Moreland and the Development of the South Side of Shaker Heights

Virginia Dawson, March 30, 2017

The south side of the city of Shaker Heights, where Moreland is located, was among the first places in Cuyahoga County to attract settlers. In 1810 it was still virgin forest when the first settler erected a log cabin on what is now the northeast corner of Chagrin Boulevard and Milverton Road. That fall, the Warren family had set out by wagon from "rock-ribbed" Acworth, New Hampshire, heading west in search of affordable land in northeast Ohio. At Painesville, Daniel Warren bartered his labor for lot 32—a 160-acre tract (worth about \$400) located on the Heights above Cleveland.

When they arrived, Warren's most pressing problem was how to locate this lot. Apparently, all he knew was that it was near an old trail called Salt Springs Road, later named Kinsman, now Chagrin Boulevard. Unable to find the surveyors' stakes, Warren ended up clearing the wrong lot! He sold it to his brother-in-law and later purchased the land where he had built his cabin. After boarding with relatives in nearby Newburgh Township, on moving day, Warren recalled: "I procured a horse on which Mrs. Warren and the babe, about three weeks old, rode; my two-year-old boy I carried on my back, and my neighbor Prentiss carried our few 'traps' in an ox-team; and in this way we arrived safe, two and a half miles from any other house." As they crossed the cabin's threshold, his wife gamely remarked: "We left New Hampshire to go into the wilderness

¹ Deed from Gideon Granger to Daniel Warren for lot 32, Oct. 8, 1810. Deed from Warren to RobertPrentiss for Lot 32, July 17, 1813. Deed to Daniel Warren from William Hitchcock of Hartford, CT, for Lot 42, paying \$1,446 dollars in 1817. Office of Cuyahoga County Recorder.

and I guess we have made it out now."² Weeks later, when the snow was deep enough to drive a sleigh over the stumps on Salt Springs Road, they invited neighbors from nearby Newburgh Township and Doan's Corners to celebrate their good fortune. About fifty people are said to have crowded into the cabin and "a jollier set never graced a palace."³ When Margaret Warren proposed Warrensville as the name for the township, it was adopted by acclamation. So began a period of about a century when Shaker Heights was part of Warrensville Township, a farming community that first flourished and then declined in the face of the astounding growth of industrial Cleveland after the Civil War. So great was Cleveland's population explosion by the end of the century that the Heights above Cleveland seemed ripe for annexation. What actually happened was pushback by developers who profited by creating separate municipal entities out of the farmland they acquired at bargain prices.

Warrensville Township

Warrensville was part of a vast tract of approximately 3.5 million acres known as Connecticut's Western Reserve. The Reserve, bounded on the north by Lake Erie, stretched westward 120 miles from the Pennsylvania line to a point just west of Sandusky. Connecticut set aside 500,000 acres west of the Cuyahoga River (known as the Firelands) to compensate residents whose property had been destroyed by fire during the American Revolution. In 1795, Connecticut sold the remaining three million acres east of the Cuyahoga River to a syndicate called the Connecticut Land Company. The

² Chrisfield Johnson, *History of Cuyahoga County, Ohio*, (Cleveland: D.W. Ensign & Co., 1879), 528.

³ Johnson, 529-30.

⁴ The best source on the Western Reserve remains Charles Whittlesey, *Early History of Cleveland, Ohio, with biographical notices of the Pioneers and Surveyors* (Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1867).

company's survey divided the Reserve into 46 townships each roughly five square miles. Each township was subdivided into 100 lots of roughly 160 acres. All lots in a township received a number. These lot numbers are still used in deeds to properties in the Western Reserve.

Lot sales accelerated after the War of 1812. Hundreds of impoverished farmers and tradesmen pulled up stakes and headed to the Western Reserve, precipitating what historian Harlan Hatcher called a mass exodus of New Englanders.⁵ The settlers petitioned the county to allow them to build Lee Road to replace a rutted surveyors' trail. This six and one-half mile road began at Miles Road on the south and ended at the Euclid Township line on the north. Because much of the land taken for the road belonged to farmer Elias Lee, it was called Lee Road.⁶

The township's first school, located on land now part of Shaker Towne Centre, opened in 1815. That year Daniel Warren's father Moses purchased Lot 54, about 154 acres, for \$456. Daniel built the first frame farmhouse in Warrensville for his father on a ridge not far from his own farm. This white, clapboard home, located at 3535 Ingleside Road in the Lomond neighborhood, is still standing.⁷

⁵ Harlan Hatcher, *The Western Reserve* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1991, repr. 1949 edition), 58. George W. Knepper, "Early Migration to the Western Reserve, in Harry F. Lupold and Gladys Haddad, eds., *Ohio Western Reserve: A Reader*, (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1988), 29-38.

