but "private" pools are. The so-called "private" pools are private only when Negroes seek admission. Cleveland's two largest amusement parks, Euclid Beach and Puritas Springs are "private" for the purpose of screening out potential Negro users. Skating arenas are "private" also where Negroes are concerned. Bowling alleys keep Negroes out successfully by being "fully booked to bowling leagues." Alleys are always "reserved" for leagues whether or not they are in use when Negroes attempt to secure the right to bowl. The downtown and neighborhood drinking spots make Negroes feel very unwelcome, but there

\(^4\)Interracial Advance in the Y.M.C.A., An Interim Report, National Study Commission on Interracial Practices in the Y.M.C.A., June 1951, p. 3.\(^4\)

\(^5\)Most of this information obtained through interviews with Mr. Charles P. Lucas, Executive Secretary, Cleveland Branch of the N.A.A.C.P.
are many small drinking places in the mixed areas where patrons are both white and Negro. There are only two of the "better class" drinking places known as "Black and Tan Spots," a designation given them apparently by the Negro population. They are both on Euclid Avenue near 106th Street. Negroes consider them both "hot spots," that is to say, trouble spots.

Another indication of status, insofar as public services go, is found in the fact that Negro professional men find it almost impossible to get office space downtown. Offices of every Negro physician and dentist are in Negro areas, all except four being located in Central Area. Only 11 attorneys have downtown offices and they are located in three buildings.

On March 1, 1945 two prominent Negro attorneys filed in Common Pleas Court a "petition for specific performance," seeking to force the manager of the Citizens Building to rent them office space in accordance with, as they contended, an oral agreement. They said they had been denied space in any other buildings where they wished to go.

In an attempt to uncover any change or trend in the practice of restricting office space to white occupants, one of the two attorneys just mentioned was interviewed and the following information obtained. So far as the respondent knew the practice had not changed. He was sure it had not changed up to the latter part of 1944 when he secured his present office through the "good-offices" of a friend related to one of the owners. The renting of this space to the respondent constituted the first break in the practice of restricted renting which had occurred in many years. No other building has followed suit.

Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio, March 1, 1945.
Of the other two buildings, one of them, which is strictly an office building, rented one suite to Negro attorneys years ago and later rented one more suite to Negroes. The third building is not strictly an office building, but a conglomerate of commercial enterprises and offices. Years ago it rented to Negro attorneys and apparently has no discriminatory policy now—if it had empty office space.

By way of summarizing, then, it seems accurate to state that Cleveland Negroes have equal status insofar as public services paid for by taxes is concerned. They do not have equality in the realm of public services which are purchased.
CHAPTER IX
A COMPARISON OF CLEVELAND WITH COLUMBUS
AND CINCINNATI

A part of the purpose of this research was to test the often stated belief that "Cleveland is the best location in the nation for Negroes." The preceding chapters have dealt with the status of the Negro in Cleveland, Ohio, and status has been measured by "what the Negro wants." It is not feasible to compare Cleveland with all other cities in the nation, but if Cleveland is the "best" city it should be better than comparable cities in Ohio, and, so, for the purposes of comparison it was decided to use Columbus and Cincinnati.

The three cities are superficially quite similar. Each of them is about one-tenth Negro (See Table 11).

Table 11. Total Population and Negro Population for Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Negro Population</th>
<th>Negroes as Per Cent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>878,336</td>
<td>24,504</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus</td>
<td>306,087</td>
<td>35,765</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>445,610</td>
<td>55,593</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Age composition of the Negro population is likewise quite similar in the three cities (See Table 12).
Table 12. Age Composition of the Negro Population by Percentages for Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groupings</th>
<th>Cleveland</th>
<th>Columbus</th>
<th>Cincinnati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 and up</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There are other similarities of the three cities which will be evident in the comparisons to follow. It seems sufficient to state at this point that nothing was apparent which indicated the three cities were not comparable universes.

