

United States Department of the Interior

Listed 8/8/2019

National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

New Submission Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Twentieth-Century African American Civil Rights Movement in Ohio

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Historic overview of African American Civil Rights in Ohio, 1787–1884
 History of Civil Rights and Public Accommodations in Ohio, 1884–1970
 History of Civil Rights and Education in Ohio, 1900–1970
 History of Civil Rights and Employment in Ohio, 1900–1970
 History of Civil Rights and Housing in Ohio, 1900–1970
 History of Police Relations and Police Brutality in Ohio, 1900–1970

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Barbara Power

DHSHPO for
Inventory & Registration

June 14, 2019

Signature of certifying official

Title

Date

State Historic Preservation Office, Ohio History Connection
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

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Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Create a Table of Contents and list the page numbers for each of these sections in the space below.

Provide narrative explanations for each of these sections on continuation sheets. In the header of each section, cite the letter, page number, and name of the multiple property listing. Refer to *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* for additional guidance.

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E. Statement of Historic Contexts

(If more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order.)

The Twentieth Century African American Civil Rights Movement in Ohio historic context consists of a broad overview of the state's civil rights movement followed by key themes. It is not an exhaustive history of Ohio African American civil rights. Instead, it highlights turning points, interspersed with typical experiences from each period. It covers a broad range of civil rights in Ohio, including actions taken by individuals, civil rights organizations, and various levels of government.

Civil rights themes of public accommodation, education, employment, housing, and police relations and police brutality are explored in detail with examples of civil rights transgressions, community responses and tactics, and outcomes. The Multiple Property Document (MPD) also details regional changes in the state and the pace of civil rights changes. Advances in civil rights were not equal in all areas. Metropolitan areas outpaced rural areas even when legislation was in place that guaranteed equal access to public accommodation and education.

Introduction

This MPD examines African American civil rights in Ohio, ostensibly from 1900–1970. In reality, it starts in the 1880s with the Ohio public accommodation law and ends in approximately 1978 with two events: President Jimmy Carter's 1978 opening of the Mt. Vernon Shopping Plaza in Columbus and the installation of the Shaker barricades on the Shaker Heights-Cleveland border in 1976. Respectively, these events represent the progression of civil rights and the ongoing limitations of the movement.

"Civil rights" are broadly defined in this MPD. The authors subscribe to historian Thomas J. Sugrue's view that focuses on civil rights as *rights*—the right to equal access in public accommodation, education, employment, and relations with the police. In this manner, civil rights go beyond the narrower definition of challenges to legal segregation.¹ The MPD looks at these civil rights episodes through the lens of action and response by all parties. What was the action that prompted the community to respond? Was it successful? In many instances the answer is no, but each action laid the groundwork for the next one. Tactics were refined, activists moved around the state, and outside forces lent a helping hand. Eventually, small gains grew into actual change. Small gains can be locally significant. While the integration of a movie theater or restaurant in Ohio seems like it may not seemingly carry the significance of major civil rights legislation the community change could

¹ Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008), xvi-xvii.

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be great. To ignore these small events, even if unsuccessful is to ignore a large part of Ohio civil rights history.

The MPD focuses on the activities of everyday Ohioans in their battle for equality and fundamental rights of citizenship. The civil rights movement entailed individual action, unorganized collective activities, and organizational actions, including legislative and governmental actions. The African American community worked together, but also sometimes against each other. The civil rights movement was also an interracial enterprise, with white activists assisting African Americans in carefully choreographed roles. There was not always agreement about tactics, timing and strategy, but there was always agreement that something had to change.

The MPD examines both typical and unusual civil rights actions. It points out differences in people and communities, since there was not one method, technique, or school of thought on how to achieve equality. It is not a comprehensive account of Ohio's civil rights history. It is the rare historical document which asks the reader to say, "They missed something, this needs to be told." It is meant to help people and communities identify new episodes in Ohio African American civil rights history and place them in context; to ascertain where their newly discovered or passed-down civil rights story fits into a larger picture. Far from being the last word in Ohio's civil rights history, it should serve as a beginning point, a chance for local communities to fill in gaps, to look around neighborhoods and places, to listen to elders' stories, to preserve places before they disappear.

Historic Overview: African Americans in Ohio

The historic overview places the African American experience in Ohio civil rights in a larger context. It outlines early legislation affecting African Americans and enumerates the history not covered in the themes of public accommodations, education, employment, and police relations but which is important to understand in relation to the themes. Consequently, the overview will give a historical framework while the themes explore topics in more detail, including representative historical episodes.

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 outlawed slavery north of the Ohio River. Nonetheless, for the most part southern Ohio remained economically and culturally tied to the South. While slavery was technically outlawed it was a legal gray area. In some instances Southerners moving to Ohio had their slaves sign indentured servant papers, indentured servitude periods ranging up to forty years being not an uncommon practice in the Ohio Valley.²

Cincinnati was settled in 1788. Although the city's 1800 census returns indicate no

² Christopher Phillips, *The Rivers Ran Backwards: The Civil War and the Remaking of the American Border Region* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 32-34.

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black residents in Cincinnati, by the 1810 census eighty African Americans were present.³ The status of blacks in Cincinnati was nebulous. Many were slaves working in Cincinnati hoping to purchase their own freedom or that of their families.⁴ Though the Northwest Ordinance disallowed slavery, Ohio did not enthusiastically receive African American residents. In 1803, Ohio began passing a series of "Black Laws" aimed at keeping African Americans out of the state. In 1804, the Ohio legislature required blacks to prove their freedom upon entering the state and in 1807 required them to post a \$500 bond as proof they were able to support themselves. Some large groups of African Americans did move from the South to Ohio. In the 1820s and 1830s, the freed slaves of Samuel Gist traveled first to Erie County, but reportedly were deterred by poor soil conditions and malaria. They allegedly returned to Virginia.⁵ Black Fork Settlement in Lawrence County was established in the early nineteenth century and thrived as an African American community until the early 1900s. Poke Patch, another small community on Gallia County's western edge, was a major stop on the Underground Railroad. Poke Patch was populated by a mix of freed slaves, whites, mulattoes, and Native Americans; it was estimated that more than 200 slaves passed through on their way to freedom.⁶ African Americans were not only drawn to southern Ohio for freedom; the iron industry allowed employment in iron furnaces and foundries—work that whites disdained. In addition, local ironmasters were often abolitionists. Ironmasters such as John Campbell could assist runaways by moving them from furnace to furnace disguised as employees.⁷ African American settlements also enabled collective defense. These early historic black enclaves occur in all parts of Ohio. Rumley, in Shelby County between Piqua and Lima, was established by 1837. Longtown, in Darke County, was founded by freed slave James Clemens in 1818, and was an interracial community. The Union Literary Institute, an integrated school for higher learning founded in 1845, was located in Longtown.

Regional variation in settler origination often loosely dictated attitudes toward African Americans in Ohio. Southern Ohio, with its bordering slave states, fostered a complicated situation. Slavery's exclusion was not merely a result of high-minded attitudes. It was the interaction of protecting burgeoning white labor while at the same time interacting economically with bordering slave states. Excluding African Americans through Black Laws was aimed at protecting white labor. While many Ohioans may have abhorred slavery, they generally supported legislation that kept African Americans out of Ohio.

³ Joe William Trotter Jr., *River Jordan: African American Urban Life in the Ohio Valley* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1998), 6.

⁴ Phillips, *The Rivers Ran Backwards*, 73.

⁵ Ohio History Central, "Gist Settlement," *Ohio History Connection*, http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Gist_Settlements, accessed July 6, 2018.

⁶ Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, *Free Black Communities and the Underground Railroad: The Geography of Resistance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 73.

⁷ LaRoche, *Free Black Communities*, 74.

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Attitudes in northeastern Ohio were somewhat different. Many settlers were from New England with its strong abolitionist streak. There was also a paucity of African Americans. In 1840, fewer than 500 blacks lived in the Western Reserve.⁸

In 1849, the Black Laws were partially repealed. Blacks were no longer required to post bond or register freedom papers. However, they were still denied the right to vote.

The Civil War legally freed African Americans from slavery, but informally many barriers remained in the quest for full citizenship. Slavery was officially abolished in 1865 by the 13th Amendment. The 14th Amendment, adopted in 1868, made African Americans citizens and guaranteed due process and equal protection rights to all citizens. The 15th Amendment, passed in 1870, gave all U.S. male citizens the right to vote.

In 1884, Ohio passed a civil rights law stating that all citizens “were equal before” the law and prohibited discrimination in “inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement.” The law was refined in 1894 with a new act that guaranteed access to restaurants, eating houses, barbershops, and all other places of public accommodation and amusement.⁹ Nonetheless, the legal footing for equal access was tenuous and narrow. Police and courts seldom enforced the laws. Juries often mirrored local attitudes towards African Americans, with predictable results in trials.

Benjamin W. Arnett wrote the Arnett Act, enacted in 1887, outlawing segregation in public schools. The law had immediate effect. Three years after it was passed, eight hundred African American children attended desegregated schools in Cincinnati.¹⁰ However, in some parts of Ohio, especially southern Ohio, it was roundly ignored.

In the 1890s, racial violence against African Americans was present in Ohio, although not to the level of that in the Deep South during the same period. In the most spectacular instances, mobs driven by the local elite attempted to circumvent the formal judicial system. Governor William McKinley, however, was adamant that lynching would not take place and that the rule of law be preserved regardless of color. If time allowed, the state government would dispatch the National Guard, usually via rail, to disrupt mob action.

A notable instance of McKinley’s intervention took place in Washington Court House. In 1894, a mob attacked the Fayette County Courthouse in the town of

⁸ Andrew R. L. Cayton, *Ohio: The History of a People* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2002), 30.

⁹ Paul Finkelman, ed., *Encyclopedia of African American History, 1896 to the Present: From the Age of Segregation to the Twenty-First Century*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 147.

¹⁰ Beverly A. Bunch-Lyons, *Contested Terrain: African American Women Migrate from the South to Cincinnati, Ohio, 1900-1950* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 77.

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Washington Court House. Mob activities in the days before had prompted McKinley to send the Ohio National Guard to the city. The Washington Court House mob sought Jasper Dolby, an African American, who had confessed and pleaded guilty to a rape charge and been sentenced to twenty years in the penitentiary. The National Guard formed two lines along a path from the jail to the courthouse. When the crowd surged to attack the prisoner, the soldiers charged with fixed bayonets, injuring several people, including the son of the assaulted woman. The soldiers, fighting back the mob with rifle butts and sword hilts, hustled the prisoner into the courthouse, which came under immediate siege.¹¹

While the convicted criminal and the National Guard were barricaded in the courthouse, the angry mob attempted to batter down the courthouse doors with a 20-foot piece of oak timber. Warning the crowd to disperse, Col. Alonzo B. Coit ordered a volley fired from the courthouse hallway. The National Guard fired through the doors, killing one outright and fatally wounding four more. Twenty others received various levels of wounds but lived. The fusillade tempered the retreating mob's anger, and the people dispersed. The bullet holes remain in the south courthouse doors to this day.

In 1896, the legislature passed the Smith Act, an anti-lynching law prompted by an 1894 lynching near West Union in Adams County and strongly supported by McKinley. Sixteen-year-old Roscoe Parker was lynched for allegedly killing an elderly couple for ten dollars. Parker maintained his innocence and refused to pray when the rope was around his neck. The crowd, "composed of the best people in the community," bungled the hanging and had to shoot the young man before they left.¹² The mob chose a spot on the path to an African American settlement for its crime.¹³ The next day Jesse Prewell, a local farmer who participated in the lynching, shot himself. Prewell left a letter stating that remorse drove him to suicide.¹⁴

In many cases, criminal accusations drove the violence. In others, labor disputes pitted groups against each other. In 1902, African American strikebreakers in Fremont opened fire on a mob attacking them, killing one and wounding two.¹⁵

African Americans, far from being passive in response to racial violence, often practiced rigorous self-defense, which was also promoted by the black press. The African American *Indianapolis Leader*, founded in 1879, advocated armed self-defense. In addition, the *Chicago Defender* had a long tradition of promoting armed

¹¹ Frank N. Allen, ed., *History of Fayette County, Ohio* (Indianapolis: B.F. Bowen & Company, 1914), 261-62.

¹² "Strung Him Up: A Lynching in the Civilized Buckeye State," *The Columbus Dispatch*, January 1, 1894.

¹³ Jack S. Blocker, *A Little More Freedom: African Americans Enter the Urban Midwest, 1860-1930* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2005), 108.

¹⁴ "One of Parker's Lynchers Driven to Suicide by Remorse," *The Columbus Dispatch*, January 13, 1894.

¹⁵ Blocker, *A Little More Freedom*, 128.

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self-defense. African American Ohio state legislator Harry Smith, who had introduced the Smith Act, also stated that “The use of arms must be resorted to by our people. It is the only remedy.”¹⁶

Race riots became a fixture in some Ohio cities. Riots broke out in Springfield in 1904 in the Levee neighborhood, a black enclave on the Mad River, when a policeman was killed during a domestic dispute that spiraled into a lynching. In the rioting that followed part of the Levee was destroyed. In 1906 another riot occurred in the Levee area after an African American reportedly shot a white railroad brakemen. A March 1921 riot occurred in Springfield after rumors circulated that an unknown African American man had assaulted an eleven-year-old girl, and whites threatened to burn down the Levee again. African American residents, with a number of armed World War I veterans among them, prepared to defend the neighborhood. While no arrest was made, the National Guard was sent by train, interurban, and trucks, arrived at 2 a.m., and imposed military control on the city.¹⁷ Fourteen African American men were killed. Adding to the general confusion *The Crisis*, in an article by a Springfield resident, maintained no one was killed and blamed the casualty count on white hysteria.¹⁸

The Great Migration

The national Great Migration was the mass movement of African Americans from the rural South to northern cities. Growing racial segregation in the South, political disenfranchisement, a boll weevil infestation that destroyed the already meager prospects of tenant farmers, and a southern labor depression in 1915 pushed African Americans north in search of jobs and a less restrictive social and political environment.¹⁹ European immigration was largely curtailed by the advent of the First World War, opening many job opportunities in heavy industry in northern cities. New African American enclaves formed and grew in the North, defined by the racial covenants and informal segregation that kept them from integrating entire cities. New York’s Harlem, Chicago’s Black Belt, and Indianapolis’s Indiana Avenue became the locations of a northern black renaissance. Letters from friends and relatives and black newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender* and the *Pittsburgh Courier* spread the word in the South about northern job opportunities. In Ohio, Cleveland’s Central Avenue became an increasingly dense African American neighborhood. The area expanded during the war, stretching to East 55th Street to the east, Euclid Avenue to the north, and the Cuyahoga River to the south. Very few African Americans settled on Cleveland’s west side.²⁰ Columbus’s East Long Street became an African American destination while other black enclaves

¹⁶ Blocker, *A Little More Freedom*, 127.

¹⁷ “Fourteen Negroes Shot in Race Riot,” *The New York Times*, March 12, 1921.

¹⁸ “The Springfield Riots,” *The Crisis*, August 1921, 165.

¹⁹ William Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio, 1915–1930* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2005), 10–11.

²⁰ Giffin, 35.

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such as the East Fifth Community, nestled near industry, and the American Addition also saw population increases. In Cincinnati, racial discrimination concentrated the migrants in the city's old West End, where a vibrant African American community developed.

In Ohio, the Great Migration was most pronounced during 1915–1920, and in Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati, the black population grew. Columbus' African American population increased from 12,739 in 1910 to 32,774 by 1930.²¹ In Toledo, the African American population rose from 1,877 to 5,691 and the percentage of blacks born in Ohio dropped from 45 percent to 22 percent.²² While many of the new arrivals came from eastern seaboard states such as North Carolina and Virginia, large numbers also came from southern Ohio.²³ In small Ohio towns and cities throughout the state such as Washington Court House, the African American population stopped growing as people left for urban centers. African Americans moved to other small towns such as Elyria, Massillon, Warren and Niles in Trumbull County, and Middletown near Cincinnati. All these small cities were fast-growing industrial centers during the first part of the twentieth century.²⁴ They would later become civil rights hotspots for education, public accommodation, and employment.

The turn of the century and Great Migration also marks a new chapter in Ohio regionalism. Social attitudes based on the settlement patterns of regional origin such as New Englanders in northeastern Ohio and the Virginia and Kentucky influence in southern Ohio are replaced by an urban and rural divide. This is solidified by the 1930s. The rise of labor organizations and the New Deal separated people from cities for who labor militancy and cultural pluralism promised a better life to a rural contingent whose way of life was threatened by these factors.²⁵ Historian Jack Blocker notes a new black consciousness during this period in small town Ohio. He postulates that negative experiences of small town African Americans; “a durable hostility to black achievement” gave rise to Garveyite black nationalism and new racial consciousness in metropolitan areas as people migrated.²⁶

African Americans that remained in small towns and rural Ohio appear to have adopted an accommodationist attitude that persisted until the 1960s and in some cases beyond. The spread of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and the possibility of extra-judicial violence encouraged movement to urban areas but also seemed to have fostered a sense of resigned acquiescence. This attitude is occasionally shaken,

²¹ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 232.

²² Abdul Alkalimat and Rubin Patterson, *Black Toledo: A Documentary History of the African American Experience in Toledo, Ohio* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 60.

²³ J.S. Himes Jr., “Forty Years of Negro Life in Columbus, Ohio,” *The Journal of Negro History* 27, no. 2 (April 1942): 135.

²⁴ Blocker, *A Little More Freedom*, 208.

²⁵ Andrew R. L. Cayton, *Ohio: The History of a People* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2002), 320

²⁶ Blocker, *A Little More Freedom*, 219

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usually by outsiders moving to small towns and advocating for civil rights. The status quo was also upended by returning residents who had been in the armed services or lived in a metropolitan area. In many cases, such as New London and Mechanicsburg in the 1940s, residents were unaware that civil rights violations were even taking place. These violations were often in public accommodations and were usually just accepted as custom until outside intervention forced the issue.

The new residents' sudden arrival disrupted the delicate racial social fabric of urban Ohio for both blacks and whites. Newly arrived southerners imagined that northern states were paradisiacal places of freedom and opportunity. As one observer noted in 1921:

“He has been anxious to leave his supposed bondage and enjoy the freedom that the North affords. Upon his arrival he is confronted with similar rules and customs that held him so closely suppressed while in the South and in his attempt to try out his newly acquired freedom runs into the solid roots of the well-established northern social order.”²⁷

The new arrivals tested what they thought were newly acquired freedoms, but these freedoms proved to be nonexistent. This caused social friction between new arrivals, whites, and long-term black residents. African American class distinctions were an important part of social relations within the community. Among long-term black residents, recent African American arrivals were reputed to have both capital and business acumen, which caused animosity between new and longer-term residents as new class divisions were created. Education, not money, was the ticket to the local black upper class.²⁸ Columbus resident Ralph Tyler noted in his 1891 nationally published newspaper article, “Colored Aristocracy,” that elite African Americans were distinguished by their personal appearance, refinement, and education. They always lived in fashionable neighborhoods. Columbus's black upper class spoke flawless English, devoid of dialect. Tyler also noted that black social mobility was not high.²⁹ Working-class Great Migration arrivals were thought to be too boisterous on Columbus streetcars, which caused discomfort for both whites and longtime black residents. Further, some whites felt it was the duty of black residents to get out of whites' way on the sidewalks, and would push newly arrived blacks into the street if they were not quick to comply.³⁰ Consequently, segregation became the force that re-delineated social, economic, and political boundaries in the African American community.

In Cincinnati, places of public accommodation became newly segregated. Wendell Dabney noted the changes: “All the beer gardens were open to them, the beer gardens, theaters, Over-the-Rhine resorts, the Zoo café, dining room, and most

²⁷ Ralph Garling Harshman, “Race Contact in Columbus, Ohio” (M.A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1921), 13.

²⁸ Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 27.

²⁹ Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color*, 27.

³⁰ Harshman, “Race Contact in Columbus, Ohio,” 39.

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ordinary restaurants.”³¹ Dabney, like elite blacks in Columbus, blamed southern migrants, claiming that the increase in the black population led to an increase in prejudice. But more precisely, Dabney blamed a lack of class consciousness: “The difference in class neither concerns nor affects him, the color being the same is all he considers.” He continued “that he cannot [but] conceive that obnoxious personal characteristics form the basis of prejudice far more than differences of race, color and religion.”³²

Even Cleveland exhibited increasing prejudice and segregation during the Great Migration. By the outbreak of World War I, downtown Cleveland theaters and restaurants were discriminating. Recreational facilities followed throughout the city.³³ However, in some cases, public recreational spaces remained opened to African Americans through the 1920s if there were police present to enforce the law. In places where there was an absence of ready law enforcement, mob rule sometimes carried the day and blacks were harassed.³⁴

African American Responses to Segregation

Segregation’s widespread institution led to generational and class differences in how to respond. In Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati, coterie of established individuals attempted to communicate the black community’s response in a fairly non-confrontational manner. In Cleveland, this included George Myers, a “color line” barber, who was African American but served white clients. Politically connected to Marcus Hanna’s Republican machine, Myers offered opinions and advice to the white power structure at his barbershop in Cleveland’s Hollenden Hotel.³⁵ Harry C. Smith, politician and publisher of the *Cleveland Gazette*, and Horace Bailey, the first pastor of Antioch Baptist Church, were long-established figures in Cleveland who filled similar roles as liaisons between white and black communities. In Columbus, Ralph Tyler, and in Cincinnati, Wendell Dabney, publisher of the *Union* newspaper, acted as community liaisons. Arrayed with them, and against them, often depending on the issue, was a raft of new groups and organizations intent on promoting their own version of racial uplift. The main differences were the manner and pace of empowerment sought.

In Alabama, Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee Institute promoted an accommodationist attitude. If African Americans devoted themselves to hard work and focused on vocational labor, whites would notice and grant blacks their rights under the Constitution. To this end, in 1900 Washington founded the National

³¹ Wendell Dabney, *Cincinnati’s Colored Citizens: Historical, Sociological, and Biographical* (1926; repr., Cincinnati: Ohio Book Store, 1988), 145.

³² Dabney, *Cincinnati’s Colored Citizens*, 146.

³³ Giffin, 44.

³⁴ Todd M. Michney, *Surrogate Suburbs: Black Upward Mobility and Neighborhood Change in Cleveland, 1900-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 48-49.

³⁵ Cayton, *Ohio*, 200.

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Negro Business League, which promoted African American businesses. This school of thought met with immediate scorn in some quarters and underlaid the struggle between Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. Adding to the mix was Jamaican activist Marcus Garvey's focus on black nationalism and this view's adoption by lower-class African Americans. Consequently, later civil rights battles would involve not only debating the means to the end, but also would reveal class issues as the question of how the struggle was waged sometimes depended on which group or groups waged it. The end itself, whether integration or continued segregation with rights, was also up for debate. While the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an interracial organization, favored integrating with whites, black nationalists such as Garvey advocated black empowerment through separation from whites. For his part, Washington argued for accommodation to segregation until blacks proved themselves worthy and whites accepted them as equals.

In July 1905, Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter formed the Niagara Movement, named after the location of its first conference; the name also referred to its vision of a mighty current of water. Three Ohioans attended the first conference: Cincinnati's Wendell P. Dabney and George H. Jackson, and Harry T. Smith, the *Cleveland Gazette* publisher and former state legislator.³⁶

The Niagara Movement proposed a much less accommodationist approach than Booker T. Washington. Its principles included manhood suffrage and equal economic opportunity. The movement, however, was plagued by infighting and external attacks. Washington's supporters fought the organization by suppressing it in the press. Meanwhile, internal battles raged over the inclusion of women, which Du Bois opposed. Subsequent conferences were held in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, in 1906; Boston in 1907; and at Warner Hall (demolished 1964) in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1908. The final meeting was held in Sea Isle City, New Jersey, in 1909.

Following the demise of the Niagara Movement, Du Bois joined with white reformers and other black militants to found the NAACP in 1909. The first Ohio chapter was formed in Cleveland in 1912. Columbus, Cincinnati, Dayton, Springfield, and Toledo followed with chapters formed in 1915. By 1919, additional chapters were formed in Akron, Canton, Oberlin, Lorain, Youngstown, and Wellsville in northern Ohio. Chapters were also formed in Urbana and in Greene County.³⁷

The NAACP fought discrimination through the court system, by lobbying politicians, and later by public persuasion through coordinating boycotts of products and businesses. Legal action was not uniformly spread throughout the state. Cleveland had many more civil rights cases than other cities, including

³⁶ Niagara Movement Flyer, <http://scua.library.umass.edu/digital/dubois/312.2.839-01-09.pdf>, accessed July 12, 2018.

³⁷ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 232.

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Columbus, which only had one case between 1905 and 1916.³⁸ The number of cases brought forward may reflect the plaintiffs' perceived chances in court.

On August 1, 1914, Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Unlike the integrationist NAACP, the separatist UNIA “promoted black and moral independence within white society.” In 1921, the UNIA organized itself in Cleveland with a headquarters at 2200 E. 40th St. The organization was set back when Garvey was prosecuted for stock fraud, associated with his Black Star shipping line, in 1924. In 1940, the UNIA parent body's headquarters moved to Cleveland along with its publication the *New Negro World*.

The NAACP and the UNIA exemplified social stratification in the African American community. The UNIA was a blue-collar organization and was popular in Cleveland and other Midwestern urban areas long after Garvey's deportation in 1927 and death in England in 1940. The NAACP, with its focus on the legal system, appealed to a more educated segment of the African American community. In addition, there was considerable bad blood between Du Bois and Garvey. Garvey's view of black separation was diametrically opposed to Du Bois's integrationist outlook. Du Bois's protégés, Columbus insurance executive Truman Kenna Gibson, Sr., and insurance agent G.A. Steward, shared his dim view of Garvey and attempted in 1920 to use their insurance agents in Cleveland to gather information to discredit Garvey, though with little success since the agents in question were unfamiliar with his recent activities.³⁹

African Americans and sympathetic whites began to establish organizations to help migrants in their transition. The Negro Welfare Association (NWA) was active in Cleveland and Cincinnati. The Cleveland unit was founded in December 1917 to ease southern migrants' transition to the urban north. It was initially associated with the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. The organization became affiliated with the national Urban League in 1930 and changed its name to the Urban League of Greater Cleveland in 1940.⁴⁰ Located at 2352 E. 40th St, the organization attempted to alleviate “the already existing problems of health, recreation, and morals.”⁴¹

Building Parallel Businesses and Institutions

As segregation advanced during the early 20th century, African Americans formed parallel institutions when they were denied entrance to white-controlled

³⁸ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 232.

³⁹ Robert Hill, ed., *The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol. 2, 27 August 1919-31 August 1920* (Berkeley, University of California Press), 434-435.

⁴⁰ Western Reserve Historical Society, “Urban League of Greater Cleveland,” *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, <https://case.edu/ech/articles/u/urban-league-of-greater-cleveland>, accessed July 16, 2018.

⁴¹ The Welfare Federation of Cleveland, *Social Service at Home During the War Years* (Cleveland: Welfare Association of Cleveland, 1919), 7.

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organizations. This was not unusual in American history; blacks denied membership in the Masons had formed the Prince Hall Masons in Boston in 1784, chartering their organization in England where there was less racial animosity. The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, American Jurisdiction, was formed in 1843 when blacks were denied membership in the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. The fraternal organization the Knights of Pythias was formed in 1864; in 1869, in Richmond, Virginia, a group of African American men formed the Knights of Pythias of North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa when denied membership by the Knights of Pythias Supreme Lodge. The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks formed in 1868 in New York City. When African Americans were refused membership, the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World was formed in Cincinnati in 1897 by B.F Howard and Arthur J. Riggs. Du Bois protégé Harry Pace, later the president of the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company in Chicago, with Truman Kenna Gibson Sr., another Du Bois protégé and life insurance magnate, served as the grand exalted ruler from 1911–1913. The black Odd Fellows, Pythians, and Elks were considered old-line fraternal organizations. Due to their longevity, high membership, and financial strength, they were important institutions when segregation began to grow at the advent of the Great Migration. The Elks, for example, formed a civil rights department in 1926. However, by the 1920s, membership was already falling, and many branches experienced financial difficulty as the century wore on.

African American fraternities without white counterparts were also formed. Gibson formed the first Sigma Pi Phi Boulé in Ohio, the Lambda Boulé, in 1921 at the Spring Street YMCA. Boulé members were required to have a college degree. Du Bois, Gibson's mentor and friend, was a charter member of the New York Zeta Boulé, formed in 1904. Du Bois's visits to Columbus and close relationship with Gibson were surely a factor in the Columbus group's formation. In addition, Fireside Mutual employee G. A. Steward, also a stalwart NAACP member, was a charter member. Subsequent Boulés were formed in Dayton (in 1924), followed by Cleveland and Cincinnati. In 1929, the Grand Boulé was held in Columbus. The general headquarters for the Grand Boulé was Gibson's Supreme Life Building at 1005 E. Long St. in Columbus. (Figure 2)

While some Boulé members, such as Gustavus A. Steward, were active in civil rights, Sigma Pi Phi largely appears to have withdrawn from the movement.⁴² Steward, however, wrote numerous articles for W. E. B. Du Bois's newspaper *The Crisis* in the 1920s and 1930s criticizing the lackadaisical attitude of Columbus's African Americans in the fight for civil rights.

In the twentieth century's early decades, African Americans fought for integrated facilities, but if those were not forthcoming, blacks would typically settle for a

⁴² "Lambda Boulé," *The Boulé Journal*, March 1935, MSS 1089 Lambda Boulé/Sigma Pi Phi Records, Folder AV 2/18, Ohio History Connection.

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separate but equal facility.⁴³ In some instances, whites established or supported parallel institutions and facilities. In 1910, Julius Rosenwald, the president of Sears Roebuck, offered to donate \$25,000 for each community that raised \$75,000 toward the construction of YMCA branches for African Americans. Rather than see the offer as discriminatory, Rosenwald thought he was being compassionate in the face of rampant discrimination and growing segregation.⁴⁴ Rosenwald also believed that the black YMCAs would provide opportunities for self-help and personal improvement. It was a train of thought firmly rooted in the idea that blacks could achieve the American Dream through hard work and rugged individualism.⁴⁵ The funding enabled the construction of four YMCA buildings in Ohio. The Spring Street YMCA in Columbus opened in 1919 and Cincinnati's Ninth Street YMCA opened in 1916. The Dayton Fifth Street YMCA and Toledo's Indiana Street YMCA opened in 1928 and 1930 respectively after a second round of funding was offered in 1920. African American leaders looked at these facilities with mixed emotions. Du Bois praised Rosenwald's financial contribution, but condemned the YMCA's tacit acceptance of segregation.⁴⁶

The YMCAs were well-utilized community success stories, and some that used them subscribed to Washington's theories. Cincinnati's Horace Sudduth was an ardent believer in Washington's assertion that blacks had to prove themselves. Sudduth led the Cincinnati fundraising committee for the Ninth Street YMCA. He also served on the managing committee while building his real estate business which included a hotel for upper class blacks in an interracial Walnut Hills neighborhood. The Toledo and Dayton Rosenwald YMCAs are still used as community centers. The Youngstown YMCA was recently used as homeless center.

Homes for unwed mothers and orphan asylums were also typically segregated. A group of white Christian women formed the Columbus Home for Colored Girls in 1920. In Cincinnati, a home established for "girls from broken homes" was located at 649 W. 7th St. (now demolished).⁴⁷ The Evangeline Home, 712 W. 6th St., operated by the Salvation Army and established in 1912, operated a home and boarding school for unmarried African American mothers.⁴⁸ In Cincinnati, the Shelter Home for Colored Children, a boarding home, was established in 1910 at 1234 Chapel St (now demolished).⁴⁹ Cincinnati's New Orphan Asylum for Colored Youth, established in 1845, was located at Melish and Van Buren in Avondale and was expanded in the 1920s. It was demolished in 1967. The Cincinnati Children's Asylum, meanwhile, noted that "Those over fourteen not taken, nor colored

⁴³ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 13.

⁴⁴ Nina Mjagki, "A Peculiar Alliance: Julius Rosenwald, the YMCA, and African Americans, 1910-1933," *American Jewish Archives* 44, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 1992): 585.

⁴⁵ Mjagki, "A Peculiar Alliance," 586.

⁴⁶ Mjagki, "A Peculiar Alliance," 593.

⁴⁷ Dabney, *Cincinnati's Colored Citizens*, 395.

⁴⁸ Dabney, *Cincinnati's Colored Citizens*, 397.

⁴⁹ Dabney, *Cincinnati's Colored Citizens*, 397.

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children.”⁵⁰ Other asylums were integrated, at least theoretically: the Children’s Home of Cincinnati “preferred white children but some colored children are received at discretion.”⁵¹

In 1926–27 the Godman Guild settlement house in Columbus constructed an African American summer camp, Camp Wheeler, near Chesterville, Ohio. The Godman Guild’s reasoning was that segregation was necessary to improve the condition of African Americans, as well as that integrated camps would drive off whites. Therefore, in order to serve everyone, two camps were necessary.⁵² The settlement house itself was open to blacks on Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday mornings. All other times were for whites except Sundays, which were integrated.⁵³

Early Unorganized Protests

While black responses to segregation included accommodation, it also included unorganized protest. In August, 1921, the Budd Dairy Company advertised its new dairy-based soft drink, “300,” in the Ohio edition of the Ku Klux Klan newspaper, *The Fiery Cross*. The Klan was planning a major convention at the Ohio State Fairgrounds, and the Budd family spotted a golden opportunity to increase its market share. However, the Budd Dairy was located in a neighborhood populated by African Americans (and a concentration of Catholic Italian immigrants, also targeted by the Klan). The day after the Budd Dairy advertisement ran, African American customers began to cancel their milk orders en masse. Protestation by Budd family members that they were not racists fell on deaf ears in the black community, which continued its boycott. After seven months, the Budd family was forced to sell the much-diminished company to the Hamilton Dairy, based in Cincinnati. The action is thought to be one of the earliest successful racially-based economic boycotts in the United States.

Civil Rights and the Great Depression, 1932–1940

The Great Depression affected the African American community more than the white community. Blacks' unemployment rate was higher--50% to a national 25% in 1933--and the measures to mitigate its effect fewer.⁵⁴ Compounding the difficulty in Ohio’s urban areas was the fact that migration from the South to the North continued despite the Depression. Positions usually accorded to blacks, such as domestic service positions, were suddenly going to unemployed white women. In 1930, 90% of Cincinnati employers surveyed as to whether they would hire an

⁵⁰ William A. Spencer, *Cincinnati Social Service Directory: A Classified and Descriptive Reference Book of the Social, Civic, Educational, and Religious Resources of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati: Council of Social Agencies of Cincinnati, 1914), 41.

⁵¹ Spencer, *Social Service Directory*, 41.

⁵² Mjagki, “A Peculiar Alliance,” 201.

⁵³ Mjagki, “A Peculiar Alliance,” 200.

⁵⁴ Trotter, *River Jordan*, 123.

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African American employee either answered no or refused to answer, suggesting that racism compounded the matter.⁵⁵

In the face of rising unemployment in their communities African Americans began to question why they had so few employment opportunities, especially in the local retail businesses where they spent their paychecks. In Cleveland, 3000 retail stores employed fewer than 100 African Americans. Even though jobs and economic livelihood were at stake, there was sharp disagreement on methods. Protests against local shops and other employers again tended to split the black community across regional and class lines. Longtime Ohio African American residents and those who worked in philanthropy, business, and many professional positions were loath to upset the white power structure on which many depended for patronage, funding, and clients. Lower-class African Americans and recent Great Migration arrivals, meanwhile, had nothing to lose and everything to gain from provocation and direct action. Consequently, new protests focused on economic targets with a proud, in-your-face militancy that had not been seen in the past. In addition, the protests dispelled with the niceties of other civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, which operated through the legal system more often than in the streets.

It also signaled a wider movement towards black nationalism as a means of empowerment. In 1931, the pastor of Cleveland's Shiloh Baptist Church, the Rev. Boston J. Prince, along with his wife, formed the Economic Race Development Society. They urged the use of the black community's collective economic power and rallied the community with the slogan "Don't Spend Your Money Where You Can't Work."⁵⁶ The organization obtained jobs for blacks at several A&P stores in Cleveland by picketing. The East End Political Club got its members jobs at a Kroger store, but an African American Cleveland city councilman, Clayborne George, who had promoted black independence within white society, was rumored to have pressured the group to stop when its actions developed political ramifications.⁵⁷

The Great Migration migrant John Holly formed the Future Outlook League (FOL) in Cleveland in 1935. The FOL concentrated on employment opportunities in stores and other white establishments that operated in black neighborhoods but wouldn't hire African American employees. The FOL's basic modus operandi was picketing, a tactic borrowed from labor unions. It proved wildly effective.

The League's success generated more members, who increased actions throughout the state. Chapters opened in Akron, Canton, and Mansfield during the Depression. The FOL is usually described as an organization that skewed younger than the Cleveland Urban League and the NAACP. Members often had high school educations, with perhaps some college level courses. However, far from operating

⁵⁵ Trotter, *River Jordan*, 125 .

⁵⁶ Philips, *The Rivers Ran Backwards*, 199.

⁵⁷ Philips, *The Rivers Ran Backwards*, 199.

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in a vacuum, the FOL received support from a wide array of civil rights activists. A 1935 *Call and Post* article notes that speakers at the FOL's August meeting included civil rights attorney Chester Gillespie, a Mr. G. Jackson from Garvey's UNIA, and H.P. McAllister from the Fireside Mutual Insurance Company, founded by W. E. B. Du Bois protégé Truman Kenna Gibson, Sr.⁵⁸ While these speakers' groups were sometimes at odds with each other, it appears there was ample opportunity to make common cause, and even a willingness to help new groups who might choose different tactics.

New Deal programs, meanwhile, were often little help to African Americans. Franklin Delano Roosevelt's reliance on Southern Democrats for successful legislation put civil rights on the back burner. Consequently, proposals to make racial discrimination illegal in public works projects went nowhere. Furthermore, because many federal work programs were locally controlled, equitable distribution of jobs did not result. Labor programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) were segregated. (Figure 4) Community relations were not always convivial even under segregated conditions. There is evidence that the African American Company 584 at the CCC's Camp Shawnee was the victim of arson when its barracks burned on December 6, 1933.⁵⁹ Opposition was also registered in southern Ohio in January 1934 when a white Scioto County resident complained about the presence of African Americans. At the same time a proposal to have African American CCC workers from Fort Hill work at the Serpent Mound, presumably with white Federal Emergency Relief Administration workers did not come to fruition.⁶⁰

The Works Progress Administration assigned blacks skilled and semiskilled jobs according to their proportion in the 1930 Census. Since less than 4% of African American men held skilled positions in the Census enumeration, the chance of any African Americans getting anything beyond unskilled labor was minimal.⁶¹ Consequently, black men drifted from temporary job to temporary job. As usual, black women had even fewer opportunities, yet faced more pressure when husbands and male family members were also unemployed.

The New Deal's legislation did not always help blacks as much as it did other workers. The initial version of Social Security did not include general laborers or domestics, jobs often held by African Americans. The federal Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) was established in 1933 to refinance mortgages and enable homeowners to avoid foreclosure proceedings. The HOLC famously used maps of

⁵⁸ Yolande Crew, "Future Outlook League," *Cleveland Call and Post*, September 5, 1935.

⁵⁹ Andrew Feight, "Burning of CCC Camp Adams: Segregation & Sabotage in Ohio's Shawnee Forest," *Scioto Historical*, <http://www.sciotohistorical.org/items/show/7>, accessed August 23, 2018.

⁶⁰ Rory Krupp, "New Deal, New Serpent: Public Works Projects at Serpent Mound State Memorial," *Journal of Ohio Archaeology* (forthcoming).

⁶¹ Kimberley L. Phillips, *Alabama North: African-American Migrants, Community Activism, and Working Class Activism in Cleveland, 1915-1945* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 196.

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cities to assign mortgage risk, grading areas A, B, C, and D with A, color-coded green, representing the best risk and D, color-coded red, the worst. A "red line" around a neighborhood indicated two things: the area was largely African American and federal mortgages were unavailable, starving these areas of investment.

However, African Americans gradually gained some New Deal benefits. Public housing for African Americans was available, although always in short supply. Such housing was confined to black enclaves and was not constructed in majority white areas, which were often limited to whites by deed restrictions.

Officials in Cleveland spearheaded public housing and slum clearance in the early 1930s. In one study, state representative Ernest J. Bohn showed that the area between Central and Woodland avenues between E. 22nd and E. 55th Sts. required a tax subsidy of \$51.10 per resident, factoring in decreased tax revenue and the cost of city services.⁶² The study became influential nationwide and was a driving impetus for slum clearance in the 1930s and urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s.

Parallel political institutions were also constructed during the Depression. The Bronzeville movement of the 1930s, for example, combined elements of media spectacle with the realities of political disenfranchisement. The movement originated in Chicago in 1934 when the African American newspaper the *Chicago Defender* held a contest to elect the "Mayor of Bronzeville." The Great Depression had drastically cut newspaper sales and the publisher needed a gimmick to boost circulation. Since the ballot was only available in the *Defender*, would-be voters had to buy a copy. The idea spread to other cities, and Akron, Columbus, and Dayton had Bronzeville "mayors" and "cabinets" in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Their roles varied from city to city, but the Bronzeville mayor, typically a local businessman, was supposed to be an aspirational figure to the community.⁶³ Dayton's Bronzeville Club's mission included "the betterment of the conditions under which the Negroes are FORCED to live."⁶⁴ The club's mission during the 1940s was to admit Dunbar High School, which at the time played only other African American teams, into the Dayton High School Athletic Association.

In Columbus, meanwhile, a speech by Nimrod Allen in honor of the first Columbus Bronzeville mayor, Dr. N.L. Scarborough, noted that the local club was "an organization set up with the intention of giving leadership to Negro activities."⁶⁵ Scarborough told Allen that by accepting the "symbolic position of mayor...I can

⁶² Thomas F. Campbell, "Cleveland Public Housing," <http://case.edu/ech/articles/p/public-housing/>, *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, accessed April 2, 2018.

⁶³ St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945), 383.

⁶⁴ "Bronzeville Club Elects New Officers," *Cleveland Call and Post*, July 29, 1944, 5B.

⁶⁵ N.B. Allen, "A Tribute to N.L. Scarborough," July 23, 1949, [MSS594_B1_F30_03_01](http://digital-collections.columbuslibrary.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/african/id/24154/rec/2), Nimrod Booker Allen Collection, Ohio History Connection, <http://digital-collections.columbuslibrary.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/african/id/24154/rec/2>, accessed July 20, 2018.

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help in bringing about good will between races.”⁶⁶ Scarborough was also a Columbus Urban League Executive Committee member and active in the Frontiers of America. These positions indicate that the Columbus "Bronzeville mayor" was a member of the city's black elite. A photograph of one mayor's installation includes Columbus mayor James Rhodes, indicating that the organization was close to the white power structure too. The movement in Columbus ended in 1942 when the last Bronzeville mayor, Ernest D. Mackey, Sr., a Mt. Vernon Avenue furniture store owner, was elected. His most noted task that year was to crown Miss Bronzeville, the winner of the neighborhood beauty pageant.⁶⁷ Bronzeville movement members in Columbus were older and more conservative than the membership of more militant organizations such as the Columbus Vanguard League or the Future Outlook League. All in all, Bronzeville movement members mirrored African American establishment members in each community. However, distinctions could be seen between cities; the Columbus movement was more focused on incremental change while Dayton's movement was more militant. Akron's Bronzeville movement appears to have been less militant than either, and little record of it remains.

The National Negro Congress, founded in February 1936, was another Depression-era Chicago-based organization. The NNC was composed of delegates from a myriad of organizations that cut across social, class, and political lines, spanning Republicans, Democrats, Garveyites, the NAACP, the Housewives League, and the Urban League.⁶⁸ The NNC focused on economic opportunity as the catalyst for ending inequality.⁶⁹ In this, the NNC echoed the Communist Party and some labor unions. The FOL sent delegates to the NNC throughout its existence. Cleveland activist L. Pearl Mitchell, who was involved in the local NAACP, also attended the NNC.

Finally, African American churches also participated in civil rights actions during the Depression. Understudied is Reverend Sandy Ray's time at Shiloh Baptist Church in Columbus, from approximately 1937–1944. Ray graduated from Morehouse with Martin Luther King, Jr., and remained close friends with King throughout his life. After serving a term in the Ohio General Assembly as a state representative, Ray moved to New York City to pastor Cornerstone Baptist.⁷⁰ King recovered at Ray's home in Brooklyn from his 1958 stabbing at a New York book signing.