⁶ "How Lee Road Got its Name," *Journal of the Shaker Historical Society*, Vol. IV, No. 2, April 1968, 3. Copies of the petition can also be found in the Shaker Historical Society archives, Shaker Heights, Ohio (hereafter cited as SHS). The petition was signed by settlers Daniel Warren, James Prentiss, Sr., Robert Prentiss, James Prentiss, Jr., Asa Stiles, Jacob Russell, Elisha Russell, Elias Lee, Andrew McIlrawth, Peleg Brown and Benjamin Thorp.

⁷ Myra L. Gibbs, "History of the Moses Warren Family," 6 Jan. 1924, Allene B. Duty Papers, Container 1, Folder 2, Ms. 4218, WRHS. Molyneaux and Sackman, 13-14.

In November 1816, when there were about a dozen families, the settlers organized a civil government. Ten of the twelve eligible voters were elected to office. James Prentiss, Sr., Peleg Brown, and William Sickel became township trustees. Other elected officials included a clerk, a treasurer, two fence-viewers, and two poor-masters, charged with offering assistance to settlers not yet able to fend for themselves. They served without pay. In a separate election the next year, Daniel Warren became justice of the peace.⁸

A decade later, the son of Jacob Russell (another early pioneer) founded the Shaker settlement of North Union, a religious sect that held all property in common. By combining the lots of the Russell family and several neighbors, they created a 1,400-acre farm. The Shakers' sawmill, gristmill, and woolen mill contributed materially to the economic success of Warrensville. The opening of the Erie Canal across upper New York State in 1825, and the development of an Ohio canal system several years later, contributed to the growing prosperity of both the secular Warrensville and North Union. The settlers "had an abundance of grain, which they were glad to dispose of at twenty-five cents a bushel, payable principally in goods," an early Cleveland historian noted, and New York dealers eagerly purchased it. As the settlers acquired luxuries like china dishes, cotton cloth, and nails, their standard of living rose.

⁸ Johnson, 530.

⁹ John G. Clark, *The Grain Trade in the Old Northwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966). Clark notes that the counties of the Western Reserve produced little grain surplus, hence less than 20 percent came from the farmlands of the Reserve. By 1854, the grain trade had started to decline.

Manx Settlers

The canals not only brought prosperity, they opened northeastern Ohio to European immigration. Warrensville attracted an unusual contingent of settlers from the Isle of Man, located in the Irish Sea between Ireland and the British Isles. In May 1827, seventy families left Liverpool for the Western Reserve. An equal number came the next year, settling in Newburgh and Warrensville Townships. The Manx, known for their frugality, work ethic, and strong kinship ties, parlayed skilled labor for cash, locally issued paper script, or took payment in land.

While the early settlement of Warrensville in the 1810s and 1820s had occurred at the western edge of the township along Lee and Kinsman Roads, by mid-century, Manx families owned farms for six miles along both sides of Kinsman Road east of Warrensville Center Road, and north from Kinsman along Green Road as far as Fairmount Road. John Radcliffe donated some of his land for a schoolhouse in North Warrensville near the present Fairmount Circle in Shaker Heights/University Heights. Methodist religious services, conducted in Galic, were held at the Radcliffe schoolhouse. Another Manx schoolhouse, located near Miles Road to the south, was known as the Beehive. By the late nineteenth century there were an estimated six thousand Manx householders living in the Cleveland area. ¹⁰

The settlers discovered that with only five to ten inches of topsoil over a hard substratum of clay, the growing of wheat quickly exhausted the nutrients in the soil.

They turned to growing grasses as fodder for hogs, cattle, and sheep. Cheese became the most important cash crop of the Western Reserve in the 1840s and 1850s. For

¹⁰ Jean Hudson, "British Immigration," *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, The Worldwide Web Edition, version 2.0.

Warrensville, proximity to the growing city of Cleveland in the days before refrigeration provided a ready market for milk. Raising sheep and hogs were also important sources of income. 11

"Warrensville Center," the township's geographical center, located at the intersection of Kinsman and Warrensville Center Roads, became the township's social and commercial center. By mid-century, the "Center" had two churches, two taverns, at blacksmith shops, a school, and general store. James A. Garfield, who taught school there during the winter of 1850-51, found the community hopelessly provincial. "I found no challenge in teaching in a place where the chief topic of conversation is raising hogs," commented the querulous future president of the United States. (Warrensville Center became a shopping center in the 1950s and is currently being redeveloped into an integrated complex of office, shopping, and living space.)

