

10 Park Ave 11/14
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D. H. H. 11/14

TRIP WITH LOUIS STOKES

May 21-23, 1971

Jewell Gilbert	Clarence Fitch	Art Nickes	John Leonard
Becky Kisner	Sam Brooks	Ed Matt	

Friday, May 21, 1971

2:00 P. M. A. B. Hart Junior High School
3901 East 74th Street

5-7:00 P. M. Open House--Gerard Anderson
1621 Euclid Avenue
Room 2102

Saturday, May 22, 1971

12:00 Noon Guest Speaker
National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa
Annual Scholarship Luncheon
Statler Hilton
Theme: "Involving Today's Youth in
Building Tomorrow's Society"
Assembly in Regency Room at 11:45 a.m.
13th and Euclid

Sunday, May 23, 1971

4:00 P. M. Speaker--Monthly Forum at Mt. Pleasant
United Methodist Church
3232 East 128th Street
"Black Political Power in the '70's"

Going over to A. B. Hart Junior High--Clarence called it "un-
friendly territory"---students come from 14th and 15th wards--"ethnic"
by which he meant Polish mostly. He said that in this Jr. H. S. there
were 100 Blacks out of 1300 students and that "White hoodlums" had been

beating up some. He didn't know what to expect. He did say that Garfield Heights and 14th & 15th ward were all the same kind of people--white ethnics--that those who got enough money moved to Garfield Heights. He agreed with me that L. S. was not gaining there at all and noted that they had taken one student from South High and paid all his expenses to the Presidential Semester(?) program in Washington and had sent one girl from Garfield Heights H. S. But Stokes got no publicity out of it at all. In the case of the girl, there was a big spread with her picture and all in the paper "Garfield Heights Leader" and not one mention of L. S. name. "It was deliberate on the part of the editor." He noted that this paper serves 14th & 15th ward as well as Garfield Heights. It was noteworthy that Clarence had little idea where he was and I had to read from some handwritten directions, telling him when to turn, which way, etc. It was clearly unknown territory for him.

On way back from talk I asked L. S. about the territory and did he speak often there. "When I first ran I did some, but I don't anymore. They don't even ask me. The children were very receptive today. They don't have any prejudice--unless they hear them at home. The school is trying to counteract that prejudice. But their parents are too far gone. I can't talk to them. Imagine how different it would have been if I had been talking to the parents of these kids. I didn't make any gains in this area in the last election. So in the progressive sense, all my work in this area went for nothing. But as far as keeping down the negative vote is concerned, that was an accomplishment." Idea

was that all he can do there is to keep from going backwards and that to do so is a victory.

I asked about redistricting and he said he was in the dark about it. I asked him what would be the best and worst result. He answered the first question but not the second. "As far as safeness is concerned the best thing would be to ~~lap~~ off some of the area we've just been in and pick up East Cleveland, which is 50% Black. I think Charlie Vanik would be happy to give me some of that area, so that he wouldn't have to bother with it. Jim Stanton has some he'd like to give me too. A change like that would make me safe for the next ten years." Later he noted that Ohio would lose one seat, that he and Stanton were short. "Some people have suggested that they put us in the same district." He laughed. I said something about "war" and he nodded. He said Clay was being hurt and that Mo. Senate had given him a "white district," but that he had hopes for better treatment in Missouri House.

*He's
not
happy
about
this*

At lunch we talked about his office calls coming up. He really does not like this part of the job. "Sam and the staff try to do all they can for them and put them off, but if they insist and Sam has gone all the way with them then I will see them--it's their right. If they are getting action from the staff on their problems and things are moving along, then they won't care if they see their Congressman. Congressman Nix of Philadelphia goes home every Saturday and sits in his office talking to his clients; I don't do that and I don't want to."

He complained that "with Carl out of town, I'll have to sit with

all the local politicians and hold their hands. The way they have me doing this is ridiculous."