⁶⁶ Allen, "A Tribute to N.L. Scarborough."

⁶⁷ Juanita Sullivan, "Personality Parade," *The Ohio State News*, September 13, 1947, 7.

⁶⁸ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 33.

⁶⁹ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 34.

⁷⁰ "Sandy Frederick Ray," *The Martin Luther King, Jr., Encyclopedia*,

<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/ray-sandy-frederick>, accessed July 20, 2018.

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Civil Rights and World War II, 1940–1945

The advent of the Second World War marked a change in the civil rights movement. African Americans combined the fight for civil rights at home with the search for victory in the war. The "Double V" campaign fought fascism abroad and white supremacy at home.⁷¹

Civil rights activities during World War II were largely in the areas of public accommodation, housing, and employment as the war supercharged industry. This sparked a second Great Migration that sent African Americans to the North to work in heavy industry. But restrictive covenants and segregation kept black enclaves from expanding, taxing the already overcrowded and sometimes decrepit northern housing stock.

Civil rights organizations in Cleveland and Columbus fought for equal access to public accommodations, largely concentrated in downtown areas. Using a combination of picketing and legal action, these groups, such as the FOL in Cleveland and the Vanguard League in Columbus, knocked down racial barriers.

The war brought new leaders and tactics to the forefront. For some African Americans the pace of change was too slow and the tactics of the past ossified. Union leader and activist A. Philip Randolph of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters challenged the legal- and education-oriented NAACP with his direct-action tactics in 1941. Randolph organized the March on Washington Movement in 1941 to protest racial segregation in war industries. Though the March on Washington did not take place at that time, the threat of a mass nonviolent direct action moved Roosevelt to action. On June 18, 1941, the president issued Executive Order 8802, which established the Fair Employment Practices Committee and outlawed racial discrimination in defense industries, government employment, and government training programs. The order also helped African Americans establish ties with both the Democratic Party and some organized labor. While the American Federation of Labor balked at allowing blacks in unions, the Congress of Industrial Organizations supported black workers and their FEPC claims.⁷²

The direct action movement also manifested in Ohio. The Columbus Vanguard League was formed in 1940 for the purpose of direct nonviolent social action after Constance Curtis Nichols and Frank Shearer were denied entrance to a movie theater in downtown Columbus. The Vanguard League worked for equal access in public accommodation and employment.

The Vanguard League, while led by college-educated professionals, appeared to

⁷¹ Western Reserve Historical Society, "United Freedom Movement," *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, <https://case.edu/ech/articles/u/united-freedom-movement-ufm/>, accessed August 23, 2018.

⁷² Trotter, *River Jordan*, 146.

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have had a dim view of some blacks with a more accommodating attitude. An editorial letter in their papers reserves special ire for blacks financially able to travel and see movies such as “Gone With The Wind” in neighboring towns’ integrated theaters, then having the audacity to brag about their trips while simultaneously not wanting to be a “nuisance” while protesting or picketing in Columbus.⁷³

Initially, the Vanguard League’s tactics were not successful. However, Ohio civil rights groups shared successful tactics with each other. FOL President John Holly journeyed to Columbus to advise the group on strategy and addressed several mass meetings.⁷⁴ Holly also made flyers that decried local African Americans who worked against the Vanguard League theater protests by buying off picketers.⁷⁵

Reminiscent of earlier generations who had reprimanded boisterous southern migrants during the Great Migration, the Vanguard League, composed largely of middle-class African Americans, attempted to moderate black public behavior and to ease the way for civil rights. The League began a conduct campaign in the 1940s termed the “What Hurts Us Campaign.” A flyer asked “Are you Slipping?” “Slipping” included loud talk in public places, a bad work record, public disturbance, wasting your money, neglecting your children, neglecting the appearance of your home, and generalized bad conduct that included using profane language, disrespect for women, drunkenness, and extreme dress such as zoot suits.⁷⁶ The campaign also used courtesy cards that reminded blacks to mind their manners. Vanguard League members were instructed to merely hand the card to the offender and walk away. Columbus newspaper the *Ohio Sentinel*, a Vanguard League ally, published editorial cartoons reminding blacks not to give whites any excuse to promote segregation because of their behavior. Loud talking, eating on the bus, and garish clothing were all frowned upon. The good conduct campaign extended to employment. Editorials and organizational materials reminded workers that the job site was not the place to address civil rights complaints.

In 1942, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was formed in Chicago. It also focused on nonviolent direct action and challenged the primacy of the NAACP in the civil rights movement. Initially, CORE was a northern, integrated organization that adapted Gandhi’s techniques to the civil rights movement by staging sit-ins, swim-ins, skate-ins, and freedom rides.⁷⁷

A Cleveland CORE chapter formed in 1944. Meetings were held at the home of Eula Morrow, mother of Cleveland and Cincinnati civil rights activist Juanita Morrow. The interracial organization gained the support of the Cleveland press and

⁷³ “Writer Answers Letter and Asks, ‘What’s Wrong with Columbus Negroes?’ Shows Reasons,” *The Ohio Sentinel*, November 11, 1944, 5

⁷⁴ Charles Loeb, *The Future is Yours: The History of the Future Outlook League* (Cleveland: Future Outlook League, 1947), 80.

⁷⁵ Flyer, January 27, 1941, Vanguard League Papers, microfilm 80, Reel 3, Frame 253, Ohio History Connection.

⁷⁶ “Are You Slipping,” Vanguard League Papers, microfilm 80, Reel 3, Frame 165, Ohio History Connection.

⁷⁷ Carleton Mabee, “The Crisis in Negro Leadership,” *The Antioch Review* 24, no. 3 (1964): 371.

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black politicians.⁷⁸

The FOL began to become less relevant during World War II as employment opportunities increased for African Americans. In response, it diversified its mission to include discrimination in public accommodations and education.⁷⁹

The June 1943 Detroit riots left a deep impression in municipalities across the country. Two days of rebellion caused by housing shortages, widespread discrimination, and police brutality cost 34 lives and took 6000 federal troops to quell. The fear that riots would be repeated across the country spurred many cities to pay closer attention to race relations. In Cincinnati the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee (MFRC) was founded to bring groups of people together for the goal of fostering mutual respect.⁸⁰ The committee planned to use a gradualist approach using "education, persuasion, and persistent effort." Protest, resistance, and public demonstrations were not part of the agenda.⁸¹ The committee was tested in 1946 when a white couple was allegedly held at gunpoint and the wife was raped by a group of black men. The MFRC contacted religious leaders, who headed off rioting in the city. In other matters, such as police brutality, the MFRC took a hands-off approach, not wishing to take sides in more hot-button municipal matters. In June 1944, when a black family moved to Mt. Adams, the MFRC did not respond, though this may indicate that a committee meeting monthly was not suited to emergency situations.⁸²

Public accommodation victories over chain theaters and restaurants were in a sense Pyrrhic. By the time downtown areas in metropolitan areas were desegregated, the regional retail and housing market had begun to shift. Whites began to move to the suburbs and abandon center cities to African Americans. Retail shops, restaurants, and movie theaters followed white flight. Automobile-oriented strip malls that required private transportation erected yet another barrier to African Americans. Goods, services, and jobs that were once out of reach but within sight were now physically removed from the African American experience.

Post-war to the Civil Rights Act, 1945-1964

The end of World War II and the return of both black and white veterans changed housing, employment, and education in Ohio. Returning African American veterans faced serious housing shortages. Restrictive covenants sharply limited available

⁷⁸ Nishani Frazier, *Harambee City: The Congress of Racial Equality in Cleveland and the Rise of Black Power Populism* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2017), 27-28.

⁷⁹ Frazier, *Harambee City*, 29.

⁸⁰ Phillip J. Obermiller and Thomas E. Wagner, *The Cincinnati Human Relations Commission: A History, 1943-2013* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2017).

⁸¹ Obermiller and Wagner, *The Cincinnati Human Relations Commission*, 4.

⁸² Robert A. Burnham, "The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee: Cultural Pluralism and the Struggle for Black Advancement," in *Race and the City: Work, Community, and Protest in Cincinnati, 1820-1870*, ed. Henry Louis Taylor (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 262.

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building areas. Discrimination in lending also restricted choices.

Veterans' housing choices were few and initially restricted to already existing black enclaves.

The post-war period is critical for Ohio's small towns and their understudied forays into civil rights activities. The NAACP and other civil rights organizations formed new chapters in smaller towns and cities. For example, Reverend La Faud Young, originally from Cleveland, formed a NAACP chapter in Huron County's New London in 1948, followed by another chapter in Crestline. The New London branch drew members from Ashland and Norwalk, and had over 200 members by 1948.⁸³ The FOL started a Portsmouth chapter in 1948, previous chapters having been established in Akron, Alliance, Canton, Mansfield, Painesville, and Springfield.⁸⁴

Larger cities also gained new postwar organizations. In October 1945, an interracial group in Cincinnati formed the Citizens Committee for Human Rights (CCHR), which later became a CORE chapter.⁸⁵ The Cleveland City Council created the Community Relations Board in 1945 to foster cooperation between races and cultural groups. The board explored complaints about discrimination at restaurants, hotels, and pools, and its purview expanded in 1950 to include employment.

Like the FOL in Cleveland, the West End Civic League (WECL) in Cincinnati irritated the establishment, in their case the MFRC. The WECL's tactics of picketing and flyers proved effective but led white business owners to complain to the city, with the MFRC in the middle. In 1947 WECL actions led to the Central Five Cents to One Dollar store hiring blacks. However, all the white staff quit in protest. MFRC head Marshall Bragdon felt that a gradualist approach might have worked better.⁸⁶

In both small and large towns, when activists, often women, moved, they upset the status quo. A notable example of such an activist is Frieda Stahl, president of the New London NAACP chapter. A 1948 *Call and Post* article noted she held her position because she was "middle-aged and pleasant faced" in conservative New London. It also noted that Stahl was the only white president of an Ohio NAACP branch.⁸⁷ Stahl moved to New London after attending Baldwin-Wallace College and teaching school in Cleveland. Despite her "pleasant face," she led what was termed an "aggressive organization," holding mass meetings at New London High School to protest problems like segregation in movie theaters and restaurants.⁸⁸

⁸³ "Minister Keeps Busy Organizing NAACP Branches" *Cleveland Call and Post* October 23, 1948, p. 12B.

⁸⁴ Loeb, *The Future is Yours*, 120.

⁸⁵ Burnham, "The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee," 267.

⁸⁶ Burnham, "The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee," 271.

⁸⁷ "White, NAACP Head, Faces Challenge with Mixed Roster," *Cleveland Call and Post*, July 2, 1948, 14A.

⁸⁸ "White, NAACP Head, Faces Challenge with Mixed Roster."

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Not all African American social organizations were at the forefront of civil rights. Social organizations representing the black elite largely ignored the movement. The Sigma Pi Phi fraternity, the Boulé, composed of doctors, attorneys, and other high-ranking black professionals, lagged. At a 1948 speech to the Grand Boulé in Wilberforce, Ohio, W. E. B. Du Bois excoriated the membership for contributing little to the advancement of black Americans. Historian David Levering Lewis, who was in attendance as a young man, described the speech: "And so here we were with college presidents and the most successful black brain surgeons and engineers, the whole crème de la crème of black America, and Du Bois spoke to them for an hour and a half about how corrupt they were. He told them their jobs, their privilege brought with it obligation to bring the rest behind, that when he conceived the notion of the Talented Tenth, it was a leadership class and what was happening to these guys was that they were conspicuously consuming."⁸⁹ The membership largely ignored Du Bois.⁹⁰ Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier also condemned the black elite in his 1957 book *The Black Bourgeoisie*. Frazier called the upper echelons of black society a make-believe world separated from previous black experience by choice but rejected by whites all the same.⁹¹ Focusing on their conspicuous consumption and penchant for segregated high society, Frazier exposed what few in that group wanted to see, writing that "A sad truth is better than a merry lie."⁹² .

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, ruled that segregation in public schools was illegal and that schools should desegregate "with all deliberate speed." This decision affected southern schools but did little for northern schools that were not segregated by law but rather by gerrymandered school district boundaries and residential development patterns.

More civil rights organizations were formed as southern civil rights protests gained speed and attention. In 1957, Martin Luther King, Jr. formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), focusing on the mass nonviolent techniques used by CORE in the 1940s.⁹³ King visited the Hollenden House in Cleveland on August 4, 1956, in his role as leader of the Montgomery bus boycott.⁹⁴ It was King's first visit to Cleveland. On November 26, 1961, King spoke to 3900 people over the course of two church services at Antioch Baptist Church.⁹⁵ King would return throughout the 1960s until his death. In 1960, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was organized after a lunch counter protest in Greenville,

⁸⁹ Mary Ann French, "Into the Mind of W. E. B. Du Bois," *The Washington Post*, December 13, 1993.

⁹⁰ William H. Harris, "The Grand Boulé at the Dawn of a New Century: Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity," in Tamara L. Brown, Gregory S. Parks, and Clarendia M. Phillips, eds., *African American Fraternities and Sororities: The Legacy and the Vision* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2012).

⁹¹ E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1962), 24-26.

⁹² Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie*, 8.

⁹³ Mabee, "The Crisis in Negro Leadership," 372.

⁹⁴ "Martin Luther King, Jr., Visits to Cleveland," *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, <https://case.edu/ech/articles/m/martin-luther-king-jr-visits-to-cleveland/>, accessed April 2, 2018.

⁹⁵ "Martin Luther King, Jr., Visits to Cleveland."

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South Carolina; now three large organizations, SNCC, the SCLC, and CORE, focused on nonviolent direct action.

New organizations also formed in Ohio towns. Dayton City Commissioners formed a Human Relations Commission in 1962 for better interracial understanding. The commission's inception was controversial. City commissioners debated vigorously whether the commission should be an investigative unit with subpoena powers.⁹⁶ Some commissioners felt subpoena powers would duplicate the recently formed OCRC. Others thought a commission without subpoena powers would be no more effective than a "mayor's friendly relations committee." The commission was narrowly established without subpoena powers. Dayton's CORE chapter attacked Mayor Frank R. Somers over the powerless commission in July, 1962, noting that it was not even staffed months after the ordinance was passed.⁹⁷ When it finally staffed in September, 1962, its chairman, John D. O'Brien, formulated a plan for improved race relations. O'Brien advocated what he called a long-term plan neither focusing on moderation nor plunging ahead. It would approach each issue in a pragmatic manner.

In 1963, Worthington residents formed the Worthington Human Relations Council "to better understand minorities in the community."⁹⁸ In addition to better understanding, the group also worked actively for equality in housing and employment in Worthington.

Urban renewal exacerbated racial problems in the mid-1950s. In Cleveland, urban renewal projects related to the Longwood, Garden Valley, and St. Vincent Projects displaced thousands of residents without adequate relocation assistance.⁹⁹ The Erievue urban renewal project resulted mostly in commercial office space and new parking lots instead of housing. The University-Euclid urban renewal project also failed to rehabilitate housing units, resulting in only 600 rehabbed apartments when more than 4000 were planned.¹⁰⁰ Displaced people, barred by restrictive zoning practices and hostility from going elsewhere, moved to the Hough area, cramming more powder into a keg that would explode in a few years.

Interstate highway construction also resulted in the forced relocation of thousands. In most instances relocation efforts were largely ineffective and the displaced ended up in already crowded, poor, and largely black neighborhoods. Akron residents were convinced that the Innerbelt route through the previous uprising site of Wooster Avenue was a punishment.¹⁰¹ In many cases Akron residents, like those in

⁹⁶ Dick Eben, "Human Relations Unit Established," *Dayton Daily News*, May 9, 1962, 9.

⁹⁷ "CORE Raps Mayor's Defense of City's All American Bid," *Dayton Daily News*, July 15, 1962, 1.

⁹⁸ Juanita Jones, "Blacks in Worthington Since Civil War Days," *Worthington News*, December 16, 1976, MSS 1284, Worthington Area Human Rights Council, Folder 1/1, Ohio History Connection.

⁹⁹ Leonard N. Moore, *Carl B. Stokes and the Rise of Black Political Power* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 44.

¹⁰⁰ Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 45.

¹⁰¹ Doug Livingston, "50 years after Akron riots, healing racial divide is an ongoing project," *Akron Beacon Journal*, www.ohio.com/akron/news/local/50-years-after-Akron-riots-healing-racial-divide-is-an-ongoing-project, accessed July 17, 2018.

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Columbus, Cleveland, Toledo and other cities with inner-city highway projects, were cut off from jobs, shopping, and downtowns. In Akron, it was estimated that a dozen African American neighborhoods were destroyed.¹⁰²

Interstate highway construction in Columbus cut through the 1946 veterans' preference Hanford subdivision George Washington Carver Addition, while avoiding an affluent white suburb to the east. Hanford residents learned of the route during a question and answer session while white businessmen whose concerns were addressed knew in advance. One Hanford veteran torched his house rather than see the state tear it down, and was sent to prison for arson. Relocation efforts were not adequate and most families were forced into already overcrowded areas on the east side and north in Weinland Park.

In 1959, Ohio Governor Michael DiSalle signed the Ohio Civil Rights Act. The law created the Ohio Fair Practices Commission (OFPC). While primarily formed to investigate discrimination in employment, it also investigated public accommodations violations. In 1965, Ohio's laws against discrimination were amended to include housing.

A *Columbus Citizen* editorial hints at white frustration at civil rights picketers. In 1961, the OFPC's name was changed to the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, reflecting the addition of religious discrimination to its mandate. The 1884 public accommodations law, widely ignored and narrowly interpreted by the judiciary, was strengthened with House Bill 918, which also replaced largely ineffective criminal procedures and sanctions with administrative investigation and enforcement by the OCRC.¹⁰³

The Ohio Civil Rights Commission is particularly helpful in determining the types and geographic range of complaints. Previously, African Americans' civil rights complaints either required extensive personal resources or the assistance of a civil rights organization, usually present in a large city but often not in small towns. The OCRC represented a major development for civil rights actions, enabling a single person to accomplish, with state backing, what previously had taken protests, outside legal action, picketing, and other actions.

The OCRC initially relied on cases to be tried locally in criminal or civil courts. Depending on geography, witness, jury, and police bias, however, cases may or may not have been fairly judged. In 1961, the commission was able to provide administrative remedies. This legal change vastly expanded the efficacy of public accommodations complaints; commissioners estimated that more public accommodations complaints were filed in 1961 than all criminal and civil

¹⁰² Livingston, "50 years after Akron riots."

¹⁰³ Ohio Civil Rights Commission, "History of the Ohio Civil Rights Commission," <http://crc.ohio.gov/Portals/0/Book/History.pdf>, 46, accessed July 22, 2018.

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complaints previously filed combined.¹⁰⁴

By 1967, civil rights commission cases demonstrated a geographic propensity for cases to be filed in larger cities. Cuyahoga, Franklin, and Hamilton Counties led the complaints. Employment discrimination complaints were the most popular, followed by housing and, lastly, public accommodations. Cases in southeast Ohio were sparse in 1966–1967; across twenty-five counties, African American residents filed three complaints each about employment and public accommodations. Most largely rural counties had no complaints,¹⁰⁵

In 1965, the Ohio legislature passed Senate Bill 189, the Fair Housing Law. The law covered rental property and home purchases. The law also regulated real estate professionals by banning agents from inducing panic, mentioning potential neighborhood race changes, or representing that neighborhood changes could lead to deterioration.¹⁰⁶ It proved to be fatally weak and essentially unenforceable.¹⁰⁷

Ohio-based civil rights organizations assisted in Southern civil rights battles, as well. Students at Oberlin College raised money for a Nashville sit-in student's legal defense. In a tactic shared by Oberlin students, during 1960 Columbus's NAACP and other groups picketed chain stores such as Woolworth's and Kresge's that promoted segregation in their southern stores.

One of the largest instances of assistance came in training volunteers for Freedom Schools in Mississippi in 1964. Originally planned for Berea College in Kentucky, the training started on June 13, 1964, and lasted for two weeks at Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio. Students were taught about voter registration and the Freedom School curriculum, including the history of Mississippi and of the movement. They were also trained in how to behave if they were arrested and beaten.¹⁰⁸

Federal Civil Rights Legislation

In 1957, Congress passed legislation establishing the federal Commission on Civil Rights. The law enabled the Attorney General to prevent interference with voting rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 expanded federal power in state elections. Aimed at the South, neither bill greatly affected voting rights in Ohio.

In 1964, the Civil Rights Act passed, outlawing discrimination in public

¹⁰⁴ Ohio Civil Rights Commission, *Fourth Annual Report* (Columbus: F.J. Heer, 1963), 15.

¹⁰⁵ Ohio Civil Rights Commission, *Seventh Annual Report* (Columbus: F.J. Heer, 1966), 19-21.

¹⁰⁶ Ohio Civil Rights Commission, "History of the Ohio Civil Rights Commission," 53.

¹⁰⁷ Charles F. Casey-Leininger, "Giving Meaning to Democracy: The Development of a Fair Housing Movement in Cincinnati, 1945-1970," in *Making Sense of the City: Local Government, Civic Culture, and Community Life in Urban America*, ed. Robert B. Fairbanks and Patricia Mooney-Melvin (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2001), 165-167.

¹⁰⁸ Jon N. Hale, *The Freedom Schools: Student Activists in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 103.

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accommodations, schools, and employment based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

In 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, removing barriers to the African American franchise guaranteed by the 15th Amendment. Ohio's role in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and other civil rights legislation was crucial because of Rep. William McCulloch (R-Piqua). A ranking member of the House Judiciary Committee, McCulloch was an ardent supporter of civil rights, especially notable because his position netted him no political gain. In 1972, after his retirement, he noted that there were few votes for a civil rights advocate in Piqua, Ohio.¹⁰⁹ McCulloch's leadership, however, was essential for voting rights bills in 1957, an anti-bombing bill in 1960, and the omnibus bill of 1964. He also supported the Open Housing Act of 1968. Importantly, McCulloch opposed the Nixon administration's weakening of the law that allowed federal officials to register black southerners to vote.¹¹⁰

Voting rights in Ohio were not hindered in the same manner that they were in the Deep South. Civil rights organizations did participate in voter registration drives, a political activity associated with gaining political power rather than one purely associated with gaining civil rights. The political power gained, however, was used to mitigate the effects of segregation on education, housing, employment, and police brutality.

Black Nationalism

Black nationalist groups also formed in Ohio during the early 1960s. While CORE, SCLC, SNCC, and the NAACP were integrationist, black nationalists advocated separatism in the Garveyite tradition and were largely a northern phenomenon. Black nationalists demanded equal opportunity in American life but at the same time rejected assimilation.¹¹¹ Northern Ohio and smaller industrial cities such as Akron, Lima, and Canton were the main black nationalist centers in the state during the 1960s. There was also some black nationalist activity on college campuses, though it often was linked with the black student movement advocating increased opportunity in higher education. Campus black nationalism and the black student movement were also related to the anti-Vietnam War movement.

In Ohio, the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) started at Central State College (now University) in Wilberforce. In 1961, RAM took over the undergraduate student government. The next year some members moved to Philadelphia, while others went to Cleveland. RAM was later a proponent of Robert F. Williams, a NAACP member in North Carolina, who wrote *Negroes with Guns* in 1962. The book, which influenced many other black nationalists, argued that

¹⁰⁹ "Former Rep. William McCulloch Dies," *The Washington Post*, February 23, 1980, C8.

¹¹⁰ "Former Rep. William McCulloch Dies."

¹¹¹ Mabee, "The Crisis in Negro Leadership," 373.

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violence could be met with violence in order to create a space for other kinds of protests, including non-violent protest. Williams did not argue for aggression but rather a strictly defensive posture.¹¹² He felt that when people were opposed to "violence" what they really meant was that they were opposed to breaking the monopoly on violence held by white racists.¹¹³

The United Freedom Movement was started in Cleveland on June 3, 1963. This coalition of 50 civic, fraternal, and social organizations was inspired by the southern civil rights movement, and presented a united black front, previously divided by class, to Cleveland's white leadership. The staid, middle-class NAACP and Urban League's gradualist approach chafed working-class blacks who wanted more immediate and tangible results such as those previously supplied by groups like the FOL in the 1940s and 1950s. The United Freedom Movement dissolved in 1966 when the NAACP left the coalition.

The UFM sponsored a Freedom School in 1964, resulting in a boycott and the death of Unitarian minister Rev. Bruce Klunder, who was crushed under a bulldozer while protesting the construction of a segregated school in East Cleveland. Klunder's death would reverberate. Malcolm X also alienated some whites, including white journalist James Wechsler, during a question-and-answer session when an elderly white audience member asked for a moment of silence for the recently killed Klunder. Malcolm X asked to include Medgar Evers and Patrice Lumumba in the tribute.

Cleveland's CORE chapter was more militant and focused on more quotidian issues (such as jobs and schools) than the legally-oriented NAACP. Nishani Frazier notes that black nationalism among CORE members developed differently in various CORE chapters. Each CORE chapter represented the local interests and conditions in which it was formed.¹¹⁴

Lewis Robinson, a Korean War veteran and school teacher, founded Freedom Fighters, Inc., in Cleveland in 1960. Robinson had moved to Cleveland from the south and, like many migrants before him, found the so-called "liberal north" was not so liberal. Lewis organized blue-collar southerners in Cleveland and fought discrimination in stores, banks, and police relations.¹¹⁵

Robinson, with Cleveland native Harllel Jones also founded the Jomo Freedom Kenyatta House (JFK House) at 8801 Superior Avenue (demolished). The JFK House was a black nationalist organization founded to support parents and

¹¹² Timothy Tyson, introduction to Robert F. Williams, *Negroes with Guns* (1962; repr., Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), x.

¹¹³ Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 77.

¹¹⁴ Frazier, *Harambee City*, xxxii.

¹¹⁵ Ryan Nissim-Sabat, "Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland," in *Comrades: A Local History of the Black Panther Party*, ed. Judson L. Jeffries (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), 98.

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businesses in the Wade Park-Superior neighborhood by curbing juvenile delinquency through providing a neighborhood recreation and cultural center. In addition, the organization promoted civic, political, and economic responsibility and cooperation between varied economic and cultural groups.¹¹⁶

On May 14, 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke at Cory United Methodist Church on 105th St. in Cleveland, and returned September 29, 1963, to speak at Antioch Baptist Church (Figure 8). On April 3, 1964, Malcolm X, sponsored by CORE, spoke at Cory Methodist Church. He gave his famous “Ballot or the Bullet” speech, stating that if the fruits of nonviolent protest were not forthcoming then it was time to begin an armed struggle.

Apparently inspired by Malcolm X’s speech, Lewis Robinson immediately formed the Medgar Evers Rifle Club to provide self-defense for the black community. (Medgar Evers was the Mississippi NAACP field secretary assassinated the year before in Jackson, Mississippi.) The rifle club attracted attention from the FBI and the Cleveland police, which put Lewis Robinson and JFK House under surveillance. The MERC attracted additional attention after the Hough uprising when it emerged in the press that it had a rifle range in rural Ashtabula County.

Fred “Ahmed” Evans started the Black Nationalists of New Libya in Cleveland’s Glenville neighborhood. A railroad worker from South Carolina, Evans moved to Glenville in the 1930s with his family. Like other black nationalists, Evans wondered why things never changed for African Americans. A stint in the army, including service in the Korean War, introduced Evans to two things that many other black nationalists had in common: experience in the Jim Crow South and military proficiency in small arms.

At the JFK House, Robinson and Jones applied Malcolm X’s concepts and established a Freedom School to teach young adults about black culture. In 1966 the JFK House was closed after Robinson and Jones were accused of using it to recruit people for the Hough uprising.¹¹⁷ In 1967, Jones opened the Afro Set Cultural Shop, selling African imports. His group fixed up deteriorated properties, cleaned up the Kinsman neighborhood, and patrolled at night in the absence of the Cleveland police.¹¹⁸

Ohio’s black nationalists began to adopt the Black Panther moniker around 1969. Black Panther groups in Ohio fall into two subsets: those officially sanctioned by the parent organization in Oakland, California, and those that adopted the name without official sanction. The ideology, and often the social programs they promoted, were the same. Both official and unofficial groups sold the Black

¹¹⁶ Rhonda Y. Williams, *Concrete Demands: The Search for Black Power in the 20th Century* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

¹¹⁷ Michael Zadell, “By Any Means Necessary: The History of New Libya/Afro Set as a Case Study of Black Nationalists in Cleveland, 1964–1971,” (M.A. thesis, Cleveland State University, 2010), 21.

¹¹⁸ Zadell, “By Any Means Necessary,” 23.

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Panther newspaper and adopted their dress and social posturing. They fought against the disproportionate allocation of state resources, with the black community usually a second thought. Focusing on basic needs—food, clothing, education, and safety—Black Panther groups operated in a defensive posture in regards to armed conflict.¹¹⁹ They aggressively moved into the community to provide social programs ranging from free breakfast to an armed response to police brutality. In Point 7 of their Ten-Point Program the Panthers noted, “We believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing self-defense groups dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality.”¹²⁰

In Cleveland, the group grew from a Young Socialist Alliance group at Case Western Reserve University.¹²¹ Another self-declared Panther group was organized by Lindsay Maddox in the summer of 1969 and headquartered at 7809 Superior Avenue (demolished). Being a self-declared Panther group often meant being officially recognized only by the police and not by the parent body in Oakland. Consequently, surveillance and state harassment were the norm. By December 1969, Maddox’s group was disbanded when its funds were exhausted by bail before they heard from the national headquarters whether they were officially sanctioned.¹²²

In July 1969, a new organizing entity, the National Committee to Combat Fascism, was formed. Shortly thereafter, a NCCF affiliate was formed in Cleveland. The group initially met at the Freedom Inn Settlement House and later the Garden Valley Neighborhood Community Center. With its location on Kinsman Road in lower Cleveland, the organization began to dominate the black nationalist scene in the neighborhood since Afro Set dominated political activity in Hough and what remained of the Black Nationalists of New Libya was ascendant in Glenville. At this time, they moved to an office at East 79th Street and Rawlings Avenue.¹²³

The Cleveland Black Panthers' involvement in the revolutionary struggle was focused on changing the material conditions of Cleveland’s African American residents, not on confrontations with the police, as popularly portrayed.¹²⁴ They were interested in forming their own community institutions. Community programs were funded through newspaper sales. In Cleveland, activities included a liberation school, launched in the summer of 1970 at the Friendly Inn and the League Park Center at 1508 E. 71st St. The curriculum included “education that teaches us our true history and our role in present day society.”¹²⁵ Weekly community meetings, including the teaching of basic literacy, were held at the Garden Valley

¹¹⁹ Judson L. Jeffries and Ryan Nissim-Sabat, “Introduction,” in *Comrades: A Local History of the Black Panther Party* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 7.

¹²⁰ Jeffries and Nissim-Sabat, “Introduction,” 3.

¹²¹ Nissim-Sabat, “Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland,” 101.

¹²² Nissim-Sabat, “Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland,” 102.

¹²³ Nissim-Sabat, “Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland,” 107.

¹²⁴ Nissim-Sabat, “Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland,” 116.

¹²⁵ Nissim-Sabat, “Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland,” 119.

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Neighborhood Community Center and its headquarters at E. 79th and Rawlings. During the summer of 1970 the Cleveland Panthers also sent a delegation to the Chicago Panthers' People's Free Medical Care Center. The Cleveland chapter instituted a door-to-door program to inquire about community members' health. The team tested 450 residents for tuberculosis, diabetes, high blood pressure, and sickle cell anemia and referred those who needed it to medical care.¹²⁶ On August 23, 1971, the health clinic was dynamited, killing two Panthers. Afro Set members made cash donations and held a fund-raising picnic at Midway Lake Park.

The Cleveland Panthers also instituted a children's breakfast program at the E. 79th St. headquarters and at the African American Catholic St. Adalbert's Church at 2347 E. 83rd St. The Panthers also used the church for their free clothing distribution program. A prison bussing program carried family members to visit incarcerated members in Ohio prisons.

An NCCF chapter was located at 1334 Dorr St. in Toledo by 1970. As with other NCCF chapters, members established a free clothing and free breakfast program. On September 18, 1970, a Toledo police officer was shot and killed while sitting in his patrol car outside the NCCF headquarters at Junction and Dorr. Toledo Black Panther John McClellan was arrested for the crime. The Toledo police surrounded the Panther headquarters and a five-hour gun battle ensued. One Panther was wounded, but the Toledo police prevented emergency services from taking sixteen-year-old Troy Montgomery to the hospital, instead instructing the African American ambulance driver "to leave him in the street and let him die." Montgomery survived, and McClellan was freed after two hung jury trials.

A NCCF chapter was established in Lima in 1970. The committee grew from Project Liberation, a remedial academic and training program for inner-city youth from Lima and Toledo housed at St. Mary's Preparatory Seminary south of Celina. Locally, the project was deeply unpopular. Contemporary accounts note that whites in the surrounding area had little previous contact with African Americans and rumors about drugs and guns were rampant.¹²⁷ The project was called a "leftist exercise."¹²⁸ During the winter break in January 1971, arson destroyed the building that housed the project, which moved to Dayton.

While the arson directed against Project Liberation sparked the formation of a Black Panther group in Lima, a number of black residents had previously believed this was necessary; like African Americans across the country, they saw Martin Luther King's 1968 assassination as a sign that nonviolent direct action had failed. They established a NCCF chapter on East Holmes Street in Lima (demolished)

¹²⁶ Nissim-Sabat, "Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland," 121.

¹²⁷ John M. Mecartney, *A Challenge to Poverty in Lima: An Exploratory and Selective Study* (Lima: The MacDonald Foundation, 1975), 22.

¹²⁸ Shelley Greishop, "Catholic History Rooted in Burkettsville," *The Daily Standard*, April 8, 2014, <https://www.dailystandard.com/archive/2014-04-08/stories/23638/catholic-history-rooted-in-burkettsville>, accessed August 23, 2018.

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across from the Whittier School before moving to 126 S. 4th St. Like other committees, they began to sell the Panther newspaper and started a breakfast program for neighborhood children. Their appearance at public meetings armed and dressed in bandoliers and berets, agitated white residents, and school officials blamed the group for racial polarization.¹²⁹

The Panther newspaper, with its anti-police “off the pigs” rhetoric and photographs of martyred Panthers, alarmed local residents, but not as much as the armed military maneuvers the group carried out in town. At one point the Lima Black Panthers and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, a group unionizing Latino farm workers, marched together from Lima’s south side to the square demanding to meet the mayor, to no avail.¹³⁰

In Ohio, the Black Panthers faded by 1972. The decision by the parent organization in Oakland to have Panthers move there and run for city government drained people and resources from chapters across the country. Some programs did survive; the prison bussing program continued in various forms until 1976.¹³¹ St Adalbert’s in Cleveland continued to have a free clothing program for a number of years.¹³²

Dayton, Kent, and Akron also had self-declared or NCCF affiliates, although less is known and further research is required.

In August 1968, the Republic of New Africa opened a consulate at the Afro-American Cultural Center at 309 N. Broadway. The leader, John F. Taylor, a technician at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, went by his Swahili name, General Mwesi Chui. The Republic immediately started a petition to have people give permission to negotiate on their behalf with the United States for reparations for slavery and discrimination. They also planned to move en masse to a southern state and start a sovereign nation.¹³³

Meanwhile, it is important to note that a third group of “Panthers” were only labeled as such by the FBI or local police, not self-declared.¹³⁴ Labeling common criminals “Panthers” proved to be an effective technique in turning public opinion against the group.¹³⁵ In the early 1970s, Dayton had a number of what were labeled

¹²⁹ Perry Bush, *Rust Belt Resistance: How a Small Community Took on Big Oil and Won* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2012), 57.

¹³⁰ Mecartney, *A Challenge to Poverty in Lima*, 23. The Farm Labor Organizing Committee was formed in 1967 by Baldemar Velasquez and his father. The FLOC succeeded in unionizing 3000-4000 migrant workers in northwestern Ohio and in getting the country’s first multiparty contracts in labor history between producers, farmers, and industrial produce corporations. Velasquez was awarded a MacArthur Prize in 1989. See John Bush, “Labor Activist: Migrant Workers Deserve a Voice,” <http://www.limaohio.com/news/206937/labor-activist-migrant-workers-deserve-a-voice>, accessed April 18, 2018.

¹³¹ Nissim-Sabat, “Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland,” 127.

¹³² Nissim-Sabat, “Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland,” 127.

¹³³ Emil Dansker, “Republic of New Africa Opens Dayton Consulate,” *Dayton Daily News*, August 4, 1968, 8.

¹³⁴ Nissim-Sabat, “Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland,” 101.

¹³⁵ Nissim-Sabat, “Panthers Set Up Shop in Cleveland,” 102.

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by the state and press as black nationalist-inspired gangs. Whether the Chains of Rap Brown and Faith of Malcolm X were merely criminal enterprises or actual revolutionary organizations labeled as gangs was a contemporary subject of debate. Republic of New Africa Minister of Defense Gen. Mwesi Chui had ordered the Chains of Rap Brown and its affiliates to disband and they would not be recognized by any other Dayton black nationalist groups.¹³⁶

Rebellions and Responses

A series of urban uprisings affected majority African American neighborhoods in numerous Ohio cities during the mid to late 1960s. Urban uprisings, caused by systemic failures in education, employment, police brutality, and the basic delivery of city services, constitute a collective protest. In short, as political scientist Daryl B. Harris states, “Black urban rebellions constitute displays of violent resistance against the dynamics of Euro-American domination.”¹³⁷ In Ohio, this domination was enforced by a consistent controlled shortage of resources, opportunity, and basic community relations in black communities. Consequently, simmering frustration exploded, often as a result of police brutality or racial slights. The Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert F. Kennedy assassinations cast a very dark cloud. In Dayton, it was described as a somber change in general attitude amongst adults. A familiar conversation was now heard on every corner: “Fuck it, every time someone makes progress on our behalf they were killed,” with the response, “That shit can’t be just a coincident.”¹³⁸

The event historically known as the Hough Riots was in actuality a rebellion, an uprising against systemic racism and years of municipal neglect.¹³⁹ On July 18, 1966, a racial incident at the Seventy-Niners Café at the southeast corner of E. 79th and Hough exploded into violence as a crowd pelted the café with rocks. Cleveland police came under sniper fire. Firemen were shot at while answering calls and left the area. Cleveland mayor Ralph Locher called in the National Guard and the uprising continued for two more days. Police and Guardsmen were stationed around Stephen Howe Elementary, the site of Rev. Bruce Klunder’s death during an anti-segregation protest, to prevent it from being burned down. The rebellion’s damage was substantial; the commercial strip between E. 71st and E. 93rd Sts. was largely destroyed. Blame for the Hough riots was pinned on communist agitators; belief in such agitators was easy for ethnic Clevelanders and the police.

Segregated West Dayton exploded in an urban uprising on September 1, 1966.

¹³⁶ Larry Kinneer, “Militants Give Chains Word: Disband,” *Dayton Daily News*, October 29, 1971, 11.

¹³⁷ Daryl B. Harris, “The Logic of Black Urban Rebellions,” *Journal of Black Studies* 28, no. 3 (January 1998): 381.

¹³⁸ Jamil Couzens, *Silly Papa* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2013), 11.

¹³⁹ For rebellion v. riot, see Bill McGraw, “Riot or Rebellion? The debate on what to call Detroit ‘67,” *Detroit Free Press* <https://www.freep.com/story/news/2017/07/05/50-years-later-riot-rebellion/370968001/>, accessed March 1, 2018, and Lauren Talley, “Was Detroit 1967 a riot? A rebellion? An uprising?,” *Michigan Public Radio*, <http://michiganradio.org/post/was-detroit-1967-riot-rebellion-uprising>, accessed August 23, 2018.

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Tensions in Dayton were already high. In the weeks before the uprising a Klan-related group, the Thunderbolts, held a meeting on Main Street in Dayton. Emboldened, whites drove up and down Third Street throwing water and firecrackers at blacks.¹⁴⁰ Lester Mitchell was sweeping the sidewalk in front of his house, an afterhours joint, when a passing white man in a car slowed and killed him with a shotgun blast at 3:00 a.m. The incident drew a crowd, many of whom had been in nearby bars. Police were pelted with rocks and bottles. Dayton's mayor called in the Ohio National Guard at 10:30 a.m. A *Dayton Daily News* reporter noted in the months before that joblessness, a lack of city services, education, and housing were pressing community issues.¹⁴¹

Retired Dayton detective Dan Baker, who worked on Mitchell's case, believes Neal Bradley Long was the killer. Long killed Charles Glatt, architect of Dayton's school desegregation plan, in 1975 because he didn't want his son to be bussed. Long claimed he had shot at approximately 100 black men in West Dayton in late-night drive-by sawed-off shotgun shootings, estimating that he had killed 20 men. He was convicted of three murders and received a life sentence, dying in prison in 1998.¹⁴²

The summer of 1967 saw an increased number of rebellions in African American neighborhoods. Massillon experienced a minor uprising on April 17 when windows were broken downtown. Cincinnati's Avondale neighborhood experienced rioting on June 12, 1967, that spread to Walnut Hills, Evanston, Corryville, Mt. Auburn, West End, and Millvale. The riot's causes were identified as poor housing, unemployment, dismal neighborhood conditions, destruction and displacement of the city's West End community by urban renewal and interstate highway construction, and a lack of political representation.¹⁴³ Dayton had an uprising on June 14-17, blamed on a speech by H. Rap Brown. Firebombings took place in Youngstown on July 22.

Akron experienced a three-day uprising beginning July 18, 1968. The Lively Report, authored by a University of Akron sociologist, identified a number of factors leading to the rebellion. Trash collection in black neighborhoods was conducted only once a year. Streets were not cleaned and were barely lit. The park budget in black neighborhoods was 12% of the recommended national average. The police force was 97% white. Two-thirds of all black residents lived in one quarter of the city, where code enforcement was non-existent.¹⁴⁴

Toledo experienced an uprising on July 23, centered on the Dorr Street–Detroit area. 500 National Guardsmen were sent to quell it. The Ohio National Guard was

¹⁴⁰ James Cummings, "Soldiers in the Battle for Equality," *Dayton Daily News*, January 31, 1993, 53-54.

¹⁴¹ Josh Sweigart, "Lasting Scars, Part 1: Shooting Sparked the 1966 Dayton Riots," *Dayton Daily News*, August 30, 2016.

¹⁴² Josh Sweigart, "Detective Convinced he talked to killer, sees link to Long's actions," *Dayton Daily News*, September 6, 2016.

¹⁴³ Henry Louis Taylor Jr., "Introduction," in *Race and the City: Work, Community, and Protest in Cincinnati, 1820-1970*, ed. Henry Louis Taylor Jr. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 20.

¹⁴⁴ Livingston, "50 years after Akron riots."

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deployed to Lorain on July 27 when Maurice Edwards, aged 22, was shot by a white bartender. Firebombs and rocks were thrown but the Lorain NAACP calmed the situation. Springfield experienced a minor uprising on the same day when youths tossed two firebombs at the Southern Village Shopping Center.¹⁴⁵ Cincinnati experienced the third uprising of 1967 on July 27. A Cincinnati CORE member stated that it was time for whites to straighten out problems in black neighborhoods, "because they made them, or you can imagine what happens next."¹⁴⁶ Cleveland Mayor Ralph Locher issued a statement labeling the week's unrest "Just plain criminality." He went on: "We have got to get down to the basic unit of the society, the family and the individual. I hope the Presidential Commission just appointed will get to the basics of this thing and I hope they will not say we should pour money into the programs to get everything solved."¹⁴⁷

Previous reports of potential unrest caused widespread panic. In May, 1967, a state arson inspector, Harold Carter, had frantically warned Lorain County law enforcement officials that "Negro astrologer Fred 'Ahmed' Evans predicted a series of race riots and a war between the U.S. and China would be touched off by a partial eclipse" that coming Tuesday. Believing Carter because of his government position, Elyria and Lorain police officers mobilized and some private citizens began to arm themselves. In Cleveland, Evans's shuttered bookstore, previously closed for a code violation, was raided. The raid netted twenty-one people, including an NBC television researcher and a CORE national associate director. Lorain County Sheriff Vernon Smith quelled the rumors through constant press releases and noted that Carter was the only source of information about the "war." Carter was subsequently summoned to Columbus by the State Fire Marshal to explain his actions.¹⁴⁸

However, the summer of 1967 was fairly calm in Cleveland. Mayor Carl Stokes had worked with black leaders to keep the summer "Cool for Carl." In addition, corporate leaders, led by Cleveland Illuminating Company chairman Ralph Besse, funneled \$40,000 to black leaders through the *Cleveland Call & Post* in a series of weekly meetings called "Peace in Cleveland."¹⁴⁹ Black activists noted that since they had already passed the word to keep things calm, they might as well be paid.¹⁵⁰ Both Mayor Stokes and corporate leadership had an interest in promoting a business-friendly climate when burning neighborhoods were seen as a deterrent to investment. Stokes also handled King's assassination differently than other big city mayors did, pulling white police officers from black neighborhoods and sending in groups of professional athletes, clergy, black nationalists, and community

¹⁴⁵ "Guard Ordered to Lorain," *Port Clinton News Herald*, July 28, 1967, 1.