By 1860, Warrensville Township had reached its peak population of 1,554.¹³ Thereafter, its population slowly dwindled as Cleveland's population, driven by industry's demand for labor, grew exponentially after the Civil War from 92,829 in 1870, to 381,768 in 1900. At the same time, to accommodate the need for greater living space, Cleveland was expanding in area through annexation.

East View Village

¹¹ Robert Leslie Jones, *History of Agriculture in Ohio* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1983), 184. Raising sheep became a major source of income for Ohio farmers between 1840 and 1870, with Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio the most important wool-producing states at this time.

¹² Quoted in *The Journal of the Shaker Historical Society*, Vol. XV, No. 4, August 1979, 2.

¹³ Johnson, 531.

In May 1906, a group of residents of Warrensville Township, led by Richard L. Palmer, incorporated East View Village, ostensibly to improve municipal services and give residents greater control over education. Fear of being annexed by Cleveland was apparently a factor in the decision to incorporate. The trustees of Warrensville Township tried to block the incorporation, presumably because East View Village's boundaries excluded the less valuable land to the south. The boundaries of East View Village were Harvard Road on the south, the old Shaker farm (then owned by the Shaker Heights Land Company) on the north, East 140th Street on the west, and a line parallel to and slightly east of Warrensville Center Road on the east. At that time the old Shaker farm was part of Cleveland Heights, incorporated in 1903.

In 1910 East View Village annexed a piece of the former Shaker land south of South Woodland Road. Thus, the present-day districts of Shaker Heights including Moreland, Lomond, Sussex and Fernway were once within the East View Village boundaries. Fernway was apparently East View's first subdivision to be registered by the Van Sweringen interests.¹⁵

Former landowners John Hecker, John Litzel, and Sam Gibbs (all sons of early settlers) worked as agents for the Vans Sweringens. "You had to work fast among the farmers," Hecker recalled, "or the next morning everybody would know all about it [and] the price would be up the next time you came." Not all prospects in East View Village could be pushed into selling. Elizabeth Quay, who owned a 22-acre farm on Scottsdale,

¹⁴ "Blocked by Trustees," *Plain Dealer*, January 13, 1906. "East View is Now a Village," *Plain Dealer*, June 29, 1906.

¹⁵ Village and Hamlet Maps, Vol. 4, 24, May 1, 1906, Cuyahoga County Archives.

¹⁶ John Hecker interview, Blosser Research Notes, Ms. 3273, Folder 2.

was one of the Manx holdouts. She declined persistent offers from the Van Sweringens' agents every week for two years, declaring that she preferred "to spend the remainder of her days in her little old-fashioned farmhouse, regardless whether pretentious mansions are erected on all sides." The first offer had been \$500 an acre. Two years later an agent offered her \$1,000 an acre. She admitted could not hold out much longer because of the increase in her taxes. ¹⁷

The Van Sweringens' agents failed to snap up all the available land in East View Village. The Rapid Transit Land Company, Crawford Realty Company, The Shaker Overlook Land Company, Parkhill Land Company, and Greenleaf Realty created small subdivisions on the south side of Kinsman Road. William A. Dick built all of the homes on Ludgate and Menlo in the 1920s. Two of the streets in this area had "Cleveland doubles" identical to those in the neighboring Mount Pleasant section of Cleveland.

After the Van Sweringen Company incorporated the Village of Shaker Heights in 1912, East View became increasingly dependent on its wealthier neighbor. Though East View had its own elementary school on Lee Road, residents paid tuition to send their children to Shaker Heights High School. East View Village, unable to afford its own police and fire protection, contracted with Shaker Heights for these services.

In 1919 East View had 606 residents, while rapidly growing Shaker Heights had a population of 1,616. That year the City of Cleveland annexed part of East View Village, moving its southern boundary from Harvard Road to Scottsdale Road making annexation by Shaker Heights inevitable. The author of an article published on the eve of the referendum entitled "Head and Tail, Hide and Tallow: All Go with East View Town

¹⁷ Cleveland News, Oct. 11, 1912, Scrapbook SHS.