He doesn't enjoy it--but he is totally involved locally.

I asked him if he could stay away from Cleveland and he said "It can be done another way. If you can use all the tools you have effectively--the Newsletter, the excerpts from the Congressional Record. When people get one of those they take it as a personal message from me and they don't have to see me in person."

But he went on to note that some people want to see him in person and have to--so they can tell people they talked to the Congressman. "They are not influential in the community, but they are influential within their own sphere. They don't really want help with their problems, they just want to go back to their friends and say 'I saw the Congressman and he said--and they'll make up their own story of what I said. They want to talk to me and if I don't see them, they'll cause me 10 years of disadvantage.'" He mentioned someone at the church and some lady who were like that. He was very animated and laughed as he told of the lady who "insisted, 'I must see the Congressman' and when she gets in the office says 'I know you're too busy to deal with my little old problem, but I just wanted to see you. You're looking well.' But she'll go back to her little domain and say I saw the Congressman today and he was looking well. It gives her status."

I asked him re. W. O. Walker. "What he wants from me is attention. He's very powerful and very rich and there's nothing I can do for him. He doesn't want anything from me but recognition. Human beings want to

be recognized, no matter how powerful they are. So I have to nurse him, and keep his good will. It's an imposition but he's too powerful for me to lose his good will. All he wants is to be able to say 'Oh, the Congressman was here Tuesday afternoon' or 'When I was talking to the Congressman Thursday evening....' That's all he wants. And so I talk to him every time I come home, he supports me and we stay on the same team. If I didn't, I might lose his support and I can't afford that."

At lunch we talked a bit about the Appropriations Committee. "I'm having an adjustment problem. Oh, are they smooth." Sam said "No one to fight? And I said "You can't find em!" And he agreed. "They've got lots of stuff hidden away in those bills."

Re Sub committees. "I knew I'd get the bottom of the barrel." Mahon told him to send in a list but that he probably wouldn't get what he wanted. Then he acted out Mahon looking furtively in all directions and then telling "Louis" that he couldn't get him what he wanted. He said he told Mahan to put him wherever he wanted. He assumed G. M. never even read his letter.

He talked about the tradition in the Committee that you never take an amendment to floor without raising it in Subcommittee so that everyone can be warned. He said this hurt them on the Hathaway Amendment. Then on SST, Ed Boland popped up with the amendment on the floor without a word in Committee--and Mahon "who's supposed to fight for his bill on the floor" supported the amendment. The "tradition" is a palpable fraud, in Stokes' opinion.

He said (he thinks) it was Frank Evans who spoke up about my book in some meeting and John Rooney passed it off as something said by "these people who are always writing books."

On the way home from Jerry Anderson's office--warming party, I asked him how it was working out with his family in Washington and he said much, much better. "The four days a week we have together is like a family life should be. We eat breakfast and dinner together--not like the weekends we used to have here."

Do you come home often? "Lately I have been--ever since Carl declared himself out of the race. He asked me to hold the thing together, keep the Caucus meeting. I spend an awful lot of time on the phone with the local politicians, holding their hands." The point that he is deeply involved in the local political situation. Arnold Pinckney, candidate for Mayor, was at the party tonight. At lunch, Sam left and contacted the Mayor--pulled him off the plane for Austin for LBJ's Library opening--so that Lou and Carl could talk. Main idea was that Lou should keep local situation in hand--he's the man everyone calls when Carl's away, I guess. Saturday after L. S. lunch speech, Arnold and he talked briefly in the hall and as they parted, A. P. said, "Well, I guess that's all for now. When are you going back? I'll be in touch with you tomorrow."

We talked about the reception at the Junior High--he was pleased. "When I see what happened today, I have hope for the future. If there weren't the children coming along, I'd say the hell with it and give up the whole thing. (talking to White people) But these children have

no prejudice, no hostility. And they'll come along through high school and college and maybe things will improve. What a difference between the reception they gave me and the one their parents would give me." I said that I thought he should go back to that school and see them once a year and not to let this be a one shot thing. Let them grow up with him, in a sense. And he agreed. He doesn't do much of this--speaking in schools--especially not in White areas.