Because of available data and feasibility, the three top-ranking "wants," chosen by Cleveland Negroes, and national spokesmen for Negroes, were used for comparison of the three cities. It is not claimed that such a comparison is conclusive proof of Negro status in the three cities, but it is claimed that such a comparison reveals relative achievement in the three cities.

A CHANCE TO EARN A DECENT LIVING, AND AT ANY TRADE OR PROFESSION OPEN TO OTHER AMERICANS

First rank order of importance for Cleveland Negroes was "a
chance to earn a decent living, and at any trade or profession open to other Americans." The first chapter of this study revealed findings relative to Negro status in this area of life, and it was assumed that the same factors would have significance in the three cities to be compared. Hence, a simple comparison of achievement seemed to be sufficient to test the statement that "Cleveland is the best location in the nation for Negroes."

Table 13 reveals the employment status of Negroes in the three cities in 1940. It will be noted at a glance that achievement above the Domestic Service Workers category is markedly greater in Cleveland. The one exception is in the Professional and Semi-Professional workers category where achievement is the same in Cleveland and Columbus. Domestic Service Workers, Service Workers and Laborers categories contain the majority of the Negroes in each of the cities, but again Cleveland ranks first, with the lowest percentage. Of the Negroes in Cleveland, 62.8 per cent are in these categories, 70.7 per cent in Columbus and 73.2 per cent in Cincinnati.

Table 13. Percentage of Employed Negroes in Each Category of the Labor Force in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labor Category</th>
<th>Cleveland</th>
<th>Columbus</th>
<th>Cincinnati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Semi-Professional</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors, Managers and Officials</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Sales and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service Workers</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective Service Workers</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers, except Domestic and Protective</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, except Farm and Mine</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another test of the relative status of Negroes in the three cities is a comparison of numbers in the various labor categories. Negroes comprise nine and four-tenths per cent of the total population of Cleveland, 11.3 per cent of Columbus, and 12.5 per cent of Cincinnati with approximately the same percentages of each population of working age. On a strict numerical basis then, Negroes should be represented in each labor category with higher percentages in Columbus and highest in Cincinnati. Table 14 shows the percentages of Negroes in each labor category for the three cities.

Table 14. Negroes as Per Cent of Total in Each Labor Category for Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, 1940*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labor Category</th>
<th>Cleveland</th>
<th>Columbus</th>
<th>Cincinnati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Semi-Professional</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors, Managers and Officials</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Sales and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service Workers</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective Service Workers</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers, except Domestic and Protective</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, except Farm and Mine</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ibid., p. 689-701.

In order to make these figures more meaningful, let it be assumed that an ideal for each labor category in each city included Negroes in proportion to their numerical strength in the total population of the cities. Table 15 shows the relative departure from the "ideal."
Table 15. Percentage Departure from the Ideal of Negro Distribution in the Labor Categories in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, 1940.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labor Category</th>
<th>Cleveland</th>
<th>Columbus</th>
<th>Cincinnati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Semi-Professional</td>
<td>-6.0</td>
<td>-7.6</td>
<td>-9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors, Managers and Officials</td>
<td>-6.9</td>
<td>-8.9</td>
<td>-10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Sales and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>-7.3</td>
<td>-9.5</td>
<td>-10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>-6.7</td>
<td>-7.4</td>
<td>-9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and Kindred Workers</td>
<td>-4.6</td>
<td>-5.1</td>
<td>-6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service Workers</td>
<td>+26.4</td>
<td>+44.9</td>
<td>+34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective Service Workers</td>
<td>-5.9</td>
<td>-7.1</td>
<td>-8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers, except Domestic and Protective</td>
<td>+10.8</td>
<td>+19.7</td>
<td>+7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, except Farm and Mine</td>
<td>+7.1</td>
<td>+18.0</td>
<td>+26.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures reveal a rather dramatic difference in the three cities and seem to establish clearly that Cleveland is the "best" of the three in economic status of the Negro.