When It Becomes Part of Shaker Town" mused on the incongruity of joining posh Shaker Heights with its amenities (paved roads and indoor plumbing) to its rustic neighbor where "chicken coops on the front lawns [are] to be gazed at in amazement and wonderment." Not all East View residents were enthusiastic about annexation. J. H. Penty, who was running for Mayor of East View, urged a no-vote. He said annexation would not only bring higher property taxes, but also loss of representation. The referendum passed in November 1919 with 94 for and 67 against annexation. Before annexation, East View's farms had no deed restrictions. Annexation of East View added about 2,000 acres to Shaker Heights and included future Moreland, Lomond, Sussex and Fernway districts.

In 1920 the boundaries of Moreland were Van Aken Boulevard on the north, Scottsdale Road on the south, Lindholm Road (one block east of Lee Rd) on the east, and Sutton and Menlo Roads on the west. When completely built out in the 1960s Moreland had 808 single-family homes, 248 two-family, and 617 apartment units.

Commercial zoning allowed Lee Road south of Van Aken to become a mecca for car dealerships in the 1950s. The Moreland and Lomond neighborhoods patronized a movie theater located on the east side of Lee. Because the apartments on Van Aken Boulevard screened Moreland from view, many residents of Shaker Heights had no idea that Moreland was even part of the suburb. Kinsman Road south of Lee Road had a small commercial district, Beth El Synagogue (built in 1953), and East View Congregational Church. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the population of Moreland had a mix of old Protestant families living along Kinsman and an ethnic population of

¹⁸ Shaker Heights Journal, Oct. 30, 1919. WRHS. Dec. 11, 1919. WRHS.

¹⁹ Coates, William R., *A History of Cuyahoga County and the City of Cleveland* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1924), 269-71.

first and second generation eastern and southern Europeans. A study by the East View Church in 1958 (then debating moving) estimated that Moreland Elementary School's student body was 70 percent Jewish in 1958, while Woodbury Junior High and Shaker High School had an estimated Jewish student population of 65 percent.²⁰

The Integration of Moreland

When Moreland began to integrate in the early 1960s, Moreland residents met together in small interracial discussion groups, hopeful that they could maintain a stable, integrated neighborhood, modeled on the Ludlow Community Association. As streets changed quickly from white to black, in March 1962 residents voted to form a community association at a well-attended meeting. By early 1963, the Association had adopted a constitution, incorporated as a non-profit organization, and applied for tax-exempt status. Moreland's leaders were convinced that "the problems arising in an area recently integrated stem from preconceived attitudes of whites and Negroes towards each other."

According to Cleveland Foundation records, the Moreland Community

Association applied for a three-year grant of \$20,290 from the Cleveland Foundation in

September 1963. Its purpose was "to eliminate prejudice and discrimination, to defend
human and civil rights, to prevent community deterioration and juvenile delinquency, and
to lessen community tensions." Two months later, it received a one-year grant of \$9,330
to pay for the salary of an executive secretary (Doris Wills) and to publish a brochure to

²⁰ "Report of the Self-study conducted by the Planning Committee, "(Shaker Heights: East View Congregational Church, 1958) in Vertical File, Churches, SHS.

²¹ Application to the Cleveland Foundation by the Moreland Community Assn., Nov. 2, 1963. Cleveland Foundation Records, Ms 4092, Folder 1148. WRHS.

market Moreland to white families. When published in May 1964, the brochure was distributed to approximately 1,500 families. Membership in the association increased bringing its total membership to 298. Volunteer participation also increased. Four white families purchased homes in Moreland and another thirty-two signed leases between February and October. At its annual meeting in May a presentation by Dr. Benjamin Spock, professor of child development at Western Reserve University, was attended by over 500 people.

The Moreland Community Association received a second grant of \$5,000 in October 1964 to continue its efforts to stabilize Moreland by attracting white families. Thanks to the second grant, membership increased to 352, and over 800 families participated in parties and school events. Twenty-two white couples were renting in Moreland. Wills had sold one house to a white family and two others had purchased in Moreland through Fair Housing, Inc.