He asked me what I thought of it. I said I was surprised by the enthusiastic reception, the cheering of nearly every answer, that his positions were like theirs on many items and that there were fewer questions on Black-White relations than I thought there would be.

He agreed on latter point and said he thought about developing the theme at a couple of points (question on caucus, and inner city-suburbs) but decided not to. He said he would go into it if "it came from them" but would not push it himself. "The school has been trying to get the students away from the ethnic view of things. If I pushed the black view of the caucus and why we had to do what we did, then I would be talking just the way the school is teaching them not to talk, wouldn't I. So I thought about it and decided not to go into the subject more deeply unless it came from them." Clarence thought he missed an opportunity to gain understanding of the caucus.

He started with a 10 minute talk on his job and ended with idea that House of Representatives is great place for debate and for disagreement with dignity. Spoke of Constitution as greatest document ever and America as most wonderful country on earth--rich but with

poverty. A different emphasis than his Saturday talk.

Questions emphasized pollution (he was for cutting Viet Nam spending and tackling domestic problems), Cuyahoga River (he had bill which was incorporated in Rivers and Harbors Bill this year to make Cuyahoga River a pilot project); Gun Control (he was for gun control but with protection ^{or} from sportsmen--he saw this as an issue where he gets lots of *flack* from that neighborhood and his position is wrong); Calley (he thinks man shouldn't be punished for killing when he has been taught to kill); is Cleveland dying? ("Cleveland is not dying because you aren't dying"--big cheer); how help inner city (revenue sharing of some sort--federal money generally); 18 year vote (he favors it--big cheer); capital punishment (he's against it--big cheer). Only on the questions that were complex and not very clear did he fail to get a hand.

This evening he sent Sam Brooks somewhere to speak for him--and he said he was going home to bed. He really does not seem to relish the round of speeches and eliminates as many as he can. When I talked earlier, to his D. C. office, they treated this as a big weekend. But it's nothing compared to Conable. Tomorrow, Saturday, he has one speech at noon. He was beginning to worry about it today! Art says it takes a lot out of him--one speech--and that he and Sam think he does best off the cuff. He does. At the school he was rarely at a loss for words--they flow easily and confidently--though without flamboyance. He's not a colorful personality--but he is immensely likeable.

*Mike -
really busy -
so I could
come to
the school*

Clarence said "not for publication" that things would get better in the ethnic areas after Carl retires. Point is that Carl is lightening rod and it rubs off on Lou.

John Leonard is going to take me around the district in the morning. Sam~~#~~ says he knows it better than anyone on the Staff--much more than Lou. Sam also said it wouldn't take much to know more about district than Lou. Lou is not a nooks and crannies man.

I spent most of my time at Anderson's party with Art Nukes--we went out for a cup of coffee together. It was a party of "swingers"--black and white. Jerry was opening up new office. He's a real estate man, appointed to Cleveland Transit System and head of its board by Stokes. He's become an expert in Mass Transit problems. He had low cut shirt and bells on. There were outfits of all sorts--hot pants, pant suits, mod suits and regular suits--but a good deal of "show." Sam and Art dress very conservatively, interestingly enough. No swinging. Sam lives with his father and he's just bought a new house on Lee Heights Boulevard. Art is married, works days for Hanna Mining Co. and has a 13 year old daughter.

Stokes talked about how he will miss Mike Davis. "We clicked from the first minute we met." "I became emotionally involved with Mike." Mike recommended by local OEO head. Spoke movingly about Mike and how smart and helpful and wonderful he was.