¹⁴⁶ "Guardsmen sent to Lorain: Race violence in 6 Other Ohio Cities," *Lancaster Eagle Gazette*, July 28, 1967, 1.

¹⁴⁷ "Locher Attacks Rioting," *Lancaster Eagle Gazette*, July 25, 1967, 2.

¹⁴⁸ Sanford Levenson, "To Quiz Arson Inspector on Riot Prediction," *Akron Beacon Journal*, May 10, 1967, 58.

¹⁴⁹ Roldo Bartimole, "Buying Peace the Private Way," *Point of View*, June 26, 1968, 2-3.

¹⁵⁰ Bartimole, "Buying Peace the Private Way," 2.

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volunteers to urge calm in east side neighborhoods.¹⁵¹

In May, 1968, Mayor Stokes and Cleveland corporate leaders including George Steinbrenner III started Cleveland: Now!, a public-private program meant to ensure interracial peace by combating the inner-city problems painfully exposed by the Hough uprising. Cleveland: Now! funds were used for a wide range of activities between 1968 and 1970, the program's peak. Targeted areas were employment, youth resources, health and welfare, neighborhood and housing rehabilitation, economic revitalization, and city planning.¹⁵² Cleveland: Now! sponsored the Robert Madison-designed Park Place I at 1435 East Boulevard and the Martin Luther King Jr. Plaza at 9300 Wade Park Avenue. It was also responsible for 4936 new or rehabilitated housing units, with another 3019 units in progress in 1970. The program was funded with a combination of federal, city, state, and private funds. While many of the projects were already underway when Stokes took office he was successful in marketing the program to inner-city residents as the key to their revival as well as the city's.

During July, 1968, an informant circulated rumors that Cleveland's New Libya organization planned to stage a tri-city riot on July 24, 1968. While the city had kept it "Cool for Carl" during the summer of 1967, riots in other cities and continued poor community relations kept African American neighborhoods at a simmer. Journalist Roldo Bartimole noted a loss of civilian control and oversight in the Cleveland police department, a sense the police were at war with the black community. He quoted a Cleveland police officer: "We have tapes of their [black nationalist] meetings. They're not after white cops, not white businessmen, but they're after whitey. You know, we're your last line of defense."¹⁵³ This attitude was pervasive; in 1965, Cleveland Police Chief Wagner told the Ohio Legislature that all black nationalists wanted to kill Caucasians.¹⁵⁴ Cleveland Police Sgt. John Ungvary, present at the 1946 Euclid Beach protests, wanted a law that would charge all black nationalists with conspiracy before they committed any crimes.¹⁵⁵

According to the Cleveland police black nationalists planned to lure Mayor Stokes, *Call and Post* editor William O. Walker, Cleveland policeman James Payne, and nationalist Baxter Hill to Collinwood where, drawn by a fire-bombing, they would be assassinated.¹⁵⁶ Police began to surveil Fred Evans's house at 1384 Lakeview Rd. The white policemen were not inconspicuous. Evans emerged from his house and, while it is unclear exactly how the exchange of gunfire began, it quickly escalated to an all cars bulletin centering on Lakeview Rd. between Beulah Avenue

¹⁵¹ Leonard Nathaniel Moore, "The School Desegregation Crisis of Cleveland, Ohio, 1963-1964," *Journal of Urban History* 28, no. 2 (January 2002): 71.

¹⁵² Moore, "The School Desegregation Crisis," 72.

¹⁵³ Roldo Bartimole, "Who Polices the Police," *Point of View*, August 21, 1968, 1.

¹⁵⁴ Roldo Bartimole, "Cleveland Cops – White Hot Racism," *Point of View*, January 27, 1970.

¹⁵⁵ Bartimole, "Cleveland Cops – White Hot Racism."

¹⁵⁶ Zadell, "By Any Means Necessary," 19.

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and Auburndale Avenue. Black nationalists were in 1391 and 1395 Lakeview Rd., both of which caught fire and burned to the ground during the shootout. The fire department would not respond to the fires for fear of being fired upon. In the end, ten people were killed, including three white policemen and seven African American men.

Large crowds began to gather on Superior after the gun battle, and by 11:00 p.m. Mayor Stokes asked for the Ohio National Guard to be deployed. Cleveland police and National Guardsmen established a cordon around Glenville but did not enter it. Stokes banned all whites from the area and black community leaders, known as the Mayor's Committee, entered the neighborhood to calm the situation. Following this only partially successful intervention, Stokes ordered the National Guard back into Glenville. By July 27th the uprising ended. Stokes's career, however, received a body blow when it was revealed that Cleveland: Now! had provided Evans funds which he had illicitly used to buy firearms.

In August 1970, racial tensions boiled over in Lima when two white police officers arrested a black youth for failing to move his bike from the street. Bystanders accosted the police while a forty-two-year-old black woman, Christine Ricks, grabbed one of the officer's guns, fired, and shot off his ear. The other officer killed Ricks when he opened fire on her. Rumors spread quickly over the evening in Lima: "the pigs killed a sister."¹⁵⁷ Around two hundred angry residents, some armed, marched up Main Street from the south side but were repelled by the police. The police stormed the Black Panther headquarters at 126 S. 4th St. Martial law was declared, and the Ohio National Guard, sent in by Governor James Rhodes, patrolled Lima for five days. The white family that called the police about the bicycle in the street moved out of Lima, and their home was burned down.¹⁵⁸

There were efforts to bridge the racial divide. In the educational system, black students asked for classes and library books that were relevant to the black experience. Black History Week and Black Studies classes were instituted at high schools throughout the state. In Worthington, the February 1973 Black History Week, started by the Worthington Human Relations Council, featured Columbus attorney Otto Beatty and Ohio State student body president Mike White, who would later serve as the mayor of Cleveland from 1990–2002.¹⁵⁹ Classes in Lima caused more community dissension. White students resented having to learn about black history, while African American students resented white students for their resistance to learning black history.¹⁶⁰

Governmental Intervention

¹⁵⁷ Bush, *Rust Belt Resistance*, 59.

¹⁵⁸ Mecartney, *A Challenge to Poverty in Lima*, 24.

¹⁵⁹ Worthington Human Relations Council newsletter, February 23, 1973, MSS 1264.

¹⁶⁰ Bush, *Rust Belt Resistance*, 58.

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Federal civil rights legislation changed the civil rights movement's means and methods. Civil rights organizations like CORE and the NAACP hemorrhaged members from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. Black Power organizations such as the Black Panthers and RAM, which were usually small organizations, disappeared. While their leaders maintained some visibility by giving lectures and participating in think tanks and Black Studies departments, their movements faded.¹⁶¹

The 1960s inner-city uprisings prompted two government responses, including the 1968 Open Housing law. More conservative members of Congress were persuaded to vote for the law by provisions that made it a crime to engage in interstate travel with the intent to participate in or incite a riot, in addition to prohibiting the transport or production of explosives or firearms for use in civil disorder.¹⁶²

Model Cities legislation was introduced in 1966 as the political antidote to urban renewal. The program's outcome was spotty and differed from city to city, even within Ohio. Dayton's program was deemed moderately successful, perhaps because it had a progressive and engaged city manager. In addition, Dayton's Model Cities administrator was able to work within the federal bureaucracy. In Columbus, Model Cities engagement was less successful as groups fell into infighting.

Community development

Fueled by white philanthropic and federal dollars, community development became a new front in African American civil rights. African American community development corporations (CDCs) combined elements of black separatism and black nationalism with conservative currents of self-help.¹⁶³ The strong point of the CDC was its popularity across various groups: the black masses, white business leaders, and policy makers.¹⁶⁴ The CDC model emphasized community planning and rebuilding inner-city neighborhoods from within, asking groups to be responsible for and to the neighborhood itself rather than outside bodies.

Themes

Public Accommodations

"Public accommodations" is a broad term within the history of African American civil rights. In this theme, public accommodation is defined as equal access to a place, service, or good. As African Americans were gradually closed off from equal access to public accommodation during the Jim Crow era, protest activities took a number of paths. Blacks protested their treatment through legal channels using

¹⁶¹ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 495.

¹⁶² James W. Button, *Black Violence: Political Impact of the 1960s Riots* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 79.

¹⁶³ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 429.

¹⁶⁴ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 430.

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Ohio's public accommodation law, protested the actual business, or constructed a parallel institution. The actual course of action chosen in each case sometimes caused rifts in the black community. Combined with generational and class difference, civil rights actions were not always easily predictable or agreed upon in the community.

The first two decades of the twentieth century saw a number of parallel institutions established when African Americans were banned from white philanthropic and social organizations. Parallel institutions were founded both by African Americans as separate entities, and by the segregated white organization that wished to establish separate facilities for its black clientele. Some blacks felt that making parallel institutions was a capitulation to segregation, while others felt empowered by racial separation.

Walnut Hills in Cincinnati had a significant black business district. Between 1918 and 1940, 139 separate businesses in Walnut Hills advertised in *The Union*. Most were clustered in an area roughly west of Victory Parkway, north of Myrtle, east of Melrose and Kerper, and south of Altoona and the German Cemetery, as well as a cluster in Washington Terrace.

These businesses included beauty parlors and barber shops, restaurants, furniture stores, bars, hotels, clothing stores, grocery stores, real estate brokers, auto repair shops, watch repair, a florist, dry cleaners, contractors, attorneys, dentists, and doctors. Not all of these businesses were owned by African Americans, but their advertising in that newspaper indicated that they either were owned by or catered to blacks. The 1943 WPA Guide to Cincinnati identified a similar area as the Walnut Hills black business district. It noted that it extended "a few short blocks north of Lincoln Ave."¹⁶⁵

Several buildings stand out as having an important role in the African American community in Walnut Hills. These include the Manse Hotel and Annex, formerly known as the Hotel Terry; the Gordon Hotel; the Harriet Beecher Stowe House; the Cincinnati Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; and the Washington Terrace housing complex.

Parallel institutions created for African Americans sparked guidebooks that listed friendly institutions. *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, published by New York mailman Victor Hugo Green from 1936 to 1966, listed restaurants, service stations, taverns, hotels, and tourist guest homes where black travelers could expect service without the humiliation sparked by unexpectedly encountering extralegal northern segregation. In 1939 the National Park Service, through the United States Travel Bureau, published the *Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses in the United*

¹⁶⁵ Walnut Hills Historical Society, WHHS BBD Ads.xlsx, Google Docs Workbook, accessed March 27, 2018; Cincinnati Historical Society, *The WPA Guide to Cincinnati: Cincinnati, a Guide to the Queen City and Its Neighbors* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Historical Society, 1987), 291.

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States, a pared down version of the *Green Book*.¹⁶⁶ The Travel Bureau's mission was to stimulate travel and make consumption patriotic. By issuing a guide book, the National Park Service enabled African Americans to more fully participate in American citizens' practice of tourism.¹⁶⁷

Social Services

African American settlement houses and similar social organizations were popular in the 1920s, and were founded by both black and white philanthropists and by interracial groups. In Toledo, African American attorney Albertus Brown established the Frederick Douglass Community Center in 1919 at 1017 S. 13th St. to provide recreational opportunities for local black children (demolished). The center also established a summer camp named for Brown at Fox Lake, an African American lake resort in Angola, Indiana.¹⁶⁸ In 1931 the Godman Guild, a settlement house in Columbus, constructed Camp Wheeler in Chesterville, for members' African American children. Cleveland's Karamu House established a camp in the 1920s, which was most likely interracial in keeping with the house's mission.¹⁶⁹ Most camps being segregated, however, the Porter Sargent Company published a summer camps guide that helpfully labeled each camp according to race.¹⁷⁰ Like the *Negro Motorist Green Book*, it was likely meant to help parents avoid a tense situation on the first day of camp.

In 1929, the *Columbus Dispatch* funded a swimming pool at the corner of Atcheson and Maryland, the first pool in Columbus that would admit African Americans. At the time it was thought that it obviated the need for integration at other pools.¹⁷¹ As with the provision of separate camps, parks, and so on, Africans Americans weren't denied the opportunity for recreation, but they were not integrated into white society either. In all cases, the idea was to make whites more comfortable rather than making sure that blacks had equal opportunity.

Medical care rapidly became an area where blacks formed or attempted to form their own institutions. However, the movement to build African American hospitals often split the black community, as it did in the Mercy Hospital controversy in Cleveland. The Mercy Hospital Association was formed in 1927 after several years of discussion about the necessity of a black-staffed facility. One faction, led by George A. Myers and Harry S. Smith, felt that this would knuckle under to segregation. The other faction, supported by Dr. Charles Garvin, felt that such a hospital would provide much needed care and training opportunities to the African

¹⁶⁶ Myra B. Young, "Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings: American Tourist Spaces through the Lens of Black Pleasure Travelers, 1880-1950," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 25 (2005): 154.

¹⁶⁷ Young, "Revisiting Hotels," 155.

¹⁶⁸ Porter Sargent, *A Handbook of Summer Camps* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1935), 232.

¹⁶⁹ Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 216.

¹⁷⁰ Sargent, *A Handbook of Summer Camps*.

¹⁷¹ Richard Clyde Minor, "The Negro in Columbus" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1936), 216.

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American community. The opposition of Myers and Smith, in conjunction with the Cleveland NAACP, scuttled the idea in the late 1920s.¹⁷²

In Columbus, the construction of a black hospital did not produce the backlash that it did in Cleveland but instead engendered a sense of civic pride. Located at the corner of E. Long and 17th Sts., the hospital began as a private concern, but when this proved untenable became a social service-oriented hospital instead of a profit-oriented enterprise. The Alpha Hospital Association also conducted a nursing school for African-American women, the only place in Columbus where such an education could be obtained.¹⁷³

Public Accommodation – Civil Rights and the Great Depression, 1932–1940

Access to public accommodations was limited during the 1930s, following the pattern of either constructing facilities for primarily African American use or severely limiting access to white organizations.

African American travelers' difficulty finding places to eat, lodge, and shop led to the publication of the *Negro Motorist Green Book* in 1936. Originally focused on the New York area, the book's popularity and geographical purview grew. The publisher, Vincent Hugo Green, was a Harlem postman. He solicited entries from other postal employees and trusted sources around the country. The *Green Book* provided places where African Americans could confidently go without fear of discrimination or humiliation.

Swimming pools became a Depression-era civil rights battle ground. Cleveland pool access varied depending on location and the willingness of police to enforce the law. Ohio's Public Accommodation Law was often honored in the breach, depending on the police presence and general attitude of the officers. The fact that in Cleveland there was conflict over pool usage through the 1930s is significant. In other parts of Ohio, pool segregation would not even be tested until immediately after World War II. In contrast, Woodland Hills Park near Mt. Pleasant in Cleveland was the site of protest as soon as it opened in 1927.¹⁷⁴ However, the lack of continuous enforcement deterred African Americans. By 1934, only two pools, both in Cedar-Central, were regularly used by blacks.¹⁷⁵ Cleveland is also unique in that there was a left-wing response to pool segregation: a so-called neighborhood committee formed by the Communist Party-backed League of Struggle for Human Rights. The campaign became interracial when leftist Hungarian groups joined the NAACP. Nonetheless, without a continuous, concerted, and engaged police presence complaints mounted. More groups joined the effort in 1936, including the

¹⁷² Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 187-188.

¹⁷³ Nimrod B. Allen, "Alpha Hospital, Columbus, Ohio, East Long Street," *The Crisis*, November 1922, 14.

¹⁷⁴ Michney, *Surrogate Suburbs*, 45.

¹⁷⁵ Michney, *Surrogate Suburbs*, 47.

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militant FOL, who successfully visited the pool.¹⁷⁶ Pool conflicts joining the local community and left-wing activists continued through 1938, but the result was the same: African American rights were honored only sporadically and under community pressure.

Public park access was limited or racially delineated. In Columbus, African Americans were relegated to three parks with inferior facilities. Blacks north of downtown used the Sixth Street Playground. Its tennis courts encroached on the baseball field so that players overlapped and conflicted. It flooded regularly. It was also within sight of the larger whites-only Weinland Park, located one block to the west. Beatty Park was surrounded on three sides by alleys. Starr Playground flooded on a regular basis.¹⁷⁷

New separate facilities were also the norm during the Depression. The New Deal Federal Emergency Relief Agency constructed playgrounds in black enclaves. The WPA built a shelter and playground at Hanford Village Park on Alum Creek Drive, in American Addition in American Addition Park, and at an unknown location in Urbancrest.

Public Accommodation – Civil Rights and World War II, 1940–1945

Civil rights organizations, often with youthful members, used a number of protest tactics to great effect during the early 1940s. In conjunction with legal proceedings, these groups opened restaurants and theaters to African Americans throughout Ohio.

The Vanguard League, formed in Columbus in 1940, tackled discrimination in Columbus restaurants and movie theaters. The Vanguard League used whites to prove that racism was the reason they were denied entrance or shunted to a different section in the theater. Entering the theater in mixed groups, they allowed the theater ticket seller or usher to refuse service or direct them to a special part of the theater.

The Vanguard League also used lawsuits in conjunction with direct action. Vanguard League activists would go to every theater in a chain in Columbus (he Neff theaters were particularly troublesome). After activists were denied service with white witnesses, the group would sue the chain under Ohio's public accommodation laws. The group received the praise of NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall for filing as many cases as they could at once, usually eight to ten.¹⁷⁸ Clogging the docket, they succeeded in getting the court's attention.

¹⁷⁶ Michney, *Surrogate Suburbs*, 49.

¹⁷⁷ Minor, "The Negro in Columbus," 214-215.

¹⁷⁸ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 150.

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Activists in the Cincinnati NAACP used a similar tactic. Ticket buyers were non-confrontational, soft-spoken, and well-dressed. The key to the tactic was to isolate race as the reason for the refusal. Belligerent people were not good candidates for this type of action.¹⁷⁹ In response, theaters employed their own tactics. Rather than refuse outright, the ticket machine would suddenly become out of order. Other employees stopped work, sitting down until the customers behind the black ticket buyer became agitated and forced the buyer from the line.¹⁸⁰ In Cincinnati, the RKO theater chain integrated on May 24, 1941, after a year of protest and lawsuits.

In Cleveland, the Lake Shore Golf Club was the site of an important public accommodations court case. The club had long maintained that it was private. However, the golf club was sold in 1940. The new owners stated that the club was still private, but whites could play by merely paying a fee. In 1942, former Cleveland NAACP presidents Clayborne George and Chester Gillespie sued after being denied access while their white compatriots easily gained entrance to the club. Although they initially lost the case, their 1950 appeal exposed that the club did indeed use the ruse of saying it was a private club to exclude African Americans.¹⁸¹ Gillespie used the case to expose other golf courses using the same tactic in the region.

Gillespie, a Clevelander, also fought segregation in Columbus, suing Marzetti's Restaurant on Gay Street. Marzetti's adopted a unique legal strategy. The restaurant owners pointed out that there were numerable places nearby where Gillespie would be served. They accused Gillespie of social climbing, wanting to be seen in their establishment, as the real reason for his presence. Gillespie, an attorney and a state senator at the time, won the lawsuit.

In 1943, the FOL worked with the Miles Heights Civic League to establish bus service to the neighborhood, ending an eighteen-year battle. Miles Heights was an early interracial suburb, founded in 1927 at the intersection of Lee and Miles Roads in extreme southeast Cleveland. It was joined to Cleveland in 1932, but residents had to walk two miles to a bus stop. The FOL worked with city and federal officials for the service to be extended. While this battle went on almost every African American family in Miles Heights, approximately half the suburb, joined the FOL.¹⁸²

Discrimination was present in smaller Ohio towns, but fielding an adequate response could be difficult. In 1944 Ada Victor moved back to her hometown, Mechanicsburg in Champaign County, to care for her sick mother. Victor wrote to the state NAACP requesting help in integrating four bars and restaurants in Mechanicsburg that would

¹⁷⁹ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 141.

¹⁸⁰ Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 141.

¹⁸¹ Lane Demas, *Game of Privilege: An African American History of Golf* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 160-61.

¹⁸² "Members, Friends, Stage Surprise for FOL Head," *Cleveland Call and Post*, December 11, 1943, 11.

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only allow African Americans to get takeout food.¹⁸³ The state branch wrote back that legal action, or any action, would have to take place through a group of local concerned citizens using the civil rights law. There was not a local NAACP chapter in Mechanicsburg.¹⁸⁴ Victor's letter is representative of a pattern of people, very often women, who moved to another town, discovered local conditions were less than welcoming, and decided to fight.

Public Accommodation - Post-war to the Civil Rights Act, 1945-1964

Civil rights activists in Ohio adopted new tactics and targets after the Second World War. Restaurants and movie theaters were now largely integrated in major cities. CORE explored the limits of nonviolent direct action in Cleveland and Cincinnati, often with the same activists.

Swimming pools, bowling alleys, and roller skating rinks were popular targets for equal access during this period. The battle for access to amusement parks continued. Groups from the 1930s such as the Future Outlook League faded somewhat as they focused on employment. Columbus's Vanguard League would be absorbed into CORE in 1950. The NAACP would continue to focus on legal tactics.

In Cleveland, nonviolent protest was used at Euclid Beach Park. The park had a long history of racial prejudice, beginning shortly after its opening in 1895.¹⁸⁵ The amusement park was noted for its dance pavilion, where acts such as the Lawrence Welk Orchestra entertained patrons in a family atmosphere rigorously enforced by the park's own security force that interceded in incidents involving drinking, rowdiness, and close contact between races.¹⁸⁶

In August 1946, an interracial group from the United Negroes and Allied Veterans of America, the National Negro Congress, and American Youth for Democracy went to the park and were promptly thrown out since racially mixed couples were not allowed on the dance floor. A CORE protester, Albert Luster, missed being ejected with the original party, and ended up in an altercation with park guards that left him hospitalized. Luster was a member of the FOL as well as CORE, and that organization took the lead in responding to his case.¹⁸⁷ CORE demonstrators returned to Euclid Beach in September 1946, and again guards intervened as soon as the group engaged in interracial dancing. In the melee that followed, an African American Cleveland police officer who was also a CORE member and who had

¹⁸³ Ada Victor to Ohio NAACP state office, May 4, 1955, NAACP Papers, Part 15, Series A, Reel 2.

¹⁸⁴ Ohio State NAACP office to Ada Victor, May 19, 1944, Part 15, Series A, Reel 2. Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C

¹⁸⁵ Katrina Hazzard-Gordon, *Jookin': The Rise of Social Dance Formations in African-American Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 125.

¹⁸⁶ John Hannigan, *Fantasy City: Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 45.

¹⁸⁷ Frazier, *Harambee City*, 37-38.

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tried to intervene with the Euclid Park guards, was accidentally shot with his own gun. Two on-duty Cleveland policemen from the ironically titled Race Relations Unit, Lt. John Smthye and Sgt. John Ungvary, intervened on the part of the Euclid Beach guards and they were released. The incident was especially problematic for CORE, which was supposed to practice nonviolent direct action, while the FOL was not shy if picketing caused the occasional altercation.

In February 1947, the Cleveland City Council passed an ordinance barring dance licenses, necessary for operating a dance club, for establishments that discriminated. The park owners sold the dance hall and skating rink to private owners who determined who could enter by invitation, subverting the legislation and maintaining segregation. The owners refused to open the bathhouse altogether rather than integrate.

The Euclid Beach failure spelled the end of Cleveland's CORE chapter. Chapter president Juanita Morrow, meanwhile, moved to Chicago, and eventually Cincinnati, after she attempted to unionize the *Call and Post* against the wishes of editor William O. Walker.¹⁸⁸

As bowling became more popular, African Americans realized that this sport was restricted. Because bowling needs a specialized facility, making a parallel institution could be difficult, but was sometimes done. In addition, the American Bowling Congress restricted membership to whites. This raised a civil rights issue when a private organization closed public facilities to blacks when they attempted to play in tournaments. The fact that many of these bowlers were veterans did not play well either.¹⁸⁹ J. Elmer Reed opened the first black owned bowling alley, United Recreation, in Cleveland in 1941.¹⁹⁰ In Columbus, African Americans could not bowl until the black-owned Vermont Recreation Center was established at 1056 ½ Mt. Vernon Ave. in 1943.¹⁹¹ In Cleveland, unions advocated for integrated bowling facilities as early as 1943 when the Industrial Union Council complained to Cleveland's mayor and was rebuffed.¹⁹² In 1944, the UWA-CIO adopted policies censuring the ABC for its segregationist stance. In 1950, Ohio and other states sued the ABC, although a court battle to forbid them from holding their convention at the Ohio State Fairgrounds failed. In 1950, faced with losing their license in numerous states, the ABC integrated. Unions, legal action, and sympathetic white bowling alley owners worked together on an interracial basis to integrate bowling.

Desegregating public accommodation could also be harmful to business. In 1948,

¹⁸⁸ Frazier, *Harambee City*, 47.

¹⁸⁹ William Kernan, "Veterans for Democracy," *Ohio State News*, February 12, 1949, 12.

¹⁹⁰ Michael Jackman, "A Lane Of Their Own" <https://www.metrotimes.com/detroit/a-lane-of-their-own/Content?oid=2201876>, Accessed August 15, 2018

¹⁹¹ "Ohio's Black Athletes Have Long Glorious Past," *Cleveland Call and Post*. Sept 4, 1976, 14A

¹⁹² Louis Moore, *We Will Win the Day: The Civil Rights Movement, the Black Athlete, and the Quest for Equality* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2017), 28.

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when a Cleveland druggist purchased a drugstore in New London in Huron County, he allowed local African Americans to eat at the lunch counter and purchase goods in the store. His Cleveland store had served blacks, and he felt there was no reason not to do so in New London. In addition, he hired a black waitress for the restaurant, something that ingratiated him with some residents. Other residents thought he was mentally ill.¹⁹³ Some New Londoners threatened to boycott his store until he came into line with the generally accepted retail practice in the town: whites only. However, a NAACP branch was formed in New London in 1948 by Second Methodist minister LaFaud Young. The branch president was a white school teacher, Freida Stahl, originally from Cleveland, who aggressively organized the town. Branch secretary Dean Ann Randleman reported to the national branch that they were going to go to the four segregated restaurants in town simultaneously. The New London branch asked for legal assistance, noting it would take a lawsuit for real change. While the national branch in New York did not offer ready legal assistance, they did send pamphlets pointing out that Ohio had a public accommodations law.

In Cincinnati, the Citizens' Committee for Human Rights (CCHR), formed in October 1945, began to challenge discrimination in downtown restaurants. While most readily complied, the owners of Mills Restaurant balked at serving blacks. Knowing he couldn't violate Ohio accommodations law by not serving them, the owner resorted to intimidation instead. In one instance, a white customer threw a table at African Americans who were attempting to dine there.¹⁹⁴ Under pressure from the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee and local civic groups the restaurant replaced the manager and integrated, although not before it and other downtown restaurants hung signs reading "Closed for Repairs" during the 1946 NAACP convention.¹⁹⁵ According the *Cleveland Call and Post* an unexpected benefit of integration was that West End restaurants were forced "to take on a cleaner atmosphere."¹⁹⁶

Smaller towns continued to be discriminatory hotspots after the war. In Massillon in 1948, a complaint was lodged against an unnamed restaurant that posted a "Whites Only" sign over the women's restroom. An African American man solved his female companion's conundrum by removing the sign and taking it home. There was no response from the restaurant or other patrons at the time. The Massillon branch of the NAACP did contact Thurgood Marshall about the proper procedure for "gathering evidence" in the future.¹⁹⁷ The national office politely suggested leaving the signs in place in the future and pointing out the civil rights violation to

¹⁹³ Dean Ann Randleman to Authur Springman, February 20, 1949, NAACP Papers, Part 15, Series A, Reel 2.

¹⁹⁴ Billy Young, "Cincinnati Restaurant Fight Takes New Turn: Bar Press from Meeting of Local Civic Organizations," *Ohio State News*, January 5, 1946, 9.

¹⁹⁵ "Downtown Eateries Serve All Races," *Cleveland Call and Post*, July 20, 1946, 11B.

¹⁹⁶ "Downtown Eateries Serve All Races."

¹⁹⁷ Alton W. Thomas to Thurgood Marshall, March 25, 1948, NAACP Papers, Part 15, Series A, Reel 3.

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the manager.¹⁹⁸

The late 1950s and early 1960s saw a strain of activism that mixed the fight against northern and southern segregation. Student involvement in civil rights actions was often in solidarity with or inspired by events in the Deep South. Students from Central State, Wilberforce, and Antioch College gathered at Geyer's Restaurant in Xenia in March 1960. The restaurant owner closed for three days rather than serve African Americans. Eleanor Holmes, who would later become the first woman to chair the Equal Rights Commission under President Jimmy Carter and is currently the congresswoman for the District of Columbia, stated: "What began as a sit-down in the South has swept across the nation. Our dead generation has somehow become enlightened. Unlike the students in the South, we have the law on our side."¹⁹⁹ Reminded by the NAACP about the 1884 Public Accommodation Law and the OCRC's existence, the restaurant owners reopened after three days.²⁰⁰

Cleveland's CORE chapter was revitalized with a direct-action campaign against the Playmor Skating Rink. An interracial couple attempted to integrate the rink, but it was a tactical failure. When CORE member Erosanna Robinson was tripped by white patrons and broke her wrist, the Cleveland Community Relations Board offered legal assistance. Robinson refused, believing that legal action was not compatible with direct nonviolent action. However, Cleveland's CORE chapter did not have enough members to engage in nonviolent direct action, once again spelling its demise.²⁰¹ Not fully adopting either strategy left the organization powerless. Unable to attract members or successfully conduct actions, the Cleveland CORE office was declared inactive in 1953.

Swimming pools are significant in the public accommodations theme. Pools can be significant for being sites of integration battles or for being integrated early. In the post-war years, the use of the pool on separate days for each race became a contentious issue. The Warren municipal pool in Trumbull County was the site of once such early post-war integration battle. In 1946 Warren's city officials offered to open their swimming pool to African Americans, but only on separate days. While this was a common separate-but-equal segregation ploy in the 1920s and 1930s, the Warren NAACP declined the offer in favor of seeking full integration. In response, Warren leased the pool to a private entity, the Veteran's Swim Club. It was soon apparent that race mattered more than veteran status when African American veterans were denied entrance.²⁰² The Warren NAACP sued and won.

¹⁹⁸ Edward R. Dudley to Alton Thomas, Part 15, Series A, Reel 3. Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C

¹⁹⁹ "Students Picket Ohio Restaurant," *Des Moines Tribune*, March 7, 1960, 2.

²⁰⁰ "Special Memorandum," March 9, 1960, Part 21: Relations with the Modern Civil Rights Movement, 1956-1961, Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C

²⁰¹ Frazier, *Harambee City*, 49.

²⁰² "NAACP Files Suit in Move to End Jim Crow at Warren Pool," *The Ohio State News*, August 2, 1946.

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The Delaware municipal pool, located in the Delaware County Fairgrounds, also tried to implement separate days after ejecting a black youth from the pool in September 1948. A complaint to the county commissioners was referred to the county fair board and the meeting drew a large crowd. While many townspeople and a large Ohio Wesleyan student contingent supported integration, the fair board, led by former Delaware county prosecutor H. Lloyd Jones, was largely unmoved.²⁰³ Previously Jones had allegedly noted, in regard to African Americans and the pool integration battle, that “if they were in the South they wouldn’t be asking for such privileges.”²⁰⁴ To drive his point home, Jones fired his African American maid for attending the meeting.²⁰⁵

FOL members went en masse to Youngstown’s Northside municipal pool, causing what city officials termed a riot. FOL attorneys convinced a jury that the FOL leaders were the real victims, and the pool was opened to all. Soon after, FOL branches were opened in Canton and Mansfield.²⁰⁶

Former Cleveland CORE activists Juanita Morrow and William Nelson moved to Cincinnati. There they attempted to integrate the Coney Island Amusement Park in 1953. Morrow and Nelson amplified nonviolent direct-action techniques to pure noncooperation; they went limp when arrested, refused to speak to authorities or post bond, and when they were jailed went on a hunger strike.²⁰⁷

Ethel Fletcher was turned away from the Coney Island pool on July 2 and July 4, 1953, and promptly filed suit. What initially appeared to be a victory enraged the black press. The court’s injunction applied only to Fletcher, meaning that while she, herself, could not be discriminated against, any other black person could be. While Fletcher’s victory was largely symbolic, the amount of hate mail she received was considerable, prompting the *Ohio Sentinel* to comment that “Mrs. Fletcher’s victory was too much for the Ku Klux Klan mentality of the bigoted set in Cincinnati’s melting pot.”²⁰⁸

In 1955, African American Cincinnati councilman Theodore Berry applied pressure; the city would now only grant a license if everyone was admitted to Coney Island. Apparently, this action was a compromise; the pool and dance floor were still off-limits to blacks.²⁰⁹

In 1961, the NAACP applied pressure again to integrate the pool area. The action was contentious. The *Ohio Sentinel*’s representative was threatened by the

²⁰³ “Hearing on Delaware Pool Bias Draws Large Group of Citizens,” *The Ohio State News*, September 18, 1948, 2.

²⁰⁴ “Delaware Pool Issue Handed to Fair Board,” *The Ohio State News*, September 4, 1948, 11.

²⁰⁵ “Delaware Pool Issue Handed to Fair Board.”

²⁰⁶ Loeb, *The Future is Yours*, 71.

²⁰⁷ Frazier, *Harambee City*, 49.

²⁰⁸ “Busy Bigoted Beavers,” *The Ohio Sentinel*, June 8, 1954, 16.

²⁰⁹ Les Moores, “Coney Island Segregation Ended 40 Years Ago,” *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 27, 2001.

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Cincinnati police when he tried to take a photograph of a ticket vendor refusing to sell tickets to black children at the pool.²¹⁰ Coney Island was finally opened through a combination of sit-ins and picketing. In 1961, 27 people were arrested on 81 charges of disorderly conduct and trespassing.²¹¹

Even the promise of integration was a double-edged sword in the end. An *Ohio Sentinel* editorial revisited both the issues of personal conduct and enforced equality. Recounting a probably apocryphal story that blacks were banned from Coney Island decades before for bad behavior, the editorial warned against repeating such behavior. Conversely, the editorial predicted that “there will be times when we have to turn the other cheek or hold our emotions in rein because of some slight or snide remark, but this is the price of equality.”²¹²

Coney Island closed in 1971, having been open for eighty-five years and fully integrated for just ten years. According to Ernie Watts, who participated in the struggle to integrate, “Just as soon as we won it, they closed it down and moved to King’s Island.”²¹³

Services were often not available to African Americans in Ohio’s smaller towns in the 1950s and 1960s, even in college towns for black students. Black students in Bowling Green were forced to drive twenty-one miles to Toledo to get haircuts when none of the four barbershops in town would serve them. Black students at Ohio University were unable to get their hair cut at barbershops in Athens in the late 1950s.²¹⁴ In Delaware, because there were no barbers that would serve black men, an interracial coalition hired a white barber to set up an integrated barbershop at 31 W. Winter St. in the early 1950s. Mr. Fox, the barber, hired a black barber to work with him in the early 1960s.

In 1964, the Second District Court of Appeals upheld the public accommodations law in *Gegner v. Ohio Civil Rights Commission*. It was a victory for the OCRC and the public accommodation law. In 1961, Yellow Springs barber Lewis Gegner refused to cut African American patron Paul Graham’s hair. Gegner stated that cutting Graham’s hair required a special skill that he did not possess. Previously, the Antioch College NAACP chapter had desegregated other barbershops in Yellow Springs. Gegner was the last segregated barber in town after Squires barbershop integrated in 1961. Graham filed a complaint with the OCRC, which issued a cease and desist order against Gegner. The Green County Common Pleas Court cancelled the order after eighteen months when Gegner appealed. Yellow Springs residents and students, frustrated by the slow legal process, began to protest. A sit-in at the

²¹⁰ “Threaten Newsmen for Taking Photos at Segregated Cincy Church Affair,” *The Ohio Sentinel*, June 18, 1960, 3.

²¹¹ Moores, “Coney Island Segregation.”

²¹² William C. Brown, “Can We Go, Answer: Yes,” *The Ohio Sentinel*, April 27, 1961, 6.

²¹³ Moores, “Coney Island Segregation.”

²¹⁴ Carl H. Walker and Betty Hollow, *Soulful Bobcats: Experiences of African American Students at Ohio University, 1950-1960* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2013), 53.

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shop ended with a fire hose being turned on the crowd. Protests continued and Yellow Springs was divided, with some siding with Gegner's self-proclaimed civil right to run his business as he saw fit. Gegner's fight drew substantial attention from states' rights groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of White People, who also picketed in front of his shop.

In March, 1964, after numerous large protests involving tear gas and mass arrests, Gegner closed his shop "for the town's safety." Gegner said he would reopen his shop when officials at nearby Wilberforce, Central State, and Antioch Colleges could "control their respective students."²¹⁵ Gegner maintained throughout that he wasn't racist, even after attending a 1965 Dayton Klan rally. Although his wife urged him not to attend, he had never seen a cross burned and was curious.²¹⁶ Even though he received numerous offers from shops in southern states to move there and work, he steadfastly refused. "I don't want to live in the South, there's nothing there but colored people and poverty," he said in 1965.²¹⁷ Unemployed, Gegner moved to Sun City, Arizona, in 1971, and died there in 1983.

The McKinley Pool in Portsmouth, Ohio, is a unique case because it was built as a parallel institution in the early 1960s, well beyond the period when parallel institutions were commonly constructed. While the McKinley Pool was technically "constructed for everyone" and not exclusively for black residents, the Dreamland Pool, also in Portsmouth, remained segregated for another year, and the McKinley Pool was constructed in a historically black enclave. The McKinley Pool is indicative of the varying pace of civil rights in various parts of Ohio.

Public Accommodations – Civil Rights after 1964

Community Development Corporations (CDCs) and black empowerment were crucial in closing the public accommodations gap in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Urban renewal's failure to rejuvenate inner-city neighborhoods and the damage caused by rebellions impacted both jobs and access to goods and services in African American neighborhoods. The OCRC investigated numerous public accommodations complaints during the 1960s. The most common public accommodations charges were against barber shops, beauty salons, and hospitals. Discriminatory hospital practices included setting aside special rooms for blacks to avoid mixing them with white patients, or placing blacks on open wards even though their insurance covered semi-private rooms. One patient had her baby in a hallway because the designated "Negro" room was occupied, although others were empty.²¹⁸ Even cemeteries discriminated. One funeral was disrupted when the cemetery manager discovered the deceased was African American even though the

²¹⁵ "Ohio Barber Shop Shut in Protests; Students Object to Owner's Refusal to Serve Negroes," *The New York Times*, March 16, 1964, 27.

²¹⁶ Larry Fields, "A Loser in the Civil Rights War," *Akron Beacon Journal*, November 25, 1965, 25.

²¹⁷ Fields, "A Loser in the Civil Rights War."

²¹⁸ Ohio Civil Rights Commission *1960 Annual Report*, 35.

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grave was open and the party was in route.²¹⁹

The 1960 OCRC Annual Report notes that effective enforcement varied widely by geography and was often stymied by jury bias and the role of the police as witnesses. The report relates an example of a waitress fired from her job in southern Ohio for attempting to serve an African American. Although the waitress served as a witness for the plaintiff, the jury ruled in favor of the restaurant owner.²²⁰

CDCs, besides constructing housing for underserved African American areas, also led construction projects that would return goods and services to black neighborhoods.

In Cleveland, the Hough Area Development Corporation (HADC) focused on a marquee project: the Martin Luther King Plaza at 9300 Wade Park Avenue. Designed by African American architect Robert Madison, the shopping center incorporated second-story townhomes over retail spaces surrounded by parking. The shopping center housed businesses that employed neighborhood residents. Community Products, Inc., a rubber products producer, employed welfare recipients. The Handyman Maintenance Company employed twenty-six Hough residents.

In Columbus, the Neighborhood Development Corporation (NDC) built the Mt. Vernon Plaza Shopping Center in an area scarred by uprising and urban renewal. The \$14 million project was started in 1971 and was completed in 1978. President Jimmy Carter attended the dedication.²²¹ The project included a post office, pharmacy, beauty parlor, and other businesses that were present in the neighborhood before rebellions and widespread disinvestment wiped them out.

Welfare Rights

Welfare rights organizations were formed in the mid-1960s to fight for the equitable distribution of benefits such as Aid For Dependent Children. Inherently linked to the urban crisis and government abandonment of the center cities, and imbued with feminism, these groups battled for access to government services and against poverty at a time when a white majority was convinced that freeloading blacks were “chiseling” the system.

The fight for access to welfare benefits was reminiscent of the fight for equal access to restaurants and theaters in the 1940s, with similar challenges. Caseworkers, like the ticket booth worker and the abusive restaurant owner of the 1940s, endeavored to make their customers’ lives miserable if they were forced to serve them. In addition, since the 1950s welfare benefits had steadily diminished even for those

²¹⁹ Ohio Civil Rights Commission, *1960 Annual Report*, 35.

²²⁰ Ohio Civil Rights Commission, *1960 Annual Report*, 36.

²²¹ Linda Ammons, “Mt. Vernon Plaza: Blight to Might,” *Black Enterprise*, December 1978, 28.

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who received them. African American women seeking benefits wanted simple respect and the actual benefits to which they were entitled. In the later 1960s and 1970s the Nixon administration and conservative factions pushed back against welfare rights groups with racially coded language, portraying them as communist-influenced layabouts playing the system.

In June 1966, the Rev. Paul Younger of Fidelity Baptist Church in Cleveland organized an interracial march of welfare recipients from Cleveland to Columbus. The Greater Cleveland Welfare Rights Organization was formed as a result. The protesters marched to highlight the plight of the poor and to be able to meet basic needs with dignity. They also wanted a 25% increase in the monthly benefit. Marching through Middleburg Heights, Medina, Wooster, and Bellville, the protestors garnered statewide attention. While some urged the marchers on and supplied cold water, pretzels, and potato chips, others hung signs on utility poles that read, "Ambitious people work for a living" and "Welcome to Wayne County, a low-relief area."²²²

The welfare march also drew national attention. An *Orlando Sentinel* editorial called the welfare march more ominous than recent "race" marches in the South. The editorial argued that civil disobedience tactics used by black civil rights protesters, combined with the threat of implied violence, would result in blackmailing the federal government for "bread and circuses." The editorial suggested a return to the poll tax if the protests became a national pastime, to prevent a bidding war for the welfare vote.²²³ The approximately 50 marchers, and hundreds of others bused in for a rally, eventually gathered at the Ohio State House lawn where speeches were made by national figures such as comedian and civil rights activist Dick Gregory and state representative Carl Stokes.

Younger's Cleveland group grew statewide and became the Ohio Welfare Rights Organization. Later, in 1967, Lillian Craig formed the National Welfare Rights Organization. By 1970, the NWRO had 100,000 dues-paying members with a reputation for a "readiness for angry demonstrations, protracted litigation, and negotiation."²²⁴ However, more often it was merely women helping other women navigate the system in the welfare office. Congressional testimony stated that it was "a nationwide militant welfare organization...[whose] goals are additional welfare benefits and an annual guaranteed income."²²⁵

The Community Organization Members Build Absolute Trust (COMBAT!) was formed in 1966 in Steubenville when urban renewal and poverty programs failed to

²²² "Ohio Welfare Marchers Get Church Dinner," *The Circleville Herald*, June 23, 1966, 8.

²²³ "Welfare Marches More Ominous," *The Orlando Sentinel*, June 29, 1966, 10.

²²⁴ Roger Rogin, "Now It's Welfare Lib," *The New York Times*, September 27, 1970, 16.

²²⁵ House Committee on the Judiciary, *Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws*, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., January 20, 1970, 18.

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produce results.²²⁶ A congressional investigation into alleged subversive activities of the New Left maintained that COMBAT! was a Saul Alinsky-oriented organization that “participated in marches and civil rights demonstrations demanding additional welfare benefits and were aligned with two ‘left-wing’ organizations, the Communist Action Training Center and the Young Socialists Alliance.”²²⁷

The Stark County Welfare Rights Organization, a group of eight women led by Jarrel Shipman, noted at a county commissioners' meeting that they were made to wait for two or three hours for their caseworker when they already had an appointment. When they finally met their caseworker, the discussions were peppered with vulgarities and private matters were discussed in public hallways. The organization also requested the state benefit of \$41 per month, noting that the state paid 75% of the county's tab. At the time, Stark County paid \$28 per month to recipients.²²⁸ The group also requested that home visits be conducted even when other people were in the house; caseworkers often saw visitors and turned around, threatening to cut off benefits because of a belief that the visitor was an actual household member and therefore contributing to the family's income. In addition, once inside, caseworkers would search refrigerators for allegedly frivolous items.

