

Prof. Norman Krumholz  
Department of Urban Studies  
Cleveland State University

Room: UR 108  
Time: 10-11:50 T THU  
Fall Semester, 2007

**CLEVELAND: THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE  
PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE  
UST 202 - Fall 2007**

Course Description

This introductory course will explore the past, present, and future of Cleveland using the African-American experience as the focus. The course will employ interdisciplinary perspectives, including history, demography, economics, political science and city planning. Students will examine the origins and dynamics of the city's growth and decline, placing special emphasis on current black economic, institutional and political issues. Since 55 percent of Cleveland's 2005 population is African-American, the reality of race and racial discrimination will be central to our discussions of housing, poverty, education and other functional issues. Extensive efforts will be made to link abstract theories with the reality of present-day Cleveland experience.

Guest lecturers will be invited, including several black leaders with long personal involvement in the city of Cleveland's affairs.

Course Objectives

This course should familiarize students with the historical, economic, and political evolution of the city of Cleveland and its current issues and problems especially as these problems relate to African-American citizens. It should also provide students with a basic understanding of black evolution in the city and Cleveland's major institutions and their place within the larger region and the state. The course complements: UST 200 (Introduction to Urban Studies); UST 419 (Neighborhood Analysis); and HIS 307 (History of Cleveland).

Assignments

Students will be asked to take a mid-term test and a final exam and write three short papers.

The first paper will be approximately three (3) typed and double-spaced pages in length. Using your assigned textbook A Ghetto Takes Shape by Kenneth Kusmer, supplementary readings and class discussions, you are to describe the urban changes that took place from 1870 to 1930 that created Cleveland's Central Avenue ghetto. Touch on migration patterns, occupational and housing discrimination, racial discrimination and other issues. The first paper will be due Thursday, September 27th. (10 points).

The second paper will be a report on the census tract which has been assigned to you. Using the census books at NODIS and

data from the Housing Research Project you are to display the following data for each decade from 1980 to 2000: population; race (white, black, other); percent owners; percent renters; average size of household and median sales price. You are to analyze these data and write a short (3-5 page) paper on what happened in your census tract from 1980 to 2000. Recent photos will strengthen your paper. Ms. Sharon Bliss in Room 029 of the Urban Building will provide help if you need it. This paper will be due on Thursday, November 1st. (10 points).

Paper three will use class discussions, assigned readings and "Quiet Crisis" articles in the Plain Dealer. Write a 5-7 page paper describing Cleveland's present situation and the city's future in 2020. Discuss:

1. Population & housing trends (who will live here in 2020?)
2. Poverty, race & income (where will they work?)
3. Industry & the general economy (will the economy be going up?)
4. Lakefront development (how will our lakefront look?)

The final paper will be due on the date of the last class lecture Thursday, December 6th (15 points).

**PLEASE NOTE: LATE PAPERS WILL BE DOWNGRADED AND PAPERS MORE THAN A WEEK LATE WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED.**

### Text

There will be two books:

Cleveland: A Metropolitan Reader, Dennis Keating, Norman Krumholz, David Perry (eds.), (Kent State University Press, 1995).

A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930, Kenneth L. Kusmer, (University of Illinois Press, 1976).

We may also screen one or more of these videos from the Cleveland Heritage program:

- The Black Experience in Cleveland, 30 minutes
- Immigrants and Cities, 30 minutes
- We Who Built Cleveland, 29 minutes
- Cleveland: A City on Schedule 30 minutes

Supplementary readings are also accessible at the Library Home Page; click on Electronic Reserves and UST 202. Students may also wish to purchase or otherwise refer to: John Grabowski and David Van Tassel, Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform (Kent State University Press, 1986); Carol Poh Miller and Robert Wheeler, Cleveland: A Concise History, 1796-1990 (Indiana University Press, 1991); and the Encyclopedia of Cleveland History (University of Indiana Press, 1996).