Re unions in the district. "I didn't have their support in the primary. They supported Leo Jackson and I beat them. They supported me in the general election, and ever since. But they aren't of any

importance. I'll tell you what group was very important to me financially in the primary--the teamsters. And do you know they have never come back to me since for anything--not once. The AFL-CIO, they fly in your face every time you turn around. They endorse me but don't contribute one dime to my campaign. And they're always after me for something. But the Teamsters who really helped me have never asked me for one single favor. Would you believe it?"

After the sorority speech to about 1000 Black women I asked if that was a good audience to talk to politically. "A large group like that does something to me. It makes me want to prepare more and do a better job. But I'm relieved when it's over. They are all from the 21st District. They are a good cross-section of concerned people--school teachers and administrators mostly. Some of them are campaign workers--more now than they used to be--with more Black awareness. These people were the types who used to want to stay out of things and keep to themselves."

I asked whether the group tomorrow would be different and he said they would be "church people" and "some youth but not too much" and that they would be centered in Mt. Pleasant. Said he was surprised that a number of people today came up to him and said they were coming to hear him tomorrow too. He was surprised because he thought tomorrow's meeting was going to be local--but there's been good publicity and he was expecting a large turnout. Was going to talk about Black caucus--historic nature of it--from Reconstruction period. "I'm going to give them some history."

I asked him how he would describe his district and he puzzled over it without getting too far along with an answer. "I'd talk about the Balck aspects--65% Black and so forth. I'd say it ranges in the Black area from very poor to middle class. And in the White areas it's just barely middle-class-lower middle class. In the poor areas, like Hough, it has all the problems of an inner city. And the middle class areas aren't anything fabulous--18,000-20,000 in the Lee Harvard area."

I asked if the two conflicted in demands on him and he said no. "Most of my welfare problems come from the inner city area and few from outside. The people in Mt. Pleasant--they want more from the city than the Federal government--like sewers. They are very home-conscious there."

first "I don't know whether my district is peculiar or strange or what but I don't get letters asking me to vote such and such a way on such and such a bill. I'll bet if you went into my area and took a poll and asked people how I voted on the Voting Rights extension Act or on the SST, people wouldn't know. They don't vote for me for that reason. They have a blind faith in me. They say to themselves that everything they know about Lou Stokes tells them 'he's up there doing a good job for us. It's a blind faith type of thing."

I asked what ~~work~~ redistricting would be. "If they packed my district with White ethnics from areas like Euclid--as some people say they might, that would kill me. I couldn't do a thing to win against ~~a~~ man like George Voinovich. He's a State Representative over there and

Suburb

I hear he's very bright. "Most of the mail I get is on individual problems--welfare problems, military problems and the elderly--they write asking me to help with their Social Security." People out there know I don't mince words; they know how I stand and they don't like it. That would be the end. I need a Black base. I have 65% now. I would need 55% at least. With only 40% Black, I don't believe I could win. I don't mind having Whites in the district, so long as I have enough Black support to start with. That's the way it has to be for me." He was pretty much in the dark as to what was going to happen and when.

prediction

He sees none of his old primary opponents as interested in running again. "We took all the starch out of them when we beat them so badly in the first primary." He just doesn't see any primary opposition or any potential for any. Sees Mack as "sick" and doesn't know who will run on Republican ticket vs. him. But he certainly does not look over his shoulder at potential challenger.

white

I asked about hard votes and gist of the answer was that he didn't have many real tough ones--he mentioned the ABM-Arms for Israel problem that he mentioned earlier and in the same vein. "I have no Jews in my district but I've worked with them and have a lot of Jewish friends. I'm on record as favoring arms for Israel and I want to help them." Then he mentioned one more. "It was the prisoner of war resolution praising our men for trying to rescue our prisoners in Viet Nam. I gave that one a lot of thought. It didn't affect my

district--I don't think we have any prisoners of war and I certainly haven't had any mail on the subject. I decided to vote my philosophy and let the newspapers make of it what they would. I thought the whole thing was a farce and I voted against it--and 16 of us in the whole House did. And I got some ~~back~~^{ff} from it out of Garfield Heights--some one wanted to censure me."