DECENT HOUSING

Cleveland Negroes ranked decent housing as second most important "want." Economic ability is a strong factor in determining ability to own or rent desirable residential property, and since the Negroes in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati have low economic status it would appear consistent for them to be living in the less desirable homes. But, as has been shown for Cleveland, policies of segregation are also factors in determining the kind of homes available for Negroes.

It was discovered that four wards in each of the cities contains about three-fourths of the Negro population in the whole city, but that the degree of segregation varied considerably.
Table 16. Percentage of Negroes in Four Wards and Negroes as a Percentage of the Total Population in the Four Wards, in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cleveland</th>
<th>Columbus</th>
<th>Cincinnati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Total Negro Population</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>74.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes as Per Cent of Total Population in the Wards</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>54.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Cleveland has 33 wards, Columbus 19, and Cincinnati 26, and so actual concentration is greater in Cleveland than in either of the other cities. As will be noted in Table 16, Negroes comprise a higher percentage of the total population in the Cleveland wards than is the case in either of the other two cities. But what kind of residential areas are inhabited by three-fourths of the Negro population in these cities?

Table 17. Housing Characteristics of Four Wards Most Heavily Populated by Negroes in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cleveland</th>
<th>Columbus</th>
<th>Cincinnati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Dwelling Units Occupied</td>
<td>23,647</td>
<td>14,729</td>
<td>24,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Occupied by Negroes</td>
<td>8,955</td>
<td>5,931</td>
<td>16,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Needing Major Repairs or No Bath</td>
<td>16,285</td>
<td>6,116</td>
<td>13,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent of Units Needing Major Repairs or No Bath</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>69.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 17 by no means gives a full description of the residential areas, but does give a dependable index of the desirability and general characteristics of homes in the areas. Sixty-nine per cent
of the dwelling units in the four wards containing three-fourths of the Negro population of Cincinnati need major repairs or have no baths. The percentage drops to 40.2 per cent in Columbus, and 37.8 per cent in Cleveland. Again Cleveland tends to maintain a rating of "best" so far as the three cities are concerned.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Cleveland Negroes ranked equal educational opportunities as the third most important "want." As Table 13 reveals, the three cities are quite similar in age categories. The 5-24 age groups in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati contain 39.6 per cent, 39.3 per cent, and 39.7 per cent, respectively, of their total populations. That, of course, leaves almost identical proportions in the age category "25 years old and over." It would appear, then, that a simple comparison of educational achievement and school attendance in the three cities would be a satisfactory way to evaluate them.

Of those 5-24 years old in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati in 1940, 65 per cent, 57.2 per cent and 58.8 per cent were attending school in the respective cities.\(^1\) Again Cleveland kept its rating of "best" city for the Negro. Incidentally, the pattern of one, two, three order for Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati was broken in this area of achievement with Cincinnati taking second place.

Median years of school attendance for Negroes 25 years old and over also failed to follow the pattern. Median years of school attendance

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in Cleveland was 7.5, in Columbus 7.7, and in Cincinnati, 7.0. Columbus out-ranked Cleveland by two-tenths of one per cent.²

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Problem

Franklin E. Frazier has pointed out the scarcity of data on the status of the Negro in the North. Yet, in 1947 Cayton listed Cleveland as one of the ten best American cities for Negroes, and the 1952 award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews was given to Cleveland for "progress toward integration." One frequently hears Cleveland Negroes paraphrase the Chamber of Commerce slogan by stating that "Cleveland is the best location in the nation for Negroes."

The problem, then, was to determine the status of the Negro in Cleveland, and to test to some degree Cleveland's rating as "best location in the nation for Negroes." For feasibility it was decided to compare Cleveland with two other Ohio cities, Columbus and Cincinnati.

Methodology

A major methodological problem had to do with an instrument of measurement, and criteria of status from the Negro viewpoint. It was discovered that important pieces of research in race relations offer organized sets of criteria. Myrdal labeled his the "Rank Order of Discrimination," indicating that whites and Negroes rank them in about parallel, but inverse order. Myrdal admits that the list is hypothetical although based upon his general observations.