Four additional modules may be found on the Internet at all NETSCAPE access locations at:

<http://cua6.csuohio.edu/~norm/100main.htm>

Module #1: Origins of Cleveland  
Module #2: Hough and Glenville Racial Riots  
Module #3: School Desegregation  
Module #4: Alternative Futures for Cleveland

### Physically Challenged

It is important that students with handicaps requiring special accommodations identify themselves to the instructor immediately so that we can seek appropriate arrangements.

### Students with Special Needs

Anyone anticipating needing special accommodations to take exams or complete assignments must identify themselves to the instructor by the end of the second week of classes. These include accommodations for physical handicaps, learning disabilities, and English as a second language.

Grades

Midterm Examination	30 points
Final Examination	35 points
Paper #1	10 points
Paper #2	10 points
Paper #3	15 points

100-90	=A
89-80	=B
79-70	=C
69-60	=D

Course Outline

<u>Week 1</u>	Introduction and Overview  Founding of Cleveland and Early History
<u>Week 2</u>	Almost Equal: Black Cleveland Before 1870  Post-Civil War Economic Development
<u>Week 3</u>	Immigration and Its Impact; Neighborhood formation  Founding Fathers and Mothers.
<u>Week 4</u>	Politics: Conflict and Reform A Ghetto Takes Shape in Central
<u>Week 5</u>	Racial Discrimination as an Emerging Issue  The Evolution of Cleveland's Black Politics <b>NOTE: Paper # 1 due Thursday, September 27<sup>th</sup></b>
<u>Week 6</u>	Cleveland Architecture: From Log Cabin to Glass Tent: Slide Lectures
<u>Week 7</u>	Race and Class-Oriented Planning in Cleveland
<u>Week 8</u>	Voices From the Neighborhoods
<u>Week 9</u>	The Establishment and Growth Machines
<u>Week 10</u>	Role of the Foundations and Other Non-Profits <b>NOTE: Paper # 2 due Thursday, November 1st.</b>
<u>Week 11</u>	<u>Current Issue</u> - Racial Discrimination: Who Pays the Costs?

- Week 12                    Current Issue - Housing and Poverty:  
Interactions Among Variables
- Current Issue - Education: The Busing Order  
and Beyond
- Week 13                    Current Issue - Greater Cleveland: Regional  
Trends and Problems
- Week 14 & 15            Alternative Futures for Cleveland - #1, #2,  
and #3  
**NOTE: Paper #3 due Thursday, December 6th,  
last day of class**

Readings

All reading assignments will be found in your text books,  
and reserved readings and Library Home Page, click on  
<[www.ulib.csuohio.electronic.reserves.202](http://www.ulib.csuohio.electronic.reserves.202)>

- Week 1                    **Introduction and Overview**  
READ:                    Neal R. Peirce and John Keefe, The Great Lakes  
States of America, (W. W. Norton & Company,  
1980), pp. 322-338.  
Stakes, Damon. 1995. Cleveland Rocks. pp. 2-32.
- Founding of Cleveland and Early History**  
READ:                    Metro Reader: Introduction and Part 1 by David  
Perry.  
Edmund H. Chapman, Cleveland: Village to  
Metropolis: A Case Study of Problems of  
Urban Development in Nineteenth Century  
America (The Western Reserve Historical  
Society Press, 1964), pp. 1-15.
- Week 2                    **Almost Equal: Black Cleveland Before 1870**  
READ:                    Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape, Part 1.  
Metro Reader, Part 2, by Miller and Wheeler.  
Todd Swanstrom, The Crisis of Growth Politics:  
Cleveland and Kucinich (Philadelphia: Temple  
University Press, 1985), pp. 34-56.  
Darwin H. Stapleton, "Industry" from The  
Encyclopedia of Cleveland History (University  
of Indiana Press, 1996).  
"Growth of Black Population, 1980-2000. Plain  
Dealer 3/25/2001, page 2B.
- Week 3                    **Economic Development**  
READ:                    Metro Reader, Part 3, "The Cleveland Economy" by  
Edward Hill.  
Melvin Hill, "America's Best Mayor,  
Tom L. Johnson," Timeline, March, 2002.