"I hardly ever have a problem on a vote." And that's the truth!"

I asked re leadership fights. He viewed ^{Conyers'} Congress race as something he did "by himself, without consultation" and for his own reasons. "I didn't sweat that one at all"--he voted for Albert I'm positive, though he actually didn't say so. On the majority leader race he voted O'Hara first ballot and Boggs second. He wasn't sure re O'Hara but liked him and committed early. Re Boggs, he said he was impressed that Boggs had good civil rights record in area where he didn't have to, that it took more "intestinal fortitude" for him than for O'Hara. "I felt we owed someone like that some compensation."

Re his Committee assignment he said it was Mills and Albert who helped, plus a Democratic financial committee worker from Ohio (rev) Steinbrunner(?) who called someone--but mostly Mills-- story as in papers is O.K.

I asked him if Albert had ever asked him for a vote and he said never --that neither had McCormack. This amazed him, but he respected them for it. I asked if he'd give them one and he said, if

Albert asked and it had nothing to do with district "farm bill" (he suggested) then he'd do it.

Re Black Nationalists and Black Panthers. "There are two members of the Caucus who are in touch with the Black-Nationalists, but ^{m, but} they aren't active any more. When I was at a meeting not too long ^{ago} ^{when} three Black Panthers came in full regalia. One of them came over near me and I made a point to talk to him. He just said, "We're with you brother, keep it up" and he walked away. That's all I've seen of the Panthers. They never write to me for anything." "Harllee Jones is around but not very active."

21st District caucus meets regularly--had 500 members out two weeks ago even though notices went out late. He holds executive committee meetings.

Arnold Pinckney talked about the first Stokes primary campaign when we met after the Saturday speech at the Statler Hilton. He said that "we were one happy family--of political ^{novices} ~~names~~" and that it was most fun he'd ever had. In Carl Stokes campaign they spent most of their time patching up personal or group squabbles. But he spoke of the 12 man committee working every night and harmoniously. "We had a good, well-known candidate, who had been active in the community from the NAACP and the Urban League on down. We contacted all the groups-- church groups especially and all the other organizations. We were especially afraid that each of the politicians running in his ward would pull strength from Lou in that ward. So we deliberately set ^{up} upon organization in the home ward of every man in the race and we

talked up Lou and talked down the local leader--"What has he ever done for you?" Our theme was that Lou was the "unity candidate" and it appealed to people. He went around and made speeches--not so many at first but later ^{on} as he spoke everywhere. ^{his opponents} They made him angry saying that he was running on his brother's name. That made him work harder. We were surprised by the size of the margin. We beat every one of his opponents in his home ward--we carried Leo Jackson's ward and his precinct. We just out-worked, out-organized and out-strategized them."

CP Lou S. and I discussed Black Caucus. "Without Bill Clay, Shirley and myself, there wouldn't be any caucus. He even sees himself as the instigator and others picking it up. Feels it's his time and talked alot about choice of Diggs as leader--though he says next time around there won't be any deference of that sort. Dawson out--he was ill." He didn't want to hear of anything Black. He is completely out of touch with the present Congress." Powell wasn't there and he wouldn't come to a meeting anyway unless it was called by Diggs. He and ^{Canyers} Congress were at odds. ~~Nix~~ and Hawkins also didn't like ^{Canyers} Congress because "he has a nose for gimmicks" and he was publicity ^{hard} ~~hard~~. Diggs had personality such that everyone likes him okay--so he was it. He was only one who could get all the rest to come to a meeting. *Nix + Hawkins "jealous of Hays seniority".*

Re. DeHams they worried whether he would be willing "to subjugate himself to the group" but he has--worried about Metcalf being under ~~Rostenkowski~~ but he's been a great member--Collins, ok, Mitchell

"snapped it right up"--Rangel OK. They asked Albert for space.