Spokesmen for Negroes have been more informative in their

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2 Horace R. Cayton, op. cit., p. 4.
3 Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 60-61.
statements. For instance, Langston Hughes stated that "what I and thirteen million other American Negroes desire" can be summed up in seven "wants." The accuracy of this list is given substantiation by the statements of fourteen Negro leaders who were asked to write, for publication in a book, what they regarded as the demands of their people. These fourteen leaders showed a striking similarity of viewpoint and there was no significant deviation from the "wants" expressed by Hughes.

The seven wants of the Negro as listed by Hughes show great similarity with Myrdal's "Rank Order of Discrimination," with the significant omission of intermarriage in Hughes' list.

Since Langston Hughes' list is in essential agreement with the other lists, was written by a Negro, and has the advantage of being positively stated, it was tentatively accepted as a valid criterion of status from the Negro viewpoint. In order to determine whether or not Cleveland Negroes valued the same goals in the same way, Hughes' list of wants was put in a questionnaire, but in a different order. That is to say, all resemblance to his rank order was destroyed. There was space for additional items. The respondents were requested to list all the items, including any they might have added, in the order of importance to them.

Arbitrary weights of 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1 were given to first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh rank order positions. By so doing, it was possible not only to get a rank order of the various "wants" but also to determine the degree of difference in their importance.

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5Rayford H. Logan, op. cit.
At the bottom of each questionnaire were spaces to indicate residence at sometime in Cincinnati, Columbus and Cleveland, and a question as to which was "best" for the Negro.

It was assumed initially that there would be a high degree of consensus in the Negro population concerning the Negro's "wants"; nevertheless, an attempt was made to get a fairly representative cross-section of the Negro population in Cleveland, using the socio-economic categories of domestic, unskilled, skilled and white collar workers, and equally divided between male and female. One hundred questionnaires were completed. In addition, twenty-five interviews were held, ten with professional men, and women by appointment, and fifteen with mechanics, barbers, elevator operators, cooks, students, etc., chosen by chance encounter or availability. The interviews were intended to serve as a sort of check on the validity of the questionnaires.

The results of the questionnaire show no significant deviation from Hughes' list of "wants," but some difference in ranking of their importance. The only additional "wants" added in the spaces provided were generalized desires for complete equality. There were six such additions (See Table 1). The mean scores of the various items seem to indicate a definite hierarchy of wants so far Cleveland Negroes are concerned. (See Table 2).

The twenty-five interviews did not change the list of wants contained in the questionnaire, but eight of the professional people felt that decent housing ranked first. This is probably a reflection of the fact that many of the professional people had already achieved economic security. If this hypothetical explanation is correct, professional
people would be in agreement with the majority of the rest of the sample who felt that economic opportunity was first in importance.

In the absence of contrary findings, Hughes' list of "What the Negro Wants" was taken as a valid criterion, of status for the Negro in Cleveland. It was assumed that Negroes in Columbus and Cincinnati would have the same wants.

The problems of observation, or collection of data, narrowed themselves to two—the collection of pertinent statistical data of an objective sort and the interviewing of people who knew and could reveal the more subjective data. Primary sources of statistical data included city, state and national governmental records. The choice of whom to interview was determined in the following manner: Executive Secretaries of two Negro protest movements were asked to name Cleveland's outstanding Negro leaders. Practically the same names appeared on both lists. The persons named, when interviewed, were also asked to name outstanding Negroes who could give the information needed. Again and again the same names appeared, with an occasional addition or omission.

Finally, to avoid an exhaustive expenditure of time and money, Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati were compared statistically for the first three top ranking wants—first, second and third choices incidentally of the national Negro spokesmen and the 100 Negroes sampled in Cleveland—in the belief they would be trustworthy indices of comparative status of the three cities.

Findings

The last item on the questionnaire was one involving a subjective rating of Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati. Only eleven of the
respondents had lived in Columbus or Cincinnati, but they, along with seventy-seven other respondents, considered Cleveland the best city of the three in terms of opportunity to achieve the wants rated on the questionnaire. Twelve respondents did not indicate a choice between the cities.