Week 4

**Politics: Conflict and Reform**

READ:

Metro Reader, Part 4, all three articles.

James F. Richardson, "Political Reform in Cleveland," from Grabowski and Van Tassel (eds.), Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform (Kent State University Press, 1986).

Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape, Part 2.

"Blacks," pp. 101-103, The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History (University of Indiana Press, 1996).

Krumholz, Norman, "Twenty Years After Kerner: The Cleveland Case," Journal of Urban Affairs, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 285-297.

Roldo, "Thank Dennis For This." Free Times, 5/12/1993.

Week 5

**Immigration and Neighborhoods**

READ:

Metro Reader, Part 6, all four articles.

Christopher Wye, "At the Leading Edge: The Movement for Black Civil Rights in Cleveland, 1830-1869," in Grabowski and Van Tassel (eds.), Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform (Kent State University Press, 1986).

"Lessons Cleveland Can Teach." Economist, 11/29/1997 page 2.

**NOTE: PAPER #1 DUE September 27<sup>th</sup>.**

Week 6

**Cleveland Architecture: From Log Cabin to**

READ:

**Glass Tent: Slide Lectures**

Clay, Herrick, Jr. Cleveland Landmarks pp. 18-19; 34; 50; 56; 60-61; 80; 86; 180; 122; 172; 186.

Keating, Krumholz & Wieland, "A Century of Planning in Cleveland," Journal of Planning History, 2002

Week 7

**Governance: Public and Private**

READ:

Metro Reader, Part 5, all three articles.

**NOTE: Mid-Term Test Thursday, October 11th**

Week 8

**Voices From The Neighborhoods**

READ:

Robert L. Bond. 1990. Focus on Neighborhoods.

Cleveland Neighborhood Centers Association, Chapter II, pp. 8-40.

Edwin M. Robinson and George C. Zeller, "Poverty is Greater When Jobs Leave Town." The State of Black Cleveland, 1999.

Metro Reader, Part 8, first three articles.

Norman Krumholz, "A Retrospective View of Equity Planning: Cleveland 1969-1979," Journal of the American Planning Association, Winter 1982.

Week 9

**The Establishment and Growth Machine**

READ: Metro Reader: "How 50 Businessmen Saved a Sick City," by Myron Magnet  
Todd Swanstrom. 1991. "Development Strategy in Cleveland," in Cleveland Development: A Dissenting View, Alvin Schorr (ed).  
Cleveland: Perry Press.  
Clavel, Pierre. 1986. The Progressive City. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. Chapter 3.

Week 10

**Foundations and Other Non-Profits**

READ: Diana Tittle, 1992. Rebuilding Cleveland: The Cleveland Foundation and Its Evolving Urban Strategy. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 12.

Norman Krumholz, 1997 "The Provision of Affordable Housing in Cleveland" in Van Vliet  
Housing & Urban Redevelopment in the U.S.

David Van Tassel and John Grabowski. (eds).  
1991. Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform.  
"Social Reform and Philanthropic Order" pp  
29-50. Cleveland: Kent State University  
Press.

**NOTE: PAPER #2 DUE Friday, November 1st.**

Week 11

**Racial Discrimination as an Emerging Issue**

READ: Metro Reader, Part 7, all three articles.  
Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape, Part 3.  
Keating, Dennis. 1989. "Suburban Cleveland's 20-Year Integration Struggle." In Planning magazine.  
Keating, Dennis. 1994. "Parma: Court-Ordered Integration." From The Suburban Racial Dilemma. Philadelphia: Temple.  
"America's Schools Are Now More Segregated." Plain Dealer, 7/18/2001, page B1.

Week 12

**Current Issues - Housing and Poverty:  
Interactions Among Variables**

READ: Metro Reader: Part 8, last two articles.  
Kenneth T. Jackson, "The Cost of Good Intentions ..." in The Crabgrass Frontier (Oxford University Press, 1985).  
Thomas S. Andrzejewski, "More Families in City, Blacks Hit Poverty Level," Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 1, 1993.