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CH
Stokes argued that Caucus was doing work of other Congressmen with Black constituents who had neglected them and said that other Congressmen instead of crying "special treatment" should be grateful to Caucus for doing their work for them. "He (Albert) seemed to understand." "He operated on the fear principle that Whites usually operate on when they see Blacks organizing. Why are they doing that? Why don't they join in with the rest of us? They must be up to something nefarious."

CH
We talked some about the problems of increasing the number of Black Congressmen and he said they had talked about going in and campaigning against Congressmen with large Black populations. He said there are 140 some odd districts with 10% - 40% Black. I suggested going in and scaring State legislators in their districts (where Blacks are more likely to constitute a majority) so that they would redraw districtlines in such a way as to produce more Black Congressmen. We kicked this around some.

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At his speech before the Phi Delta Kappa Sorority, he was spoken of by some of the ladies making preliminary talks as "our leader." And he was introduced as "a man who has known poverty and overcome it, a man who knows what it is to be part of an oppressed people--our people." Admiration for his "many many awards and accomplishments, for his many many qualifications" just spilled all over the place. He got a standing ovation when he was presented and a standing ovation

when he finished. No other Congressman I've seen gets that. There is a distance, I think, between L. S. and his constituents and yet he is one of them. But he is clearly more than one of the boys; he is a qualified leader, respected, admired and trusted without hesitation. These Black people are not cynical about him or suspicious. After the talk he was mobbed by these mature, adult, college educated, professional women for his autograph. I never saw that before with Congressmen. He says they have "blind faith" and they do. He is a leader whether he wants to be or not--there is no alternative. His people desperately want leaders. And the relationship is very open. There was lots of good natured kidding about Arnold Pinckney's campaign for mayor (he was on the dias) as if no one in the room could even contemplate anything other than supporting Arnold. Instead of their ^{re} being taboos on "politics"--which might exist in ^{other} ~~the~~ settings, politics is taken for granted as a concomitant of any Black gathering. This is true in church, too, I'm sure. Indeed, White politicians campaign in church all the time, but it's covert and not so open.

In his speech he said he was going to build on "two truisms" that he had learned in travelling around and talking to young people (1) young people are turning off in our society (2) if the society they are going to inherit from us is like the one we've got now, they don't want it. Then he talked of 3 great problems of the society--Viet Nam, racism, poverty. And in each case, he linked the problem to something going on in Washington. He blasted the SST, blasted the

✓ killing in Viet Nam, ("we take an 18 year old and put a diploma in one hand and say you're ready to take your place in society and in the other hand we place a rifle and tell him to go to Viet Nam and kill"), he blasted the 2400 ceiling on welfare,--when government itself puts 3900 as poverty level for family of four, spoke of young blacks who ask him why he's even working in the system. It was, from my view, a fairly tough speech--not like anything I've heard in my travels. Art asked me how I liked it; I said it was great. Art said he liked it much better when Stokes gave a "fiery" speech--that this one didn't have much "fire" in it. I said I'd heard him deliver more fiery ones in connection with Caucus and he agreed. But the difference in perspectives was interesting--what I thought was pretty angry and blistering was not fiery enough for Art.

I asked Lou afterwards, when we were eating at Pat Joyce's, what he told kids who asked him why he was working in the system. "I was over at Cuyahoga Community College one time and one of the radical kids asked me "How come you're working within the system? You should be over here with us denouncing the system. And he went on like that. So I said to him, All right, I'll get up and denounce the system. But before I do, answer me one question. What will your system be like? That took him back a little and he said that Well, the American and French revolutionaries never stopped to figure out what the new system would be like before they revolted and so forth. I said, 'I know what this system is like and I know what I can do in ^{this} ~~that~~ system. But I don't know what I will be able to do under


Quote
start
now.