A 1973 rally by the Greene County Welfare Rights Organization focused on increasing a clothing allowance for school-aged children. The request and their tactics--protesting at the courthouse--were met with scorn from county commissioners.²²⁹ At the time one could receive public assistance or a clothing allowance for children, but not both.

In some instances, municipalities attempted to bar the black poor altogether or restrict access to their city and its services. In 1976, the city of Shaker Heights erected six barricades made of traffic barrels in six streets along the border of Cleveland's Lee-Harvard neighborhood. Shaker Heights maintained that the Shaker barricades, as they became to be known, were for traffic control, to prevent accidents and traffic jams. However, there is little record of either problem prior to the barriers' erection.²³⁰ In 1979 two of the barriers, located on Avalon and Ingleside between Scottsdale Boulevard and Invermere Avenue, became permanent. A court battle ensued. In 1985, the Common Pleas Court ordered them removed immediately at Shaker Heights's expense. In 1987, after an eleven-year court battle, the Ohio Supreme Court ruled the barriers legal, contending that Shaker Heights had a constitutional right to traffic-control measures. The barriers continue to provoke conversations about race, class, and equal access.

²²⁶ Premilla Nadessen, *Welfare Warriors: The Welfare Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 26.

²²⁷ House Committee on the Judiciary, *Hearings*, 20.

²²⁸ James Herzog, “Quiet Appeal: Give More Dignity,” *The Akron Beacon Journal*, April 10, 1970, 5.

²²⁹ “Rally by WRO Draws Mixed Reaction Here,” *Xenia Daily Gazette*, August 6, 1973, 11.

²³⁰ Liz Sisley, “Shaker Barricades,” *Cleveland Historical*, <https://clevelandhistorical.org/items/show/824>, accessed March 5, 2018.

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Education – The Great Migration and Civil Rights in Ohio, 1894–1932

The education theme examines African Americans' equal access to educational opportunities. Not only were African Americans denied access to the same schools as their white peers, they were also denied access to various educational programs. Elementary students could be denied proper facilities while high school students could be denied access to college preparatory courses and be shunted into vocational programs. Black students could also be placed unnecessarily into special education programs. Black college students could be denied access to certain programs. Successful tools for fighting segregation included boycotts and picketing, along with legal action, frequently by the NAACP. Unfortunately, even successful tactics could not stymie segregation in some parts of Ohio when school boards merely resegregated schools after a supposed civil rights victory.

After the Great Migration segregation in education was re-instituted throughout Ohio. While in some parts of the state, such as Gallipolis, segregated education had survived the 1887 Arnett Law mandating integration, in most areas segregation was a new development in the early twentieth century. Ohio's African Americans fought newly instituted educational segregation. However, in some cases class differences complicated the battle against segregation. Teaching school was one of the few elite African American professions for women. Segregated schools meant more jobs, since white schools would not hire blacks. In addition, some elite blacks thought integrated schools would be low quality and stocked with lower class whites. Consequently, the fight for school integration was not always accepted throughout the community.

The Columbus City School system was segregated in 1909 through gerrymandering the individual schools' district boundaries. William Oxley Thompson, president of the Ohio State University and simultaneously a Columbus City School Board of Education member, was against African Americans participating in certain programs at OSU, such as engineering, thinking that social conditions would not be tenable.²³¹ Thompson's racial attitudes were products of the Progressive movement, with a dose of Lost Cause ideology. He felt that slavery was evil but at the same time thought blacks had benefited from the benevolent attitudes of their owners.²³² Consequently, while his Progressive side thought African Americans should be educated, he also felt they should be educated separately, in spite of Ohio law. In 1907, Thompson announced that a separate Columbus public school would be

²³¹ Amy Fancelli Zalimas, "William Oxley Thompson on Popular Education, Social Justice, and Social Control in Progressive Era Ohio," in *Builders of Ohio: A Biographical History*, ed. Warren Van Tine and Michael Pierce (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2003), 213.

²³² Zalimas, "William Oxley Thompson," 213.

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constructed for blacks. Thompson's separate-but-equal school proposal caused an immediate protest from more than 800 African Americans who gathered at an ice rink on Mt. Vernon Avenue on September 4, 1907. They sent a resolution to the school board, and the city solicitor agreed that the racially segregated school violated the law. In addition, the protestors promised to register their discontent at the polls. Regardless, in 1910 Champion Elementary opened with all-black teachers and a 90% African American student body. A move to an at-large council system in Columbus effectively disenfranchised the African American population in 1912. Columbus's at-large system ensured that effective political candidates focused on an agenda that received broad political support; minority needs and other special interests were usually ignored lest a candidate or elected official be accused of pandering to a particular segment of the population.²³³

Cincinnati's Walnut Hills was home to the Frederick Douglass School, located at Chapel and Alms Place, which became an important community center and a producer of Cincinnati's African American leadership. Douglass opened in 1911, replacing a school built on the same site in 1872 as part of Cincinnati's Colored School System. The Brown-Arnett law enacted by the Ohio General Assembly in 1887 had called for the phasing out of segregated schools. Though Douglass was nominally open to students of all races, it remained segregated in practice. This occurred, in part, because of the desire of African American parents for a school where the teachers were black and would have more understanding of the needs of black children. Because the school district refused to allow black teachers to educate white students, the only option remaining for black teachers to teach black children was to have black teachers staff an all-black school.²³⁴

Douglass was not the only African American school in the Cincinnati school system. In 1914 the Harriet Beecher Stowe School opened in the West End, staffed with African American teachers. The creation of these two schools engendered controversy in the black community. Jennie Porter, founder and principal of Stowe School, and Francis Russell, principal of Douglass, defended these schools as providing an education for black children unavailable from white teachers who they believed would not give black students the attention they needed. Wendell Dabney and other African American leaders argued that integration was the only path to quality education for black children. Nevertheless, Cincinnati Public Schools maintained these two schools for black children until well after *Brown v. Board of Education* was decided in 1954.²³⁵

²³³ Yvette Alex-Assensoh, "Black Ministers and the Politics of Personal Influence in Columbus," in R. Drew Smith and Fredrick C. Harris, eds., *Black Churches and Local Politics: Clergy Influence, Organizational Partnerships, and Civic Empowerment* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 61.

²³⁴ Cincinnati History Library and Archives, "Douglass School," <http://library.cincymuseum.org/aag/history/douglassschool.html>, accessed March 28, 2018; Lyle Koehler, *Cincinnati's Black Peoples: A Chronology and Bibliography, 1797-1982* (Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 1986), 101, 104; Walnut Hills Redevelopment Foundation, <http://walnuthillsrf.org/throwback-thursday-frederick-douglass-school/>, accessed March 28, 2018.

²³⁵ Cincinnati History Library and Archives, "Jennie D. Porter," <http://library.cincymuseum.org/aag/bio/porter.html>, accessed March 28, 2018.

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Springfield's school system illustrated the interconnection of African American employment and school segregation. Springfield schools integrated after the 1887 Arnett Law. The school district also fired all its black teachers. By 1898, it was reported that some African Americans wanted the school system to be segregated again in order to hire black teachers.²³⁶ As a result of the Great Migration the percentage of African American students increased, prompting a renewed effort for school segregation.²³⁷ The school board started to change school boundaries and at the same time began to solicit support from select black community members. These members either supported hiring black teachers, only possible in a segregated setting, or had political ambitions.²³⁸ The Springfield NAACP starkly opposed segregation, but supported hiring black teachers.

The district created an all-black school at the newly constructed Fulton Elementary in 1922. The decision divided the Springfield African American community along class lines. Second Baptist Church and the North Street African Methodist Episcopal Church served Springfield's African American professionals and skilled laborers, the community's elite. The same congregation also populated the local NAACP.

There was also a local political divide as black Republicans followed the white Republican lead and supported segregation, while black Democrats did not.²³⁹ Consequently, the local NAACP branch was rendered essentially moot through indecision and infighting. The NAACP did manage to deliver a 900-signature petition to the school board protesting the plan.²⁴⁰ However, realizing the NAACP's impotence, local black leaders established the Civil Rights Protective League, which appealed to the national NAACP office. The group blamed accommodating African Americans in Columbus and Dayton for allowing those districts to be segregated and vowed to fight in Springfield. In addition to legal action the group planned a boycott and picketing. About half the students skipped the first day.²⁴¹ The picketing targeted black teachers as segregationists and made clear that integration was more important than their jobs. Months went by with no progress and the protesters blocked the teachers from entering the school on November 7. The school board had the League's leaders arrested. A judge ordered the board to integrate the school the next year. The board then failed to renew all black teachers' contracts. The board also allowed white students to transfer from Fulton while African American students could not. By 1936, the first year racial composition numbers are available, the school had a 97% African American student

²³⁶ August Meier and Elliott Rudnick, "Early Boycotts of Segregated Schools: The Case of Springfield, Ohio, 1922-23," *American Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1968): 746.

²³⁷ Meier and Rudnick, "Early Boycotts of Segregated Schools," 747.

²³⁸ Meier and Rudnick, "Early Boycotts of Segregated Schools," 747.

²³⁹ Meier and Rudnick, "Early Boycotts of Segregated Schools," 750.

²⁴⁰ Meier and Rudnick, "Early Boycotts of Segregated Schools," 749.

²⁴¹ Meier and Rudnick, "Early Boycotts of Segregated Schools," 752.

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population.²⁴²

A school segregation battle erupted in Gallipolis in 1916. Gallipolis like Hillsboro and Baltimore, had maintained dual school systems into the twentieth century in contravention of state law.²⁴³ African American high school students had been refused entry to Gallipolis's Union High School since the 1880s and were instead placed in a room in the African American Lincoln Elementary. In 1916, the school district constructed a new high school that banned African Americans. The school board repaired the Lincoln School in response to community complaints but still refused to admit blacks to the regular high schools. Local activists hired an attorney and the court found that the school board had, indeed, illegally discriminated against African American students. Blacks were admitted in 1916 to the new high school.

Black students were also shunted into vocational education whether they wanted to be or not. Some white philanthropists were adherents of Booker T. Washington's advocacy of vocational education. In 1918, the Booker T. Washington School (demolished 1971) opened in Middletown with the support of the American Rolling Mill Company's president, George M. Verity. The school, along with the Colored Industrial School in Cincinnati, founded in 1914, sought "racial uplift" for African Americans through vocational education.²⁴⁴

Education – Civil Rights and the Great Depression, 1932–1940

Higher education was not immune to segregation. While segregation was not practiced to the degree that it was in elementary and secondary education, barriers for black would-be students were still formidable. Certain programs were off limits. Dormitories and Greek life were restricted if not impossible. Off-campus housing usually meant boarding with a black family. Restaurants in college towns often did not serve African Americans.

Higher education in Ohio was fraught for African Americans in the 1930s. Like other forms of northern segregation, it was mercurial. NAACP activist and Du Bois protégé Gustavus Adolphus Steward identified Ohio State as not better or worse but typical: a place where a large number of Americans congregated was bound to bring out the worst in prejudice.²⁴⁵ Steward noted that the Bucket and Dipper Society, a sophomore honorary society that sought the best athletes, did not admit

²⁴² Meier and Rudnick, "Early Boycotts of Segregated Schools," 757.

²⁴³ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line*, 40

²⁴⁴ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line*, 42.

²⁴⁵ Gustavus Adolphus Steward, "The Negro Student Prefers Prejudice," *The Crisis*, August 1935, 245.

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Olympian Jesse Owens. Steward, controversially, blamed black students in a letter to *The Crisis*, the NAACP's national magazine. When white students formed an interracial committee to improve conditions, he claimed, African American students abandoned them before the effort could get off the ground. Steward noted that the students' parents made them drop the enterprise before it could affect their academic records.²⁴⁶

Not every case at Ohio State was muffled or ignored. These instances were usually magnified by outside parties such as the NAACP. In 1932, Wilhelmina Styles and Doris Weaver were accepted into Ohio State's home economics program. A key program aspect, and requirement for graduation, was a practical in-house laboratory experience where students lived together for a quarter. Weaver applied for the course and was accepted into the house laboratory at 220 E. 11th Ave. on Ohio State's campus. However, in October 1932, the program realized that she was African American and rescinded the offer to live at the Grace Graham Walker House. Her presence would violate Ohio State's unwritten—but strictly enforced—racial segregation policy. Weaver and another student from Cleveland, Wilhelmina Styles, lodged complaints with the Cleveland NAACP, which took the case. Ohio State informed Styles she could not live at the Grace Graham Walker House, “for the reason of color and tradition.”²⁴⁷ Ohio State did offer Weaver one side of the duplex if she would live there by herself. She refused.

The case quickly attracted attention ranging from the Hilltop Civic League in Columbus to alumni from Youngstown. Theodore Berry wrote from the Cincinnati NAACP branch. Most letters noted that the university was a state institution and that segregation was against the law. Under pressure, Ohio State refused to budge. Styles was forced to take her Home Economics laboratory class in the home of a local African American family in order to graduate in 1932.

State representative and Cleveland civil rights attorney Charles Gillespie took Weaver's case for the NAACP. Nationwide attention and support throughout the state bolstered the contention that *Plessy v. Ferguson* (the famous 1896 "separate but equal" decision) might be overturned.²⁴⁸ In addition, unlike Styles Weaver was nearly white in complexion, making it theoretically easier to win her case.²⁴⁹ The degrees of complexion were, however, lost on the Ohio Supreme Court, and Weaver lost the case. In *Weaver v. Board of Trustees of Ohio State University*, Ohio State argued successfully that Weaver could still get an education through its system. Weaver was forced to take a substitute class and graduated in March 1933. In 1947, Ohio State began allowing minorities to live in the Grace Walker Graham House singly or in pairs. Ohio State instituted open housing in the program in

²⁴⁶ Steward, "The Negro Student Prefers Prejudice," 246.

²⁴⁷ Tyran Kai Steward, "Time Not Ripe: Black Women's Quest for Citizenship and the Battle to End Jim Crow at the Ohio State University," *Ohio History* 121 (2014): 4–34.

²⁴⁸ Steward, "Time Not Ripe," 27.

²⁴⁹ Steward, "Time Not Ripe," 28.

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The Ohio State football program was also famously segregated during the 1930s under head coach Francis Schmidt. Schmidt was well-known for not playing a single African American football player during his tenure from 1934–1940. Football player Bill Willis, a future NFL player who broke the color line playing for the Cleveland Browns, went to Ohio State intent on running track, knowing he would not be allowed on the football team under Schmidt.²⁵¹

Education – Civil Rights and World War II, 1940–1945

Hiring African American teachers could become a flashpoint in the black community. Because of the backlash to African Americans teaching white children, black community members often thought that hiring presaged segregation. In 1940, the Oberlin school system hired Elizabeth Glenn at Centennial Elementary School. Championed by Rev. H. J. Tucker, Glenn was the first black teacher hired in one hundred years.²⁵²

Residents were immediately suspicious about the Oberlin School Board's motivations for hiring a black teacher. Oberlin's African Americans surmised that Rev. Tucker, in his role as "community leader," had bartered Centennial's segregation in exchange for Glenn's contract. The kerfuffle irked Mayor C. C. Cummings, who complained that Oberlin's blacks could never work together as a unified block, noting that they were numerous enough to vote in a council or school board member if they all voted one way.²⁵³ When questioned, Oberlin school Superintendent Wigton made "a flat admission that such an arrangement had been entered into." Tucker vehemently denied it.²⁵⁴ White parents began to remove their children from Centennial.²⁵⁵ Glenn's teaching appears to have made a favorable impression. When her contract was due to be renewed the board was hesitant, but this time white parents circulated a petition urging Glenn to be rehired for her first grade teaching position.²⁵⁶ In addition, some school officials believed that firing Glenn would be a tacit admission of the segregation plan.²⁵⁷ Glenn was rehired and continued to teach first grade at Centennial with interracial support.²⁵⁸

Wilmington's school segregation battle is a good example of the setbacks

²⁵⁰ *Minority Relations the Ohio State University*, <https://library.osu.edu/innovation-projects/omeka/exhibits/show/civil-rights/sections/minority-relations-at-the-ohio>, accessed July 20, 2018.

²⁵¹ Jacqueline Edmondson, *Jesse Owens: A Biography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007), 26.

²⁵² Johnny Willis, "See Jim Crow Motive in Appointment of First Negro Teacher in Oberlin School," *Cleveland Call and Post*, September 21, 1940, 1.

²⁵³ "Oberlin Citizens Check School Jim Crow Threat," *Cleveland Call and Post*, November 9, 1940, 1.

²⁵⁴ "Oberlin Citizens Check School Jim Crow Threat."

²⁵⁵ "Oberlin Gives Negro Teacher New Contract," *Cleveland Call and Post*, May 9, 1942, 1.

²⁵⁶ "Oberlin News, Citizens Back Race Teacher," *Cleveland Call and Post*, April 25, 1942, 1.

²⁵⁷ "Oberlin News, Citizens Back Race Teacher."

²⁵⁸ "Oberlin News, Citizen's Back Race Teacher."

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frequently gone through before integration is achieved. Wilmington's school integration battle was set back in 1940 when Theodore Lewis sued the school board. Lewis lived a few blocks from a white school but was forced to send his child to a school across town. The NAACP took the case to the Ohio Supreme Court but lost, leading the *Cleveland Call & Post* to summarize the decision: "so long as you can't prove that the school board has officially adopted a policy of segregation, it may continue to assign students to any school it desires if it will best promote the interest of education."²⁵⁹ The NAACP felt it was the biggest legal setback to overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson* since *Weaver*.

The Cleveland FOL, working with the Mansfield chapter, worked to eliminate segregation at the Bowman School (445 Bowman St. in Mansfield) during the early 1940s. African American children were taught in separate rooms from the first to sixth grades, with two teachers for all the grades. Various groups had tested the twenty-year-old arrangement over time, but the Board of Education had always managed to overrule any changes. The Mansfield FOL chapter sought legal assistance from Cleveland and took the Board to court, where the FOL attorneys overturned the practice.²⁶⁰

Education – Post-war to the Civil Rights Act, 1945–1964

Civil rights battles in education continued at all levels during the post-war era. Unlike previous fights against segregation in education, post-war struggles exhibited marked success. However, once again success was relative and often contingent on how combative individuals and groups were in their quest. Complicated by class and regional outlook, school battles ranged from not wanting integration for pragmatic educational reasons to the quest for full integration in Hillsboro. Higher education saw increased access to benefits and programs. Following the Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* that the concept of "separate but equal" facilities violated the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law, civil rights activists gained legal ammunition in the fight for school equality. Institutional memory and inertia were difficult to overcome, especially in urban centers. *Brown* provided "moral clarity" and an impetus for activists to continue.²⁶¹ But it did not provide legal guidance for integrating segregated northern schools that technically were not separated by law.²⁶²

Civil rights actions against school segregation appear to have increased after World War II. The NAACP urged its members to be systematic in their fights in order to make taking cases to court and winning them easier. In 1948 Marian Wynn Perry, a

²⁵⁹ "Supreme Court Upholds Ohio Jim Crow," *Cleveland Call and Post*, July 6, 1940, 1.

²⁶⁰ Loeb, 106.

²⁶¹ Gregory S. Jacobs, *Getting Around Brown: Desegregation, Development, and the Columbus Public Schools* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1998), 16-17.

²⁶² Jacobs, *Getting Around Brown*, 20.

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NAACP national attorney, asked members to “Be alert of evidence of segregation in schools. Check facilities in schools where most of the students are Negroes; try to get white mothers to join in helping to combat segregation; and get some militant mothers to take their children to white schools and demand they be admitted.”²⁶³

Balanced against the NAACP’s tactics were white opposition and fissures in the black community not only over integration’s pace and manner, but over whether it was even desirable. In some communities, the desire for integration was not widely shared. A failed school segregation case in Portsmouth in 1953 was still celebrated a year later by some African Americans who feared that the school district would only send unwanted lower-class whites to the black school.²⁶⁴

In Wilmington, the Midland School was segregated until 1952. Located in an industrial part of town, the school was next to the railroad tracks and did not have indoor plumbing.²⁶⁵ In 1939, Ted Lewis filed a lawsuit in Wilmington challenging his son’s school assignment. The lawsuit failed, and the school offered transportation to the black school but nothing else. The NAACP appealed but lost at the Ohio Supreme Court in 1940. The court ruled that the Wilmington school district was not obligated to allow African Americans to attend the white schools nearest their homes.²⁶⁶ The NAACP was disappointed by the tepid community response to their help. Whether African Americans in Wilmington feared retribution or retaliation was unclear, but the offer of transportation to the black Midland school mollified many.²⁶⁷

In 1945, Quaker activists came to Wilmington and renewed the attack on school segregation. Wilmington College undergraduates protested at school board meetings in support of African American activists. In response, the board of education tried to curtail local donations to the college and appealed to its trustees to stop or expel the student protesters. While most complied, one student withdrew rather than stop. In 1950, a different school board voted to phase out segregation at Midland. In 1953, the school had an integrated kindergarten.

In Hillsboro, a group of African American mothers protested the local segregated school. Hillsboro had three elementary schools, two white, Webster (demolished 2017) and Washington, and the Lincoln School for blacks. Built in 1870, the Lincoln School only had two teachers for six grades.²⁶⁸ In 1954, a group of mothers took their students to the newer Webster School to enroll them but were denied due to “overcrowding.” As in Wilmington, a small group of African Americans thought

²⁶³ “NAACP Conference Highlights,” *The Ohio State News*, October 2, 1948, 2.

²⁶⁴ John B. Combs, “Portsmouth Strictly a Northern Community with Southern Exposure; Race Prejudices Practices are Running Rampant,” *The Ohio State News*, September 18, 1954, 7.

²⁶⁵ Paul Moke, *Earl Warren and the Struggle for Justice* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2005), x.

²⁶⁶ Moke, *Earl Warren*, x.

²⁶⁷ Moke, *Earl Warren*, x.

²⁶⁸ “Hillsboro Boy, 10, Typical of Pupils Involved in Segregation Tiff,” *The Logan Daily News*, January 11, 1956, 1.

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the whole matter “much ado about nothing.”

Shortly after the initial protest, Highland County Engineer Philip Partridge set fire to the Lincoln School, reasoning that if the school was unusable integration must follow. This proved a fallacy. Partridge turned himself in after a black youth was accused of arson, avoiding a possibly very ugly turn in the community. Partridge served nine months in prison for the crime, and the city repaired the school rather than integrate. Partridge did not return to Hillsboro after his release from prison.

Hillsboro activist Imogene Curtis and other mothers of African American students began to take their children to the Webster School each morning and attempt to enroll them. Sometimes they made it into the lobby; sometimes they were simply denied entrance. Curtis and the other mothers maintained this routine for two years. Each day they would awaken, dress their children for school, and set off to enroll them. Crosses were burned in the families’ yards. Their jobs were threatened. Each day mothers and children were heckled on their route. When they returned home after being denied enrollment every day, their children were taught by Quaker volunteers from Wilmington College. Eventually, the ongoing protest gained the attention of Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP. Taking the case to the Supreme Court, they won in 1956--but the students were still not admitted. In April 1956, the mothers held a sit-in at the Webster principal’s office. The school board required the actual court order be in hand before they would be admitted.

The issue, however, didn’t merely fade away with the court order. The children were forced to take placement tests, and all the returning students were placed in the grade they had been in when the protest started two years prior. Almost all the children were placed in first grade to start their schooling completely over.²⁶⁹

The desegregation battle embittered the community and was not soon forgotten in Hillsboro. In 1962, a Marching Mother was excoriated in the local newspaper, which snidely commented that “She was among those cited by outside integrationists as a community leader.”²⁷⁰

Education – Civil Rights after 1964

The failure to achieve rapid desegregation after *Brown vs. Board of Education* was a bitter pill for many African Americans. However, the slow pace of government intervention did not deter activists throughout the state.

In Columbus, the Board of Education passed a 1964 resolution opposing segregation but supporting “neighborhood schools,” while rejecting bussing as a means to solve “social problems.”²⁷¹ This enabled the Columbus school system to

²⁶⁹ “Hillsboro School Integration Hits Snag,” *Wilmington News-Journal*, April 16, 1956, 1.

²⁷⁰ “Former Integration Leader Sentenced to Reformatory,” *The Press Gazette*, April 6, 1962, 1.

²⁷¹ Jacobs, *Getting Around Brown*, 20.

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continue to construct schools that were essentially segregated. Columbus's east side residents were not fooled; 400 people protested the opening of the nearly all-black Monroe Junior High.²⁷² School infrastructure also reflected segregation. In 1966, the NAACP charged that segregated Columbus schools illegally withheld resources from black students. Sixth Street Elementary, at 303 E. 6th Ave., constructed in 1961 for a majority-black neighborhood, did not have a gymnasium or cafeteria for the students, unlike nearby majority-white Weinland Park Elementary. In 1968 the Cunningham Report, named for Ohio State's Dean of the College of Education and commissioned by the Columbus Board of Education, identified numerous problems. The report noted large disparities between white and black schools in standards and educational outcomes.²⁷³ Columbus resident Marian Craig formed the Ad Hoc Committee for Quality Education. On September 1, 1967, parents from Ohio Elementary presented a list of demands to the school board. The parents wanted breakfast and lunch programs, smaller classrooms, intercultural textbooks, and a school lending library.²⁷⁴ And like Cleveland parents they organized a one-day school boycott to highlight the issues. Protests were hampered by two factors. Some parents who were federally employed skipped out of fear that their participation could be seen as political activity. Others were concerned that participating would result in forfeiting their welfare benefits.²⁷⁵ The September 13, 1967, school boycott did achieve a number of outcomes immediately. The East Central Citizen's Organization set up a kitchen that provided breakfast and lunch to the students.

In 1963, Cleveland's United Freedom Movement and black Clevelanders launched a yearlong protest against the Cleveland school system. The protesters utilized the full range of nonviolent protest tools: peaceful negotiation, mass demonstrations, picketing, sit-ins, boycotts, and legal action.²⁷⁶ School problems were exacerbated by demographic shifts. While Cleveland's population declined from 914,808 in 1950 to 810,858 in 1964, the African American population increased from 16.2% in 1950 to 34.4% in 1965. 99.9% lived in the segregated and now overcrowded East Side corridor.²⁷⁷ Schools on the East Side had high student-teacher ratios and inadequate facilities. Because the students could not be transferred to less-crowded schools, schools used cafeterias, libraries, gyms, and any other available space for makeshift classrooms. Even these measures proved inadequate when, during the mid-1950s, 1456 children could not start kindergarten for lack of space. This was solved by having two classroom sessions a day. At the same time, white schools operated at 50% capacity.²⁷⁸ In 1962, Cleveland did bus some black students to white schools, but these students were forbidden from leaving their classrooms for lunch, assemblies, and physical education. They were assigned one time per day to

²⁷² Jacobs, *Getting Around Brown*, 20.

²⁷³ Jacobs, *Getting Around Brown*, 21.

²⁷⁴ Jacobs, *Getting Around Brown*, 23.

²⁷⁵ Kaye Lyman, "Schools Deserving of Boycott," *The Columbus Challenger*, September 30, 1967, 1.

²⁷⁶ Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 135.

²⁷⁷ Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 135.

²⁷⁸ Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 136-137.

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use the restroom.

In 1963, the UFM, composed of the NAACP, CORE, and other groups, challenged school segregation. The groups issued an ultimatum that the schools must be desegregated by September 23, 1963, but the day passed without school integration. CORE convinced the more moderate UFM entities that new techniques, beyond quiet negotiation, were necessary. A week of picketing the school board offices followed. Direct action worked. The Cleveland school board agreed to integrate and start busing during the second half of the school year in January 1964. The glow was short-lived, however. By January 1964, it became apparent the school board had no intention of honoring the September 1963 agreement. The January plan included mixing bused black students with white students for one period of 40 minutes per day. The UFM and the Hazeldell Parents Association (HPA) protested at the Brett Elementary School in Collinwood on January 26, a Sunday, where they were heckled by whites while white policemen stood by and watched. The next Thursday, protests were held at Memorial Elementary in Cleveland's Little Italy neighborhood. The picketing protesters were met by 1400 angry whites wielding bricks, guns, and clubs. One group of blacks merely passing through had their car riddled with bullet holes.²⁷⁹ On February 4, the protesters held a sit-in at the Board of Education's offices. White police officers threw two protesters in their fifties down three flights of concrete stairs.

With mounting bad publicity, the school board now promised to integrate the schools on March 9, 1964; however, only a small number of black students were actually integrated into formerly white schools, and many white students remained at home.²⁸⁰ The school board then announced the construction of three new schools in the all-black Hazeldell area. Sensing a repeat of the age-old trick of building new schools in black neighborhoods that in the end were really segregated, the UFM called for a construction moratorium. The board refused.

On April 6, protesters gathered at the Stephen E. Howe Elementary School construction site at Lakeview and Superior and attempted to halt heavy equipment. Twenty were arrested on the first day.²⁸¹ On April 7, protesters returned, and tragedy struck. The Rev. Bruce Klunder, a 27-year-old CORE activist and Unitarian minister, was crushed to death when a bulldozer backed up to avoid protesters blocking its route. Police dispersed the crowd while one protester tried, in vain, to gain control of the bulldozer.²⁸²

On April 14, protesters picketed in front of the May Company and Higbee's Department Stores in downtown Cleveland. These protests got the attention of the white business community.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 146.

²⁸⁰ Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 149.

²⁸¹ Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 151.

²⁸² Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 151.

²⁸³ Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 152.

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Protestors planned a school boycott (with students attending a Freedom School instead of their regular schools) for April 20. A rally was held at Cory Methodist Church at 1117 E. 105th Street, and the Freedom School was a success with 92% of black students attending. Once again, however, tragedy struck: a five-year-old girl, Randy Adkins, was run over by a bus in her excitement at leaving a Freedom School. At a press conference her father held one of her shoes as he noted the school board's resistance to integration. Press accounts stated that Adkins died clutching the Freedom Diploma she had earned that day.

The NAACP took over legal proceedings when a court injunction stopped the construction site protests. The protests did force out the Board of Education president and some reforms were enacted, such as opening libraries in all elementary schools and the creation of vocational education for girls.²⁸⁴

Cleveland schools would not be fully desegregated until 1978, when busing was instituted. As in many other American cities, Cleveland's segregated housing pattern, driven by prejudice and legal and economic restrictions, made it almost impossible to equitably integrate schools; with a black East Side and white West Side, the distances students had to travel were untenable. The start of cross-town busing in the 1970s also accelerated the suburban flight of whites who could afford it.

Black Student Movements

Black student movements advocating for black studies departments, black faculty, and other changes came to the fore during the late 1960s. The movement for black studies started in California with roots in the Black Power movement, the Free Speech Movement at UC-Berkeley and the anti-Vietnam War movement. The Black Panthers' leaders Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale organized black students at Merritt College in Oakland, California, to demand a black history course.²⁸⁵ *Ebony* magazine described this movement as a black cultural revolution. It was a "struggle for the ultimate in power—the power to control the cultural apparatus which defines reality and shapes and maims minds."²⁸⁶ The students vehemently rejected the adoption of middle-class values formerly advocated by civil rights leaders, even those previously thought to be militant, such as Columbus' Vanguard League who had waged campaigns for proper behavior as part of their quest for integration. In the words of one black Dartmouth student, "The Negro who previously enrolled in white institutions was firmly convinced his path to success was facilitated through adherence to the middle class values of white society... Thus he compromised his own integrity as a black man... in the end he had become little more, in the eyes of

²⁸⁴ Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 154.

²⁸⁵ Thomas Albright, Judson L. Jeffries, and N. Michael Goecke, "A Ruckus on High Street: The Birth of Black Studies at the Ohio State University," *The Journal of Race and Policy* 9, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2013): 27.

²⁸⁶ Lerone Bennett Jr., "Confrontation on Campus," *Ebony*, May 1968, 27.

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many whites, than a genteel nigger—a showcase coon.”²⁸⁷ Frustrated by the civil rights movement's slow pace and what they saw as a gradualist approach, they broke with past approaches. It was a marked departure from and rejection of previous movements.

Ohio's historic black college, Central State University in Wilberforce, exploded in November 1967, when a group of militant black students demanded the expulsion of all white students. One student, Michael Warren, threatened to kill Wilberforce University president Rembert Stokes. Fellow students protested his removal and shielded him in Galloway Hall, blocking the entrances with furniture. Local sheriff's deputies quickly gave up the search and the National Guard was called in. A car was burned and rocks were thrown but order was eventually restored. Both schools were closed for approximately a week. The school establishment was slow to fully grasp the situation. CSU board chairman John Bustamante blamed the protest on extra homework that had recently been assigned in an attempt to boost the school's stature.²⁸⁸

At Ohio State University the movement started when comedian and activist Dick Gregory visited and urged students to do something about their treatment, including not being able to eat at certain off-campus restaurants.²⁸⁹ African American students formed the Black Student Union in 1968, and submitted a list of “legitimate grievances” to John Boner, executive dean of student relations.

In April 1968, black students and sympathizers took over the administration building. Eight students were expelled. History professor David Green was also fired for allegedly “leading a classroom draft card burning and collecting money to buy guns for blacks in the ghetto.”²⁹⁰ Paul Cook and Ako Kambon formed the Afro-American Society after the expulsions. The Afro-American Society and the Black Student Union advocated for a number of items ranging from quotidian campus issues to new departments; their requests included an additional campus bus to reduce wait times, a black student fund as a portion of their university service fees, an increase in the number of black campus police, an increased number of black students, and an Afro-American Studies Department.²⁹¹ Ohio State formally added a Black Studies Department in 1972. A Community Extension Center (CEC) was established in 1972 at 657 S. Ohio Ave. and remained there until it moved to 640 S. Ohio Ave. in 1978. A new building was constructed in 1985 at the corner of Mt. Vernon Ave. and Monroe Ave. Established to fulfill the land-grant college mandate of improving the lives of Ohioans and the Black Studies practice of community outreach, the CEC offered courses, leadership development, income tax assistance,

²⁸⁷ Bennett, 28.

²⁸⁸ Woody L. Taylor, “Disturbances Close Central State,” *Cleveland Call and Post*, November 18, 1967, 1A.

²⁸⁹ Albright, Jeffries, and Goecke, “A Ruckus on High Street,” 30.

²⁹⁰ John E. Jones Jr., “Ouster of OSU Students Spurs New Black Militancy,” *Cleveland Call and Post*, July 20, 1968.

²⁹¹ Albright, Jeffries, and Goecke, “A Ruckus on High Street,” 45.

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legal counseling, and cultural activities.²⁹²

A Black Student Union was formed at the University of Toledo as well. In May 1970, the BSU requested an increase in the number of black students, a Black Studies Department, financing, and its own recognition by the administration.²⁹³ Unlike at Ohio State, protests at the University of Toledo were relatively peaceful. Administrators worked with students to deescalate protests and hear out their demands.²⁹⁴

Black student movements were also present at smaller colleges in Ohio. Mount Union and Heidelberg University also had black student unions that advocated for black studies departments in 1970.²⁹⁵

Black student protests were not universally embraced by all African American students, just as students had often accommodated segregation in the 1920s and 1930s in order to not jeopardize their educations. Whether or not a student protested was sometimes, although not always, rooted in class differences. Black athletes, in particular the Ohio State University football team, appear to have played little role in civil rights protests in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Instead, the athletic program promoted accommodation and loyalty to the program rather than to racial solidarity. While Coach Woody Hayes advocated a colorblind manner of coaching and put blacks into positions such as quarterback and team captain, there were limits. Hayes preferred and promoted athletes who worked within the system and followed mainstream norms.²⁹⁶ In addition, black athletes were loath to risk jeopardizing their scholarships. Legislative changes that mandated expulsion for the undefined crime of “campus disruption” made protesting even less attractive.

Black student protests were not limited to higher education. Seventy-three black students were arrested at West High in Columbus on February 24, 1969, at a student protest in the gym. The students had asked for additional black history books for the library and an increased number of black faculty members (there were two African American teachers at West High). They also asked for a minute of silence in memory of Malcolm X. However, the impetus for the protest was school officials' practice of taking photographs of interracial couples in the hallways and mailing the prints to the parents of the white student, which prompted at least one confrontation between a black high school student and a white parent. Eleven of the black students were tried as adults, and the principal steadfastly refused to discuss the matter with

²⁹² Albright, Jeffries, and Goecke, “A Ruckus on High Street,” 40-42.

²⁹³ Matthew J. Deters, “Preventing Violent Unrest: Student Protest at the University of Toledo, 1965-1972” (M.A. thesis, University of Toledo, 2010), 66.

²⁹⁴ Deters, “Preventing Violent Unrest,” 91-92.

²⁹⁵ Ibram H. Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965-1972* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 101.

²⁹⁶ S. Kaazim Naqvi, “O-H-I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1972,” *Journal of Sport History* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 122.

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the students.²⁹⁷

Employment

Employment – The Great Migration and Civil Rights in Ohio, 1894–1932

Employment opportunities in the North were limited for African Americans. Most companies only offered unskilled positions to blacks regardless of their abilities. Employment opportunities also differed in different parts of Ohio. In Cleveland, roughly 20% of African American men were employed in personal or domestic services.²⁹⁸ In Columbus and Cincinnati, roughly 45% of African American men worked in the personal and domestic services fields. Following World War I, almost half of employed African American men in Cleveland worked in manufacturing and mechanical industries. Columbus's foundries and manufacturing concerns provided jobs, albeit often dirty and dangerous, for a minority of new southern arrivals. Labor agents scoured the South for Columbus companies such as Ohio Malleable Iron. In Lima, African Americans came on the B & O Railroad to work at Ohio Steel. Black men in Toledo were also heavily represented among iron molders, casters, and foundry workers. However, they were largely excluded from skilled and semiskilled occupations and from organized labor between 1910 and 1930.²⁹⁹ In all Ohio cities, the majority of black men working in industrial settings were employed in unskilled jobs.³⁰⁰

African American women received increased opportunities due to labor shortages during World War I. However, manufacturing jobs for African American women disappeared with the war's ending. During the 1920s the vast majority of black women worked in domestic service. Discrimination hindered other job opportunities. Very few blacks were employed in commercial enterprises such as stores, banks, or front offices.³⁰¹

African American women's employment placed them in a difficult situation with regard to childcare. In Cleveland, an informal network of daycare facilities developed but their condition was dire. Nicknamed "mushroom nurseries" for their lack of light and air combined with overall fetid conditions, children spent the day locked in rooms subsisting on fried potatoes, donuts, bologna, tomato pie, and coffee, all served cold.³⁰² The Welfare Federation of Cleveland did form a Daycare Association to facilitate boarding in private homes but it appears that supply always

²⁹⁷ "Monthly Report, March 1969, NAACP Ohio Field Office," MSS 13, Box 2, Folder 13, NAACP Records, Ohio History Connection.

²⁹⁸ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 96.

²⁹⁹ Alkalimat and Patterson, *Black Toledo*, 62.

³⁰⁰ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 96.

³⁰¹ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 97.

³⁰² Welfare Federation of Cleveland, *Social Service at Home During the War*, 8.

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exceeded demand.

African Americans and labor unions became increasingly active in civil rights during this period. African Americans were active in the United Mine Workers Union, formed in 1890 out of a combination of the Knights of Labor and the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers. The Knights of Labor were a multiracial entity and this legacy continued with the UMW. Richard L. Davis was a prominent African American union organizer in Ohio and mediated racial disputes within the union in Rendville, a mining town in Perry County.³⁰³ Davis had previously organized locals, including with white members, in Long Run, Dillonvale, and Laurelton.³⁰⁴

Black participation in the United Mine Workers in Ohio was problematic in the 1920s. While the national organization was colorblind, some local members also belonged to the Ku Klux Klan in violation of union rules. African Americans were leery of local leadership who discriminated socially, wondering if these whites would really stand with them on labor issues. This also complicated relations between local operations and the national office on whether to enforce the UMW constitution, which explicitly forbid belonging to the Klan. Some UMW members refused to participate in a funeral in Bellaire when other UMW members attended in full Klan regalia.³⁰⁵ The man being buried was also both a Klan and UMW member. Leadership pointed out that local officials did not have to interpret the constitution, providing a dodge for them on the matter.³⁰⁶ In 1923 local officials also reported Klan membership in Amsterdam in Jefferson County. It was estimated that up 75% of Ohio UMW members also held Klan memberships.³⁰⁷ However, regional popularity did not also translate to national adherence. A resolution to remove the Klan prohibition in the UMW constitution was proposed at the 1924 convention but was solidly voted down.³⁰⁸

African Americans also participated in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first black union, started by A. Philip Randolph in 1925. Blacks were banned from other railroad unions. African Americans were banned from more unions than they could participate in, with bans including the Boilermakers, Machinists, Electrical Workers, Plumbers and Steamfitters, and Sheet Metal Workers unions.³⁰⁹ The construction trades were notoriously racist.

Black-owned businesses which primarily served the black community, such as funeral homes, beauty parlors, and barber shops, in addition to stores, not only

³⁰³ Ronald L. Lewis, *Black Coal Miners in America: Race, Class and Community Conflict, 1780-1980* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1987), 99.

³⁰⁴ Lewis, *Black Coal Miners*, 99.

³⁰⁵ Lewis, *Black Coal Miners*, 104.

³⁰⁶ Lewis, *Black Coal Miners*, 104.

³⁰⁷ Lewis, *Black Coal Miners*, 105.

³⁰⁸ Lewis, *Black Coal Miners*, 107.

³⁰⁹ Paul Frymer, *Black and Blue: African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 51.

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provided jobs but enabled owners to participate in civic life. This avenue provided much more opportunity for African Americans but required hard to acquire capital. Consequently, while business owners may have achieved a higher status in the community, this was often not reflected in their income.

Employment – Civil Rights and the Great Depression, 1932–1940

African Americans in Ohio fought for more employment opportunities during the Great Depression. Clustered in black enclaves due to residential segregation, black Ohioans recognized their collective economic power. Using tools like boycotts in conjunction with a new method, picketing, African Americans sought employment opportunities in white-owned businesses operating in their communities. Noisy, militant, and not always popular, new organizations pressed hard and won jobs for blacks even in the midst of the Great Depression.

While New Deal racial policies did not provide as many employment opportunities as they did for whites, some programs were available albeit segregated. Out of the 110 CCC camps active in Ohio, approximately 18 were for African Americans, including four reserved for African American veterans. In Ohio, the majority of African American CCC camps improved state memorials and parks for the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. African American workers restored mounds at the Fort Hill and Fort Ancient state historic sites. An African American CCC camp was located in Cincinnati at Mt. Airy. Camp Jefferson in Steubenville and Camp Roosevelt near Portsmouth worked in the state park program. Other camps, such as Camp Pine Gap in Peebles and Camp Custer in Cadiz, worked for the Soil Conservation Service. Camp Guernsey near Lore City, located east of Cambridge in Guernsey County, worked on municipal projects. Camp Dean near Ironton and Camp Gordon near Portsmouth worked on state forest projects. Other African American camps worked for the army or on private land.³¹⁰

The Housewives League was formed in 1932 in Detroit, Michigan. Composed of middle-class African American women, often wives of businessmen, the Housewives League patronized black-owned businesses.³¹¹ The group's focus on the economy extended to wages, crucial for both consumers and business owners. In 1934, the Housewives League's Cleveland chapter protested cuts to Cleveland's black garbage collectors' wages and dumped garbage in the streets as a protest.

In February 1935 John Holly and fourteen neighbors formed the FOL at 5209 Julia Ave. in Cleveland (demolished). The FOL later met at the Globe Theater at E. 55th and Woodland Ave., 5217 Woodland Ave. The FOL initially focused on African Americans gaining employment at stores and businesses in black neighborhoods. Holly and others noticed that whites owned many of the stores that blacks shopped

³¹⁰ Civilian Conservation Corps Legacy, "CCC Camps Ohio," www.ccclegacy.org/CCC_Camps_Ohio.html, accessed July 2, 2018.

³¹¹ Phillips, *Alabama North*, 199.

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at, yet almost never employed blacks. Often merchants said that they only employed immediate family members. However, FOL members became suspicious when they noticed these “relatives” looked nothing alike and the number of relatives indicated an untenable birth rate.³¹² The FOL adopted a technique from labor unions but not previously regularly used in civil rights activism: picketing.