Week 13

**Current Issues - Regional Trends and Problems**

Weeks 14 & 15

**Alternative Futures for Cleveland #1, #2, and #3**

READ: Katherine Bradbury, Anthony Downs, Kenneth A. Small, Futures for a Declining City (N.Y. Academic Press, 1991).  
Tom Bier, "Rebuilding Cleveland: A Regional Undertaking." In Sweet, Hexter and Beach, The New American City, 1999.  
George Sternlieb, "The City as a Sandbox," in The Public Interest, Fall, 1971.  
Anthony Downs, "The Future of Industrial Cities," in The New Urban Reality, 1987, Paul Peterson (ed.), pp. 281-294.

**NOTE: PAPER #3 DUE ON THE LAST LECTURE DAY OF CLASS, Thursday, December 6<sup>th</sup>.**

#### Selected Bibliography

(Not required, but offered for students anxious to increase their understanding of our city)

#### **ARCHITECTURE, CITY PLANNING, AND DEVELOPMENT**

Bradbury, Downs and Small. Futures for a Declining City. N.Y. Academic Press, 1981.

Chapman, Edmund. Cleveland: Village to Metropolis. Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1964, 1981.

Cleveland City Planning Commission. Cleveland Civic Vision 2000: Downtown Plan, and Citywide Plan, 1989 and 1990.

Cleveland City Planning Commission. The Policy Planning Report. 1975.

Griffith, Gary. "Second Draft of the Dream at University Circle," Cleveland Magazine (May, 1972).

Guide to Cleveland's Architecture, 1991, Cleveland Chapter AIA, R. Gaede and R. Kalin (eds.).

Halprin, Lawrence. Concept for Cleveland: Strategy for Downtown. Cleveland: Greater Cleveland Growth Association, 1974.

Humphrey, Nancy; Peterson, George; and Wilson, Peter. The Future of Cleveland's Capital Plant. Washington: Urban Institute, 1979.

Johannesen, Eric. Cleveland Architecture 1976-1976. Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1979.

Keating, W. Dennis. The Suburban Racial Dilemma. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.

Krumholz, Norman and Forester, John. Making Equity Planning Work. Temple University Press, 1990.

Larsen, Christian L. "Cleveland-Potential City of a Million," National Municipal Review (June, 1941) 335-340.



----- . "Cleveland Plans on an Area Basis," National Municipal Review (May, 1972).

Peterson, George, and Humphrey, Nancy. The Greater Cleveland Community Capital Investment Strategy. Washington: Urban Institute, 1983.

Schorr, Alvin (ed.). Cleveland Development: A Dissenting View, 1991.

Stakes, Damon. Cleveland Rocks. Shaker Heights, Ohio: York, 1995.

Swanstrom, Todd. The Crisis of Growth Politics: Cleveland and Kucinich. Temple University Press, 1984.

Sweet, Hexter, & Beach. 1999. The New American City. Athens, Ohio : Ohio University Press.

Tittle, Diana. Rebuilding Cleveland. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992.

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

#### **THE ARTS**

Amusement Park Books, Inc. Euclid Beach Park is Closed for the Season. Cleveland: Dillon-Liederbach, 1977.

Hershey, Rice A. Cleveland Play House 1915-1975: 60 Years of Professional Resident Theatre. Cleveland: Perlmutter Printing Co., 1975.

Kennedy, Kathleen. Playhouse Square: Cleveland, Ohio. Cleveland: Playhouse Square Foundation, 1975.

March, Robert C. The Cleveland Orchestra. Cleveland: World Publishing, 1967.

Wittke, Carl. The First Fifty Years: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1916 to 1966. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1966.

#### **BIOGRAPHY**

Chernow, Ron. 1998. Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

Chesnutt, Helen M. Charles Waddell Chesnutt: Pioneer of the Color Line. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952.