your system if you don't tell me. If I'm going to let you lead me, you've got to show me where I'm to be lead. Then I asked him another question, "How are you going to win? They've got the army, the police, the national guard, the guns, the bullets, the tanks, the navy; the airplanes. You can't win. So why should I follow you and get killed and get thousands of innocent Black folks killed, when you haven't a prayer." ^R I'm going to keep on denouncing the inequities of this system but I'm going to work within it. To go outside the system would be to deny myself--to deny my own existence. I've beaten the system. I've proved it can be done--so have a lot of others. But the problem is that a Black man has to be extra special to win in this system. Why should you have to be super black to get someplace? That's what's wrong in the society. The ordinary black man doesn't have the same chance that the ordinary white man does. You have to be a super-black.

my as how

I told him how great John Leonard had been to me during our Saturday a.m. tour. "John knows ward politics. He learned it from Charlie Carr--the oldest and most experienced of the Black Councilman. Charlie is a wily, old fox--he's been a councilman for 20 years. He knows every trick and every angle; he can wheel and deal. He's the master when it comes to ward politics." When L. S. talks this way you get the strong feeling that this is not his bag. L. S. is not a local politician in the professional sense. He had no experience in politics (hardly) when he ran--did not come through the ranks and doesn't savor or understand ward politics. His comment about having

to "hold the hands" of local politicians and how distasteful it was. He's a local leader--willy nilly--but not at the ward level. He's a national leader and they wouldn't think of moving without his say so. Once you are as important as Lou in the Black community (brother or no brother) you cannot be ignored and you cannot retreat from the limelight. Moving his family to Washington is an attempt to keep some distance from purely local politics. I laughingly asked if anyone suggested he run for Mayor and he laughed and said, "they know better than to ask me that." Not the remotest chance that he would even contemplate such a thing. This fact helps delineate the sense in which he is a "local" leader.


 About his speaking, he noted that he had done quite a bit of speaking around the country--he had been ^{tyed} ~~holed~~ up with some Boston speakers bureau with Dick Gregory and others--but he was cutting down on that now. He had too much to do at home.

Said he did not speak much at schools. They didn't ask--he thinks because they think he's too busy. A. B. Hart assumed he wouldn't come and was surprised when he did, he said. But he does not, clearly, seek out schools. The idea that they would think he was too busy is interesting and quite different from B. C. or B. R.--who would feel as though schools had a claim on them, I think--maybe not.

"I've been very fortunate with my staff. Each one has been chosen for his individual ability. There are no hangers on and no one chosen for patronage reasons."

Re Mike Davis--recommended to L. S. by Bert Griffin, local OEO head--"The first time we met, Mike and I just clicked. He's been the best assistant anyone could have. I've gotten emotionally involved with Mike and I'll miss him. I'm interviewing for his replacement now and I'm probably not going to find anyone like him.

Xerox 7 pp 22 to end.

Trip with John Leonard on Saturday Morning

May 22, 1971

Started on Broadway into 15th Ward--to "Broadway and East 55th"--Polish Neighborhood--Past Republic Steel (and Jones Laughlin?) which is in 15th Ward.

To Broadway and Fleet--2 story, 1 1/2, 2 1/2 wooden frame houses, tree lined streets, old but well kept lawns, flowers, shrubs--circled around East 65th Street.

14th Ward. The same as 15th. Back to Broadway--East on Aetna--industrial RR tracks area--to East 93rd Street. First Black people appeared here.

South on East 93rd, turn on Union. Area known as "East 93rd and Union." Now in 28th Ward--50% Black, 50% White.

Gets to be all Black at 102nd. Street going up Union.

Turned on East Boulevard (right) broad tree lined avenue with small Bagley-like homes.

Turned on Farrington, pleasant residential area, old small homes, some trees--coming to East 131st and Corlett in 28th Ward, East 131st is business street, serving larger residential area on both sides of it--2 story mostly single-family homes, some with columns and up and down porches, tree lined streets.

To Marston in 30th Ward. We continued down 131st Street till area became mixed White and Black and then, by 131st and Christine it was nearly all White (30 Wd. Precinct 0).