Picketing proved to be effective in irritating everyone, because it harassed not only store owners but also any customers, regardless of race. In assessing the practice the FOL stated that the conservative element in the black community—ministers, social workers, teachers and professionals—was “considerably annoyed.”³¹³ FOL tactics were confrontational. Picketing at a grocery store where the owner refused to hire blacks culminated in the gun-brandishing owner confronting the picketers and ordering them to leave. While FOL members were pointing out that he couldn’t shoot them all before one of them got to him, a thrown brick knocked the gun out of the owner’s hand. He hired a picketer for a position on the spot.³¹⁴ Store owners were innovative in their responses; the Fisher Brothers grocery store proprietors, hosing down the sidewalk on a Cleveland winter day to make a sheet of ice, also hosed the picketers with instantly frozen water. Police arrested protestors after the subsequent confrontation.³¹⁵

However, the tactic worked overall, and people began to be placed in jobs. FOL policy dictated that prospective employees should come from the picket line and that no one could picket or get a job resulting from an FOL protest unless they were a member, practices which drove membership numbers up during the Depression. More importantly, the FOL gained a powerful ally in *Call and Post* editor William O. Walker, who called out “accommodating leaders” and supported the League.³¹⁶ Friendly press relations also increased membership as it highlighted FOL successes.

The Dayton Negro Youth Movement was started in 1937. Encouraged by local funeral director C. J. McLin, writer Ralph Ellison and others started the organization to encourage African American employment in local businesses. When asking some, but not all, businesses to hire blacks failed, the group began to picket. The Velvet Ice Cream Parlor at 5th and Williams was the first to respond to picketing by hiring a black clerk. Blaines Market at 5th and Hawthorne capitulated next. The stores also agreed to post signs in their windows reading “This Store Cooperates with the Dayton Movement. We Employ Negro Clerks.”³¹⁷ One store, Estridges Market, steadfastly refused. Store employees knocked picketers off the sidewalk. When this failed to deter them the employees brandished rifles and shotguns outside. Upping the ante, they even poured acid on the sidewalk, hoping to burn through the soles of

³¹² Loeb, *The Future is Yours*, 25.

³¹³ Loeb, *The Future is Yours*, 32-33.

³¹⁴ Loeb, *The Future is Yours*, 81.

³¹⁵ Loeb, *The Future is Yours*, 120.

³¹⁶ Loeb, *The Future is Yours*, 34.

³¹⁷ Juanita Jackson, “Dayton Youths Face Guns in Picket Line,” *The Cleveland Call and Post*, May 19, 1938, 12.

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the picketers' shoes.³¹⁸ The police eventually, and reluctantly, became involved. The final outcome is unknown.

Union involvement continued to be critical in the quest for civil rights. During the 1930s the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) began to work with the NAACP on local union campaigns and fundraising.³¹⁹ The United Auto Workers and the Steelworkers also supported civil rights groups such as the NAACP and were involved with the FEPC. Racism continued to be a problem. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union members broadly supported racial segregation and the Ku Klux Klan even in the 1930s.³²⁰

By 1935, mine workers constituted the largest number of African American union members, followed by the Steelworkers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Packinghouse Workers and automotive unions.³²¹ Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters organizer A. Philip Randolph urged the American Federation of Labor to include nondiscrimination language in its 1935 platform but construction trades, who discriminated, controlled the convention.³²²

Employment – Civil Rights and World War II, 1940–1945

Like the first World War, the second World War opened more opportunities for African Americans, but often not without a struggle. While more jobs were open, they continued to be unskilled positions. The key civil rights battle during this war would be to generate increased opportunities for women as well as skilled jobs for both black men and women.

In Cleveland, the FOL saw World War II as an opportunity to place women in industry. The League's successes were initially mixed. While one Cleveland factory was happy to hire African Americans, the 500 white workers already present walked out, an action that would become known as a "hate strike." After further tense negotiations with industry leaders and city officials, the National Screw and Manufacturing Company employed a dozen African American women without incident.³²³ The FOL had other successes in opening wartime employment to African Americans of both sexes at the Goodyear and Firestone factories in Akron. The Timken Roller Bearing Factory in Canton modified its employment policies, while Westinghouse in Mansfield did the same, because of FOL efforts.³²⁴ Timken was a problem in Columbus as well; African American women job seekers at the Timken Roller Bearing Plant were given pink job applications while whites were

³¹⁸ Juanita Jackson, "Dayton Youths Face Guns in Picket Line."

³¹⁹ Frymer, *Black and Blue*, 52.

³²⁰ Frymer, *Black and Blue*, 53.

³²¹ Frymer, *Black and Blue*, 51.

³²² Frymer, *Black and Blue*, 51.

³²³ Loeb, *The Future is Yours*, 97.

³²⁴ Loeb, *The Future is Yours*, 98.

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given blue job applications. Timken office workers confirmed that the pink applications went directly into the trash without a second look. The company eventually hired African American women through the efforts of the Columbus Vanguard League.

The FOL also continued to use economic boycotts to great effect. A boycott against the National Biscuit Company, which failed to employ black women, was successful. However, company officials were forced to explain that they had refused to employ women in general, not only black women, making the FOL action a double victory.³²⁵

The FEPC, established by Roosevelt's executive order in 1941, was busy in Ohio. Investigators in Cincinnati cited Crosley Radio, the American Can Company, Victor Electronics, the Baldwin Company, Streitman Biscuit, and the Formica Insulation Company for racial discrimination in employment. As a general rule, defense industries refused to hire blacks equally with whites.³²⁶ The companies maintained that hiring African Americans would cause "hate strikes" when white workers walked off the job. In June 1944, 15,000 white workers struck at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation when their machine shop integrated. Hate strikes also occurred in Cincinnati at Delco and at the Lunkenheimer Company.³²⁷ The MFRC studied the situation and approached companies about black employment. The committee took a gradualist approach on the advice of business owners, not wishing to push the issue too quickly.³²⁸ But the MRFC's approach was too slow for some.

Unions made inroads during the war. However, as with the UMW in the 1920s, not all locals were as open to non-discrimination as the national organization. A hate strike in Columbus at the Wright-Curtiss plant saw 500 UAW-CIO workers walk off when a single African American was hired.

Employment – Post-war to the Civil Rights Act, 1945–1964

The battle for jobs during this period continued to focus on access to positions beyond the entry level. While many companies could point out that they employed an African American as a janitor, companies that promoted or hired for skilled positions were not as common.

The National Negro Labor Council was formed in Cincinnati in 1951. Cincinnati's NAACP chapter began to merge product boycotts and protests in order to foster employment opportunities for African Americans. In 1961, chapter members

³²⁵ Loeb, *The Future is Yours*, 97-98.

³²⁶ Trotter, *River Jordan*, 146.

³²⁷ Burnham, "Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee," 269-271.

³²⁸ Burnham, "Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee," 270.

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organized a boycott of Coca-Cola products to highlight the fact that there were no black drivers at the local bottler, using the slogan “It’s no joke, we’re not buying Coke.” The campaign had a multipronged approach. The NAACP urged people to stop buying Coke, contacting ten people and asking each to also call ten people, urging them to call more, and so on. In addition, boycotters requested that merchants stop carrying Coke products.³²⁹ The NAACP contacted the black press and received its support. Members asked fraternal, social, civic, and business organizations to join the boycott. On weekends, NAACP members picketed stores that carried Coke products.³³⁰ The campaign worked. The company eventually did hire black drivers.

The Cincinnati NAACP participated in the northern practice of picketing local outposts of chain stores that would not serve African Americans in the South. However, the Cincinnati pickets had a dual purpose. They also picketed thirteen Woolworth’s and Kress stores that did not have any black employees. The employment pickets, “the primary concern of the chapter,” dovetailed with the southern protests, an overlap too close for the tastes of Ohio Governor Michael DeSalle, who worried that they would spiral into violence as often happened in the South. DeSalle urged the NAACP to go through more formal channels, such as the Ohio House Civil Rights Commission.³³¹ However, DeSalle had pointed out in a press conference that the commission wasn’t going to start investigations “everywhere at once.”³³² Consequently, it appears that the state government initially used the commission as a vehicle to keep the peace in commercial establishments.

Cincinnati’s Mills Restaurant was the target of successful individual protest and an Ohio Civil Rights Commission case in 1962. The restaurant vigorously opposed serving African Americans in the 1940s, sparking a number of protests before they eventually agreed to serve everyone. Central State student Jeanette C. Thomas was fired from her summer job when she insisted on eating with white employees. African American employees ate separately, getting their food from behind the buffet and eating it in a stuffy downstairs room. White employees went through the buffet line with customers and ate in the dining room. When the manager fired Thomas he told her she did not have to finish the day. Thomas replied that at Central State they were taught to never leave a job half done, and she finished her shift.³³³ The OCRC congratulated Thomas for her complaint, noting it would help blacks in similar situations throughout the state.

The OCRC did not only work on discrimination in hiring. In 1961, the Commission

³²⁹ William F. Bowen, press release, Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C

³³⁰ Letter to Gloster M. Current, May 18, 1961, Part 27, Series C, Roll 9, Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

³³¹ Telephone Conversation Between Gloster Current and William Bowen, March 3, 1960, Part 27, Series C, Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

³³² Telephone Conversation Between Gloster Current and William Bowen Resumed, March 3, 1960, Part 27, Series C, Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C

³³³ “Student’s Protest Integrates Cincy Restaurant,” *Cleveland Call and Post*, February 24, 1962, 1.

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successfully promoted a non-discrimination policy for employment advertisements in southwestern Ohio. Newspapers no longer allowed advertisers to use race in employment advertisements.³³⁴ Another major complaint during the 1960s was discrimination in promotion due to race. Doubtless associated with tokenism, the practice of hiring one African American to prove a business's non-racist bona fides, blacks could be stuck in that one position. An African American grocery store bag boy was able to get cashier training after noticing that whites with less seniority, education, and training were being promoted ahead of him.³³⁵

Employment – Civil Rights after 1964

In 1966 Cleveland resident Geraldine Roberts, with assistance from CORE, the Legal Aid Society, and the Council of Economic Opportunity, formed the Domestic Workers of America, organizing black women who made their living as domestic workers employed in private homes. Roberts, eating the breakfast that was part of her pay, noticed that someone had drunk from her glass of milk and realized that her employer had been feeding her table scraps from the family's previous meals. She was further galvanized when her employer, on being confronted, defended herself by pointing out that she had removed partially chewed pieces from the leftover food before serving it to Roberts.

The new organization established a registry and provided training and education opportunities.³³⁶ The first meeting took place at St. James AME Church at 8401 Cedar Ave. and later moved to the Rev. Bruce Klunder Freedom House at 5120 Woodland Ave. (demolished). The organization successfully promoted workers' compensation and minimum wage legislation for domestic workers in the 1970s.³³⁷

In the 1960s OCRC cases skewed strongly towards employment. In 1966 91% of employment cases filed involved race. Race complaints were over three-quarters of all cases.³³⁸

Union discrimination continued to be a major issue. While some unions, such as the UMW, UAW, Steelworkers, and Teamsters supported civil rights and included them in their constitutions and agendas, other unions, especially in the building trades, continued to battle integration. In 1970, Cleveland's Sheet Metal Local 65 defeated a contract that would have required them to hire more black apprentices and journeyman. In 1970 civil rights groups, construction unions, and contractors embarked on a voluntary integration plan aimed at avoiding federal intervention.

³³⁴ Ohio Civil Rights Commission, *Second Annual Report* (Columbus: F. J. Heer Publishing, 1961), 16.

³³⁵ Ohio Civil Rights Commission, *Second Annual Report*, 16.

³³⁶ Ohio History Central, "Domestic Workers Party of America", http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Domestic_Workers_of_America, accessed July 31, 2018.

³³⁷ "Domestic Workers of America," *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, <http://case.edu/ech/articles/d/domestic-workers-of-america/>, accessed August 23, 2018.

³³⁸ Ohio Civil Rights Commission, *Eighth Annual Report* (Columbus: F.J. Heer, 1967), 33.

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Quotas were to be set for minority involvement, not less than 17% under the Cleveland Construction Equal Employment Plan.³³⁹

Housing

Housing – The Great Migration and Civil Rights in Ohio, 1884–1932

Segregated housing varied before the Great Migration. While small towns experienced more racial mixing, each of Ohio's major cities contained small black enclaves. African Americans were initially concentrated on Central Avenue in Cleveland, East Long Street in Columbus, and the West End in Cincinnati.³⁴⁰ In Toledo, African Americans were concentrated in the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Wards, a pattern that existed since at least 1900, largely solidified by 1915, and would continue to 1930.³⁴¹ While the majority of new Great Migration arrivals would live in expanding urban black enclaves, some moved to smaller cities and black areas on the edge of major cities, such as the American Addition and Hanford Village in Columbus and Mount Pleasant near Cleveland. Cincinnati enclaves included Cumminsville, Madisonville, College Hill, Walnut Hills, Avondale and Lockland³⁴² in 1900. In Lima, blacks were restricted to the area south of the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks. Venturing north of the tracks after dark put one at risk of physical harm.³⁴³

At the beginning of the Great Migration, some towns were not segregated. Washington Court House and Springfield had African American residents throughout town.³⁴⁴ This more integrated pattern in small towns was the result of migration after the Civil War. As the Great Migration continued, blacks from smaller towns in Ohio would join their southern counterparts in moving to large urban areas.

During the 1920s, African Americans attempted to cross the color line and live or buy houses in white neighborhoods. White Ohioans resorted to intimidation, violence, and legal action to deter blacks from entering their neighborhoods. Dr. Charles Garvin, a Cleveland physician, constructed a house at 11114 Wade Park Blvd. on Cleveland's East Side in 1926. Opponents initially threatened the workers.

³³⁹ "Urban League Wins Battle: Building Trades Plan Approved," *Cleveland Call and Post*, June 26, 1971, 1A.

³⁴⁰ Giffin, 35.

³⁴¹ Alkalimat and Patterson, *Black Toledo*, 64.

³⁴² Dabney, *Cincinnati's Colored Citizens*, 145.

³⁴³ Amy Eddings, "Lima in Black and White: Is the Midwest the New South for the Civil Rights Movement?", <https://www.limaohio.com/news/164662/lima-in-black-and-white-is-the-midwest-the-new-south-for-civil-rights-movement>, accessed July 20, 2018.

³⁴⁴ Blocker, *A Little More Freedom*, 72.

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When the Garvins moved in, "KKK" was painted on their house. Dynamite blew out the windows in a first bombing attempt. Cleveland police posted a guard. Evading the police, a bomber threw an explosive device with a defective fuse through Garvin's window. Garvin tossed the bomb back out. When the police intentionally exploded it in a lake the geyser was eighty feet high.³⁴⁵ The Garvins refused to move.

While the Cleveland police often stepped in during episodes of intimidation, many police departments did not. When Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Hill purchased a house in Garfield Heights in 1924 two hundred whites threatened them. The police refused to intervene and they subsequently moved. In August 1929 in the 300 block of Willard Street in Toledo, a white mob attacked the home recently purchased by an African American. The mob initially smashed all the windows in the house and later returned to set it on fire. The Toledo police were present but made no attempt to help or disperse the crowd. It was noted that the presence of police and their inaction "constituted the ultimate weapon in keeping the Negro in his place."³⁴⁶ Another catalyst for violence in Toledo was Hungarian and Bulgarian ethnic enclaves who were opposed to African Americans moving into their neighborhoods.³⁴⁷

In many instances of African Americans crossing residential color line in the 1920s, the nature of police involvement was a deciding factor. It is likely that most African Americans in Ohio towns would have some inkling of their local police department's disposition and their manner of projecting state power.

Property developers began to use restrictive covenants after 1900 and they became commonplace in the 1920s. In Columbus, 67.5% of subdivisions had racially restrictive covenants by the end of the 1920s.³⁴⁸ Restrictive covenants were usually used by large commercial developers. Those who had inherited property and subdivided it often did not establish them.³⁴⁹ However, these large restricted plats helped to alter development patterns and school system boundaries for decades to come.

In 1917, the United States Supreme Court ruled, in *Buchanan v. Warley*, that municipally mandated racial zoning was unconstitutional. The establishment reaction was to transfer racial restrictions from municipal legislation to the property deeds themselves, successfully working around the Supreme Court decision.

White real estate interests quickly adopted restrictive covenants. Inserted into the

³⁴⁵ Mark Robert Schneider, *"We Return Fighting": The Civil Rights Movement in the Jazz Age*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002, 260.

³⁴⁶ Alkalimat and Patterson, *Black Toledo*, 103.

³⁴⁷ Alkalimat and Patterson, *Black Toledo*, 103.

³⁴⁸ Patricia Burgess, *Planning for the Private Interest: Land Use Controls and Residential Patterns in Columbus, Ohio, 1900-1970* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1994), 45.

³⁴⁹ Burgess, *Planning for the Private Interest*, 45.

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deed language itself, the restrictions typically banned ownership or occupancy based on race, religion, and national origin. The restrictions also spurred economic segregation by mandating minimum house sizes, lot sizes, and home prices. Deed restrictions were promoted. Combined, these factors ensured that African Americans of all classes would live in segregated neighborhoods. This concentration also enabled school segregation by gerrymandering neighborhood school district boundaries.

During most of the nineteenth century, Cincinnati's population was concentrated in a compact basin area surrounded by steep hills. Although blacks lived in virtually every part of the basin and in some of the hilltop suburbs, concentrations of African Americans developed in "Bucktown" at the east end of the basin, along the central riverfront in "Little Africa," and in "Little Bucktown" between the central business district and Mill Creek. When entrepreneurs built steam-powered "inclines" (1870s) and electric streetcars (1880s), the city's racial and class geography began to change rapidly as these new forms of transportation allowed expansion beyond the Mill Creek Valley and into the hills surrounding the basin. Now, except for small enclaves of the wealthy and large masses of the poor, whites moved to the hilltops and out of the Mill Creek Valley, and largely blocked blacks from joining them. With the start of the Great Migration, racial discrimination forced almost all of the growing black population into the West End, so that by the beginning of World War II it was majority black and held the majority of the city's black population.³⁵⁰

Walnut Hills, first settled in the early nineteenth century, was one of Cincinnati's earliest suburbs and was annexed to the city in phases between 1850 and 1873. African Americans had lived in the neighborhood since at least the mid-nineteenth century. A black settlement developed near the Lane Seminary in the 1850s when the seminary began to grant perpetual leases to portions of its property. Residents paid ground rent and could build their houses on the land. The seminary did not discriminate on the basis of race and rents were low, making it possible for African Americans to settle in this area. The first black homes were on what is now Preston Street between Chapel and Myrtle.³⁵¹ This area later became part of the area's black business district.

Other blacks settled near the New Colored Orphan Asylum, built in 1855 at Melish and Van Buren (demolished for I-71 construction) on the border between Avondale and Walnut Hills and near the railroad tracks that ran up the Deer Creek Valley from

³⁵⁰ Nancy Bertaux, "Structural Economic Change and Occupational Decline among Black Workers in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati," in *Race and the City: Work, Community, and Protest in Cincinnati, 1820-1870*, ed. Henry Louis Taylor Jr. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Robert Bruce Fairbanks, *Making Better Citizens: Housing Reform and Community Strategy in Cincinnati, 1890-1960* (Champaign-Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Henry Louis Taylor Jr., "City Building, Public Policy, the Rise of the Industrial City, and Black Ghetto-Slum Formation in Cincinnati, 1850-1940," in *Race and the City: Work, Community, and Protest in Cincinnati, 1820-1970*, ed. Henry Louis Taylor Jr. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Nikki Marie Taylor, *Frontiers of Freedom: Cincinnati's Black Community, 1802-1868* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005).

³⁵¹ Cissie Dore Hill, ed., *Walnut Hills, City Neighborhood* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Historical Society, 1983), 21.

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Cincinnati's basin area.³⁵² By the 1920s, Walnut Hills was a center of black life in the city, and a Chamber of Commerce study labeled it a "higher type of colored settlement."³⁵³ Wendell Phillips Dabney, the owner/editor of *The Union*, Cincinnati's weekly newspaper for African Americans, listed 360 African American property owners in the neighborhood in 1926, including himself, in his book *Cincinnati's Colored Citizens*. This number exceeded that of the West End, which had a much larger black population, indicating the relatively better financial circumstances of black residents of Walnut Hills.³⁵⁴

Washington Terrace illustrates an important attempt to solve the black low-income housing problem in Cincinnati. Starting in the late nineteenth century, Cincinnati city officials and civic housing reformers sought to attack the terrible housing conditions in the city's basin, particularly the West End. Because of racialized employment and housing discrimination, African Americans faced particularly bad conditions. Early attempts to solve the problem with the enactment and enforcement of building codes actually resulted in a decrease in available low-income housing in the basin.

In 1911, local businessman and philanthropist Jacob Schmidlapp began to build housing for poor whites and blacks outside the basin. By 1914, he had built ninety-six units in separate developments for blacks and whites. He experimented with several different models to find out what could be built inexpensively while including a private entrance, a back yard, indoor plumbing, and gas heat. He found that he could not afford to build the two-family houses he preferred and row housing he built on the southeast corner of Chapel and Park Avenue was described as ugly "prison-like tenements."³⁵⁵

Finding that there were few hotel accommodations for African Americans in the city, in 1916 Schmidlapp also built the Gordon Hotel at the corner of Chapel and Ashland. This, however, failed as a hotel during the Depression and was converted into apartments. By 1915, his vision evolved to building not just safe and sanitary housing, but to building communities. He had come to believe that good housing would only remain healthy for its residents if it also helped create a sense of community. To finance his work, he established the limited dividend company Cincinnati Model Homes in 1914 and solicited other philanthropic businessmen, offering them a 5% return on their investment and the chance to do good.

To create the kind of community he believed would help solve the city's low-income housing problem, Schmidlapp built Washington Terrace in 1915 off Kemper Avenue in the northernmost corner of Walnut Hills in the Deer Creek Valley (now the I-71

³⁵² Hill, *Walnut Hills*, 19.

³⁵³ Charles F. Casey-Leininger, "Making the Second Ghetto in Cincinnati: Avondale, 1925-70," in *Race and the City: Work, Community, and Protest in Cincinnati, 1820-1970*, ed. Henry Louis Taylor Jr. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 235.

³⁵⁴ Dabney, *Cincinnati's Colored Citizens*, 424-427.

³⁵⁵ Fairbanks, *Making Better Citizens*, 35.

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corridor). According to the historian Robert Fairbanks, it “offered its 600 residents not only safe and sanitary buildings, but also a cooperative store, recreational facilities, and an assembly hall for meetings of religious, educational, or community value, and an environment enhanced by architectural and landscape features.” In addition, Model Homes management created community clubs that they expected all tenants to join. In such an environment, Schmidlapp believed, the residents “could better learn the middle-class values of hard work and participatory democracy.” Four years later, Schmidlapp could point to significantly lower crime and death rates compared to the overall African American population, and to greater residential stability. In the 1930s and early 1940s, the Cincinnati Metropolitan Housing Authority, using federal funds instead of private philanthropy, developed several public housing projects with a similar philosophy: for housing to remain good for its residents, it had to promote community life. Like Schmidlapp, the CMHA built the infrastructure of community into its projects. Unfortunately, after World War I inflated costs of materials and labor made it much more difficult to build such housing at a price that residents, especially blacks, could afford. In addition, whites sometimes objected to such projects, as they did for one proposed for vacant land west of West College Hill.³⁵⁶

Cincinnati’s West College Hill is an unincorporated, largely African American community in the extreme southwest corner of Springfield Township in Hamilton County. It is sandwiched between the city of North College to the north and the College Hill neighborhood of Cincinnati to the south and east. North Bend Road runs along its southern border. Charles M. Steele, a real estate investor with property in the West End and other locations, developed a subdivision for African Americans and sold the first lots in 1891. He opened an adjacent subdivision, also exclusively for blacks, in 1907. Charles and Melvina Middleton bought the first lot in the first subdivision for \$50 from Steele and his wife, Angelina. The Middletons built a small shotgun house for their family. Shortly thereafter, Melvina Middleton’s sister and her husband purchased two adjacent lots for \$100. This pattern of relatives following relatives in settling the subdivision was a common occurrence. By 1910 150 families, about 430 residents, lived in West College Hill.

Steel Subdivision

Like the residents of the black subdivision north of Lockland and of Hazelwood in Blue Ash, Steele subdivision residents were proud of their modest homes because they built them and owned them.³⁵⁷ Ownership meant not having to deal with landlords. Some families purchased the inexpensive lots outright. Others paid a small amount down and then paid lots off on a monthly basis. Most families built

³⁵⁶ Fairbanks, *Making Better Citizens*, 34-36; Greg Hand, "In 1939, Few Cincinnati Businesses Welcomed African-American Travelers," *Cincinnati Magazine*, February 8, 2016.

³⁵⁷ See also Michael H. Washington, "Civic Organizing in the Hazelwood Subdivision: The Quest for Educational Access, 1900-1949," *Ohio Valley History* 14, no. 4 (2014).

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their homes themselves with the help of relatives or friends. Few used contractors or carpenters. Often, they built the houses room by room as they acquired building materials, some of it salvaged lumber. Water came from wells or cisterns, heating from coal stoves. By 1922, homes had an average value of \$350 to \$500. 60% of residents owned their own homes. By 1940, 77% were homeowners. Many families kept chickens, cows, or hogs and most had a vegetable garden as they had in the rural South. Most West College Hill residents worked outside the neighborhood. Women generally worked as domestics while men worked in factories, on the railroad, or on construction sites, but there were several black-owned businesses, including grocery stores.

Although West College Hill had no formal governmental structure of its own, it did have a voluntary group of residents who organized to respond to fires and medical needs. Because most buildings were wooden-frame structures and residents heated and cooked with wood or coal, fires were a problem, especially in the winter.

By the 1920s, the community had its own school, four churches, and a constable who lived in the neighborhood and was appointed by Springfield Township. The school was part of the North College Hill Exempted Village School District. Teenagers who were continuing their education attended Cincinnati public high schools. By 1947 Steele Grade School, staffed by African American teachers, had 230 students, all black, while the population of West College Hill had reached between 1200 and 1400.

Housing - Civil Rights and the Great Depression, 1932-1940

Public housing became available to African Americans, albeit segregated. Major cities in Ohio embarked on large public housing projects. Funded by New Deal dollars, usually decrepit inner-city areas were leveled and new multifamily buildings were erected. The program was successful for those who moved in. For those who were moved by slum clearance and construction it was a disaster. In most cases these were two distinct groups of people.

Cleveland attempted an early public housing project with Cleveland Homes Inc., which was majority funded by the federal government, contingent on a private funding match. Although the project was not realized, it did serve as an impetus for future housing projects.

In 1933, the Public Works Administration was created as part of the New Deal. At the same time Cleveland established the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA), the first public housing agency in the country. Cleveland began to institute a slum clearance program, designating two areas based on Civil Works Administration surveys, between Carnegie and Kingsbury Run and E. 14th St. and E. 105th St., as blighted. These areas contained the majority of Cleveland's black

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population.³⁵⁸ In Cleveland federal funding through the Public Works Administration enabled the construction of Cedar-Central, Outhwaite, and Lakeview Terrace public housing projects by 1937. The projects were controversial from the beginning. The *Cleveland Call and Post* noted that 300 families would have to move for the slum clearance with no place to go. Certain “financial houses” owned most of the rental housing and had established boundaries for black occupancy. On the border of these areas apartments were sparsely occupied but owners who rented to African Americans risked having their mortgages called in.³⁵⁹ In addition, the HOLC had recently classified the areas as “hazardous,” making the banks who owned the properties even more amenable to slum clearance since it would, at no expense to them, restore property values, enhance the liquidity of the banks, and spark the construction industry.³⁶⁰ Cleveland City councilman Ernst Bohn argued for slum clearance at national conferences and Cleveland newspapers and institutions responded enthusiastically. Blight Area #3, the area between E. 36th and E. 40th bounded by Woodland and Cedar Avenues, received the most attention.³⁶¹ There was some talk of moving the current residents to the outskirts of Cleveland but the majority wanted to stay in the neighborhood.³⁶² In September 1934, the city moved forward with their eminent domain claim and by November of that year residents were given ten days to move.

In August 1937, residents began to move into Outhwaite and Cedar-Central. The rent was roughly twice the previous prevailing price in the neighborhood. Residents had to meet social standards: unmarried men, boarders, and single women living together were banned.³⁶³ 225 of the 250 families evicted moved in close proximity to the recently completed housing projects.³⁶⁴

The Housing Act of 1937 established Lincoln Court in Cincinnati and Poindexter Village in Columbus. The twenty-seven-acre Poindexter Village development replaced a section of Columbus known as the Blackberry Patch. The romantically named former neighborhood was in reality a grim collection of houses crowded along streets and alleys without plumbing and most city services. The contemporary art of Aminah Robinson suggests a lively neighborhood filled with Great Migration residents. A work on the main stairs at the Columbus Metropolitan Library Main Branch shows a Marcus Garvey parade in the Blackberry Patch, an event known to have taken place in 1923, indicating that the neighborhood could have been a hotbed for Garvey’s United Negro Improvement Association.³⁶⁵

³⁵⁸ Daniel K. Kerr, *Derelict Paradise: Homelessness and Urban Development in Cleveland, Ohio* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 94.

³⁵⁹ “Slum Clearance Nears,” *Cleveland Call and Post*, September 4, 1934, 4.

³⁶⁰ Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 92.

³⁶¹ Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 93.

³⁶² Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 97.

³⁶³ Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 100.

³⁶⁴ Kerr, *Derelict Paradise*, 99.

³⁶⁵ Mark Christian, “Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA): With Special Reference to the ‘Lost Parade’ in Columbus, Ohio, September 25, 1923,” *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 28, no. 3 (2004): 428.

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In Toledo, roughly two hundred homes in the Belmont-Division area were demolished for the Brand Whitlock project, built by the Public Works Administration. Unfortunately, not all the displaced residents were able to live in the 264-unit complex. High rents and a rigid screening process ensured that not everyone from Belmont-Division would receive a spot.³⁶⁶ The complex opened in 1938. The Albertus Brown public housing project was built next door in 1940.

However, even public housing was subjected to restrictive covenants and local forces that prevented African Americans from moving from black enclaves. Public housing also presented problems for some communities. African American business owners and nearby residents were deeply upset that the expansion of Outhwaite Homes in Cleveland demolished black businesses along E. 55th St. but not the white businesses on the same street. Housing officials were less than sympathetic.

Public housing is portrayed by former residents as a golden period for most. What is understudied is what happened to the people who were evicted due to slum clearance in the 1930s.

Another type of housing appeared in the 1930s: the tourist home. The *Negro Motorist Green Book* and the black press advertised tourist homes. Tourist homes were technically defined as “a rooming house that served primarily transient guests and are known as a tourist home in the community.”³⁶⁷ Tourist homes became popular for both whites and blacks as automobile travel was promoted and more people participated. As a contemporary account noted in response to an increased number of travelers, “Homeowners have placed their second best furniture in the spare room and put a sign by the highway.”³⁶⁸

Housing – Civil Rights and World War II, 1940–1945

World War II prompted another round of migration to Ohio as African Americans flocked to wartime industries. Wartime housing, especially for African Americans, quickly became a contentious issue. In Columbus, 3000 homes were needed for African American wartime workers. The number constructed fell far short; only forty scattered homes were built for African American occupancy in the area bounded by Parkwood, Fifth Avenue, Taylor, and Mt. Vernon. They were located at the edge of the traditionally segregated African American neighborhood. The remainder of the workers, with no new housing available, simply lived in overcrowded conditions in preexisting African American neighborhoods. Wartime housing for African Americans was scarce. In Columbus, forty homes were constructed where 3000 were needed.

³⁶⁶ Alkalimat and Patterson, *Black Toledo*, 132.

³⁶⁷ “Sleeping Rooms, Rooming Houses Still Controlled,” *Cleveland Call and Post*, July 26, 1947, 10B.

³⁶⁸ Lyman H. Cole, “Tourist Homes and Cabins as Inns,” *Indiana Law Journal* 13, no. 3 (1938): 242.

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Housing prices became an issue during the war. There were numerous rent strikes at new public housing developments. Using techniques honed during the 1930s residents fought rent increases through picketing, legal action, and withholding their rent, a boycott in a sense. The public housing rent increase battle also marked another occasion of different civil rights groups working together across the state.

On August 29, 1942, the Future Outlook League's John Holly, Cleveland city council member and *Cleveland Call and Post* editor William O. Walker, and Columbus civil rights attorney Frank Shearer addressed a capacity audience at Columbus's Union Grove Baptist Church. Walker was promoting his newspaper's new campaign, Jobs for Victory, aimed at getting defense jobs for African Americans. Holly and Shearer talked about the need for affordable housing. Shearer invited the audience to a parade to city hall to protest rent increases at Poindexter Village. Shearer, in tears, also made an impassioned plea. He cried, he said, because Columbus African Americans were indifferent to the fight for their rights, compared to other Ohio cities where militant action was the norm. He urged them forward.³⁶⁹

In August 1942, the Columbus Metropolitan Housing Authority, with the United States Housing Authority, had sharply increased the rent in its complexes, in some cases to double the previous amount. Toledo's housing authority mandated a similar increase at the Brand Whitlock Homes. This enabled a number of organizations to combine their efforts. On September 5, 1942, the Poindexter Village Tenants League picketed the Columbus Urban League and Urban League researcher J. S. Himes, a member of the Columbus Fair Rent Committee who had agreed to the rent increase. While everyone steadfastly maintained that the action was conceived and carried out by the tenants, the Vanguard League and the Steelworkers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O, were seen "conferring" with the picketers.³⁷⁰

The Poindexter rent strike lasted through September 1942, with tenants risking eviction, a high stakes gamble, as the *Cleveland Call and Post* noted, "in this city where homes for Negroes are unobtainable at almost any price."³⁷¹ In early October 1942, the Federal Housing Authority ordered the CMHA to rescind the rent increases and freeze them at March 1942 levels.

Poindexter Village's victory did not go unnoticed. In late October, residents of Toledo's African American public housing complexes, Brand Whitlock Homes, Brand Whitlock Extensions, and Albertus Brown started a rent strike. In late October 1942, the Mass Movement League sponsored an appearance by Frank Shearer at the Douglas Community Center. Shearer shared tips and strategies with the crowd.³⁷² On the following day the residents formed a picket line around the housing authority's office at 392-396 Nebraska Ave. The picket line, mostly women, blocked

³⁶⁹ Irene A. Jackson, "Columbus, Ohio, Citizens Rally at Mass Meet," *Cleveland Call and Post*, August 29, 1942.

³⁷⁰ "Poindexter Tenants Picket Columbus, O. Urban League," *Cleveland Call and Post*, September 5, 1942, 16.

³⁷¹ "Columbus, O. Tenants Defy Eviction in Rent Battle," *Cleveland Call and Post*, October 10, 1942, 10.

³⁷² "Shearer to Address Mass Movement Group Meeting," *Cleveland Call and Post* Oct, 31, 1942, 13.

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any residents from paying their rent. "Their spirit was exemplified by their banners which carried these slogans, 'Pay No More Rent,' 'Me too,' 'We are Against Increased Rent.'"³⁷³

The Toledo rent strike almost exploded when Toledo's housing authority director attempted to cross the picket line in November. The director, Walter Condit, called the police when blocked. The police, faced with the picket line, chose to rough a few up while they arrested them. When one of the picketers, Hazel Wooten, complained, the police hit her in the face and arrested her. A near riot ensued.³⁷⁴

Wartime housing often exacerbated racial tensions. In June 1944, when two black families moved to a house in Cincinnati's Mt. Adams neighborhood, a mob pelted the house with rocks, destroying the doors and windows. A white neighbor, Patsy Bennett of 983 Paradrome St., who publicly took the mob to task, was hanged in effigy.³⁷⁵

In 1941, the Cincinnati Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) built the 350-unit Valley Homes public housing project adjacent to these subdivisions. This project responded to two issues. By the early 1940s, an extreme shortage of housing for blacks had developed—only about 1% of the decent housing open to African Americans in the county was vacant. In addition, in 1940 the Wright Aeronautical Company announced that it would build a huge military aircraft engine plant close to the subdivisions and would hire 15,000 workers, including up to 1000 African Americans. Given these two factors, area officials feared the spread of unregulated African American subdivisions in rural Hamilton County. Although Valley Homes provided relief for some African Americans seeking decent housing, it and other CMHA projects barely put a dent in the shortage of good housing for blacks in the county.

Residents of what would become Lincoln Heights first tried to incorporate in 1939, but failed due to objections of whites in nearby areas. Eventually two mostly white areas, Woodlawn to the north and west and Evendale to the north and east, incorporated and included prime portions of the proposed Lincoln Heights municipality into their borders, including the Wright Aeronautical site. This severely undermined Lincoln Heights's commercial and industrial tax base. Nevertheless, several important African Americans have come from the area, including the poet Nikki Giovanni and the musicians the Isley Brothers.³⁷⁶

³⁷³ "Picket at Brand Whitlock Housing Project: Protest Unequal Rental Increases," *Cleveland Call and Post*, October 31, 1942, 13.

³⁷⁴ "Charge Toledo Police with Brutality in Rent Strike," *Cleveland Call and Post*, November 28, 1942, 8C.

³⁷⁵ Trotter, *River Jordan*, 143.

³⁷⁶ Fairbanks, *Making Better Citizens*; Robert B. Fairbanks and Zane L. Miller, "The Martial Metropolis: Housing, Planning, and Race in Cincinnati, 1940-1955," in *The Martial Metropolis: U.S. Cities in War and Peace*, ed. Roger W. Lotchin (New York: Praeger, 1984); Koehler, *Cincinnati's Black Peoples*, 121; Henry Louis Taylor Jr., "The Building of a Black Industrial Suburb: The Lincoln Heights, Ohio Story" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1979); Alana Semuels, "The Destruction of a Black Suburb," *The Atlantic*, July 13, 2015; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 35, Ohio (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952), Table 38, 125.

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As early as the late nineteenth century, city officials and housing reformers had identified the mixture of overcrowded decaying tenements, factories, and other commercial establishments as a grave problem. Having failed in a variety of other efforts, in the mid-1930s the city chose slum clearance and racially segregated public housing in a portion of the neighborhood as a major part of the solution. The result was the 1303-unit Laurel Homes (1039 units between 1937 and 1938, expanded by 264 units ca. 1941–42) bounded by Liberty Street, Lincoln Park (now Ezzard Charles) Drive, Linn Street, and John Street. The CMHA originally planned to reserve it entirely for whites, despite a severe shortage of decent housing open to blacks. But pressure from African American leadership persuaded the housing authority to allow blacks to occupy an isolated section of 304 units. By 1943, faced with extreme overcrowding in black areas of the city, vacancies in the white section, and pressure from African American leadership, the CMHA allowed blacks to occupy 636 units.

In a further attempt to decrease crowding in black areas of the West End and under continuing pressure from African American leadership, in 1941 the CMHA began building Lincoln Court (completed in 1942), bordered by Lincoln Park Drive, Central Avenue, Court Street, and Linn Street, and reserved all 1015 units for blacks. The CMHA built both the Laurel Homes and Lincoln Court projects on cleared sites, so that there was virtually no net gain of housing units in the West End. The housing authority made room for displaced blacks by persuading nearby landlords to evict their white tenants, who had more housing options, and renting to blacks who, the authority reminded landlords, could be charged higher rents because so few areas were open to them.

By 1943 the CMHA had also built three other public housing projects, including Valley Homes (350 units for blacks) in the area that became Lincoln Heights; Winton Terrace (750 units for whites), adjacent to Winton Place and just to the west of Procter & Gamble's Ivorydale plant and other industries; and English Woods (750 units for whites) on a ridge west of the Mill Creek Valley near North Fairmount and close to a number of Mill Creek factories. All three of these were on vacant land and helped relieve housing shortages in the basin and especially the West End. Collectively these five segregated projects, with 4168 total units, resulted in roughly equal numbers reserved for whites (2167) and for blacks (2001).

City officials and housing reformers justified segregated housing projects based on then-current sociological theory that argued that segregation enabled people of different races and social classes to build their own separate strong communities bolstered by a shared culture. If disparate groups were mixed together, they argued, residents would be alienated from their neighbors and would fail to care for their housing and their neighborhoods. Moreover, tension between the various groups would develop, which might lead to violence. Heterogeneity in cultural backgrounds, they argued, led to blight and decay, while homogeneity led to a sense

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of common purpose and strong communities, aided when necessary by social workers and facilities such as playgrounds and community centers. Black leadership largely acquiesced to segregation, but actively demanded the CMHA build public housing open to African Americans.

The war marked a period of civil rights cooperation around the state. Cleveland's Future Outlook League, Toledo's Mass Movement League, and Columbus's Vanguard League exchanged tips and supported each other's action in their respective cities. For whatever reason, Cincinnati groups do not appear to have taken part in this exchange of ideas and support.

Housing – Post-war to the Civil Rights Act, 1945–1964

Post-war housing for African Americans followed the same precepts that dictated the location of housing during the war. New housing developments were not allowed outside black enclaves. Because these areas were already quite dense, new subdivision locations were often in areas that would not be traditional building locations; the George Washington Carver Addition in Hanford Village, an African American enclave in Columbus, was located on the site of a dump.

Consequently, when trying to find new housing options African Americans often ran afoul of informal boundaries or restrictive covenants. Civic and homeowners' associations differed regionally. In some areas associations worked on interracial understanding. In other areas they fought bitterly even against African Americans inhabiting different nearby communities.

As whites moved to the suburbs African Americans followed, establishing their own subdivisions on the outskirts of the city. Occasionally, black suburbanization went without mention, but at other times there was a concerted backlash.

Veterans' benefits allowed some African Americans to purchase new homes after the war. However, African American veterans' housing was often rigorously opposed. Columbus's Hanford Village was opposed by civic organizations from Bexley, Berwick, Driving Park, and the East End. The groups felt that a low-priced housing development in a low-lying area would drive down their property values.³⁷⁷ In some instances black men's veterans' benefits were not honored. The state NAACP office received a complaint from a veteran in Portsmouth stating that African Americans could only live in north Portsmouth due to segregation. However, an influx of poor whites was whittling down the amount of housing even there. Even though the applicant had veterans' benefits the banks made terms so onerous that it was impossible to use them. The state NAACP was limited in their ability to help, responding that if the problem was that whites would not sell or rent to blacks there

³⁷⁷ "Hanford Village Project Gets Approval Despite White Opposition," *Cleveland Call and Post*, July 1, 1944, 1B.

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was nothing they could do; they could only contest local ordinances.

Available supply never met the demand. After the war more African Americans began to cross residential color lines and were met with varying amounts of violence. African Americans moved into new neighborhoods after the war. In Columbus, blacks moved east of Nelson Road to the Eastgate neighborhood. North and South Linden began to see changes in racial composition with white flight. In Cleveland, Glenville saw increased black occupancy. Southeast Cleveland saw new suburban growth as African American builders such as Arthur Bussey, Taborn Builders, and Lee Road Builders constructed quality homes for the African American market. One problem for civil rights organizations was sorting out identity of the vandals and determining whether their actions were related to racism. In spring 1957 the NAACP investigated a purported racially-motivated vandalism incident at the home of Bessie Hargrow in Mayfield Heights, a Cleveland suburb. Conversations with African American neighbors indicated that local children had set upon the house while it was vacant.³⁷⁸

John Pegg moved to 13601 Corby Road in Cleveland in 1956. Irate neighbors dynamited his garage. It is somewhat in question whether the Cleveland bombing was caused by race, a labor dispute, or both. In Pegg's case the neighborhood rallied around him and formed the Ludlow Community Association (LCA) for better interracial relations, becoming a national model.³⁷⁹ The LCA effectively stemmed white flight in the neighborhood.

Mrs. Dorothy Allen, the second African American to move into her apartment building at 1225 E. 124th St. in Cleveland, had her windows broken four times. The Cleveland police did investigate. The landlord thought it was because he rented to African Americans.³⁸⁰

Mrs. Rosalie Thompson, a Cleveland Police Department employee, had a brick thrown through the window of her new house when she moved past 161st St in Cleveland, the neighborhood color line.³⁸¹

Columbus's propensity for annexation made African American suburbs easier to build. Greenfield construction, instead of moving into suburban municipalities such as those outside of Cleveland and Cincinnati, made for less conflict in the 1950s and

³⁷⁸ "Report of the Executive Secretary – Cleveland, June 12 – July 9, 1957," Part 27: Selected Branch Files, 1956-1965, Series C: The Midwest, Roll 9 Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C

³⁷⁹ Michney, *Surrogate Suburbs*, 135.