Haberman, Ian S. The Van Sweringens of Cleveland. Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1979.

Izant, Grace (Goulder). John D. Rockefeller: The Cleveland Years. Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1972.

Johnson, Tom L. My Story. University of Washington Press. 1911.

Malvin, John. North Into Freedom: The Autobiography of John Malvin, Free Negro, 1795-1880. Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1966.

Selzer, Louis B. The Years Were Good. Cleveland: World Publishing Co. 1956.

Vincent, Sidney Z. Personal and Professional: Memoirs of a Life in Community Service. Cleveland: Jewish Community Federation, 1982.

#### **BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY**

An Introduction To The Cleveland Labor Movement, 1865-1929, 1996, United Labor Agency.

Hatcher, Harlan. A Century of Iron and Men, The Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril, 1950.

Historic American Engineering Record. Cleveland: An Inventory of Historic Engineering and Industrial Sites. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.

Shaw, Archer Hayes. The Plain Dealer: One Hundred Years in Cleveland. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1942.

The Cleveland 200, Thomas Kelly, et. al., 1996, Archives Press, Inc.

#### **ETHNIC AND RACIAL GROUPS**

Barton, Josef J. Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Bonutti, Karl. Selected Ethnic Communities of Cleveland: A Socio-Economic Study. Cleveland: Cleveland State University, 1974.

Chatterjee, Pranab. Local Leadership in Black Communities. Commerce Copy Co., Cleveland.

Jeffres, Leo W. Ethnic Communication in Cleveland: An Exploratory Study of Ethnics and Mass Communication in Cleveland. Cleveland: Cleveland State University, 1978.

Pap, Michael. Ethnic Communities of Cleveland. Cleveland: Institute for Soviet and East European Studies, John Carroll University, 1973.

Callahan, Nelson J. Irish Americans and Their Communities of Cleveland. Cleveland: Cleveland State University, 1978.

Davis, Russell H. Black Americans in Cleveland from George B. Peake to Carl B. Stokes, 1796-1969. Washington: Associated Publishers, 1972.

Ferroni, Charles D. The Italians in Cleveland: A Study in Assimilation. New York: Arno Press, 1980.

Gartner, Lloyd P. History of the Jews of Cleveland. Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1978.

Grabowski, John, et al. Polish Americans and Their Communities of Cleveland. Cleveland: Cleveland State University, 1976.

Kusmer, Kenneth L. A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland 1870-1930. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976.

Kuznik, Frank, "The Ethnic Myth," Cleveland Magazine (February, 1980).

#### GENERAL HISTORIES

Chapman, Edmund H. "Early Cleveland, The Formation of a City, 1796, 1875." Part of thesis, New York University, 1951.

Condon, George E. Cleveland -- The Best Kept Secret.. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1967.

----- . Cleveland: The Prodigy of the Western Reserve. Oklahoma: Continental Heritage, 1979.

Fenn, Matthew J. (ed.). Cleveland, Yesterday Through Tomorrow. Cleveland: Concept Media, 1976.

Herrick, Clay, Cleveland's Rich Heritage. Cleveland: Early Settlers Association of the Western Reserve, 1975.

Rose, William G. Cleveland: The Making of a City. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1950.

Akers, William J. Cleveland Schools in the Nineteenth Century. Cleveland: W. M. Bayne, 1901.

Campbell, Thomas F. SASS: Fifty Years of Social Work Education: A History of the School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University. Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1967.

Cleveland Community Fund. It Makes Sense: A History of Your Community Chest. Cleveland: n.p., 1955.

Cramer, C. H. Open Shelves and Open Minds: A History of the Cleveland Public Library. Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1972.

Howard, Nathaniel R. Trust for All Time: The Story of the Cleveland Foundation and the Community Trust Movement. Cleveland: Cleveland Foundation, 1963.

Miller, Carol Poh and Robert Wheeler. Cleveland: A Concise History, 1796-1990, 1991.