Despite the energy Moreland's leadership put into attracting foundation support, recruiting white residents, consulting with Ludlow's leaders, and participating in the Greater Cleveland Federation of Integrating Communities, Moreland faced issues associated with physical decline that were more serious than those of the other integrating neighborhoods. In her President's Column for the November 1965 newsletter, Netta Berman discussed efforts to resist zoning changes along Lee and Kinsman roads. "Frequent pressure has come from the automobile dealers—pressure for larger signs, brighter lights, and more glaring displays. So far we have been successful in defeating such requests," she wrote. "If all of them had been granted, we would find ourselves surrounded by one giant pin-ball machine, blinking and honking." The Moreland

Community Association also challenged the Ohio Bell Telephone Company when it tried to enlarge its building at the corner of Chagrin and Milverton Road. It also had some success in getting the city to clean up a dump behind a car dealership. Berman hoped the city's Master Plan would contribute to upgrading of Moreland's blighted commercial areas. She concluded that no time should be lost "in making this a beautiful gateway to Shaker instead of a used-car carnival."²²

Alan Gressel, President of the Ludlow Community Association, shared Berman's concern over the problem of Moreland's obsolete homes. In a letter to the mayor, he said that while aging homes was a problem for all of Shaker's neighborhoods, it was particularly acute in Moreland. "Unfortunately, these homes are not attractive to families with adequate assets and thus are being purchased by families of marginal means." he wrote. "Substandard homes are a problem not only to the immediate community, but threaten neighboring areas, the city and the school district as a whole." The city responded by adopting a new housing code to require inspections of two-families houses in March 1966. These efforts to address Moreland's problems did not achieve the desired racial balance.

The Master Plan

A Citizens Commission appointed by the mayor in 1966 concluded that Moreland's problems could be solved by a plan for urban renewal. The commission hired two architectural firms to collaborate on a master plan for the city. Leonard G.

²² Moreland News, Nov. 1965(Vol. 4, #6), Cleveland Foundation Records, Ms 4092, folder 1148.

²³ Letter from Alan Gressel to Paul Jones, Aug. 24, 1965, Records of the Ludlow Asso., Ser. II, Ms. 4167, Container 2, Fol. 88. WRHS

Styche of Milwaukee had earned a national reputation as an architect and city planner. His skills complemented those of Shaker resident Don M. Hisaka, a respected local architect.

Styche and Hisaka's Master Plan was typical of urban renewal schemes of the 1960s that took the approach that "blight" could be eradicated by tearing down substandard housing and adapting the land to other uses. What happened to the displaced residents did not usually concern city planners. Styche and Hisaka recommended building a new civic center in the heart of Moreland to house the Shaker Historical Society, a drama group called the Shaker Players, the Shaker Heights Symphony, and other cultural organizations. This would involve down a large swath of what they considered substandard housing. A new service center for processing the city's garbage, to be built on Chagrin Boulevard between Menlo and Ludgate Roads, called for the removal of commercial buildings and homes. A 20-story high-rise luxury apartment building sited on open land next to Moreland Elementary School would command the intersection of Chagrin and Lee. Finally, the planners recommended that a group of 25 townhouses called Sutton Place be built on city-owned land that backed up on the city's boundary with the Mount Pleasant sections of Cleveland.

In their booklet, "Shaker Heights Future Perspectives," the architects justified their recommendations by focusing on the effect that allowing a "ghetto" to fester in the heart of Shaker Heights would have on the future of the Shaker School system.

Reviewing the history of school financing over the last ten years, the architects pointed out that the system had spent 50 percent more per pupil than the national average in 1957 to administer the best school system in Cuyahoga County. By 1966 it was spending 67

percent more per pupil than the national average and would need to spend even more to address the projected special needs of its increasing minority population. Between 1964 and 1966, enrollment in Moreland School had increased from 403 to 560. The planners warned that without investment in urban renewal, Moreland was in danger of becoming like Glenville, where school enrollment had leapt from 8,900 in 1950 to 26,000 in 1966 without any appreciable increase in new housing. According to their study, 1,928 living units had been built in Shaker Heights between 1951 and 1965. They thought the suburb had nearly reached its maximum population density. With only 420 vacant lots zoned for single- and two-family residences, the architects recommended new residential housing to preserve the suburb's tax base. The booklet gave the impression that unless the Master Plan were implemented, the entire suburb was in danger of being pulled into a downward spiral.²⁴

The Shaker Heights community reacted negatively to the Master Plan. The *Sun Press* reported that the planners addressing a public meeting had warned: "If integration is ignored it can be a distractive force resulting in ghettoes. With proper planning an area undergoing integration can maintain property values and economically diverse housing." The plan's critics called it "a thinly disguised containment program for Moreland's Negro Population" and "an offensive force for segregation." They argued that the real thrust of the plan was to reduce the size of Moreland's population and raise the cost of housing by eliminating its more affordable housing. ²⁵

²⁴ Leonard G. Styche and Associates and Don M. Hisaka and Associates, Architects, "Shaker Heights Future Perspectives." Local History Collection, SHPL. Styche and Hisaka cited an article in the *Cleveland Press*, "Decay Stalks Old City Area," Aug. 3, 1966.