Just beyond is Garfield Heights, up Forest dale in G. H. and turned around on Dressler, which was quite countrified, to Osborn to Ohio, and past East 147th Street This was Black area again "old colored area" had Negro Mayor till 1931 "Miles Heights"--incorporated into Cleveland. Mayor Stokes wants public housing here and has had big hassle but has been defeated. Local Ward leader Clarence Thompson is vs. it. It was a dirty area, I thought--Seville area. John spoke of Gilliam, Yale and Thompson as Stanton Councilmen.

Went up Seville Road to Lee Road, "Lee-Seville" 30th Ward north on Lee Road.

Stokes grew up in 17th Ward at 69th and Woodland Avenue.

30th Ward ends at Harvard. We were on Lee Road to Harvard.

"harvard-Lee."

Right on Harvard and north (left) on E. 177th Street in 13th Ward. "Harvard-Lee" newer homes, bricky; wood, small 1 1/2 stories. (John stopped here). Young trees, very pleasant, shrubbed yards, people mowing, watering, etc.

"This is the newest area we'll be in."

To Scottsdale Avenue (into Shaker Heights, big elms and big difference in homes).

To 10th Ward on Bartlett to East 14th and Kinsman. "Solid black"-large wooden 2 1/2 story homes, porches up and down.

L. S. stays with his mother at 126th and Shaker Boulevard. 10th Ward is William Franklin's ward.

Down Kinsman, heart of Mt. Pleasant business area and into the 16th Ward.

13th and 30th have "some White."

Went to East Boulevard; left on Buckeye to "Buckeye-Wood Hill" area. Jack Russell's "stronghold". He's white and ex-President of City Council. Here we're in 16th Ward.

Right on East 89th up into 18th Ward. Crossed Quincy into 18th Ward. A much older area, run-down, some industry, still trees and some well kept homes, 2 1/2 stories high along East 89th. Big old homes that were at one time quite elegant--now renting apartments.

Into 20th Ward, East 89th and Hough, "Hough area" past Carrie Cain's office, stores with iron grates in front. "Hough Avenue is the worst street in the city." A dying street.

Left on East 105th Street.

Main streets here are East 105th, Superior and St. Clair. "That's where the trouble is", "just about as rough as any part of the city"--"on the side streets there are nice people who can get along with anybody."

Glenville is "the best of the poorest areas. Virgil Brown's ward. We're on East 105th Street. Brown defeated an alcoholic Democratic Councilman.

Into 24th Ward at 105th and Yale. Lee Jackson's ward. St. Clair and 105th Street is heart of 24th Ward. Still Glenville.

Onto St. Clair, right (South) on Lakeview past school where Minister threw self in front of bulldozer and was killed.

27th is like 25th.

Left on Castlewood, right on East 123rd. Trees, 2 story houses, shootout was on 123rd near Lakeview, past boarded up Black nationalist headquarters on Superior Avenue. Having turned right off 123rd onto Superior in 25th Ward.

Past 105th and Superior. "The worst place to travel after dark."

Right on Ansel Road in 21st Ward. Left on Slowinski, looking for "the Katt's House", i.e. Katalinas. "I notice a lot more colored are moving in here now." A mixed ward, explaining Katalinas' support of Black rebel caucus in Council.

Right on East 79th, past Pulaski. Looked all White--back to St. Clair (left).

Into 23rd Ward at 7400 St. Clair.

23rd--more White. Slovenian poor.

21, 18, 23, and 16 are poorest wards.

Compare 23 with 14 and 15, he said, people take care of their homes in 23rd even if they rent--like 14 and 15.

Turk is Councilman in 23rd Ward.

Back toward center of town.

Gilliam and Jack Oliver "glue fingers." "Anything you lay down, they pick up." They took some money from fund raising party and were kicked out of Caucus for not making an accounting and then for coming up short.