Tittle, Diana. Rebuilding Cleveland: The Cleveland Foundation and Its Evolving Urban Strategy. Ohio State University Press. 1992.

Urban League of Greater Cleveland. The State of Black Cleveland, 1989. 1989.

#### MULTI-MEDIA

The Black Experience in Cleveland: 1865-1982. Videotape, 30 min. Cleveland: Cleveland Heritage Program, 1982.  
Cleveland Politics -- The Drama of Four Key Elections: 1907, 1915, 1921, and 1929. Videotape, 30 min. Cleveland: Cleveland Heritage Program, 1982.

Immigrants and Cities: From the Civil War to the Depression. Videotape, 30 min. Cleveland: Heritage Program, 1981.

Mounting Crisis and Reform of Urban Politics, Cleveland: 1865-1929. Videotape, 30 min. Cleveland: Cleveland Heritage Program, 1982.

Nature's Last Stand. 16 mm, 5 min. Cleveland: Board of Parks Commissioners, 1966.

The Old Neighborhood. Slide/Tape, 30 min. Cleveland: Cleveland Heritage Program, 1983.

Religious Diversity in Cleveland. Videotape, 60 min. Cleveland: Cleveland Heritage Program, 1983.

Workers and Industrial Unrest in Cleveland. Videotape, 30 min. Cleveland: Cleveland Heritage Program, 1981.

#### **NEIGHBORHOODS**

Bond, Robert L. Focus on Neighborhoods, 1990.

Feagler's Cleveland, Dick Feagler, 1996. Grey and Co.

Green, Howard Whipple. Relation of the "Central Area: To the Entire City. 3 vols. Cleveland: Cleveland Health Council, 1944.

Lawrence, Ann T. Cleveland's Flats: The Incredible City Under the Hill. Cleveland: History Associates, 1979.

Navin, Robert B. "Analysis of a Slum Area." Ph.D. Thesis, Catholic University of America, 1934.

"The People are the City." Three Cleveland Neighborhoods 1796-1980: A Series of Exhibitions on Broadway, Hough and Tremont During the Summer and Fall of 1980 by the Cuyahoga County Archives. Cleveland: Cuyahoga County Archives, 1980.

Wheeler, Robert A. Pleasantly Situated on the West Side . . . A Catalog of the Special Exhibition Conducted by the Western Reserve Historical Society on the Ohio City Area of Cleveland With an Introductory Essay on the Economic Social History of the District. Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1980.

Leahy, Peter. "A Neighborhood in Transition" (Hough), University of Akron, Department of Urban Studies.

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Campbell, Thomas F. Daniel E. Morgan, 1877-1949: The Good Citizen in Politics. Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1966.

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Griffin, Burt W. Cities Within a City. Cleveland: College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University, 1981.

Howe, Fredric C. Confessions of a Reformer. n.p.: Scribner's Sons, 1925.

Johnson Tom L. My Story. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1911.

Norton, James Adolphus. The Metro Experience. Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1963.

Porter, Philip W. Cleveland: Confused City on a Seesaw. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976.

Preston, Michael B., Lenneal J. Henderson Jr., Paul L. Puryear. The New Black Politics: The Search for Political Power. Longman, New York, 1990.

Schorr, Alvin (ed). Cleveland Development: A Dissenting View. David Press. 1993.

Stokes, Carl B. Promises of Power: A Political Autobiography. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.

Bartimole, Roldo, "Point of View," a bi-weekly political commentary, 1965-present.

## SUBURBS

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Ellis, William B. and Wobbecke, Mary Ellen. A History of Westlake, Ohio 1811-1961. Westlake, Ohio: n.p., 1961.

Kubasek, Ernest. The History of Parma, a Township, a Village, a City. Parma, Ohio: Kubasek, 1976.

Lowing, Frank C. History of the City of Lakewood. Lakewood, Ohio: Fire and Police Pension Fund, 1915.

Van Sweringen Company. The Heritage of the Shakers. Cleveland: Van Sweringen Company, 1923.