³⁸⁰ "Executive Secretary's Report, February 4, 1958-March 4, 1958," Part 27: Selected Branch Files, 1956-1965, Series C: The Midwest, Roll 9 Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C

³⁸¹ "Executive Secretary's Report, March 4, 1958–April 1, 1958, Part 27: Selected Branch Files, 1956-1965, Series C: The Midwest, Roll 9" Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C

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1960s.

In Columbus, professional African Americans made their own suburb on Livingston Avenue. The Livingston Heights subdivision included local celebrities like Bill Willis, a Cleveland Browns standout; pharmacy owner Waldo Tyler; and other assorted doctors and professionals who constructed a subdivision of mid-century modern homes, many on double lots. The subdivision was nationally known for its deed restrictions prohibiting whites from purchasing property in the subdivision. When asked why they lived there, Dr. Harry Jefferson replied, "My wife didn't want people breaking her windows."³⁸²

Robert and Vera Johnson, an African American couple, developed Flint Ridge Terrace in northwest Columbus, platted in 1961. It attracted a primarily African American clientele for mid-century modern houses on half acre lots.

Cross burnings were equally problematic, and could be viewed as a serious racial incident or a harmless prank depending on the race of the commenter. In 1957, a cross burning in Air Force Captain Samuel Massenber's yard in Dayton was extinguished by his neighbor, Captain George Misrany, with a hose, while Massenber and his guests played bridge. Misrany was worried Massenber would be embarrassed by the burning cross, while Massenber was more concerned about the apartment building burning down. Massenber said an uneducated element had recently moved into the complex and noted that his was the only black family for blocks. Sheriff Bernard Keiter chalked it up to "a childish sort of thing" even though the four-foot cross had ignited the shrubbery.³⁸³

In Dayton, the Maple Grove Homestead Association started a co-venture group, slated to build thirty-five to forty homes for African American occupancy in 1949.³⁸⁴ Cooperative housing programs were instituted under the Housing Act of 1948. Co-venture building projects were a form of cooperative housing; the association acts collectively in the land acquisition, development, or construction of the homes. When the project is complete the association dissolves, unless there are public amenities such as a park to maintain, and the owner of each house becomes a fee simple home owner.³⁸⁵ The Maple Grove Homestead development was the first African American cooperative housing project in the country. Its one-and-a-half-story homes were prefabricated and assembled on site. The residents formed the cooperative after being evicted from the Dayton Metropolitan Authority Lakeview homes being torn down for industrial expansion.³⁸⁶ The program appears to have been popular in Dayton, where four other cooperative housing projects were

³⁸² "House Warmings," *Jet Magazine*, March 11, 1954, 43.

³⁸³ "Cross Blaze at Home of AF Officer," *The Ohio Sentinel*, August 10, 1957, 3.

³⁸⁴ Margaret Kane, "A Wider Field for Mortgage Lending," *Insured Mortgage Portfolio* 14 (Fourth Quarter, 1949): 15-18.

³⁸⁵ Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Cooperative Housing in the United States 1949-1950* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951).

³⁸⁶ "Work to Start on Twenty Homes," *The Dayton Daily News*, July 11, 1949, 17.

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completed. The Maple Grove Homestead project foundered, however; it appears only eleven homes were constructed before the cooperative was mired in competing lawsuits.³⁸⁷

In 1945, the Monroe Avenue Church in Columbus was using 93. N. Ohio Ave. as a parsonage for Rev. L. L. Dickerson. Neighborhood resident Fred Perkins wanted the property's restrictive covenants banning African American occupants enforced. When the Ohio Supreme Court ruled in favor of the plaintiff and upheld restrictive covenants, the Columbus chapter asked the national NAACP office for assistance in taking the case to the Supreme Court. Marian Wynn Perry, NAACP assistant counsel, explained that the legal strategy used in *Perkins v. Monroe Avenue Church* had been used in other cases. Perry thought the case would not be heard by the Supreme Court; consequently the national NAACP did not want to be involved.³⁸⁸ Perry was correct; while the Supreme Court did review the case in conjunction with *Shelley v. Kraemer*, it was not used in that case.

Represented by Columbus City Council member Baxter Evans, the restrictive covenant plaintiffs won in Franklin County Common Pleas Court. The presiding judge noted that all the judges in the common pleas court believed that restrictive covenants should be upheld.³⁸⁹ The judge gave orders to evict Dickerson on March 30, 1946, tasking the sheriff with placing his belongings on the street. His parishioners vowed to move them right back inside.³⁹⁰ Dickerson and his attorney Frank Shearer petitioned against the eviction but the common pleas judges stonewalled and refused to hear the case. An outside judge, Fred Wickham from Delaware County, was appointed and stayed the eviction, ruling that blacks could own the property but could not occupy it. Shearer appealed to the Ohio Supreme Court who refused to rule. While Shearer prepared to take the case to the United States Supreme Court, that body ruled on May 3, 1948, in *Shelley v. Kraemer*, that covenants were unconstitutional.³⁹¹ Dickerson remained in his home.

African American enclaves had difficulty obtaining essential services. When incorporated in 1946, Lincoln Heights was the largest self-governing African American community in the North. In 1950, it had 5531 residents, of whom all but seventy-three were African American. Lincoln Heights grew out of several subdivisions intended for African Americans platted by real estate interests just to the north of Lockland in Hamilton County's upper Mill Creek Valley, beginning in October 1923. The "developers" surveyed streets and lots but did little else to develop the subdivisions. They left the streets unpaved and provided no sewers, electric, or telephone lines; the only source of water for residents was hydrants

³⁸⁷ "Receivership Charges Mismanaging," *The Dayton Daily News*, April 17, 1951, 21.

³⁸⁸ Marian Wynn Perry to William Brooks, May 14, 1947, NAACP Part 5, Reel 21.

³⁸⁹ "Reverend L. L. Dickerson, Columbus Minister, Ordered Out of His Home by Judge Joseph Clifford," *The Ohio State News*, March 30, 1946, 2.

³⁹⁰ "Ohio Supreme Court Refuses to Aid Columbus Minister as Judge Clifford Orders Sheriff to Set Furniture Out", *The Ohio State News*, March 30, 1946, 2

³⁹¹ "Columbus Covenants Are Kayoed by Court Ruling" *Cleveland Call and Post*, May 15, 1948, 1A

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placed at intervals along the streets.

Nevertheless African Americans, many of whom were recent migrants from the rural South, bought lots and built shanties or lived in tents until they could build more substantial dwellings. They grew food for their families on these lots and once they had the money, they built new homes. The Great Migration had brought an increasing African American population to Cincinnati while intense racial residential discrimination forced most of them into the old and decaying West End neighborhood. These subdivisions provided an alternative where ambitious people could follow their dreams of freedom and independence. While Cincinnati housing reformers saw black slums, African Americans residents saw opportunity to build something of their own.

In 1948, under the leadership of a local minister, the Rev. Howard Crutchfield, residents formed the West College Hill Civic Association (WCHCA), which beginning in 1950 spearheaded a bid to have the city of Cincinnati annex the area. This move came because residents hoped the city would upgrade the infrastructure of the neighborhood through the installation of sewers and sidewalks and by improving the streets. As required, the Hamilton County Commissioners considered the community's annexation petition and approved it in May 1950 because a majority of property owners had signed it. The commissioners forwarded it to Cincinnati shortly thereafter. The Cincinnati city manager approved the petition reluctantly, because of the cost needed to bring the area up to modern standards, and sent it to the City Planning Commission (CPC). Because of the condition of much of the housing and the lack of adequate public infrastructure, the CPC recommended the complete clearance of the community, the annexation of vacant land to the west on which to build replacement single-family homes, and the construction of a public housing project on the cleared site, a plan that fit the city's theories about how to deal with all decaying areas of the city, including the West End.³⁹²

Much as it had in the West End, the city's plan failed to take into consideration the desires of the residents. Community residents, 61% of whom owned their homes, opposed complete redevelopment and proposed instead that the city use its money to help them rehabilitate existing housing and upgrade the infrastructure. Negotiations between the city and the community stalled, and in 1952, the planning commission rejected annexation on the grounds of expense.

In 1956, West College Hill residents renewed their request for annexation. Opposition from city officials was similar to the earlier attempt. Moreover, the city had embarked on the clearance of the West End for redevelopment and expressway construction, and the planning department had its hands full with that project. Opposition pointed to the cost of improving the area to acceptable standards and

³⁹² Charles F. Casey-Leininger, "Not the Most Dramatic of Slum Properties: The Standish Apartment Rent Strike and Cincinnati Housing Policy, 1964-1967," *Ohio Valley History* 17, no. 4 (Winter 2017); David McPheeters, "Report on the Uprising of Black People in Cincinnati" (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Human Relations Commission, 1967).

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argued that West End redevelopment should take priority over any other projects, especially one like West College that covered such a small area. Nevertheless, this time the CPC voted to accept the petition, recognizing the value of improving the area. But the Cincinnati City Council had the deciding vote, and while some members, including NAACP activist Theodore Berry, were sympathetic, others were not, and the annexation ordinance was sent to a committee from which it failed to reemerge.

Over the next decade, as West End slum clearance and expressway construction proceeded, Walnut Hills combined with the adjacent communities of Avondale and Evanston to become what urban historians have described as a "second ghetto," this one vastly larger than the city's first ghetto in the West End. By 1960, Cincinnati's black population, at 108,750, had reached 22% of the total; by 1970 it was 125,070, 28% of the total. The population of the West End plummeted to 29,308 (including Mohawk-Brighton) with African Americans making up 94% (27,416) of that number. During that period the black population of the second ghetto rose dramatically. In 1960, Walnut Hills was now 56% black out of a declining total population of 20,658. Avondale and Evanston now were 69% and 72% black, respectively. Now this new and larger center of African American population had 44,746 black residents, 66% of the total, roughly 7300 more than the West End black population. By 1970, this area had increased to 51,652 individuals, with an African American population of 45,549, 88% of the total. The West End, in contrast, had dropped to 16,088 with 15,614 blacks, 97% of the total.³⁹³

Though some middle-class housing remained, housing conditions throughout this growing African American community deteriorated during this period as black homeowners struggled to maintain their property in the face of mortgage and insurance companies either refusing to serve them or charging significantly higher rates than they did for whites in similar circumstances. Moreover, many blacks paid elevated prices for their new homes because the racially restricted housing market allowed real estate agents to inflate selling prices. Some black homeowners took in boarders or converted their single-family homes to two or more units to earn enough extra to pay for their mortgages and upkeep. Unscrupulous real estate speculators sometimes sold to black families on land contracts, and then if a family was late or missed a payment or two evicted them. This might happen several times with a single property, which the speculators typically failed to maintain.

In other cases, speculators purchased the large old single-family homes that were common in these neighborhoods and split them up into multi-unit buildings. As with homeowners, black renters generally paid inflated rents because they had few other choices, while landlords had little incentive to care for their properties. The result

³⁹³ Charles F. Casey-Leininger and Erinn Green, "Hamilton County Stable Integrated Communities" (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Association, 2007), 32. "Ghettoization" refers to a process whereby African American or other minorities are forced into restricted neighborhoods, with resultant overcrowding and high housing costs due to a lack of access to alternatives. See Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

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was the transfer of blight from the basin to these new black communities, despite the best efforts of the residents to care for their homes. And as noted in the West End and North Avondale entries, these circumstances led to a push for local, state, and federal fair housing laws to allow blacks to compete for housing on a level playing field with whites. It also led to rebellions in these new black neighborhoods in the summer of 1967 and April 1968 as portions of the African American population exploded out of frustration with displacement, joblessness, and decaying housing stock. All of these circumstances have left Walnut Hills, as well as Evanston and Avondale, with many decrepit houses, empty business districts, and steep declines in population compared to their 1950 numbers.

At the end of World War II, Cincinnati officials and housing reformers renewed their attack on poor housing with a plan (*The Cincinnati Metropolitan Master Plan*, 1948) that called for the clearing of all slum neighborhoods surrounding the central business district, including both the West End and Over-the-Rhine, just to the north of the central business district. The plan proposed to replace the tightly packed mixture of tenements and commercial and industrial structures in these areas with modern residential and light commercial developments at lower densities, separated from each other by the proposed Mill Creek Expressway (now I-75). The expressway would run just west of the CBD, cutting through the heart of the West End. Councilman and NAACP activist Theodore Berry won the passage in 1953 of an ordinance requiring that deeds to land cleared by the city under its urban redevelopment program contain a clause banning racial discrimination in their subsequent use.

Ultimately, the city cleared much of the West End, though it ran out of both money and political will before it could tackle Over-the-Rhine. Although much of the area's physical structure was old and decaying, the West End had remained a vibrant African American community with networks of family and friends supported by churches, schools, playgrounds, civic and fraternal organizations, and retail stores. Despite this, and without much consultation with African American leadership and none with the residents, slum clearance displaced more than 10,000 mostly African American families from the neighborhood. To house those who would be displaced, the city called for an expanded program of public and private subsidized low-income housing. This new housing would be supplemented by the "trickling down" of housing outside the basin that middle-income white families would vacate as they moved to new federally-subsidized suburban developments that were closed to African Americans. Racially motivated political opposition, however, blocked much of the proposed relocation housing.

In the West End, starting in about 1960, planners did create several new residential developments on cleared land in an area designated as the Laurel-3, Richmond-1 Redevelopment Project. This area lay between the Laurel Homes and Lincoln Court on the east and the Mill Creek Expressway (I-75) on the west. New housing developments included Parktown, Richmond Village bounded on the north by

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Lincoln Park (now Ezzard Charles) Drive and on the west by the Winchell Avenue, and the Stanley Rowe Homes, bounded on the south by Liberty Street. At the same time, the CMHA lifted racial restrictions on the formerly white section of Laurel Homes as whites abandoned that project for the all-white public housing in Winton Terrace and English Woods or found privately owned housing outside the West End. Because white public housing applicants refused to move into Stanley Rowe Homes and the management of Richmond Village refused to rent to whites, all the pre- and post-war residential developments in the West End, except for Park Town, were occupied mostly by African Americans by the early 1960s, and Park Town would soon follow.

The CMHA did build two additional large-scale public housing projects outside the West End, Millvale (1953–1955, 616 units) in the Mill Creek Valley below English Woods, and Findlater Gardens (1958, about 600 units) adjacent to Winton Terrace. The CMHA opened both to both blacks and whites. Few whites, however, applied to live in either of them; they preferred not to live with African Americans and the private market had expanded enough in the years after World War II to accommodate most whites. By the early 1960s, all CMHA projects except English Woods and Winton Terrace were majority black occupied. Private builders, for their part, built racially segregated subsidized low-income housing complexes, including Richmond Village and Fay Apartments (ca. 1960, about 1000 units), east of Baltimore Avenue near existing white areas on the hilltops to the northwest of Millvale, where management refused to rent to blacks. By 1970, after the CMHA lifted all racial restrictions on its projects, Winton Terrace and English Woods joined the rest as majority African American.

The number of new units available to African Americans due to new construction in the West End and elsewhere, however, proved grossly inadequate to serve those displaced by urban renewal, which, in addition to Laurel Richmond, included the clearance of the area of the West End west of the Mill Creek Expressway starting about 1960, a redevelopment area originally labeled Kenyon-Barr and then rebranded as Queensgate to attract its intended commercial and light industrial tenants. That area too lost thousands of housing units, as well as schools, churches, parks, and retail stores.

The housing situation for blacks was made even worse by a rapidly increasing African American population as World War II renewed the migration of blacks to Cincinnati. This expanding population combined with continued residential discrimination throughout the metropolitan area and with urban renewal in the West End to create a black housing crisis in the 1950s and 1960s that was even more dire than the pre-war situation. The massive unmet need for housing among African Americans, and white abhorrence of living with black neighbors, led to the rapid and wholesale racial change of several neighborhoods during the 1950s and 1960s as whites fled to the new suburbs that remained closed to blacks regardless of income. Despite the turnover in neighborhoods newly open to blacks, racial residential

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discrimination continued to severely limit African American housing choices. This situation resulted in overcrowding in these new black neighborhoods with the result that decaying housing conditions developed there. By the late 1950s, local white housing reformers and some city officials came to agree with black civil rights activists that racial residential discrimination had to be tackled. Many of the housing reformers and city officials came to this conclusion for practical reasons when faced with the spread of slums. Civil rights activists argued that while the practical reasons were important, competing for the housing of their choice was a basic human right denied to blacks. During the 1960s, this led to a push in Cincinnati for local, state, and federal fair housing laws.³⁹⁴

Hollydale is a largely African American subdivision south of Sheffield Road in Springfield Township in northern Hamilton County, just to the east of the Winton Woods County Park. The development includes 191 houses on sixty-eight acres. Starting in the late 1950s, Hollydale provided a place that Cincinnati-area African Americans could buy a suburban home at a time when few blacks could buy or rent outside limited areas in greater Cincinnati, and where they would not face the racist opposition of white neighbors. It also allowed blacks who could afford it to escape the overcrowding of ghettoized neighborhoods in the city, and gave their children access to good schools. In short, it allowed middle-income blacks to achieve the American Dream that racism virtually closed to them elsewhere in the greater Cincinnati area.

In 1949, a group of twenty African American veterans registered the Cedar Grove Homestead Association with the state for the purpose of buying land on which to build houses for black buyers. The veterans' group, which met at the black Ninth Street YMCA in Cincinnati's West End, raised money by selling stock at \$300 per share. Eventually, the association had 150 stockholders. They hired African American attorney Theodore Berry to represent them and used a white woman from nearby Glendale to purchase the property on their behalf when the owner refused to sell it to them directly. When whites in the area discovered why the purchase had been made, they opposed it and offered to buy the group out in exchange for land near the largely black suburb of Lincoln Heights, an offer the group refused.

Local mortgage companies refused them the loans they needed to build the houses, delaying the start of building until late 1958. Hamilton, Ohio-based Pease Lumber Co. completed the first house at Sheffield and Deauville Rds. in early 1959. Working capital for construction came from a \$100,000 line of credit that Pease moved from its account in the First National Bank of Cincinnati to a bank in Hamilton. Buyers eventually obtained mortgages from a Charleston, West Virginia, financial institution. Despite vandalism by whites opposed to the development,

³⁹⁴ Casey-Leininger, "Making the Second Ghetto in Cincinnati;" Casey-Leininger, "Giving Meaning to Democracy;" John Emmeus Davis, *Contested Ground: Collective Action and the Urban Neighborhood* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Fairbanks, *Making Better Citizens*; John W. Harshaw, *Cincinnati's West End: Through Our Eyes* (Cincinnati: CreateSpace, 2009); Taylor Jr., "City Building."

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including smashed windows, the association built houses in the subdivision in the \$14,000 to \$25,000 range. The association also paid to have sewer and water lines laid and streets developed and paved. Because they did not want to incur excessive debt, the group built one house at a time.³⁹⁵

Park Town is an apartment complex in Cincinnati's West End neighborhood, located southeast of the corner of Winchell Ave. and West Liberty St. Park Town was one of the earliest residential developments in Cincinnati's first post-war urban renewal plan for the city's old and decaying West End. Its promotion as an interracial community in the early 1960s ranks it as the most visible early attempt in Cincinnati to promote the benefits of voluntary interracial living. Its failure racial integration, however, demonstrates the difficulties of achieving that goal.

The city of Cincinnati awarded the redevelopment contract for what became Park Town to the Reynolds Metal Company of Louisville, Kentucky. Reynolds broke ground for the 322-unit aluminum-sided masonry buildings in September 1960. It created a cooperative ownership structure and aimed it at middle-income families. Advertising promoted it as "a modern in-town address...only minutes from downtown" and touted its suburb-like amenities.

Newspaper stories noted that the community accepted applications without regard to the race of the buyers and that its management company and its early residents, both black and white, hoped that it would be a success as an integrated community. They also hoped that it would serve as a positive example of the benefits of racial integration at a time when racial discrimination dominated the Cincinnati housing market. This seemed particularly important because discrimination and slum clearance were funneling the city's growing black population into a limited number of neighborhoods and spreading overcrowding and decay to new locations as the city cleared the West End. Moreover, the civil rights movement had increasingly made discrimination against African Americans seem destructive of American ideals of individual freedom of choice.

Ultimately Park Town failed as a racially integrated community for several reasons. It sat in the middle of an area still being redeveloped, construction on the Mill Creek Expressway continued just yards away, middle-income parents saw the neighborhood school as falling behind academically, and nearby residential development included a new public housing complex just to the north and a low-income privately developed apartment complex to the south, both of which filled with African American residents. Thus, Park Town was surrounded by low-income black neighbors and expressway construction and without access to the kind of schools that parents wanted for their children. Moreover, the high demand among middle- and moderate-income black families for good housing far exceeded that of

³⁹⁵ Gayle Harden, "Hollydale: A Residential Haven in Suburbia Where Blacks Can Build Their Dream Homes," *The Cincinnati Post*, June 6, 1978, B-6; Allen Howard, "Housing Complex Creates History, Completes Dream," *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 22, 1992, B-6.

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whites who could choose to move to new suburban locations served by a growing network of superhighways.

The failure to establish stable racial integration at Park Town contributed to a growing push among progressive Cincinnatians of both races for laws banning racial discrimination in housing and for the protection of the small number of racially integrated neighborhoods that had begun to develop in the city.³⁹⁶

Institutional Housing

Discrimination at Ohio higher education institutions was tackled in the late 1950s. Fraternities at Ohio State began to lift whites-only restrictions in 1957.³⁹⁷ Off-campus housing was often discriminatory. In some cases, educational institutions actively supported discriminatory housing policies. In others, the colleges took a hands-off approach, citing free enterprise and a lack of policy tools.

The NAACP addressed housing discrimination at Ohio State in 1959. State and local NAACP leaders urged the dean of students not to include off-campus student housing providers who discriminated against African Americans in the official Ohio State Off-Campus Housing Directory. The university demurred, stating that while they were well aware that campus-area landlords discriminated, applying sanctions would cause economic harm. Instead Ohio State offered to educate the landlords, hoping the problem could be solved in that manner.³⁹⁸

The NAACP disagreed, arguing that the policy violated the 14th Amendment, and sought an opinion from the Ohio attorney general. After six months of legal and public pressure, the Ohio State Board of Trustees capitulated and agreed not to tolerate discrimination in university approved housing.

When two students at Western Reserve University were denied off-campus housing because one was African American, they filed a complaint with the NAACP. When asked if the university would continue to promote discriminatory landlords, Western Reserve University's president, Dr. John S. Millis, stated that the university would accept no responsibility for off-campus housing. However, if the university provided housing in the future, it would be non-discriminatory.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ Casey-Leininger, "Making the Second Ghetto in Cincinnati;" Charles F. Casey-Leininger, "Park Town Cooperative Homes, Urban Redevelopment, and the Search for Residential Integration in Cincinnati, 1955-1965," *Queen City Heritage* 52, no. 3 (1994); Casey-Leininger, "Giving Meaning to Democracy."

³⁹⁷ Anti-Defamation League, "The Decline of Fraternity Bias," *Rights*, April-May 1957, National Association of Colored People Records, Library of Congress, Part 24, Series A.

³⁹⁸ "NAACP Officials Conference with OSU Deans on Racial Housing Policies and will Protest Policy to University President and Board of Trustees," December 2, 1959 Part 24, Series A., Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

³⁹⁹ "Report of the Executive Secretary, Cleveland Branch NAACP, November 4, 1958 – December 2, 1958," Part 27: Selected Branch Files, 1956-1965, Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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After World War II, African American students at Ohio University usually boarded with black families and in rooming houses on Athens' rougher west side.⁴⁰⁰ In 1954, the Ohio University Board of Trustees required that all freshmen live on campus unless they were from Athens County. Knowing that it would be impossible for all African American students to find off-campus housing, the University excluded black students from the dormitory housing lottery and guaranteed them a spot.⁴⁰¹

Housing – Civil Rights after 1964

Fair housing laws became a hot-button issue after civil rights legislation and generated considerable opposition. The National Association of Real Estate Boards continued its strident opposition to integrated housing. Although the group removed racially offensive language from its materials in the 1950s, that language was replaced with carefully coded "race-neutral" text instead. The group used phrases like "incompatible character use" and "local practices," combined with "free enterprise." According to the realtors fair housing was forced housing, essentially social engineering.⁴⁰²

In the mid-1960s CDCs not only engaged in business developments but participated in housing developments.

In 1965, Ohio's antidiscrimination laws were expanded to include housing. Racial intimidation and a backlash to fair housing laws were common through the 1960s. Akron became a notable backlash example when the city, in a municipal election, voted to repeal its local fair housing law. The NAACP overturned the referendum result at the United States Supreme Court in 1969.

In October 1967, an incident reminiscent of African Americans crossing the residential color line in the 1920s occurred when a black family in Campbell, in northeast Ohio, had their house burned twice during construction in an all-white neighborhood. Because the cause was twice determined to be arson, insurance was all but impossible to obtain going forward. The NAACP intervened and was able to get 24-hour police protection, at which point the insurance company acquiesced and construction continued.⁴⁰³

The Worthington Human Relations Council actively recruited African Americans to live in their city. It was not easy. At a 1968 meeting featuring Black Power speakers, a member noted that the organization had shown a number of African Americans

Series C: The Midwest, Roll 9, Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁴⁰⁰ Walker and Hollow, *Soulful Bobcats*, 12.

⁴⁰¹ Walker and Hollow, *Soulful Bobcats*, 99.

⁴⁰² Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 359.

⁴⁰³ Campbell-Struthers Monthly Report, MSS 13, NAACP Records, Box 2, Folder 17, Ohio History Connection.

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homes. One longtime black Worthington resident lamented the fact that people usually did not return after the initial showing; one of the young Black Power speakers replied, "Perhaps that's because you don't like crosses burning on your lawn."⁴⁰⁴

In 1970, the Cleveland NAACP began to work with the Cleveland Association of Real Estate Brokers to assist African Americans who wanted to move to the suburbs in search of better schools and jobs. The two groups identified the suburban zoning code as the major issue. Minimum lot sizes and prohibitions against apartment buildings barred low- and moderate-income blacks from moving to the suburbs.⁴⁰⁵ The current state of suburban zoning indicates that little progress was made.

Black suburbs in Cincinnati continued to be ignored by the city.

Because the area generated so little in tax revenue and because of its relative isolation from most of the rest of Springfield Township, College Hill received little attention for its infrastructure needs. Most residents' incomes remained modest, making it difficult for them to upgrade their homes. A major blow to the community came in 1965, when the North College Hill School District closed Steele Grade School, a place that many considered the center of the community. The Ohio Board of Education had ordered North College Hill to integrate its schools, and because white parents would not send their children to the Steele School, the North College Hill board moved those pupils to other schools in the district.

In a move to save the school and rehabilitate the neighborhood, the WCHCA applied to the federal Office of Economic Opportunity for a rehabilitation grant. Because the community needed a comprehensive building code program, which the county would not provide, West College Hill applied for and in 1968 won a grant from the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development for a Federally Assisted Code Enforcement program. HUD officials approved the application because they were impressed by the stability of the community, despite its poverty, and the commitment of its residents to improving it. With the federal grant and low-interest loan money, the community removed forty-seven dilapidated buildings, improved the streets, installed sidewalks and storm sewers, and rehabilitated 105 homes. The former Steele School became the headquarters of the community's federal War on Poverty programs, housing a Head Start center, a Planned Parenthood clinic, and a pediatric clinic. It also provided recreation programs.

In 1973, a group of West College Hill residents petitioned again for annexation, but this time other residents opposed the idea in part because, among other reasons, some were bitter about how the city had responded to their previous petitions and

⁴⁰⁴ "Human Relations Council Warned: 'Man – the Ghettos Mad,'" *The Spectator*, March 28, 1968, MSS 1264, Worthington Human Relations Council, Folder 1/4.

⁴⁰⁵ Monthly Report, July-August 1969, Harold C. Strickland, NAACP Ohio Field Office, MSS 13, Box 2, Folder 13, NAACP Records, Ohio History Connection.

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because some parents did not want their children transferred from the North College Hills schools to Cincinnati public schools, which they considered inferior. Because there were questions about the legality of a number of the signatures on the petition, its validity was challenged in the Hamilton County Court of Common Pleas, which found that there existed enough questions about the signatures to void it. This ended the attempts by West College Hill to become part of the city. Today, West College Hill remains isolated from most of Springfield Township and retains a largely African American population. Most of the infrastructure problems appear to have been resolved, and though there are a few buildings in need of repair, most of the houses appear to be well-maintained if modest homes.⁴⁰⁶

North Avondale and Paddock Hills are adjacent demographically similar and racially integrated neighborhoods sandwiched between the largely white Hamilton County cities of St. Bernard and Norwood (on the west and east respectively) and the largely black Cincinnati neighborhoods of Bond Hill and Avondale (on the north and south respectively). The first African American residents moved into North Avondale about 1959 and into Paddock Hills about 1966. During the 1960s, residents of the two neighborhoods pioneered intentional residential integration for their communities through the creation of the North Avondale Neighborhood Association (1960) and the Paddock Hills Assembly (ca. 1961). Their efforts proved successful and as of the 2010 census, North Avondale and Paddock Hills remained moderately racially integrated at the block level. The two neighborhoods combined had a Dissimilarity Index of 40 and were 32% white and 63% African American.

Starting in the late 1940s and accelerating during the 1950s, several African American enclaves in otherwise white neighborhoods in Cincinnati began to expand rapidly, including in Avondale, then a largely middle-class city neighborhood that was the center of the city's Jewish community. The expansion of the black population in Avondale and other white nineteenth-century Cincinnati suburbs occurred because of a rapid increase in black population starting during World War II and because of the destruction of housing in the city's old largely black West End neighborhood. Demolition in the neighborhood began with the construction of a portion of the Mill Creek Expressway (I-75) through the heart of the neighborhood and the beginning of slum clearance there in the mid-1950s.

During the 1950s, the black population of the city's Avondale neighborhood soared as whites fled in large numbers to new suburban locations. By 1960, the southern two-thirds of the neighborhood was largely black; only the northernmost census tract (65) remained largely white. Housing there was newer and generally more expensive and, attracted by this, middle- and upper-income African Americans, including attorney and civil rights activist Theodore Berry, began to purchase homes there. At the same time a number of the white residents decided that they would welcome black neighbors while working to keep the neighborhood from flipping rapidly to

⁴⁰⁶ Susan Redman-Rengstorf, "'To Better the Conditions:' The Annexation Attempts of West College Hill," *Queen City Heritage* 43, no. 1 (1985).

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largely black as much of the rest of Avondale had. To accomplish this, they created the North Avondale Neighborhood Association (NANA) in 1960, claiming as their territory the North Avondale elementary school attendance area and crafting bylaws that stated its support for racial residential integration.

NANA faced the fact that the demand for housing among African Americans far exceeded the supply available in the city's racially segregated housing market. This high demand, combined with white racism and the ready availability of housing for whites elsewhere, allowed "blockbusting" real estate agents and speculators to flip portions of neighborhoods in only a few months' time. Because of this, at least two other groups had failed in the late 1950s to create racially integrated communities in Avondale. To fight blockbusting and rapid turnover, NANA urged its members to post not-for-sale signs to calm the fears of white residents and fought the establishment of businesses that it deemed undesirable as well as that of social service agencies catering solely to blacks. It also lobbied the Cincinnati City Council to enact ordinances banning real estate tactics designed to rapidly turn over neighborhoods. When that effort failed, NANA worked with other groups to persuade the Ohio General Assembly to pass a state fair housing law, an effort that resulted in a weak law in 1965. In 1968, Congress passed a stronger federal fair housing law, the enforcement of which provided NANA with valuable tools to keep their neighborhoods stably integrated. So too did changing attitudes among some whites about black neighbors and the realization by some city officials that a racially segregated housing market that concentrated African Americans in a few overcrowded neighborhoods led to the creation of new slum conditions.⁴⁰⁷

Kennedy Heights is a neighborhood located in the far northeast corner of Cincinnati, about ten miles from its central business district. Kennedy Heights residents have intentionally fought to maintain racial residential integration and middle-class status since the early 1960s, led by the Kennedy Heights Community Council (KHCC), founded in 1963.

The area had forty-eight African Americans in 1910, a number that grew slowly to 128 by 1950, most of whom lived close to the railroad line that passed through the community in a racially mixed section of modest homes. Although most African Americans in the neighborhood worked in unskilled and semiskilled jobs, home ownership was common. As noted, after World War II, massive racial change

⁴⁰⁷ Casey-Leininger, "Making the Second Ghetto in Cincinnati;" "Giving Meaning to Democracy;" "Hamilton County Stable Integrated Communities, 2010 Census Update."; Charles F. Casey-Leininger, "Avondale," in *Oxford African American Studies Center*; Division of Community Assistance, City of Cincinnati, "Paddock Hills Community Plan: 'A Community Working Together,'" (1977), <https://www.cincinnati-oh.gov/planning/assets/File/Paddock%20Hills%20Community%20Plan%201977.pdf>, accessed August 23, 2018; *Herbert Brown, Et Al., v. John Federle, D/B/a Federle Realtors*, U.S. District Court, S.D. Ohio, Civil Case No. 9051, December 18, 1973. Prior to 1960, some white households had live-in black servants, and one small section of modest homes on the southern edge of North Avondale had a small black population, likely also servants for their wealthy white neighbors. Casey-Leininger calculated the Dissimilarity Index using block level data for Census Tract 65 minus the blocks containing nearby Xavier University campus, which is separated from Paddock Hills and North Avondale by a major thoroughfare and whose dormitories house a majority white student population.

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profoundly affected Cincinnati. For Kennedy Heights, these changes included African Americans with higher incomes seeking good housing in middle-class neighborhoods outside the West End and Walnut Hills, the two main centers of African American life in the city, while many white middle-class families were moving to the new suburbs on the urban fringe.

The fear that overcrowding and poverty would engulf their new neighborhood gave blacks in Kennedy Heights a strong incentive to preserve it as middle-class. Moreover, by the early 1960s, enough white residents began to welcome new black neighbors. In consequence, an interracial group of Kennedy Heights residents formed the KHCC in 1963. As the community council grew, recruiting members from all parts of the neighborhood, panic-selling among whites slowed. Although riots in several African American neighborhoods in 1967 and 1968 led to an uptick in whites leaving Kennedy Heights, the efforts of the KHCC helped slow the exodus. By 1970, Kennedy Heights had a 58% black population, most of which was solidly middle-class, unlike some older city neighborhoods nearer the central business district, where many were poor or struggling working-class. And unlike most other Cincinnati neighborhoods that had significant black populations, Kennedy Heights was modestly integrated with a DI of 51 at the block level.

The KHCC received assistance in this effort from two Cincinnati organizations, Housing Opportunities Made Equal (HOME) and the Coalition of Neighborhoods (CON), which had formed with the intent to ensure the stability of interracial communities in the city. Among other things, HOME and CON helped residents of Kennedy Heights and other integrated communities initiate lawsuits against real estate agents seeking to illegally flip those communities racially. Often successful, these suits put irresponsible real estate agents on notice that they could face financial penalties if caught in practices that purposely encouraged re-segregation.

The KHCC also fought racial and class change by opposing the building of large low-income apartment complexes, monitoring the quality of property upkeep, and opposing the opening of bars and other businesses that attracted nuisances. Finally, KHCC members worked to maintain quality racially-integrated education in the neighborhood by creating a cooperative parent-run preschool and, in 1974, joining an ultimately successful suit to desegregate the Cincinnati Public Schools. As a result of all these efforts, stable racial integration has persisted there for nearly fifty years.⁴⁰⁸

In Columbus in 1969, the NAACP CDC, the National Housing Corporation, sponsored the Ivywood Apartments, a subsidized multifamily complex built for

⁴⁰⁸ Charles F. Casey-Leininger, *Going Home: The Struggle for Fair Housing in Cincinnati, 1900 to 2007* (Cincinnati: Housing Opportunities Made Equal, 2008); Casey-Leininger, "Kennedy Heights," in *Oxford African American Studies Center*; Charles F. Casey-Leininger and the students of the Public History Practicum of the University of Cincinnati Department of History Spring 2014, *The Kennedy Heights Experiment: From Hilltop Suburb to Multi-Racial Community, 1882 to 2014* (Cincinnati: Kennedy Heights Community Council, 2014); "Brown V. Federle."

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people living in substandard housing or displaced by highway construction or urban renewal, under Title 236 of the 1968 Housing Act. The complex, located in northeast Columbus near Minerva, was the subject of a suit by the Village of Minerva and twenty-eight Blendon Township residents who opposed the project. The lawsuit and Ivywood's construction became a national story. The developer, George Deffet, was a liberal Democrat and unabashed proponent of open and low-income housing. The apartment complex became a proxy for the battle over civil rights, suburbs, and white backlash. A *New York Times* reporter interviewed white Minerva residents who expected a strong Nixon victory in 1972 and consequently the end of civil rights battles. Nixon's anti-busing stance and his statements opposing "forced integration" of the suburbs were popular. Civil rights were "all over," said one community leader, who did not want his name associated with the statement. "At least that's the feeling people have. It's kind of comforting."⁴⁰⁹ Deffet received numerous hate letters and calls. Congressman Samuel Devine (R-Columbus) appealed personally to Nixon, urging him to block HUD funding for the project, though in the end, HUD's Ohio Regional director, Fergus A. Thiebert, approved the funds. The apartment project, one of thirty-six nationwide, was dedicated May 1, 1972, an event attended by NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins, who noted that the project was completed despite the court cases and appeals to the White House.⁴¹⁰

Cleveland

Cleveland urban renewal projects were not popular with Cleveland activists. *Cleveland Call and Post* columnist Charles Loeb outlined the true costs of the Gladstone, Garden Valley, and St. Vincent urban renewal projects between 1954 and 1966. Loeb pointed out that 40% of the families relocated from the Garden Valley project bounded by Kinsman Road, E. 79th St., E. 66th St. and Bessemer Ave. were moved to "parts unknown."⁴¹¹ The Gladstone urban renewal project displaced 717 families, 416 moving to parts unknown with the remaining 301 families living in the midst of the abandoned housing. The city planned to use the land for industry. The St. Vincent Project moved people who were 98% renters and 95% African American for office space. Low income housing was available for only 43 out of the 311 families eligible. 1194 families were moved out with no place to live. Constituents surmised that these displaced families moved to Hough before the uprising, exacerbating the conditions there.⁴¹²

Police relations and Police Brutality

- *The Great Migration and Civil Rights in Ohio, 1894-1932*

⁴⁰⁹ John Berbers, "The 1972 Campaign," *The New York Times*, October 3, 1972, 32.

⁴¹⁰ Monthly Report May 1972, MSS 13, NAACP Records, Box 4, Folder 5, Ohio History Connection.

⁴¹¹ "Cleveland's Urban Renewal - A Fiasco," *Cleveland Call and Post*, November 26, 1966, 8B.

⁴¹² "Cleveland's Urban Renewal - A Fiasco."

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Of all the civil rights themes, police relations and police brutality is the most nebulous: not because there is a lack of examples, but because comparing present-day events to those of the past make it evident that there has been a lack of progress. Police brutality includes the uses of excessive force, intimidation, unreasonable search and seizure, verbal abuse, and coercion.⁴¹³

The MPD explores two facets. The police relations themes explore institutional and municipal responses. Initially, municipal responses to the Great Migration included social services aimed at alleviating juvenile delinquency and crime. Eventually, in the 1930s and 1940s social service responses were augmented or replaced by raw power as police forces practiced simple domination on a personal level. While it is entirely possible that police brutality was practiced in the beginning of the century as well it becomes more prominent in the black press in the mid-century.

Police relations in early twentieth century Ohio could best be described as intentional neglect tempered by aspects of social control. African Americans complained that crimes, often in the red-light districts that were a part of their neighborhoods, were ignored. It was easier for municipal authorities to concentrate and control crime and vice in largely black and immigrant neighborhoods than to fight it. In addition, quelling vice in African American neighborhoods posed the risk that the districts would reemerge in white areas.⁴¹⁴ Therefore white civic leaders tended not to press the issue unless severely pressed.

In Cleveland the area around E. 30th and Central Ave. became a hotbed of vice.⁴¹⁵ Columbus had the Badlands area, a section of E. Long St., east of downtown. Cincinnati's district was located on a section of Longworth and George Sts. Springfield and Dayton also had African American areas with criminal concentrations tolerated by the white authorities. In Springfield, this toleration only extended until a perceived black-on-white crime was committed. In three instances, race riots were the result.

Progressive administrations began to disband "vice districts" in Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Columbus in the first quarter of the twentieth century. At the same a disproportionate number of African Americans began to enter the criminal justice system.

In 1925, the Columbus Urban League established the Friendly Service Bureau to improve relations with the police department and prevent juvenile delinquency. Under programs usually aimed at recent migrants from the South or their children, African American youth were assigned mentors to teach acceptable public conduct

⁴¹³ Clarence Taylor *Fight the Power: African Americans and the Long History of Police Brutality in New York* (New York: New York University, 2019) 1-4.

⁴¹⁴ Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape*, 50

⁴¹⁵ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 21.

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in the North. These rules were firmly based on middle class values including thriftiness and reliability.⁴¹⁶ Many elite and longtime black residents thought poor public conduct was directly tied to burgeoning segregation. Loitering drew special condemnation. In conjunction with cursing and general boisterousness, loitering was opposed by Cleveland's and Columbus's Urban League chapters, and by Cincinnati's Negro Civic Welfare Association.⁴¹⁷ These organizations attempted to provide alternatives to the popular saloons, pool halls, and street corners.⁴¹⁸ Julius Rosenwald's YMCA facilities sponsored productive activities as did a variety of community meeting spaces and settlement houses. The Cleveland Negro Welfare Association offered programs at their Community House at 2352 E. 40th St. Activities included pool, games, and reading rooms.⁴¹⁹

While crime and vice was often ignored in African American enclaves the proportion of blacks arrested increased. Wendell Dabney suggested that white people's failure to distinguish between classes of African Americans was the issue. Lumping all blacks in with loud and raucous Southern migrants was the actual problem and segregation, police brutality, and other associated prejudice would fade away when whites could make class distinctions.⁴²⁰

Police relations and Police Brutality

- Civil Rights and the Great Depression, 1932-1940

During the Great Depression police brutality against African Americans was often associated with employment disputes, boycotts, and employment discrimination. Picketing became a civil rights action of choice for more militant groups and the police often intervened in a heavy-handed manner. In many cases during the 1930s African Americans were beaten while being apprehended or placed in custody. Beatings during civil rights protests were also a constant danger. African Americans, unsurprisingly, seemed to have a good grasp of police temperament in most communities. Many recorded instances of police brutality are egregious episodes of violence and the exercise of social control.

The commonplace nature of police brutality was driven home by Yankees outfielder Jake Powell in 1938. Powell worked for the Dayton police department when not playing baseball. Already saddled with a reputation as a bigot and general degenerate, he outdid himself during a radio interview. Asked by the announcer how he stayed in shape during the off-season in Dayton he replied, "I beat niggers over

⁴¹⁶ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 154.

⁴¹⁷ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 151.

⁴¹⁸ Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio*, 151.

⁴¹⁹ Welfare Federation of Cleveland, *Social Service at Home During the War Years*, 7.

⁴²⁰ Dabney, *Cincinnati's Colored Citizens*, 144.

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the head with my blackjack.”⁴²¹ Shortly before Powell’s statement, three different misconduct lawsuits were filed against the Dayton police. One was filed by a member of the Dayton Youth Movement who was "manhandled" while protesting stores that would not hire African American clerks. Another was filed by Dayton resident Charles Evans, who had been arrested for suspicious behavior when he paid with a hundred-dollar bill at a downtown store. He was released without charges the next day. Dayton police were also being sued at the time for killing numbers baron Jack Davis. A mass meeting protesting Jack Davis’ death drew over 1000 people.⁴²²

Police relations and Police Brutality

- *Civil Rights and World War II, 1940-1945*

Police brutality in 1940s continued trends from the 1930s. Suspects were often beaten after being arrested. A 1941 *Cleveland Call and Post* article noted that police brutality had increased nationwide. Once localized to certain communities, the phenomenon was spreading, though the reasons for this were unclear. Theories ranged from a secret Ku Klux Klan resurgence to an organized effort “to put the Negro in his place.”⁴²³

During World War II police brutality was sometimes associated with labor strife. Toledo’s Mass Movement League used the alleged beating of a pregnant woman to bolster membership when fifty baton-wielding police attacked a picket line. Using the incident in a promotional pamphlet, the Mass Movement League was able to attract 1500 people to its next rally for industrial jobs in Toledo.⁴²⁴

Wartime housing shortages exacerbated racial tensions with the police. Residents at the Brand Whitlock and Albertus Brown public housing complexes in Toledo were roughed up and verbally abused during a picket supporting a rent strike at the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority at 392 Nebraska Ave. Arriving officers charged the picketers and arrested Mrs. Hazel Wooten, who was punched after complaining about rough treatment. While detained in her cell she was berated by a Toledo police sergeant who told her, “That’s the problem with you niggers, you’re never satisfied. I hope Hitler gets all of you. It would never happen in his country.”⁴²⁵ The strike continued, however, now with protesters carrying signs reading “We will not be moved.”⁴²⁶

"Police brutality" included non-action on the part of the police. In Euclid Village in

⁴²¹ Steve Wulf, "Bigot Unwittingly Sparked Change" http://www.espn.com/mlb/story/_/id/10496417/jake-powell-bigot-unwittingly-sparked-change. Accessed February 20, 2019

⁴²² Barbee Durham, "Three Suits Filed Against Dayton Police," *Cleveland Call and Post*, August 18, 1938, 9.