Specific findings relative to status of Negroes in Cleveland are as follows:

1. A chance to earn a decent living, and at any trade or profession open to other Americans.

It was found that Negro status in the realm of economic opportunity has been and is now inferior, but the status relationship is a fluid one, with some evident gains in recent years.

In 1940, the per cents of white and Negro populations over 14 years of age and counted in the labor force, were 55.8 and 55.6 respectively. Of the white labor force, 81.9 per cent were employed on other than emergency work, 6.0 per cent employed on emergency work and 12.1 per cent seeking work. Of the Negro labor force, 59.6 per cent were employed at other than emergency work, 22.0 per cent employed on emergency work, and 18.4 per cent were seeking work.6

The kinds of jobs occupied by the two labor forces in 1940 reveal, perhaps, more accurately the relative status of the two population groups. (See Table 4). In 1940 the Negro population was nine and six-tenths per cent of the population, yet in no labor category above Domestic Service Workers were they represented proportionately. (See Table 4).

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It was found that several historical factors have radically affected the status of Cleveland Negroes in the realm of economic opportunity during recent years. The years of armament manufacture, the National Fair Employment Practices Commission, and since 1950, the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance of Cleveland have opened new opportunities for Negro labor.

It was found that many jobs formerly closed to Negroes now have some Negro representation, most obvious to the general public being sales and clerical workers in all the large department stores. Negroes are being up-graded in some industries for the first time, and the labor unions which formerly refused membership to Negroes now have a few. Segregation, in those industries which formerly practiced it, is being abandoned. This is true in the garment industry and the taxi organization.

On the professional level in 1951, it was found that Negroes comprised 1.6 per cent of the lawyers, 2.6 per cent of the physicians, 2.8 per cent of the dentists, and 9.2 per cent of the clergymen.

It is evident from these findings that status of the Cleveland Negro is inferior to the whites where economic opportunity is concerned. but it is also evident that his status is improving.

2. Decent Housing (the right to own a home anywhere).

That section at the heart of the city known as Central Area has been the historical place of residence for most of Cleveland's Negro population. In 1920, Negroes were 21.0 per cent of the total population in Central Area and 73.2 per cent of the Negro population was concentrated there. The concentration of Negroes in Central Area continued for the

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next two decades. In 1930, 61.2 per cent of the Central Area population was Negro, and 82 per cent of the total Negro population was there. By 1940, the Negro population had increased to 84,504, comprising 9.6 per cent of the total population. Eighty-two per cent of them were in Central Area. During the same decades Central Area was becoming a slum area. In 1940, 37.8 per cent of its dwelling units needed major repairs.

During the same decades, however, the Negro population was gradually overflowing into adjacent areas formerly classified as "white areas," but now gradually vacated and opened to Negroes. The new areas, though more attractive than Central Area for residential purposes, are generally characterized as deteriorating areas.

It was found that white home-owners, real estate interests and banks form a formidable alliance designed to contain the Negro population as nearly as possible in areas designated as "Negro." It was this policy of segregation which Cleveland Negroes most resented.

In spite of the segregation policies, however, several better residential areas have been opened to Negroes who have money enough to buy. It was found that the first Negroes to buy into these attractive areas did so by subterfuge and were subjected to many kinds of pressure designed to make them move out. When this failed, other whites began to sell to Negroes and the areas gradually became classified as Negro. Even with these new residential areas, Negroes occupied 34.5 per cent of all Cleveland's substandard dwellings in 1950, about a fourth of them further

8 Ibid., p. 68.
10 Housing, First Series, Data for Small Areas, Ohio, op. cit., p. 9.
Housing conditions are undoubtedly related to economic factors to a large degree, but it is demonstrated that policies of segregation play an important part in determining Cleveland Negroes' opportunities to have decent housing.


Negro status, where educational opportunity is concerned, was found to be about on a par with the white population, so far as could be determined. In 1940, 65.0 per cent of the Negro population 5-24 years of age were attending school, and 57.4 per cent of the white population within the same age category were attending school.