²⁵ "Shaker Heights Shapes Mater Program for Affluent Society," Sun Press, Feb. 23, 1967.

As the controversy surrounding the Master Plan grew more intense, so many residents wanted to attend the first hearing on the plan by City Council that it had to be moved from council chambers to the high school small auditorium. In an article in the *Sun Press*, headlined "Yes and No is Response to Shaker Moreland Plan," residents strongly opposed the proposal to build the civic center and service centers and the luxury apartment building. It was pointed out there was no comparably priced housing within Shaker Heights to which displaced residents could move. The proposed townhouses, priced at \$25,000, were intended to attract white residents. Both the townhouses and a renewal fund to maintain and renew existing housing met with approval.²⁶

On the heels of the plan's unveiling, the association applied to the Cleveland Foundation for an 18-month grant of \$26,690 to cover the salary of a full-time Administrator and office expenses to assist in getting residents to support the Master Plan. After the Foundation turned down the grant, Association President Doris Downs spent the next several months working with Bruce Newman, a Cleveland Foundation official, to clarify why the money was needed and how it would be spent. Her letters provides a glimpse of the problems the association was coping with at that time. She said that hundreds of black families had moved into Moreland since 1960. The city had responded by improving city services, hiring additional housing inspectors, and tightening up on maintenance and occupancy laws. By permitting Moreland residents to discard all types of trash on trash days, they were able to clean up yards and empty lots, making the neighborhood more attractive and eliminating many of the nesting places for rats and other types of vermin. Moreland homes in Downs' view were better maintained

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²⁶ Sun Press, May 4, 1967.

in 1967 than they were in 1962. Among the problems unique to Moreland was the disrespectful attitude of the police who seemed "contemptuous of our area because Negroes lived here." Nevertheless, she admitted that "some of our housing has attracted undesirable types of persons who have given other residents more frequent reasons to call the police." Finally, Downs emphasized parents' concern over the racial imbalance of Moreland School. In six or seven years, she said, Moreland school had changed from white to 90 percent African American, and often its African American students came from inferior school systems. ²⁸

Thanks to Downs' persistence, the Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation awarded an 18-month grant of \$23,340 in January 1968 making it possible to hire a full-time administrator, Ronald R. Weiner to act as the liaison between the Moreland community and William A. Gould and Associates, urban renewal specialists hired by the city to implement the plan. Weiner, who was white, was a former instructor of History at Cuyahoga Community College whose children were enrolled in Moreland School.

In commenting on the grant's objectives, an internal memo from the foundation's staff to its public affairs sub-committee stated: "If genuine community participation can be achieved by the Moreland Community Association, it will serve as a model for not only the Moreland Community and the City of Shaker Heights, but other suburban communities, both locally and nationally, who either are, or will be, faced with the problem of renewing their physically deteriorating areas."²⁹

²⁷ "A Summary of the Development of the Housing Committee's Support for a Moreland Community Improvement Program," [Nov. 1967]. Microfilm "Miscellaneous Reports," Roll 2.

²⁸ Letter from Ruth Downs to Bruce Newman, Nov. 26, 1967. Cleveland Foundation Records, Ms 4092, folder 1148. WRHS.

²⁹ Memorandum, Dec. 1, 1967, Cleveland Foundation Records, Ms 4092, folder 1148.

In response to the Master Plan's critics, the city dropped plans for a civic center and the high-rise apartment building. It then moved forward to pass three bond issues. Issue No. 69 was a \$4 million bond issue for the construction of the Service Center. Approximately \$2.3 million of a \$3 million dollar bond issue (Issue No. 70) for street improvements would be spent in Moreland for improvements to Lee Road and Chagrin Boulevard and site preparation for the town houses, which were eventually built. Issue No. 71 funded improvements to parks in Moreland. The attention Moreland received from the city in the 1960s improved its physical appearance, but the Moreland Community Association made little headway in attracting white residents in the 1970s. Moreland became integrated almost fifty years ago. Its more recent history, equally interesting and significant, remains to be written.

List of possible images:

Map of Warrensville
Daniel Warren's home (Shaker Historical Society)
Moses Warren home
Annexation map
Map of East View Village
East View School (Cleveland Memory)
Gilette Tavern (Cleveland Memory)
Moreland School