⁴²³ "What’s Behind the Wave of Police Brutality," *Cleveland Call and Post*, October 4, 1941, 1B.

⁴²⁴ Alkalimat and Patterson, *Black Toledo*, 107.

⁴²⁵ "Charge Toledo Police with Brutality in Rent Strike," *Cleveland Call and Post*, November 28, 1942, 8C.

⁴²⁶ "Toledoans Aroused Over Police Brutality," *Cleveland Call and Post*, December 5, 1942.

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northern Ohio, an African American street car conductor was severely beaten aboard his car by a group of young white men. However, while there were reports of arrests, the Euclid Village police department later denied any knowledge of them and appeared to have covered up the entire incident.⁴²⁷

Police relations and Police Brutality

- Post-war to the Civil Rights Act, 1945-1964

The post-war period was marked by the advent of community relations boards aimed at ameliorating racial strife. Cleveland was the first city to create a community relations board in 1945 for the purpose of developing cross-racial understanding. However, the board was formed to assist African American attorney Chester Gillespie find office space in downtown Cleveland.

The Cincinnati Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee (MFRC) studiously avoided inserting itself into police relations. In August 1946, however, the Cincinnati NAACP declared war on police brutality when ministerial student Nathan Wright was abused by the police. In 1947, Haney Bradley was severely beaten by the police. Although the disorderly conduct charges against Bradley were thrown out by the court, the police did not internally investigate the beating. In both instances, the MFRC did not take a stand.⁴²⁸ The NAACP advocated for racial police training, but beyond one lecture there was no additional training. Consequently, the city's lack of action made it tacitly complicit.

The Cleveland police were the subject of an early Community Review Board investigation when Earnest Rowe, a veteran and postal worker, was beaten by officers and detained for fifty-five hours. In this case the two officers involved were charged with assault. The officers' defense was that if the subject had just complied with a routine search for weapons at a café the whole incident could have been avoided.⁴²⁹ The fact that force was used was not in dispute. Indeed, the only discrepancy in the officer's account of the incident was the number of times they slapped Rowe. Rowe's incident received week by week coverage in the black press but failed to nudge the white power structure towards reform.

Youngstown experienced racial strife near the end of the war into the mid-1940s. Racial tensions exploded in September 1945 when "over 300 Youngstown citizens clashed in a free-for-all in steel town's public square."⁴³⁰ Governor Frank Lausche visited the scene. The Detroit race riots were still fresh in the minds of many government officials, who believed that quelling or at least covering up urban rebellions, rather than addressing their causes, was good practice. Youngstown's

⁴²⁷ "Cleveland Must Meet This Threat Now," *Cleveland Call and Post*, October 28, 1944, 8B.

⁴²⁸ Obermiller and Wagner, 7.

⁴²⁹ "Race Relations Board to Probe Brutality Case," *Cleveland Call and Post*, December 4, 1948, 1A.

⁴³⁰ "Lausche Probes Race Riot in Youngstown," *Cleveland Call and Post*, September 29, 1945, 1A.

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police force specialized in brutality. More riots were likely if the root cause, police behavior and community relations, were not addressed. Instead, the Youngstown police ramped up the pressure against the black community.

The local NAACP chapter led protests against the Youngstown chief of police in 1945. The police department already suffered from a poor reputation for corruption and brutality. The police chief attempted to quell complaints by firing two officers (Lloyd Trammel, an ex-heavyweight boxer and Clinton Ash, an ex-soldier) for extortion. The officers had also seized guns from suspects and later sold them on the street. Police Chief John B. Thomas led his force by example. The NAACP began to advocate for his dismissal when he and four officers mercilessly beat four African American patrons at a beer garden on Caldwell Street. The police chief and patrol officers stayed at the beer garden after the beatings and had a drink at the bar.⁴³¹ Thomas was arrested for assault in August 1945 after beating an African American man for loitering at the corner of W. Federal and Chestnut Sts. in Youngstown. The chief pled not guilty and was released on his own recognizance.

The NAACP addressed the police chief's brutality along with issues like city employment with candidates for the 1945 municipal elections, and also requested a community relations board.⁴³² The NAACP held a mass meeting with 400 attendees in October 1945, passing a resolution asking for Thomas's dismissal. The audience was disappointed, however, when NAACP leadership refused to push for an investigation into the recent uprising and the factors behind it. The state Congress of Industrial Organizations representative accused local NAACP leaders of "quieting" the request for political purposes, a move he called "disgusting" and "selling out."⁴³³ The NAACP push to remove Thomas was unsuccessful in 1945. In 1947, Thomas resigned as chief (though he remained on the force as a detective) after the city council demanded a "racket cleanup in the city."⁴³⁴ Additional questions were raised when Thomas's unlicensed sixteen-year-old son wrecked a police car he was driving. Thomas would retire as a captain in 1970 after forty years with the Youngstown Police Department.

Cleveland's 1957 Dollree Mapp case led to a landmark Supreme Court ruling on police brutality. Cleveland police demanded entry to Mapp's house, believing that a bombing suspect was hiding inside. Mapp was divorced from boxer Jimmy Bivens, and boxing promoter Don King's house had recently been bombed. Mapp wanted to see a warrant, and when the police produced a piece of paper, Mapp grabbed it and placed it in her blouse. The police retrieved the paper and handcuffed her for belligerence, then searched the house. While the police did find their suspect, later cleared of the crime, they also located sexually explicit materials: four pulp novels

⁴³¹ "Police Force Corruption Rocks Town," *Cleveland Call and Post*, March 24, 1945, 1A.

⁴³² "Youngstown NAACP Asks Candidates of Political Stand," *Cleveland Call and Post*, October 13, 1945, 5B.

⁴³³ "NAACP Sends Resolution to Mayor Ralph O'Neil, Urging Removal of Biased Official," *Cleveland Call and Post*, October 6, 1945, 1B.

⁴³⁴ "Youngstown Gets New Police Chief," *Lancaster Eagle Gazette*, April 30, 1947, 1.

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and a nude pencil sketch that Mapp said belonged to a previous tenant. Mapp was sentenced to seven years in prison for possession of these materials.

Mapp appealed to the Ohio Supreme Court and lost, but the United States Supreme Court heard a further appeal. In their decision the justices focused on the Fourth Amendment. Neither the Ohio prosecutors nor the police could produce a search warrant. The Supreme Court ruled that illegally gathered evidence was not admissible in court, and Mapp's conviction was thrown out.

The Columbus Police Department had a series of brutality cases in the late 1950s and early 1960s as well as a dire reputation in the African American community. The black press blamed the police's actions on demographic change. During the 1940s and 1950s, Columbus experienced an Appalachian population influx. This changed police culture and race relations.

The *Ohio Sentinel* blamed poor police relations and police brutality on the Appalachian influx and the migrants' "border state mentality." Interracial dating drew particular ire from the Columbus police and often resulted in the African American partner being roughed up at the least, with young black men getting the worst treatment. The newspaper lamented that the Irish police of an earlier era had had a more "live and let live" attitude. Police training and standards also came in for attention. In the 1950s less than 10% of Columbus police carried handcuffs, which were thought to make drunks even more belligerent once applied. However, without handcuffs subduing a suspect or prisoner often meant applying serious force, even beating into unconsciousness.

Police brutality extended to police indifference towards brutality by others. Valleyview, a municipality inside Columbus's borders, barred African Americans from its pool. On July 29, 1960, CORE protestors at the pool were spit upon and had cups of water thrown on them while they picketed. Teenagers and adults peppered the group with obscenities while the Valleyview police looked on. As the day got hotter, "Mockingly, the crowd offered us water like a lowly Nazarene was offered vinegar on the cross," according to Rev. Arthur Zebbs, a minister at Aldersgate Methodist and the director of Columbus's CORE chapter.⁴³⁵ As the protestors left, one was dragged from his car and beaten without police intervention. While the police later charged an eighteen-year-old with the beating, the Valleyview mayor said he would withdraw police protection from future CORE protests at the pool. The Franklin County Sheriff's Department said that they could only intervene in the event of disorder, while the Columbus Police Department had no comment.⁴³⁶ Months after the picketing ended, two protestors received parking violations for having stopped briefly to drop off protestors at the pool, while the young man charged with assault received a largely suspended sentence.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ Arthur Zebbs, "Pastor Sees Hate in Full Bloom," *The Ohio Sentinel*, August 2, 1962, 2.

⁴³⁶ "Protection of the Law Fades for CORE Pickets at Swimming Pool," *The Ohio Sentinel*, August 2, 1962, 2.

⁴³⁷ "Not Mississippi – But!," *The Ohio Sentinel*, October 25, 1962, 9.

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In 1961, the United States Civil Rights Commission asserted that Cleveland had a record of police brutality. The commission noted Cleveland's long record of federal complaints. The commission recommended professionalizing Cleveland's force, making the local government liable for police conduct, and removing legal difficulties in prosecuting police officers. The commission noted, however, that they could only make recommendations.⁴³⁸

Citizen Review Boards

In 1960, the Cincinnati NAACP recommended a Public Police Review Board not only for Cincinnati but also for Lorain and Sandusky. The Cincinnati police chief, Stanley R. Schrotel, complained while giving a keynote address at the Virginia Association of Police Chiefs convention that the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union were attempting to establish a citizen review board that would investigate police mistreatment complaints: "This sinister promotion on the part of two organizations that thrive on social tensions they are supposed to alleviate is nothing more than an attempt to control police departments, police activity, and law and order in general."⁴³⁹ The police review board was not adopted.

Police relations and Police Brutality

- Civil Rights after 1964

Police brutality and urban rebellions were intrinsically linked during the 1960s, both before and after the uprisings. African Americans were dissatisfied with the police for two reasons. The black community wanted a safe place to live, yet the police were stretched thin or failed to provide the most basic services. Instead, an overwhelmingly white police force engaged in consistent low-level harassment and invective against black residents. Consequently, an urban rebellion represented a breaking point for frustrated and angry people on both sides. During an uprising emergency services became even scarcer as police, firemen, and other emergency personnel were fired upon and therefore refused to serve African American communities. Often emergency services used the excuse of urban uprisings and the fear of snipers to avoid the areas altogether. When police and fire units did enter cordoned-off areas they ignored injured African Americans.

Police were utterly baffled by civil rights demonstrations during the 1960s. In their minds, African Americans had more access to jobs than ever. Some even moved to better neighborhoods. There was no need for the "politically motivated" civil rights demonstrations.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ "Rights Commission Rips Cleveland's Police Brutality," *Cleveland Call and Post*, November 25, 1961, 1A.

⁴³⁹ "Interference," *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, September 23, 1960, 12.

⁴⁴⁰ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Hearing before the United States Civil Rights Commission, Hearing Held in Cleveland, April 1-7, 1966* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), 846

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In addition to entrenched poverty and municipal neglect, the Hough uprising in Cleveland from July 18–23, 1966, was based on police brutality. April 1966 United States Commission on Civil Rights hearings in Cleveland had outlined the problems of unequal police protection. Cleveland police ignored quality of life offenses, such as public drinking and fighting, in black neighborhoods. Police had become hesitant to arrest African Americans, and more likely to ignore a crime being committed, lest they be accused of “police brutality.”⁴⁴¹ Conversely, blacks in white areas were disproportionately arrested.⁴⁴² Civil rights protesters were routinely subjected to excessive force. The police blamed civil rights organizations for police brutality complaints, believing they were “made by persons with political ambitions as a means of organizing the Negro community.”⁴⁴³ Blacks were usually arrested at civil disturbances instead of whites. African Americans were also often arrested and detained but not charged with a crime. Many interactions with police included being treated in a disrespectful manner and subjected to vulgarities.⁴⁴⁴ Discrimination extended to the force itself. In 1965, only 133 out of 2021 Cleveland police officers were African American. The highest-ranking black officers were two sergeants.⁴⁴⁵ The Cleveland police blamed civil rights protests for their recruitment woes in the black community.⁴⁴⁶

The Glenville shootout did prompt change in the Cleveland Police Department. Chief Blackwell agreed to integrate police patrols in Glenville. On October 9, 1968, Mayor Stokes fired Blackwell for not being able to deal with department’s racial tensions.

The NAACP blamed a Columbus East Side rebellion on July 21–25, 1969, on police brutality and frustration with education and housing. The failure of the mayor of Columbus and the governor of Ohio to address these issues caused “community disorder.”⁴⁴⁷ The report stated that “The abusive relationship between the police and the Negro community is a major and explosive source of grievance, tension, and disorder.” The NAACP also blamed the overwhelming show of guns, the trivial nature of many arrests, and police intimidation of innocent people. The failure to find a balance between the community’s demands for increased service in their neighborhood and the overly aggressive and fearful Columbus police only exacerbated tensions.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴¹ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Hearing before the United States Civil Rights Commission*, 840.

⁴⁴² U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Hearing before the United States Civil Rights Commission*, 837.

⁴⁴³ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Hearing before the United States Civil Rights Commission*, 845.

⁴⁴⁴ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Hearing before the United States Civil Rights Commission*, 837.

⁴⁴⁵ Moore, *Carl B. Stokes*, 44.

⁴⁴⁶ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Hearing before the United States Civil Rights Commission*, 844.

⁴⁴⁷ Monthly Report, July-August 1969, Harold C. Strickland, NAACP Ohio Field Office, MSS 13, Box 2, Folder 13, NAACP Records, Ohio History Connection.

⁴⁴⁸ Monthly Report, July-August 1969, Harold C. Strickland, NAACP Ohio Field Office, MSS 13, Box 2, Folder 13, NAACP Records, Ohio History Connection.

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Relations between the Columbus NAACP and the Columbus Police Department were not soothed by the beating of NAACP lifetime member Dr. William Allen at a restaurant in downtown Columbus. Allen and his party were seated at Jack and Benny's Restaurant at 6 E. Broad St. Minutes later two Columbus police officers were seated opposite the party. After twenty minutes with no sign of service forthcoming, Allen sought out a waitress. Sitting at the end of the counter, he inadvertently went behind the counter instead of to its front and was immediately arrested and hustled outside and into a police cruiser. Another African American physician, Dr. William Preston, was also arrested and beaten. In frustration, Allen got out of the car and inquired as to why he was under arrest. In response, one officer called him a "damned son-of-a-bitch," punched him, and broke his nose.⁴⁴⁹ The Columbus NAACP chapter appealed to the national office for assistance; the national office urged the city to review police operations and to rescind Jack & Benny's license due to its discriminatory practices.⁴⁵⁰ African American community members marched on city hall demanding justice resulting in the police involved being removed from street duty. The police officer who admittedly hit Allen was a community relations course instructor, a factor he himself found ironic.⁴⁵¹ Allen was tried before an all-white jury, another point of community contention. Allen eventually settled with the city. While Allen and the NAACP did have some success removing the officer from street duty initially no long term results were gained. Allen's case illustrated not only the small steps that could be achieved through community action but the effect of municipal inertia in slowing the push for overall accountability.

In 1972, the Cleveland CORE chapter reconstituted itself. Police brutality and the establishment of a citizens' review board were its main issues. While CORE worked with other organizations, it was not enough to sustain its activism. The Cleveland CORE chapter closed again around 1973.⁴⁵² Once again, the goal was stalled by the city.

Police relations and police brutality sites must necessarily focus on these smaller gains in the absence of overall police accountability and sustained community oversight.

Conclusion

While this MPD focuses on actions and outcomes, it is critical to remember the people

⁴⁴⁹ Statement of William K. Allen, February 12, 1969, NAACP Records, MSS 13, Box 13, Folder 28, Ohio History Connection.

⁴⁵⁰ NAACP Press Release, February 22, 1969, <http://digital-collections.columbuslibrary.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/african/id/24627/rec/4>, accessed April 4, 2018.

⁴⁵¹ "Community Relations Instructor One of Policemen Pulled Inside" *Columbus Dispatch*, February 3, 1969, 6

⁴⁵² Frazier, *Harambee City*, 210.

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behind the actions and outcomes. In the northern battle for civil rights, in comparison to the struggle for southern civil rights that is often focused on larger than life figures, ordinary people worked together to achieve their goals. At times, one person could organize thousands for action, as the Future Outlook League's John Holly did in Cleveland. But behind Holly were 15,000 members of the Future Outlook League, often women, picketing one store at time for jobs. Civil rights organizations were the sum total of their members and organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League existed due to countless volunteers laboring, often without a resolution in sight, as they battled restrictive covenants and school segregation, issues that in the end required generational change and federal legislation. Other issues, such as police brutality, continue without resolution.

F. Associated Property Types

(Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)

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Associated Property Types and Baseline Requirements

The associated property types list the most common properties associated with civil rights in Ohio. A property type not listed may still be associated with civil rights history. Properties need to be directly associated with the historic event, person, or potential to yield future information. Because many properties might have existed for decades before the period of significance, it is important to identify characteristics of that time period. Properties should be compared with archival sources, photographs, newspaper accounts, plans, insurance maps, Works Progress Administration Real Estate Indexes, Baist real estate maps, and other applicable sources to establish baseline integrity that is appropriate to the period of significance.

Applicable Criteria

Civil rights historic sites may be registered under a number of National Register criteria. Criterion A is the most likely for civil rights. Criterion B would be applicable for a person who made a significant contribution to civil rights through legislation, organizational involvement, legal action but not limited to these activities. Criterion C is most likely to be used in conjunction with Criterion A where a historic building was involved in a civil rights event such as a church or for a historic district. Criterion D is generally, but not always, associated with archaeological sites. A site may be eligible under more than one Criterion.

Criterion A, *that are associated with events that have made a broad contribution to the broad patterns of our history.*

Most civil rights sites and districts will be associated with Criterion A.

Criterion B, *that are associated with the lives of people significant in our past.*

Criterion B civil rights sites in Ohio would be associated with people associated with local, state, or national civil rights issues.

Criterion C, *that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.*

A civil rights site under Criterion C would in all likelihood be a building, structure, or object eligible under Criterion A that would also be eligible under Criterion C. Churches associated with civil rights but architecturally significant in their own right are the most likely example. Historic Districts associated with civil rights history will also apply under Criterion C as a distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

Criterion D, *that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.*

Criterion D is usually applied to archaeological sites. Archaeological sites would include urban and rural

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residential sites and subsurface features within them such as privies and refuse areas.

The property types and possible associated themes.

Historic overview of African American Civil Rights in Ohio, 1787–1884
History of Civil Rights and Public Accommodations in Ohio, 1884–1970
History of Civil Rights and Education in Ohio, 1900–1970
History of Civil Rights and Employment in Ohio, 1900–1970
History of Civil Rights and Housing in Ohio, 1900–1970
History of Police Brutality in Ohio, 1900–1970

Civil Rights and Public Accommodations in Ohio

Amusement Parks and Pools
Barbershops and Beauty Parlors
Bowling Alleys and Other Recreational Buildings
Hotels, Motels, and Travel Lodges
March Routes
Shopping Malls
Social Clubs and Fraternal Clubs
Taverns/Nightclubs/Restaurants
Theaters
Tourist Homes

Civil Rights and Education in Ohio

Educational Buildings
March Routes

Civil Rights and Employment in Ohio

Commercial/Industrial
Educational Buildings
Theaters

Civil Rights and Housing in Ohio

Public Housing
Residential Homes
Residential Subdivisions and Apartment Complexes
Tourist Homes

Civil Rights and Police Brutality

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Amusement Parks and Pools
Archaeological Sites
Barbershops and Beauty Parlors
Black Nationalist Sites
Bowling Alleys and Other Recreational Buildings
Churches
Civil Rights Administrative Buildings
Commercial/Industrial
Educational Buildings
Government and Institutional Buildings
Hotels, Motels, and Travel Lodges
March Routes
Public Housing
Residential Homes
Residential Subdivisions and Apartment Complexes
Shopping Malls
Social Clubs and Fraternal Clubs
Social Service Agencies
Taverns/Nightclubs/Restaurants
Theaters
Tourist Homes
Traffic Barricades
Urban Uprising Sites

Registration Guideline Notes

This section discusses locating verifiable and historic sources for African American civil National Register nominations.

Press Accounts

The registration guidelines suggest corroboration of events within the press, legal system, or civil rights organizations. It is important to note the distinction between the black press, usually weekly papers published in large cities that had metropolitan or regional coverage, and the white press. Newspapers and magazines that catered to white audiences usually only covered civil rights events if they caused a major disruption. While they are a way to gauge significance they are a poor source for verification of local events. Conversely, the black press covered such events in detail. Black papers in major cities also covered events in smaller cities and towns throughout the state. Civil rights events were also covered in out-of-state newspapers such as the *Pittsburgh Courier*, *Indianapolis Recorder*, and the *Chicago Defender*. Magazines that catered to an African American audience are also excellent sources of verification and information. Examples include the NAACP publication, *The Crisis*, *Ebony*, *Jet* and *Opportunity*.

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Legal Cases

Assessing significance in legal cases can require extra research. National civil rights organizations, such as the NAACP, often undertook local civil rights cases. In these cases local significance can be easy to ascertain. In some legal cases the NAACP would not take a case from local attorneys even though the case may have had national attention. In many of these cases, the local attorney adopted a legal strategy that had either been tried in the federal court system and been defeated or the NAACP thought it would be defeated negating another chance. One such case *Trustees of the Monroe Avenue Church v. Perkins* the NAACP used the case as an example before the Supreme Court in *Shelley v. Kraemer* that struck down restrictive covenants in the United States. Other court cases, which may be listed with statewide significance that did not make it to the federal level include the Grace Graham Walker House on the Ohio State University campus and the Midland Elementary in Wilmington. Both cases at the time were thought to be the best shot at overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson* but failed.

Archival Sources

National and state civil rights organization archives are often the best source for local verification. The National Papers of the NAACP contain detailed accounts of many local civil rights events. Local organizations such as the Future Outlook League and Columbus' Vanguard League often have archives in major libraries and historical societies. They often record events in their entirety.

Government Sources

The state and federal government records contain many detailed accounts of civil rights action and events. Congressional testimony about large scale urban rebellions is available.

The Federal Housing Administration internal publication, *Insured Mortgage Portfolio*, is invaluable in regards to federal housing and minority housing. Detailed information about first time programs and program location is available.

Property Types

Amusement Parks and Pools

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation, police brutality

Description

Amusement parks are standalone entertainment complexes often with carnival rides, a midway, and a pool or dance hall. Civil rights actions were usually associated with admittance to one or more parts of the park. In some instances, entrance to the park itself was restricted. In other cases, such as Euclid Beach in Cleveland and Coney Island in Cincinnati, blacks were admitted to the park but not allowed in certain areas such as the pool or dance hall.

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Swimming pools are pools used by the public for recreation. Pools can be in amusement parks. Pools can be owned by municipal entities, local governments, schools, and private entities. Ohio Public Accommodation law dictated that if the pool was open to the public, it was open to everyone. Beaches are also sites of civil rights activities related to equal access.

Significance

Equal access to amusement parks, swimming pools, and beaches was a contentious issue from the 1890s through the 1960s. While access to parks was sometimes granted, access to swimming pools and dance halls was usually restricted and access to these amenities the crux of civil rights actions. In these cases, the pool or dance hall should have the original building or pool and surrounding buildings.

Amusement parks and pools are also significant for their role in police brutality and civil rights. Police brutality extends to inaction on the part of the police, which was especially common during the 1950s and 1960s, when police acted as bystanders as crowds beat protesters.

Amusement parks and swimming pools are usually associated with Criterion A. Pools were often a battleground for integration and are also associated with police brutality. Pools should have the buildings associated with the protest period. Amusement park protests were often associated with access to dance halls, and this type of building should be present.

Identifying the period of significance is important. Some civil rights action, such as the integration of amusement parks, took place over decades before resolution. In these cases, identifying the various sub-periods, participants, and buildings and places involved is crucial. A long period of significance may mean a multifeature-built environment or landscape that changed within the period of significance, and some portions may have acquired significance within its own right.

Registration Requirements

In cases where a dance hall or another specific building was the site of the significant event, that specific building should retain a sufficient level of historic integrity that it could be recognized as being from the time period in which the significant event happened. Some alteration of features such as cladding may be permissible, if the significant form, features, and detailing are not obscured. If the alterations are reversible (such as aluminum or vinyl cladding that has been added, but with wood cladding intact underneath), the historic integrity of the property can be reevaluated once the non-historic covering is removed and the historic building materials are shown to be intact.

Interior integrity is important in dance halls. The main space should be intact, and character-defining features such as stages should be present.

The integrity of setting must also be considered, and attention should be paid to how the landscape and building layout surrounding the building to be nominated have changed over time,

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and if these changes are extensive enough that they have diminished the integrity of setting for the resource for the period of significance.

If the entire amusement park or pool facility is significant because of outdoor protests, picketing, and/or police brutality, the facility must be considered as a multifeature landscape. In contrast with buildings, pools and amusement parks are typically composed of collections of structures, landscape features, and, in some cases, buildings, so the overall integrity of the resource complex as a whole must be considered.

In the case of an amusement park, the overall intactness of the layout of the facility will be important in conveying a sense of feeling and association for the era of the significant events under Criterion A. Some alteration to landscape features or individual buildings is allowable as long as the overall spatial layout of the facility is recognizable for the time period of the significant event or events. The construction of too many newer buildings or a radical change in the layout of the amusement park would likely diminish the integrity to the point that the park would not be suitable for listing. However, all landscapes change over time, so some changes to pavement and landscape plantings, and even the addition of a few smaller buildings, could be permissible as long as the overall spatial layout of the facility is still recognizable for the period of significance.

For pools, a similar situation exists, because typically a pool facility is composed of the pool itself, a surrounding paved area, a perimeter fence, and in some cases buildings that had changing rooms and restrooms. Considering that features such as fences and pavements are often renewed over time, reconstruction of these features would be permissible as long as they do not deviate too strongly from what was there during the period of significance. A pool with a replaced concrete apron and a newer chain-link fence would still have enough integrity for Criterion A listing if the pool had similar features during the period of significance. If the pool had associated buildings at the time of the significant event, these buildings should remain in a condition where their original form, proportions, and exterior solid-void relationships are still relatively intact. The demolition of pool buildings from the period of significance is a serious loss of integrity. Also, the later addition of pool buildings that postdate the period of significance could result in a very substantial integrity loss. These later additions and alterations must be evaluated for their impact to the overall historic character, setting, feeling, and association of the historic property.

Archival photographs and original layout plans or maps of these facilities are very important in establishing a baseline of the resource's character at the time of the important civil rights-related events. This baseline can then be compared with the existing condition of the facility today to see if the resource is sufficiently intact to convey a sense of historical feeling and association for the significant event or events.

These resources should also be compared with similar examples of significant properties, to determine if examples with better integrity exist. For example, a pool with a somewhat poor level of integrity might not be suitable for listing in the National Register if other pool facilities exist that have better integrity and are significant to similar types of civil rights actions that happened during the same time period.

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Significant events include when the park or pool was finally desegregated. Other significant events include protests or direct actions that marked a change in tactics for civil rights organizations. Overzealous law enforcement also caused changes in tactics and gained more attention for the organizations.

Archaeological Sites

Common Associated themes: Public accommodation, Housing and Education

Description

Archaeological sites include African American enclaves, settlements, and neighborhoods including historic African American residences.

Significance

Archaeological sites can indicate whether the users obtained equal access to public accommodations and housing. Artifact assemblages and intact features in conjunction with archival sources and comparative studies with similar sites can indicate whether African American populations had equal access to the same resources as their non-African American counterparts.

Registration Guidelines

Archaeological sites should have enough integrity and archival sources to fulfill the research design. Testing should indicate whether the site is suitable for further work. For accessing historic integrity for an archaeological site use the National Register Bulletin, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Archaeological Properties* and consult with the Ohio State Historic Preservation Office staff.

Barbershops, Funeral homes and Beauty Parlors

Common Associated Themes: Public Accommodations

Description

Barbershops are commercial spaces used for providing haircuts and other grooming services. While some barbershops were in other commercial establishments such as George Meyer's shop in Cleveland's Hollenden House Hotel, the majority were located in downtown retail areas. Barbershops, Funeral Homes and beauty parlors can be located in standalone commercial structures, Barbershops, Funeral Homes and beauty parlors can be located in single-family homes in part of the house converted to commercial use.

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Significance

Barbershops, funeral homes and beauty parlors were often centers of social interaction in the African American community and were frequently examples of black-owned businesses. White-owned barbershops may have been the site of efforts to end the segregation of public facilities. Some African American barbers were also important figures in the community. Therefore, significance could exist under Criterion A, for historical events or the community role of the barbershop, or under Criterion B, in association with a barber who was an important leader in the community. These resources might be freestanding small commercial buildings, houses that contained the barbershop space, or commercial storefronts in larger commercial or office buildings.

Beauty parlors and barbershops are significant in two areas. Early twentieth-century barbershops often crossed the color line: Owned by African Americans, they served whites and were located in white commercial areas. In these establishments, the black barber not only held an elite position in the African American community but also served as an intermediary between the black community and the white political elite. A significant colorline barbershop would be associated with prominent African American community leader who made inroads to the white establishment.

Funeral parlors may be associated with personages who made civil rights inroads and used their funeral parlor as a gathering spot or jumping off point for civil rights actions.

Registration Requirements

Typical guidelines for Criterion A and Criterion B significance for buildings apply here. The important consideration is an overall sense that the building retains the essential physical features that made up its character and appearance for the time when important civil rights events occurred, the time when the shop was an important community resource, or the time when it was associated with an important community leader. Therefore, the facility should have retained an overall sense of form and proportion from the period of significance; some material alterations are permissible as long as they do not affect the form, proportions, and materials of the building to the point that the sense of feeling and association for the period of significance is lost. Interior integrity should be considered. The property should be recognizable as a commercial space from the period of significance. Subdivided interior spaces and storefront alterations impacting the overall exterior appearance, configuration, details, and features would affect historic integrity.

Integrity of location and setting should also be considered. The relationship between the building and its location and the character of the place in which the building played its historic role are important to conveying significance.

African American barbershops and beauty parlors located in black neighborhoods and enclaves served a different purpose: for African Americans to get their hair cut. More important, barbershops and beauty parlors were gathering places for African Americans. Significant

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barbershops can be directly associated with civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, Future Outlook League or other organization. The barber should be closely associated with a civil rights group.

White-owned barbershops were often a front in the battle for equitable public accommodations. These shops were often in white neighborhoods or downtown commercial areas. Significant barbershops are those with successful civil rights actions that integrated the shop.

Black Nationalist Sites

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation, Housing, Education and Police Brutality

Description

Black nationalist sites fall into two categories: shared office and community space with another organization and a standalone office. In this manner, black nationalist spaces are similar to other civil rights organization sites. Standalone black nationalist sites can include former commercial sites repurposed for black nationalist uses such as bookstores, community centers, and restaurants. A major difference between black nationalist sites and civil rights administrative buildings is instances of state intervention and oppression.

Significance

Black nationalist sites are significant under Criterion A and Criterion B. Black nationalist sites are associated with the rejection of nonviolent direct action. They are associated with black separatism. They often housed community programs for low-income residents and children. Other community activities included clothing drives and providing transportation for families for prison visits. Criterion B would be associated with a local or a state level black nationalist leader or worker.

Registration Requirements

Black nationalist sites in Ohio are rare. Properties should remain at the location associated with their use by the black nationalists. Properties should retain design aspects of their overall building shape, massing, and the minimal architectural features and/or materials to be able to convey a sense of design, setting, feeling, and association for the time period associated with their use by the black nationalists. Properties individually nominated to the National Register should retain, at a minimum, some aspect of interior space associated with their use by black nationalists. Properties nominated within a historic district must retain their historic shape, massing, relationship to surrounding buildings and streetscape, and minimal historic materials and/or architectural features conveying the historic time period associated with their use by black nationalists.

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Black nationalist sites are verifiable through internal documents, the black press, and federal documents. Community or alternative newspapers are useful for finding Black nationalist programs. Significant sites include Black nationalist headquarters, bookstores and cultural centers. Sites that housed Black nationalist programs are also significant and are often eligible under other associated types such as civil rights churches and social service agencies. The period of significance for Black nationalist sites is likely c. 1960-1975.

Bowling Alleys and Other Recreational Buildings

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation and Police brutality

Description

Bowling alleys are usually single-purpose buildings constructed for bowling, although food and beverage service was usually available. Other entertainment facilities may be present. Bowling alleys are often present in a suburban setting. Early bowling centers are often located in larger commercial buildings that are not contemporaneous with the bowling alley, i.e. a later addition.

Significance

Bowling alleys were an important recreational resource, especially in the years after World War II and among the newly prosperous working class who had attained middle-class status via higher-paying industrial jobs. Early bowling alleys were often set up in existing commercial buildings, while post-World War II examples were often sizable freestanding buildings with associated parking facilities, or part of postwar automobile-oriented strip malls. Bowling alleys were often highly segregated during World War II and the 1950s, and they were often the site of civil rights actions in the 1950s and early 1960s to end their exclusion of African Americans, Asians, and Latinos. Other recreational buildings such as skating rinks may also have seen integration efforts in the 1950s and early 1960s. These facilities would mainly be significant under Criterion A.

Bowling alleys and other recreational buildings such as skating rinks were the sites of actions to integrate these facilities, to open them up to African Americans and all minority citizens. Integration efforts were sometimes met with violence on the part of facility owners or the police. In many cases, these building types were major battlegrounds in the fight to open public accommodations to all races. In addition, African American-owned bowling alleys and other recreational facilities could be significant as representations of black entrepreneurship and as the African American community's response to discrimination in white-owned facilities.

Registration Requirements

Typical guidelines for Criterion A and Criterion B significance for buildings also apply here. The important consideration is an overall sense that the building retains the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance for the time period when important civil rights events occurred, or the time period when the facility was an important community resource. Therefore, the resource should retain an overall sense of form and proportion from the period of significance; some material alterations are permissible as long as they do not affect the form,

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proportions, and materials of the building to the point that the sense of feeling and association for the period of significance is lost.

Integrity of location and setting should also be considered. The relationship between the building and its location and the character of the place in which the building played its historic role are important to conveying significance. In the case of postwar freestanding bowling alleys and skating rinks, features such as parking lots should be considered part of the facility's overall integrity; these features would not be important for a bowling alley that dates from earlier in the twentieth century, when automobile travel was not as important.

Significant bowling sites would be those constructed, own, or operated by African Americans before the civil rights act. Such sites may have been constructed as parallel institutions. Bowling sites may have hosted African American tournaments operated by the National Bowling Association before the Pro Bowlers Association integrated. White owned bowling allies may also be significant if they hosted African American bowling events. The period of significance ranges from the 1930s to 1951 when the American Bowling Congress integrated. The National Bowling Association continued to host tournaments into the 1970s and such places would also be significant.

Churches

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation, Employment, Housing

Description

Churches are single-purpose buildings used for religious worship. Many African American churches are repurposed from other denominations and religions when whites left a neighborhood and African Americans purchased their church or temple. In addition to repurposed churches and temples African American churches may also be located in repurposed commercial spaces, repurposed single-family homes and movie theaters. African American churches were also built by and for congregations in a great number of architectural styles.

Significance

Churches are an important part of many African American communities, and church buildings are a major category of civil rights-related resources. Churches can be significant under Criterion A for civil rights meetings and as centers of social and black-empowerment programs. Criterion B significance could come from associations with a civil rights leader. Property types would include everything from tiny rural chapels to large urban church complexes with sanctuary spaces as well as educational and community-center facilities.

Church additions may be significant if associated with church community development organizations.

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Churches were an important and significant focus for civil rights activities. Churches associated with Criterion A can fall into a number of periods of significance, including employment-based civil rights in the 1930s, 1960s social programs, and black empowerment including 1960s additions for black empowerment programs. Criterion B significance could be related to an important minister at the church who was a significant civil rights leader, or to a layperson who was very active in the church and was an important civil rights figure.

Registration Requirements

Typical Criterion A, Criterion B and Criterion C guidelines for buildings apply here. The location, material fabric, design, form and proportions of the church must be intact enough to convey a sense of historical association and feeling for the period of significance. The sanctuary building itself may be significant for civil rights, but education and community-center wings from the period of significance may also be important, especially if the church was important for social or black-empowerment programs.

Additions that postdate the building's period of significance are also an important consideration for the integrity of churches, because some congregations have added education wings or community centers in the last forty years. Additions could be significant under the black enterprise movement in the case of community development corporations. Some additions served as programming sites for black nationalists.

Additions built after the end of the period of significance for the resource are permissible as long as the additions are distinct from the original building and do not obscure the original form, proportions, and overall massing of the original building.

Attention should also be paid to including a statement in the nomination covering Criteria Consideration A for religious properties, clearly stating that the property is not being nominated for reasons of religious doctrine, but instead in association with the historical importance of the civil rights movement.

Significant churches may have started civil rights organizations that operated in their own right. Churches nominated under Criterion B should have a significant person associated with a significant event. Malcolm X's Bullet or the Ballot speech at Cory Methodist Church in Cleveland is an example. Some church are associated with ministers who were also legislators. If their legislative record is significant in civil rights and associated with the church it would be significant. Churches are also significant for hosting other civil rights organizations and programs from economic empowerment focused organizations in the 1930s to Black nationalist organizations in the 1960s and 1970s.

Civil Rights Administrative Buildings

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation, Employment, Housing and Police

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Brutality

Description

Civil rights administrative buildings cover a wide range. Civil rights organizations used apartment buildings, storefronts, single-family homes, and office buildings to administer their programming.

Significance

Organizations such as Cleveland's Future Outlook League and Columbus's Vanguard League and local offices of the NAACP throughout the state were the nerve centers of civil rights action. The buildings that housed the more active and significant organizations and the NAACP chapters could be significant under Criterion A, because these organizations represent the civil rights movement as a broad pattern in the history of the United States and Ohio. These organizations were housed in commercial and office buildings, converted former single-family residences, and other types of buildings, so it is a category that can contain many different types and styles of buildings. Facilities housing black nationalist or black power groups are not part of this category and are discussed under a separate black nationalist discussion in this section of the nomination.

Organizations such as the Future Outlook League and the Vanguard League, as well as the more active local chapters of the NAACP, were doing important work on issues such as equal employment, access to public accommodations, and school desegregation. The buildings housing these groups were the site of significant civil rights planning and organizational work.

Registration Requirements

General Criterion A guidelines apply. The property must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity and significance. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant and when it was significant. The building must retain location, setting, design, and materials with enough of the original fabric present to convey a sense of historical feeling and association for the period of significance.

Significant buildings would be those associated with a civil rights organization and an associated civil rights record or significant event. Buildings where civil rights organizations were formed would be significant. Civil rights office may be significant if a major court case or civil rights action took place while the office was occupied.

Commercial/Industrial

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation, Employment, and Police Brutality

Description

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This category covers buildings and multi-building complexes that are significant because of civil rights actions against companies that practiced racial discrimination related to employment and labor practices, or against companies and businesses that denied equal access. The significance of these properties would generally fall under Criterion A. The category could cover any industrial factories, corporate office buildings, or commercial facilities (except restaurants, which are a separate category) that were the sites of civil rights actions such as boycotts, strikes, sit-ins, picketing, or other actions undertaken to oppose racial discrimination related to employment or access. This would include, potentially, a large group of buildings of an industrial, office/administrative, or commercial nature, or even whole factory complexes.

Significance

Strikes, protests, sit-ins, picketing, and boycotts were often used to oppose white-owned businesses with racially discriminatory labor practices, including refusing to hire minorities and failing to promote African American and other minority employees. Stores and other commercial enterprises that refused access to African Americans were also the sites of these actions. Groups such as Cleveland's Future Outlook League protested employment discrimination at factories. An African American boycott of the Budd Dairy in Columbus is seen as an early successful civil rights boycott, since it led to the demise of the dairy and its subsequent sale to another company. Industrial and commercial facilities were an important part of Ohio's twentieth-century civil rights history. Sites should be directly associated with a significant turning point or person in civil rights.

Registration Requirements

Typical guidelines for Criterion A and Criterion B significance for buildings apply here. The important consideration is an overall sense that the building retains the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance for the time period when the important civil rights events occurred. Therefore, the resource should retain much of its design, materials, overall form and proportions, interior spaces, circulation patterns, and general plan from the period of significance; some material alterations are permissible as long as they do not affect the form, proportions, and materials of the building to the point that the sense of feeling and association for the period of significance is lost. For a multibuilding complex such as a larger factory, consideration should be given to the spatial relationship between buildings in the complex. It might also be the case that research or archival photographs would reveal that protest or picketing activities focused on one particular building in a factory complex, and that building might then be the focus of nomination efforts, because it is the building most directly associated with the historical events.

Significant sites include those where a civil rights action integrated a workforce. Significant sites would also include those with a civil rights backlash such as hate-strikes during World War II. Significant sites also include small factories integrated in rural areas during the 1950 and 1960s. Later employment integrations in the 1950s and 1960s in rural areas present a challenge. NAACP sectional and state reports note such activities but often fail to note the factory or business name.

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Educational Buildings

Common Associated Themes: Education, Employment, and Police Brutality

Description

Educational buildings are an important category of building associated with civil rights history in Ohio. Public schools were an important civil rights battleground due to the persistence of racial school segregation both before and after the court decisions affiliated with the *Brown v. Board of Education* case. All types of public school buildings were part of the story of school segregation and the fight against it, from small buildings in small towns and rural areas to large urban public school buildings. In addition, public education administrative buildings, such as school board facilities, could have been the sites of important civil rights–related events. Finally, college and university buildings could be the sites of actions opposing segregation or the unfair treatment of minority students; they were also the sites of student protests and takeovers/teach-ins related to the anti-segregation and black power movements of the late 1960s. Buildings at historically black colleges may also have been the settings for civil rights events. Most educational buildings would be significant under Criterion A.

Significance

Public schools with histories as all-black segregated public schools can be significant as a reflection of racial segregation in Ohio. Other schools that were partially racially integrated could be significant under Criterion A if they were the sites of major student walkouts, protests, or court cases opposing unfair or biased treatment of minority students or racist behavior on the part of teachers or school administrators. School board offices or other school administrative facilities may have been the sites of important public meetings or protests associated with public school discrimination. University and college buildings may have been the sites of events such as protests, sit-ins, or teach-ins that reflected integration efforts or affiliations with black separatism or the black power movement. Finally, individual buildings, or perhaps even entire campus building complexes, at historically black colleges and universities are significant for their role in the African American community in general, and possibly as places where important meetings, planning, coordination work associated with the civil rights movement took place.

Civil rights actions may have taken place in schools and not be related to education. School auditoriums were often used as mass meeting sites to educate the public and plan actions related non-educational civil rights issues.

The period of significance is important for educational buildings. Civil rights actions for schools often took place over years and may entail multiple episodes.

Registration Requirements

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Typical guidelines for Criterion A and Criterion B significance for buildings apply here. The important consideration is an overall sense that the building retains the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance for the time period when important civil rights events occurred, or the time period when the facility was an important community resource. The resource should retain much of its design, materials, overall form and proportions, interior spaces, circulation patterns, and general plan from the period of significance from the period of significance; some material alterations are permissible as long as they do not affect the form, proportions, and materials of the building to the point that the sense of feeling and association for the period of significance is lost. Parking facilities should also be considered part of the significant property for many post–World War II schools, and issues of landscape integrity and the intactness of the spatial relationships between buildings and landscape features should be considered if an entire college campus or a multibuilding public school complex is being considered as significant under Criterion A.

Significant school buildings are those that were built to be segregated but were desegregated such as Washington Elementary in Portsmouth and Fulton Elementary in Springfield. The period of significance for such schools would range from 1900 to the late 1970s. Segregation battles could be fleeting but are still significant even though they were often overturned at a later date. The period of significance can range from 1900 to the late 1970s.