A comparison of median years of school attendance of persons 25 years old and over, however, reveals a difference in achievement. In 1940 the median years of school attendance for the white population 25 years old or older was 9.5, for the Negro population in the same age category 7.5.\(^\text{12}\)

It was found that Cleveland Negroes consider they have equal educational opportunity, and that so far as could be determined there is no complaint against the public school system.

\(^{11}\) Are Negroes Shown the Same Public Courtesy that is Normally Accorded Other Citizens?

Admittedly highly subjective, there were nevertheless a considerable number of illustrations furnished by 25 interviewees. A study of the contents of the illustrations reveals that they can be grouped into several

\(^{11}\) 1950 Census of Housing, Series HC-6, No. 149, op. cit.
\(^{12}\) Population, Second Series, Characteristics of the Population op. cit., p. 179.
constellations: (1) differential courtesy where in-group and out-group relationships are concerned, and the Negro is made conscious he is a member of the out-group; (2) the categorizing of Negroes by such terms as "your people," the "Negro Problem" and similar all-inclusive labels; (3) being thought of as "different" and being subjected to humiliations because the thought is evident in conversations; (4) differential treatment in stores, where white clerks sometimes ignore Negroes and serve white customers; and, (5) differential treatment accorded Negroes when they apply for jobs.

It is evident from this research that Negroes in Cleveland consider their status inferior where this "want" is concerned.

5. Equality Before the Law.

Cleveland Negroes value highly the right of recourse to law for protection of their interests, yet at the same time subscribe to the idea that Negroes are more liable to arrests than whites, and, once arrested, are more liable to being charged with a crime. Records of the Cleveland Police Department seem to support the latter idea, but do not prove it. Since Negroes comprised only about ten per cent of the population, yet were charged with 64 per cent of the "Class I" offenses, and 26 per cent of the "Class II" offenses in 1950, it can be seen why they think Negroes are more liable to arrest and being charged with a crime than are the whites. (See Tables 9 and 10). The only thing demonstrated, however, is that the Negro population contains more people apprehended in criminal activity.

Records of court convictions were not available, but Executive Secretaries of protest movements in Cleveland think that Negroes get
equal protection of their rights in the courts.

6. Full Participation in Government.

Cleveland Negroes consider themselves to have equal status where participation in government is concerned. They have had the ballot since the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment and several Negro persons have been elected to state offices. There is a former State Senator and there are two former State Representatives now practicing law in Cleveland. There are three Negroes serving as City Councilmen, and it is believed by Cleveland Negroes that they have a proportionate share of jobs in the city government, particularly those covered by Civil Service.

7. Social Equality insofar as Public Services Go.

Cleveland Negroes feel that they have equal status so far as City and County agencies are concerned, and public transportation is equally available to all.

Negroes can now get food and lodging in most downtown restaurants and hotels which handle transients guests, but there were several instances reported where the "treatment" had been given in some of the better restaurants. "Treatment" consisted of extremely slow and poor service.

Negro acceptance at places of recreation and entertainment varies considerably. Movie theatres do not have segregated audiences. Swimming pools operated by the City Recreation Department are not restricted, but most other pools are "private" when Negroes seek admission. Amusement parks, bowling alleys, and skating rinks are likewise "private" or "thoroughly booked" when Negroes seek admission.

It seems accurate to state that Cleveland Negroes have equal status insofar as public services paid for by taxes are concerned. They
do not have equality in the realm of public services which are purchased.

A COMPARISON OF CLEVELAND WITH COLUMBUS AND CINCINNATI

The three cities to be compared are superficially quite similar. The percentage of the total population which is Negro in Cleveland is 9.4, in Columbus 11.3, and in Cincinnati 12.5. The age composition of the Negro population in the three cities is quite similar. They are similar in another way. In each of the cities about three-fourths of the Negro population is concentrated in four wards. Other similarities and dissimilarities are revealed in the following comparisons of data from the 1940 Census.