Significant higher education buildings would be dormitories that were sites of legal or direct action protest battles including integrating dormitories and university housing from the 1910 to the early 1960s, black student movements in 1960s and training for civil rights actions in the 1960s.

Educational buildings can also sites of civil rights conferences and conventions and may be eligible under Criterion B if a major address was delivered.

Government and Institutional Buildings

Common Associated Themes: Education, Employment, and Police Brutality

Description

This category would include any non-educational government building that was associated in a significant way with civil rights themes or actions. These might include government offices that were the sites of protests or courthouses where particularly important legal actions, such as trials, took place. Government-operated institutions such as orphanages that were open to African Americans could also be included in this category. The category would cover, potentially, a wide variety of government facilities, large and small. Significance would most likely be under Criterion A.

Significance

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Courthouses or other government facilities could be significant under Criterion A as the sites of trials or other legal actions related to civil rights, or as the sites of protests or other civil rights actions. Institutions such as government-run orphanages could also be significant if they were associated with civil rights litigation or protests; separate African American facilities could be significant as reflections of segregation in the state. For the courthouse to be significant the trial, ruling or other judicial action should be pivotal in civil rights.

Registration Requirements

Typical guidelines for Criterion A and Criterion B significance for buildings apply. The important consideration is an overall sense that the building retains the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance for the time period when important civil rights events occurred, or the time period when the facility was an important community resource. Therefore, the resource should retain much of its design, materials, overall form and proportions, interior spaces, circulation patterns, and general plan from the period of significance; some material alterations are permissible as long as they do not affect the form, proportions, and materials of the building to the point that the sense of feeling and association for the period of significance is lost.

Significant events should be tied to verifiable turning point in local, state or national civil rights. Significant events may include school protests, sit-ins, and black student movements.

Hotels, Motels, and Travel Lodges

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation, Housing, Employment, and Police Brutality

Description

Hotels of many different designs and configurations, from smaller rural facilities to large downtown hotels, could be significant for their association with civil rights events. These could include African American–owned hotels, white-owned hotels that were the sites of actions to end racial discrimination in public accommodations, and hotels that were the sites of important civil rights organizational conferences and meetings. Therefore, a very wide variety of single buildings and multibuilding complexes could be significant within the property type, mostly under Criterion A, although Criterion B significance in relation to civil rights leaders is also possible.

Significance

There are several types of significance that could lead to the listing of a hotel in the National Register. One significant type of property would be black-owned hotels that served as parallel institutions when blacks were not provided service at white-owned facilities. In addition, white-owned hotels that were the sites of civil rights actions to end racial discrimination in public accommodations could be significant. A hotel that was the site of a particularly important organizational meeting or conference for a civil rights organization could be significant as well.

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An important speech by a significant civil rights leader at a meeting or conference could also give a hotel building or complex significance under Criterion B for associations with the important civil rights leader. In order to be significant, the speech would have to be pivotal in civil rights history.

Registration Requirements

For hotel buildings, the important consideration is an overall sense that the building retains the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance for the time period when important civil rights events occurred, or the time period when the facility was associated with an important individual or group. The resource should retain much of its design, materials, overall form and proportions, interior spaces, circulation patterns, and general plan from the period of significance; some material alterations are permissible as long as they do not affect the form, proportions, and materials of the building to the point that the sense of feeling and association for the period of significance is lost.

For urban hotels, attention should be paid to the integrity of setting, because many urban landscapes have changed in the past forty years. For suburban and especially post–World War II hotels and motels, the integrity of landscape features such as parking lots would be part of the fabric considered when assessing the integrity of the property, due to the importance of the automobile in the postwar world and if the site was a significant component in the Civil Rights-related story. For multibuilding accommodations such as travel lodge motels, the integrity of both the buildings themselves and the spatial landscape of the motel complex as a whole would need to be considered. The spatial landscape includes landscape plantings, parking facilities, and any building additions or newer buildings added to the complex that may have altered the complex's spatial design as it existed during the period of significance.

Hotels, Motels, and Travel Lodges can be significant for being black owned or operated. Hotels, Motels, and Travel Lodges should be listed in the *Negro Motorist Green Book* or the black press. Black owned hotels also hosted civil rights events. Consequently, civil rights events involving labor, sports, music and other events may have taken place at hotels. The period of significance can range from 1900-to the mid-1970s.

March Routes

Common Associated Themes: Education, Housing, Employment, and Police Brutality

Description

As the routes for marches, these resources generally consist of a transportation route, consisting most often of a paved road, and the landscape features and buildings surrounding that road, which give the march route its integrity of setting. A march route in a city could include city streets as well as features such as public parks or squares, which might have served as a starting or ending point for the march. A more rural march route would consist of the roadway and the surrounding

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context of buildings and landscape features. The routes could be significant under Criterion A in connection with the march itself as a historical event, or the participation of an important civil rights leader might also lead to Criterion B significance.

Significance

Nonviolent mass direct action was a significant factor in obtaining civil rights in the areas of employment, education, and public accommodation. Examples of marches are known in Ohio, most notably the Hillsboro Marching Mothers route and the 1966 march from Cleveland to Columbus to support greater welfare assistance for single mothers. Significant march routes must be associated with pivotal outcomes or represent an important event or turning point associated with the activities of a Civil Rights leader or organization.

The period of significance is important. March routes can be used once as in the case of the Black Panther and farm worker march in Lima. Marches can also be longer events such as the daily march over two years in the Hillsboro school integration case

Registration Requirements

The location and sense of setting are key in evaluating the integrity of march routes. In urban areas, a public square, plaza, or park that served as the focal point of a march would need to retain many aspects of the original design, landscaping, and spatial layout as it was at the time of the march. For both urban and rural march routes, a consideration of how many buildings remain along the route that were extant at the time of the march would be a very important factor in determining whether or not the march route or parts of the march route retain historic integrity. An urban or rural march route should have the majority of contemporaneous buildings still intact.

March routes should have a clearly identifiable beginning and end point. The march should have a clearly defined purpose and goal associated with civil rights. The march should be verifiable in the press or civil rights organization's records. A march route's significance may be linked to the event's significance i.e. a local school integration battle or increased benefits on a statewide basis. For example, a march route for local school integration, such as Hillsboro's Marching Mothers is locally significant. The Welfare March route, or significant segments and rallying points along the route, may have state-wide significance.

Public Housing

Description

Public housing is government-funded housing made available to low-income residents. Public housing was constructed under the Public Works Housing Administration in the mid-1930s. The Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937 funded segregated public housing through various municipal housing authorities in the state.

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Significance

Public housing was usually segregated. Integration was often contentious. Public housing and its location are government policy decisions indicative of a larger development pattern in a city. Segregated examples are often located in former black enclaves while later examples are often located in areas where African Americans were allowed to move. Public housing may be significant examples of a property type, method of construction, or the work of an important architect or firm.

Registration Requirements

Public-housing projects should maintain the original mass and shape, exterior circulation patterns, and fenestration pattern. Enough of these factors should remain to convey the historical feeling and association. Some alteration of features such as non-historic windows may be permissible, if the significant overall form, features such as fenestration pattern and opening size, and detailing remain to convey key physical characteristic associated with the period of significance. Public housing sites are usually multi-building complexes. The housing site should retain enough buildings to convey the original plan, configuration, scale, and relationship between buildings and landscape. Public housing developments often have additions or extensions. The same requirements would apply.

Public housing developments are significant in relations to the government program that constructed them. Programs may range from white philanthropic organizations, New Deal programs, urban renewal efforts, and black empowerment community development corporations. They are also significant in regard to community development. Significance can be linked to how early in a given program the complex was constructed, an association with a significant individual, an association with building apartments in formerly restricted areas.

Residential Homes

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation, Housing, Employment, and Police Brutality

Description

This category would include single-family homes of any type and style that were associated with events related to housing discrimination and efforts to eradicate it, or homes affiliated in a significant way with important civil rights leaders. It could include homes of any type, style, or construction, dating from the post-Civil War era up through the mid-1970s. Significance under Criterion A or Criterion B would be a possibility.

Significance

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Access to housing and housing discrimination were important issues in the civil rights movement in Ohio, especially in large cities such as Cleveland, which had large African American populations and whites who supported segregationist housing policies. Single-family homes from the beginning of the twentieth century to the mid-1970s can be significant under Criterion A for housing families crossing the color line. This includes houses that were the sites of racist violence or intimidation directed against black families and individuals who moved into homes in all-white areas. Most known examples of these properties are in large cities such as Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Columbus, but examples may also exist in smaller communities. Single-family homes can also be significant under Criterion B when the occupant was important in the civil rights movement. The sites of former single-family homes may be significant under Criterion D. Residential archaeological sites can yield information about equitable access to goods and services.

Registration Requirements

For existing homes, the integrity requirements generally associated with Criterion A and Criterion B significance apply. The property should retain the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance for the period of significance when the resource was associated with an important civil rights event or person. Therefore, the resource should retain much of its design, materials, overall form and proportions, interior spaces, circulation patterns, and general plan from the period of significance; some material alterations are permissible as long as they do not affect the form, proportions, and materials of the building to the point that the sense of feeling and association for the period of significance is lost. Some alteration of features such as exterior cladding may be permissible, if the significant form, features, and detailing are not obscured. If the alterations are reversible (such as aluminum or vinyl cladding that has been added, but with wood cladding intact underneath), the historic integrity of the property can be reevaluated once the non-historic covering is removed and the historic building materials are shown to be intact.

The location and sense of setting is also important, so the area surrounding the significant residence should not have undergone too many demolitions of surrounding facilities or experienced new construction that differs significantly from what was there during the period of significance.

Significant homes would include those involved with neighborhood access. These would include homes before 1948 with restrictive covenants and court cases against them. Homes with local significance would include homes occupied despite a white backlash and extensive press coverage. The period of significance for these homes ranges from c. 1910, with the Great Migration to mid-1960s. Significant homes may also be model homes for black subdivisions.

Residential Subdivisions and Apartment Complexes

Associated Themes: Housing, Education

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Description

There are several types of residential multi-building landscapes or complexes that can have civil rights significance, mainly under Criterion A and C. Housing subdivisions of many different economic levels can be associated with historical themes of African American home ownership and the struggle against housing discrimination. Apartment complexes as well can have significance associated with efforts to provide affordable housing and with conflicts and controversy surrounding housing discrimination and efforts to eradicate it.

Significance

Several types of significance exist that can give multibuilding housing complexes National Register significance for civil rights. Subdivisions built by African American developers or builders were important as a reflection of black economic independence, black entrepreneurship, and the effort to create parallel institutions in the face of segregation and exclusion. Government-sponsored or government-funded housing—such as public housing or FHA-sponsored single-family subdivisions set aside for black families—is also part of the story of housing segregation in Ohio. In addition, affordable-housing complexes sponsored by the government and/or backed or sponsored by organizations like the NAACP can also be significant in the history of civil rights. The planning and construction of these facilities in majority-white areas often led to legal action by white residents to stop them from being constructed, as happened with the Ivywood housing complex in Columbus. Civil rights organizations such as the NAACP then responded with legal action to support the construction of these facilities.

Registration Requirements

As with any multibuilding resource, the integrity of individual buildings must be sufficient to retain key physical characteristics of location, setting, design, and materials during the period of significance, and the overall landscape and spatial layout of the housing subdivision or other multibuilding housing complex must also retain key physical characteristic to support a sense of historical feeling and association. For individual buildings within the multibuilding complex, some alteration of features such as exterior cladding or non-historic windows may be permissible, if the significant form, features such as fenestration pattern and opening size, and detailing remain. If the alterations are reversible (such as aluminum or vinyl cladding that has been added, but with wood cladding intact underneath), the historic integrity of the property can be reevaluated once the non-historic covering is removed and the historic building materials are shown to be intact. Subdivisions divided by interstate highways could be non-contiguous districts such as the Hanford Village George Washington Carver Addition in Columbus.

Significant residential subdivisions include those that were made by African American developers. Residential subdivisions that were the first of their type, market rate apartments made for African Americans, such as the 1950 Clifton Courts in Columbus, the first market rate complex made for African Americans in Columbus may be locally significant. The first apartment complexes and subdivisions constructed outside of black enclaves after World War II are significant for changing development patterns. Early black suburbs, made by and for African

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American residents, are locally significant for changing development patterns, while most will be post-war there are newspaper accounts of possible black suburban developments in Scioto County in 1917. Suburbs and especially apartment complexes may be part of the black empowerment movement in the 1960s and are significant locally. Statewide or national examples would include the earliest examples of their type with excellent integrity.

Shopping Malls

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation, Employment, and Police Brutality

Description

Shopping malls could have been the sites of protests, boycotts, and other civil rights-related actions. Examples also exist of strip malls that were developed in African American communities to support black entrepreneurship and economic empowerment. These properties would also have civil rights significance under Criterion A.

Significance

Shopping centers and retail stores can be significant under Criterion A if they were the sites of protests, boycotts, or other significant civil rights actions. Also significant are facilities constructed by community development corporations in the late 1960s and early to mid-1970s, during the period of black economic empowerment.

Registration Requirements

The strip shopping center should retain the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance that define both why a property is significant and when it was significant. Therefore, the resource should retain an overall sense of form and proportion from the period of significance; some alteration of materials and changes to storefronts are permissible as long as they do not affect the overall form, proportions, scale, and circulation pattern of the center to the point that the sense of feeling and association for the period of significance is lost. Parking facilities should be considered part of the listed property as a significant landscape feature reflecting the role of the automobile in the postwar shopping center.

Significant boycott and protest sites will be early successes for civil rights organizations or large or particularly difficult cases. Events should receive some press attention.

Shopping malls may have local or state significance if they are associated with the black empowerment movement and black community development.

Social Clubs and Fraternal Clubs

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Associated themes: Public accommodation, Employment, Housing, Police Brutality
Description

This category would include facilities such as meeting halls, clubhouses, and administrative headquarters for African American clubs, Masonic lodges, and fraternities and sororities that played an important role in the civil rights movement, or that represented an effort to provide parallel organizations for African Americans in response to exclusion from white-dominated lodges, fraternities, and sororities. Social clubs and lodges may be buildings built expressly for the organization or a repurposed building of almost any type.

Significance

Black Masonic halls, fraternities, sororities, and clubs were important parallel organizations, made necessary because African Americans were barred from or discouraged from joining the white-dominated versions of these organizations. In some cases, buildings associated with these organizations would be significant for the organization's important role in or support for civil rights actions. Usually, significance would fall under Criterion A, with these organizations forming a significant response to the broad pattern of segregation in Ohio's history. However, Criterion B significance is also possible if a civil rights leader was also in a leadership position in the lodge, fraternity, or sorority of such an organization.

Registration Requirements

This somewhat diverse group of buildings would need to retain sufficient physical features from the period of significance to convey both why a property is significant and when it was significant. The building must retain the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance for the time period when important civil rights events occurred, or the time period when the facility was an important community resource. Therefore, the resource must retain much of its design, materials, overall form and proportions, interior meeting/assembly spaces, circulation patterns, and general plan from the period of significance. Some alterations of materials or non-historic windows are permissible as long as the overall form, proportions, and details and features such as fenestration pattern and opening size are retained to convey the period of significance.

Social and fraternal clubs should be associated with a verifiable civil rights event recorded in newspapers, court records, newsletters and archival sources that changed the course in local, state, or national history. Participation in civil rights activities varied. Some such as the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World made "civil liberties" a central part of their program early in their existence. Prince Hall Masons were also involved in many activities. Events will likely begin in the 1920s to the 1950s unless related to get-out-vote activities which may take place until the mid-1970s. Earlier civil rights actions from standalone groups would not be unusual before the 1920s.

Social Service Agencies

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Associated themes: Public accommodation, Education, Employment

Description

These resources would include settlement houses, hospitals, and other similar social service facilities that served African Americans. Significance would be under Criterion A because these properties reflect racial segregation as a broad pattern of Ohio's twentieth-century history.

Social service agencies constructed new buildings or repurposed existing ones. Consequently, the range of buildings is wide, from Rosenwald YMCA buildings in Columbus, Dayton, and Toledo to existing houses such as the Columbus Home for Colored Girls, a repurposed turn-of-the-century duplex.

Social service agencies also operated summer camps such as the Godman Guild's Camp Wheeler or Camp Albertus Brown, an Ohio institution located in Indiana. Camps should retain enough buildings and landscaping to convey the feeling and association.

Significance

Social service agencies include parallel institutions from the 1920s. Examples include settlement houses, aid organizations, and black hospitals that operated before the desegregation of white-owned hospitals.

Registration Requirements

General Criterion A guidelines apply, these buildings must retain sufficient physical features from the period of significance to convey both why the property is significant and when it was significant. Buildings must retain the essential physical features that made up their location, setting, and appearance for the time period when important civil rights events occurred, or the time period when the facility was an important community resource. Therefore, the resource must retain much of its design, materials, overall form and proportions, interior meeting/assembly/recreation spaces, circulation patterns, and general plan from the period of significance. Some alterations of materials or non-historic windows are permissible as long as the overall form, proportions, and details and features such as fenestration pattern and opening size are retained to convey the period of significance.

Significant examples are those organizations made to cater exclusively to African Americans or those that formed a separate branch to do so. The period of significance for these is from the c. 1910, the beginning of the Great Migration to the mid-1950s. It is possible to have later examples but they would be rare.

Taverns/Nightclubs/Restaurants

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Associated sites: public accommodations, employment and police brutality

Description

This category covers a wide variety of buildings that housed dining facilities, bars, and clubs that were either part of the African American community, affiliated with efforts to end racial segregation in public accommodations, or related to racial uprisings in the 1960s. These resources could consist of freestanding buildings, buildings that were part of rows of attached buildings in commercial corridors, or spaces in shopping plazas or strip malls. Significance typically falls under Criterion A for association with historical events.

Significance

Taverns, nightclubs, and restaurants were significant throughout the history of civil rights in the twentieth century. These properties were the sites of actions pressing for equal access to public accommodations. Taverns, nightclubs, and restaurants can be parallel institutions, created when access to white-owned facilities was not possible. They may have been included in *The Negro Motorist Green Book* or appeared in the black press. Taverns, nightclubs, and restaurants can also have been flashpoints in uprisings in the 1960s. Their significance is related to Criterion A, reflecting the themes of racial segregation and the efforts to oppose segregation in public accommodations.

Registration Requirements

Buildings should retain the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance for the time period when important civil rights significant associations occurred. Therefore, the resource should retain much of its design, materials, overall form and proportions, key interior spaces, circulation patterns, and general plan from the period of significance. Some alterations of materials or non-historic windows are permissible as long as the overall form, proportions, and details and features such as fenestration pattern and opening size are retained to convey the period of significance. If the alterations are reversible (such as aluminum or vinyl cladding that has been added, but with historic cladding intact underneath), the historic integrity of the property can be reevaluated once the non-historic covering is removed and the historic building materials are shown to be intact. Buildings in existing or former commercial corridors should be evaluated to determine if the original setting of the commercial corridor is present or has changed radically due to demolition or new construction. Parking facilities should be considered part of the significant property for post-World War II properties in strip malls and other automobile-oriented commercial facilities.

Taverns, nightclubs and restaurants play a great role in civil rights activities. Significant activities would include integrating restaurants from 1900-1964. As parallel institutions, Taverns, nightclubs and restaurants would be significant if listed in the Green Book or local black press. Places that played a role in the cultural life of a city are significant. Taverns, nightclubs and restaurants can also be owned local African American personages. These places were often community gathering spots and were often mentioned in the black press as such. Taverns,

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nightclubs and restaurants were often verifiable flashpoints for early riots and later urban rebellions from 1900-1970.

Theaters

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation, Employment, and Police Brutality

Description

Theaters were used for movies and theatrical events. Theaters in civil rights events were usually constructed in the 1920s and were located in urban centers.

Significance

Theaters, especially movie venues, were often the sites of civil rights actions protesting owners' refusal to admit African American customers. Theaters were the sites of protests, picketing, and boycotts, such as protests led in the 1940s by Columbus's Vanguard League. In addition, black-owned theaters for both films and live performances would also be significant under Criterion A for their important role in providing parallel institutions and promoting black economic independence.

A wide variety of theater buildings could be significant in association with civil rights themes. Movie theaters were at the center of efforts to end discrimination in public accommodations, and black-owned theaters reflect black entrepreneurship and efforts to promote economic development in the African American community.

Because theaters were often part of a chain of movie theaters, they should be evaluated based on whether the individual property was the site of a civil rights action or integrated as part of a chain.

Registration Requirements

General Criterion A guidelines apply, in that the buildings should retain sufficient physical features from the period of significance to convey both why a property is significant and when it was significant. The building must retain the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance for the time period when important civil rights events occurred, or the time period when the facility was an important community resource. Therefore, the resource must retain much of its design, materials, overall form and proportions, lobby, interior performance spaces, circulation patterns, and general plan from the period of significance. Some alterations of materials or features are permissible as long as the overall form, proportions, details and key features are retained to convey the period of significance.

Balconies and seating arrangements were critical components of theater segregation. If theater segregation was dependent on seating arrangement, enough historic fabric should remain to convey this aspect.

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Sites should have documentable civil rights actions traceable through legal action, press accounts and civil rights organization records. A significant site for a chain theater would be the theater where the bulk of the civil rights actions took place.

Tourist Homes

Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation and Police Brutality

Description

Tourist homes are usually single-family homes, but occasionally doubles or duplexes provided private room-and-board services to African Americans. Tourist homes were advertised in *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and the local black press. These properties would be significant under Criterion A.

Significance

Tourist homes would be significant under Criterion A. A parallel business, tourist homes were private residences that lodged guests. Often advertised in *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and the African American press, they provided a place to stay without the risk of racial humiliation. Tourist homes were usually located in black enclaves. Criterion B may be applicable if a civil rights leader resided at a tourist home for a long period of time or the tourist home is related to a pivotal civil rights action.

Registration Requirements

As with residential buildings, these tourist homes should have the essential physical features that made up its location, setting, and appearance for the period of significance when the resource was associated with an important civil rights event or broad pattern of association. Therefore, the resource should retain much of its design, materials, overall form and proportions, interior circulation patterns and general plan from the period of significance. Some alteration of features such as exterior cladding or non-historic windows may be permissible, if the significant form, features such as fenestration pattern and opening size, and detailing are not obscured. If the alterations are reversible (such as aluminum or vinyl cladding that has been added, but with wood cladding intact underneath), the historic integrity of the property can be reevaluated once the non-historic covering is removed and the historic building materials are shown to be intact.

Tourist homes should be listed in *The Negro Motorist Green Book* or the local black or regional press to be significant. Press accounts of the tourist home can help establish local context. Tourist homes were occasionally the subjects of vice squad raids which were sometimes conducted as a means of social control rather than law enforcement.

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Traffic Barricades

Description

Traffic barricades separate municipal boundaries and usually separate racially and economically disparate entities. Traffic barricades come in many forms, including traffic barrels, guardrails, shrubbery and trees, and Jersey barriers. Traffic barricades are from the 1960s and early to mid-1970s.

Traffic barriers are different from and not to be confused with defensible space barriers. Defensible space barriers are based on the 1972 Oscar Newman theory that by subdividing neighborhoods, local residents are better able to reclaim their immediate environment from criminal elements. Unlike traffic barricades, defensible space barricades are located throughout the neighborhood and not just on a border.⁴⁵³ While Newman's theory originated in 1972, many defensible space barricades are from the 1980s and 1990s and are often associated with the crack cocaine epidemic.

Significance

Traffic barricades were installed to stop traffic from inner-city locations to more affluent suburbs. Traffic barriers are significant under Criterion A. Traffic barricades are significant because they are physical manifestations of neighborhood segregation patterns. They are also artifacts of the racial hostility and paranoia of the period in which they were erected.

Registration Requirements

Traffic barricades often undergo numerous iterations, due to the speed and ease of their initial construction, subsequent court battles, and their aesthetic attributes over time. Consequently, a traffic barricade is rarely, if ever, an original construct. Often, the first iteration was a traffic barrel or other temporary measure. The barrier's function, separation, is also its integrity. Its position, on the border of a municipality, is integral to its integrity. Wayfinding signage is also a component. Traffic barriers in Shaker Heights, Ohio, and Detroit, Michigan, have "No Outlet" signs located on the inner-city side but not on the other. Traffic barriers are always on municipal borders.

In general, the property must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic purpose. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant and when it was significant. Integrity of location and setting should always be considered. The relationship between the barrier and its location and the character of the place in which the barrier played its historic role are important to conveying significance.

Urban Uprising Sites

⁴⁵³ Oscar Newman, *Creating Defensible Space* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Outreach, 1996), 45.

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Common Associated Themes: Public accommodation, Housing, Education, Employment, and Police Brutality

Description

Urban uprising sites are flashpoint locations where rebellions started. The wider area can include cordons, police and National Guard headquarters, and areas of widespread property destruction.

Significance

Urban uprisings and rebellions were the culmination of years of substandard housing, substandard education, and limited employment opportunities. What often began as a racial incident or police brutality quickly escalated into armed conflicts between African Americans and the state. Rebellions resulted in increased black empowerment in urban neighborhoods. They also resulted in disinvestment and population flight.

Urban uprisings and rebellions were defining moments of the 1960s. Historically termed “riots,” these rebellions against state authority in inner-city African American neighborhoods often resulted in widespread property damage and were usually quelled through military intervention, whether state or federal. A clear alteration to the urban fabric, through damage or demolition and subsequent infill, is often present. Vacant residential or commercial lots are common as a direct result of a rebellion. The events associated with the uprising site must be verifiable and covered in local or regional press and physical evidence associated with the uprising event or its aftermath must be documented or otherwise corroborated to clearly link with the specific incident.

Registration Requirements

Urban rebellion sites should retain the street-circulation patterns and enough contemporaneous buildings to convey location, setting, feeling and association. Because property damage was often a result, vacant lots are a direct result of urban rebellions. In general, the site must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic location. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a site is significant and when it was significant. Infill housing or infrastructure should be differentiated enough to maintain the feeling and association of the site; however integrity of location and setting must also be considered. The relationship between the site and its location and the character of the place in which the historic events occurred are important to conveying significance.

One consideration is how many buildings and structures were lost during the actual uprising. A nexus or flashpoint should be identifiable. Boundaries can be delineated by damage, or by police and military cordons identified through archival research.

Urban uprising sites should have a definable geographic flashpoint. The flashpoint should involve interaction against state authority. Urban uprising sites should have a timeline that involves ancillary events such as the establishment of a cordon, establishment of command posts and

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ongoing interaction between the populace and state authority. Urban uprisings should also have a post-uprising state reaction either at the local, state or federal level.

G. Geographical Data

The Multiple Property Documentation form covers the state of Ohio

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The MPD is a product of primary and secondary source research, community outreach, and architectural reconnaissance survey.

Community outreach started with Shiloh Baptist Church civil rights symposium in Columbus, Ohio on October 21, 2017. Participants listened to a lecture by Ohio State University Associate Professor Hassan Jeffries Ph.D. and presentation by Georgia Institute of Technology Assistant Professor Todd M. Michney Ph.D. followed by a session where participants shared their civil rights stories. The symposium was attended by Jerolyn Barbee, Leslie Blankenship, Lela Boykin, Willis Brown, Fritz Casey-Leininger, Kathleen Crowther, Jerry Dannemiller, Martha Dillard, Tom Dillard, Haley Feightner, Michael Fleenor, Roy Hampton, Norman Jones, Rory Krupp, Reggie McMillan, Cathy Nelson, Bill Parrish, Edna Parrish, Russ Pfister, Michelle Pounds, Joan M. Robinson, Marcia Robinson, Jocelyn Brown Smith, Joyce Smith, Reita Smith, Rudolph Smith, Toni Smith, Lenore Thomas, Becky West, Doreen Uhas–Sauer, and Ohio State Historic Preservation Office staff.

Primary research was started with the Papers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the Cincinnati Public Library. The research focused on Ohio reports, letters, complaints, correspondence from its inception to the 1970s. Building and site addresses were compiled from the files.

Archival research and secondary sources were used to compile a list of civil rights sites. In the fall, 2017, field visits were conducted in St. Clairsville, Cincinnati, and Lima. Additional reconnaissance windshield surveys were conducted in suburban Cleveland, New London, and Oberlin. Site and building conditions were also checked with Bing maps and Google Earth to ascertain the extent of remaining buildings and sites to aid in evaluation and writing the registration guidelines.

A symposium was held in Cincinnati at the Underground Railroad Freedom Center in February, 2018. The symposium was covered by the *Cincinnati City Beat*.

Additional primary research was conducted in local and state civil rights organizations such as the Ohio NAACP, Columbus' Vanguard League. Extensive and invaluable use was made of the black press throughout the state.

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(List major written works and primary location of additional documentation: State Historic Preservation Office, other State agency, Federal agency, local government, university, or other, specifying repository.)

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Properties Associated with African American Civil Rights in Ohio

The table represents properties identified during research and fieldwork as being associated with Ohio African American civil rights. The properties have not been evaluated for National Register eligibility. Properties are simply classified as extant, they still exist in some condition, or demolished. They do provide a comparative context for evaluating similar properties

Building/Site Object/Structure	Address	City	Integrity	Notes	Property type
Afro Set Culture Shop	E. 81 st and Superior	Cleveland	Demolished	1967	Bookstore
Alpha Hospital	893 E. Long St.	Columbus	Extant	1921	Private hospital

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Antioch Baptist Church	8869 Cedar Ave, 44106	Cleveland	Extant	Moved 1934 to current location	Church
Edward Bailey House	2869 Huntington Rd.	Shaker Heights	Extant	Unsuccessful attempt to cross color line in 1925	Single family home
Patsy Bennett House	983 Paradrome St.	Cincinnati	Extant	Site of 1944 racial protest	
Better Housing League	25 E. 9 th St.	Cincinnati	Demolished/ parking lot	Social service agency that provided low income housing in 1930s	Office building
Black Panther Party (self-proclaimed)	568 E. 105 th St	Cleveland	Demolished	Site of police raid, Dec. 17, 1969	House, now vacant lot
Black Panther (self-proclaimed) Lester Maddox	7809 Superior Ave.	Cleveland	Demolished	Self-proclaimed Black Panthers	Commercial building
Black Panther headquarters	E. 79 th and Rawlings	Cleveland	Demolished	NCCF	Commercial building
Booker T. Washington School	S. Main between 17 th and 18 th Ave.	Middletown	Demolished 1971	American Rolling Mill philanthropic school built 1918	School
Bowman School	445 Bowman St.	Mansfield	Demolished 1949	School desegregated by FOL in	School
Brett Memorial School	876 Royal Rd.	Cleveland	Demolished 1993	Site of desegregation protests 1964	School
Children's Home		Cincinnati			
Colored Industrial School	724 W. 6 th St.	Cincinnati	Demolished/ highway construction	Black vocational school built 1914	School
Columbus Home for Colored Girls	248 N. 17 th St.	Columbus	Extant	Opened Aug. 1, 1917	Columbus double/house
Columbus wartime African American housing	Scattered site between Parkwood, 5 th Avenue, Taylor	Columbus	Extant	1944 scattered site housing	Single family homes

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Cory United Methodist Church	1117 E. 105 th 44108	Cleveland	Extant	Malcolm X Bullet or the Ballot speech and MLK speeches	Church
Camp Albertus Brown	Fox Lake	Angola, Indiana	Fox Lake Resort Listed in the NR	Children's summer camp	Summer camp for Frederick Douglas Community Center, Toledo
Camp Wheeler	Rogers Rd. Chesterville	Chesterville	Unknown	Godman Guild summer camp. Est. 1931	African American Summer camp
Cedar-Central		Cleveland	Extant	1930s Public housing	Multi-building complex
Cleveland Call & Post	2319 E. 55th	Cleveland	Demolished	1942 Call & Post office	Office building
L. L. Dickerson House	93 N. Ohio Ave.	Columbus	Extant	1940s restrictive covenant case	House
Dunbar School	215 S. Paul Lawrence Dunbar St.	Dayton	Demolished 2005	1940s athletic integration battle	School
Edna Building		Columbus	Listed in N.R. SG100000665		
Euclid Beach Park	16301 Lakeshore Blvd.	Cleveland	Demolished	Amusement park dancehall integration battle in 1946	Amusement Park
Fred "Ahmed" Evans House	1384 Lakeview Ave.	Cleveland	Demolished	Glenville shoot- out flashpoint	House
Medgar Evers Rifle Club Range	Lower southeast corner of Hartsgrove Township, east Highway 534, Larry Dozier farm	Ashtabula County	Unknown	Rifle range with backstop, embankment and slit trench according to 1965 FBI file	Rifle range, archaeological site
Evangeline Home		Cincinnati	Demolished	Home for girls	Social service building
Fidelity Baptist Church	8402 Wade Park	Cleveland	Extant	UFM member and welfare rights	Church

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Flint Ridge Terrace	Flint Rd.	Columbus	Extant	1961 African American subdivision	Single family homes
Franklin Park Medical Center, Inc.	1828 E. Long St.	Columbus	Listed in N.R. 16000754	1962 medical building	Medical office building
Friendly Inn		Cleveland		Black Panther programming site	
Fulton Elementary	825 Dilbert Ave.	Springfield	Extant	1922 segregated school	School
Future Outlook League	5209 Julia Avenue	Cleveland	Demolished	1935 FOL founding headquarters	House
Gallipolis Academy High School	340 4 th Ave.	Gallipolis	Demolished 2011	Integrated 1916	School
Garden Valley Homes	E. 79 th St. and Kinsman Rd.	Cleveland	Extant	1957 urban renewal public housing	Multifamily
Garden Valley Neighborhood Community Center	7100 Kinsman Rd.	Cleveland	Extant	Black Panther programming	Former Church
Charles Garvin House	11114 Wade Park Ave.	Cleveland	Extant	Crossing the color line in 1925	House
Geyer's Restaurant	37. W. Main St.	Xenia	Contributing in downtown Xenia N.R. district #14000590	March 1960	Downtown restaurant
Gist Settlement	Penn Twp.	Highland County	Extant	1820s-1950s black settlement	Archaeological site
Glenville Shootout site	Lakeview Rd between Beulah Ave. and Auburndale Ave.	Cleveland	Partially Demolished	July 23-24, 1968	Urban uprising

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Gordon Hotel	2838 Ashland Ave.	Cincinnati	Extant	Constructed by Joseph Schmidlapp, African American white philanthropy	Hotel/apartments
Hanford Village	Lyman, Kent Ave. Park at 800 Alum Creek Dr.	Columbus	Listed in N.R. #13000980	1946 African American veterans preference housing	Single family homes
Jack and Benny's Restaurant	6 E. Broad St.	Columbus	Extant	1961 police brutality case	Mixed use building
Stephen Howe Elementary	Lakeview and Superior	Cleveland	Demolished 2013	Site of Rev. Bruce Klunder death	School
Ivywood Apartments	2350 Teakwood Dr.	Columbus	Extant	Associated with 1973 Fair Housing Act, Title 236, NAACP, National Housing Corp. CDC	Apartment complex
Lake Shore Golf Club	40 Shoreby Drive 44108	Bratenahl	Demolished 1964, currently Bratenahl Place apartments	Golf course in 1950 segregation case Lake Shore Golf Club v Gillespie	Segregated golf course
Laurel Homes Historic District	Bounded by Liberty, John, Ezzard Charles and Linn Sts.	Cincinnati	Listed in NR in 1987 #87000690	1933	Originally 29 contributing buildings, 26 razed 2000-2002
League Park Center	1508 E. 71 st .	Cleveland	Extant	Black nationalist programming site	Recreational building
Lee-Harvard Shopping Center	4071 Lee Rd.	Cleveland	Extant	Largest black owned shopping center in 1972, associated with black enterprise movement	1949 Strip mall

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Lincoln Court		Cincinnati	Demolished	1942 low income housing, 1,015 units	Apartments and rowhouses
Lincoln School	Corner Collins Ave. and North East Street	Hillsboro	Demolished	Built 1897 for African American students	African American School
Livingston Heights Place	Bounded by Livingston Ave., Waverly and Barnett	Columbus	Extant	1946 African American subdivision	Single family homes/Ranch houses
Longwood Homes	3510 Longwood Ave.	Cleveland	Demolished	1964 urban renewal public housing	Multifamily
Jomo Freedom Kenyatta House	8801 Superior Ave.	Cleveland	Demolished	Black nationalist site	
Dollree Mapp House	14705 Milverton Rd.	Cleveland	Extant	Associated with 1961 Mapp vs Ohio	House
Martin Luther King Plaza		Cleveland	Extant	Robert Madison designed shopping center for Cleveland: Now!	Mixed use
Maryland Pool	1380 Atcheson St.	Columbus	Demolished and replaced 2013	1929 pool built for African Americans	Pool
Marzetti's Restaurant	59 E. Gay St.	Columbus	Extant	Restaurant integrated by Chester Gillespie	Mixed use building
McKinley Pool	Findlay St.	Portsmouth	Extant	Integrated pool	Pool
Mills Cafe	315 Euclid Ave.	Cleveland	Demolished	Communist Party protest	Restaurant
Mt. Vernon Plaza		Columbus	Extant	John Coke designed 1978 shopping center constructed by African American CDC	Strip mall
Capt. Samuel Massenber Residence	5700 Access Rd.	Dayton	Extant	1957 Cross burning	Apartments

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Medical Associates, Inc.		Cleveland	Extant	1962 medical office building designed by Robert Madison	Medical office building
Les Mitchell residence	1020 W. 5 th Street	Dayton	Demolished	Flashpoint for 1966 Dayton uprising	Apartment building
Midland School	Intersection Grant and Douglas Streets	Wilmington	Demolished	Integrated 1952	School
William McCulloch Home	424 N. Downing St.	Piqua	Extant	Congressman instrumental in modern civil rights legislation	House
Monroe Junior High	474 N. Monroe Avenue	Columbus	Extant	Protest at opening about segregation	School
Negro Civic Welfare Association	667 W. 4 th St.	Cincinnati	Demolished, I-75 construction	Civic organization, 1928 address	Building
Negro Welfare Association of Cleveland	2352 E. 40 th St.	Cleveland	Demolished	14 room house used as headquarters and community house	House
New Colored Orphan Asylum	Corner Melish and Van Buren	Cincinnati	Demolished for I-71 construction	Orphanage	Institutional building
NAACP Cleveland chapter	7811 Cedar Ave.	Cleveland	Demolished	1957 office NAACP	unknown
National Committee to Combat Fascism/Toledo	1334 Dorr Street	Toledo	Demolished	NCCF headquarters 1970	Mixed use
National Committee to Combat Fascism/Lima	126 S. 4th Street	Lima	Extant	NCCF headquarters 1969-70	1920s Retail building
Northside Pool	2160 Belmont Ave	Youngstown	Demolished 2006 and rebuilt	Pool integrated by FOL	Municipal pool

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Ohio State Community Extension Center	657 S. Ohio Ave.	Columbus	Extant	Site of first CEC in 1972. Black student movement	Institutional, constructed 1959
Ohio State Community Extension Center	640 S. Ohio Ave.	Columbus	Extant	CEC, 1978-1985 Black student movement	1905 church
Outhwaite	4505 Woodland	Cleveland	Extant, eligible for N.R.	1930s Public housing	Multi-building complex
Jesse Owens Boarding House	236 E. 11 th Ave	Columbus	Demolished	Boarding house where Jesse Owens lived 1934-1935	House
Park Place I	1435 East Blvd.	Cleveland	Extant	Low income housing designed by Robert Madison for Cleveland: Now!	Apartments
Rendville	Rt. 13	Rendville	Partially demolished	African American historic archaeological site	Archaeological site
Republic of New Africa Headquarters	309 W. Broadway	Dayton	Demolished	Black nationalist headquarters	Unknown
RKO Paramount Theater	928 McMillan	Cincinnati	Demolished	Integrated by NAACP, May 24, 1941	Theater
RKO Orpheum Theater	941-945 McMillan	Cincinnati	Demolished	Integrated by NAACP, May 24, 1941	Theater
RKO Family Theater	526 Vine St.	Cincinnati	Demolished 1957	Integrated by NAACP, May 24, 1941	Theater
RKO Grand Theater	Vine and Opera Place	Cincinnati	Demolished 1980	Integrated by NAACP, May 24, 1941	Theater
RKO Capitol Theater	1 E. 7 th St	Cincinnati	Demolished 1970	Integrated by NAACP, May 24, 1941	Theater
St. Adalbert's Church	2347 E. 83rd	Cleveland	Extant	Black Panther programming site	church

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St. Mary's Preparatory Seminary	S.R. 118, 1 mi. north of Burkettsville	Burkettsville	Partially burned 1971, partially extant	Site of 1971 Project Liberation	Multi-building complex
Shaker barricades	Avalon and Ingleside at Scottsdale Blvd.	Shaker Heights	Extant	Erected by Shaker Heights to block traffic from Cleveland	Traffic barrier
Seventy-Niners Cafe	SE corner E. 79 th and Hough	Cleveland	Demolished	Hough Uprising flashpoint	Bar
Shiloh Baptist	5500 Scovill Ave.	Cleveland	Extant, Listed 1982	Economic Race Development Society 1932	Church
Sixth Street Elementary	303 E. 6 th St.	Columbus	Extant	Segregated school, constructed 1961, currently Godman Guild Settlement House	School
Stephen E. Howe Elementary	Lakeview and Superior Ave.	Cleveland	Demolished 2011-12	1964 protest and site of Bruce Klunder death	School
Mary B. Talbert Home	5905 Kinsman Rd.	Cleveland	Demolished	1925, unwed mothers home	Social services building
Supreme Life Insurance	1005 East Long St.	Columbus	Extant	Home of T.K. Gibson's Supreme Life Insurance	Office building
Timken Roller Bearing Plant	Southwest corner 5 th and Cleveland	Columbus	Demolished	Vanguard League opens plant to African American women	Industrial plant
Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority offices	392 Nebraska Ave.	Toledo	Demolished	1941 rent strike	unknown
Vanguard League headquarters	1452 E. Long	Columbus	Demolished/currently OSU East Hospital parking lot	VL headquarters	Vanguard League civil rights organization/June 1942/labor committee

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Vanguard League headquarters	222 N. 20 th St.	Columbus	Extant	VL headquarters in mid-1940s	Apartment
Vanguard League Constance Curtis Nichols home at time of founding	453 Taylor Ave.	Columbus	Extant	Home of Constance Curtis Nichols, VL founder	House
Valley Homes	9841 Leggett Street	Cincinnati	Demolished 2011	350 units 1941 Wartime housing	Apartments
Valleyview pool	2737 Valleyview Dr.	Columbus	Extant, closed 2015	Segregated pool and police brutality	Pool
Walgreen Drug		New London	Extant	1940s drug store boycotted for serving blacks	Mixed use
Washington Terrace	32 Washington Terrace	Cincinnati	Demolished 2017-18	1930s public housing	Multi-family buildings
Webster School	Walnut St.	Hillsboro	Demolished 2017	Integrated by Hillsboro Marching Mothers in 1955	School
Winton Terrace	4848 Winneste Ave.	Cincinnati	Extant	Cincinnati public housing	Multi-building complex
Woodhill Pool	Kinsman and 116 th St.	Cleveland	Demolished, pool removed in late 1960s	Racial conflict over pool	Park/pool
Wooster Ave.	Wooster Ave.	Akron	Demolished for highway	Uprising site	Commercial strip
Grace Graham Walker House	220-222 W. 11th	Columbus	Extant	1932 Howard Dwight Smith design involved in Doris Weaver and Wilhemina Styles Ohio State desegregation case in 1933	House
Warner Hall	Professor Street	Oberlin.	Demolished 1964	Site of 1908 Niagara Movement Conference	Academic building

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Washington Terrace	2-52 Washington Terrace	Cincinnati	Demolished 2018	Philanthropic African American low-income housing built	Apartments
Webster School	265 W. Walnut St. 45113	Hillsboro	Demolished 2017	Integrated 1956 after Marching Mothers action	School
Woolworths	939 E. McMillan St.	Cincinnati Walnut Hills	Extant	NAACP picketing for black employment 1960	Store
Woolworths	26 E. 5 th	Cincinnati	Demolished/Fountain Square	NAACP picketing for black employment 1960	Store
YMCA-Spring St.	Spring St.	Columbus	Demolished	1919 Rosenwald YMCA	Recreational facility
YMCA	5 th St.	Dayton	Extant	Rosenwald YMCA	Recreational facility
YMCA	636 W. 9th St.	Cincinnati	Demolished	Rosenwald YMCA	Recreational facility
YMCA	Indiana Ave.	Toledo	Extant	Rosenwald YMCA	Recreational facility
YMCA	962 West Federal St.	Youngstown	Extant	1931 Rosenwald YMCA	Recreational facility

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