A comparison of the employment status of Negroes in the three cities reveals that Cleveland ranks "best" with 37.1 per cent in labor categories above the Domestic Service category, while 28.6 per cent of the Negroes in Columbus and 26.2 per cent of the Negroes in Cincinnati are employed in labor categories above the Domestic Service category. (See Table 13).

Equal opportunity to secure decent housing was second ranking want of Cleveland Negroes. Four wards in each of the cities contain the following percentages of the total Negro populations: Cleveland 74.0, Columbus 74.5, and in Cincinnati 74.5. Negroes as percentages of the populations in the wards, however, varies considerably in the three cities. In Cleveland 71.0 per cent of the population in the four wards is Negro, in Columbus 43.0 per cent and in Cincinnati 54.7 per cent. Cleveland has 33 wards, Columbus 19, and Cincinnati 26, and so actual concentration is greater in Cleveland than in either of the other
cities. A comparison of housing characteristics in the three cities, however, changes the significance of the comparisons somewhat. In Cleveland's four wards 37.8 per cent of the dwelling units need major repairs, in Columbus 40.2 per cent and in Cincinnati 69.0 per cent. It is assumed that Negroes have at least a proportionate share of dwelling units in these wards which need major repairs. Certainly these figures indicate the general condition of the areas occupied by Negroes.

It would appear from these figures, then, that Cleveland ranks "best," with Columbus close and Cincinnati the city where achievement is least in the procurement of decent housing.

The third most important "want" which Cleveland Negroes indicated was "equal educational opportunity." The 5-24 age groups in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati contain 39.6 per cent, 39.3 per cent and 39.7 per cent respectively of the total Negro populations. Of those 5-24 years of age in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati in 1940, 65.0 per cent, 57.2 per cent and 58.8 per cent were attending school in the respective cities. It would appear that Cleveland ranks "best" in percentage of the school-age population attending school.

Median years of school attendance for Negroes 25 years old and over in Cleveland was 7.5, in Columbus 7.7, and in Cincinnati 7.0. It

14 Housing, First Series, Data for Small Areas, Ohio, op. cit., p. 9.
15 Ibid., pp. 170, 177, 184.
16 Ibid., pp. 172, 179, 186.
17 Ibid., pp. 173, 179, 186.
would appear, then, that older Negroes in Columbus have been able to attend school two-tenths of a year longer than those in Cleveland.

Certainly the foregoing facts do not prove that Cleveland is the "best" city for Negroes to achieve their wants, but the facts tend to support the Cleveland Negroes' evaluation of Cleveland, so far as comparisons with Columbus and Cincinnati are concerned.
APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN SAMPLING CLEVELAND NEGROES

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS

Please number the following items in the order of their importance to you. If other items should be included, feel free to write them in and rank them along with the rest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A fair deal before the law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A chance to earn a decent living, and at any trade or profession open to other Americans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social equality insofar as public services go (Police Protection-Theatres-Buses-Cafes, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same courtesy that is normally accorded other citizens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full participation in government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decent housing (the right to live anywhere)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal educational opportunities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please mark an (x) before all of these cities in which you have lived.

( ) Columbus, Ohio ( ) Cincinnati, Ohio ( ) Cleveland, Ohio

Which of these cities do you consider the best city in terms of opportunity to achieve the above wants?
Central Area
Cleveland, Ohio
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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, William Franklin Moore, Jr., was born in Waxhaw, N. C., February 24, 1910. I received my secondary education in the public schools of Chester, S. C. My undergraduate training was obtained at Wofford College, from which I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1914. From Emory University School of Theology, I received the degree Bachelor of Divinity in 1914. From 1914 to 1918 I served as pastor of churches in the Upper South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church, and from the last pastorate went into the Chaplains Corps of the U. S. Army. After the war I entered Ohio Wesleyan University, and from there received the degree Master of Arts in 1917. In the Summer of 1917 I entered The Ohio State University, where I specialized in the Department of Sociology. In the Fall of 1918, I received an appointment to the teaching staff of Penn College, where I am now employed as Assistant Professor of Sociology.