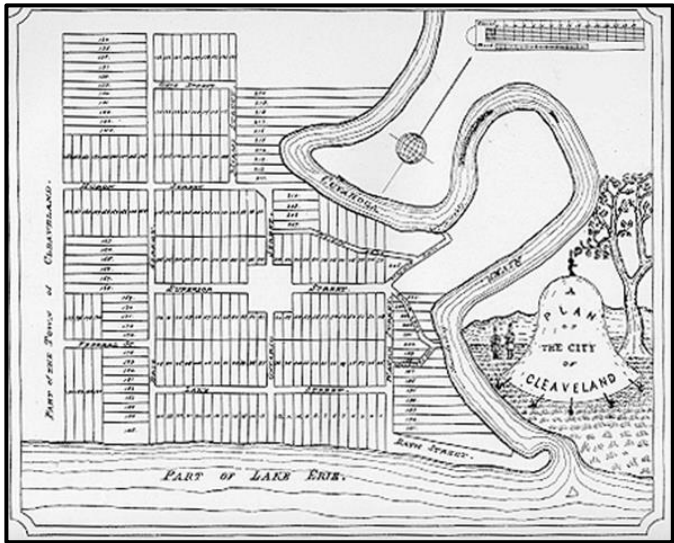


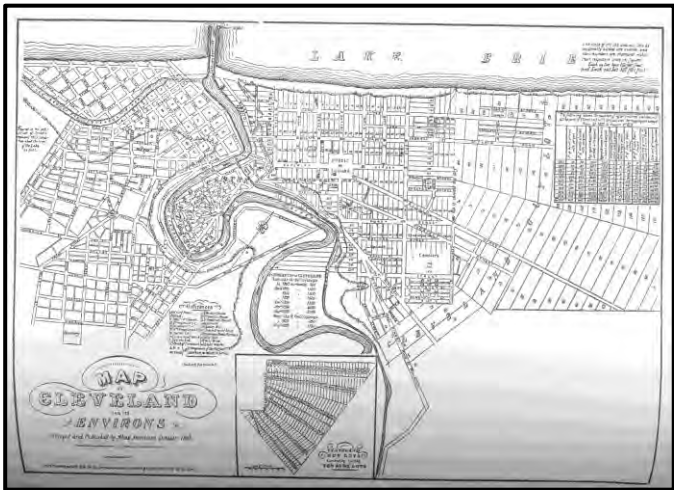
Cleveland's Near West Side



The divide between Cleveland's east and west sides has a long history. In 1622, a royal charter granted land to the colony of Connecticut "from sea to sea." The charter ignored the prior claims of Native American tribes and the fact that New York and Pennsylvania also stood in Connecticut's way. In 1786, as the fledgling United States sought to push westward into the Northwest Territory, Connecticut salvaged a "Western Reserve," bounded on the north by Lake Erie, extending south of present-day Akron, and stretching east from Pennsylvania almost to the Huron River. However, another obstacle loomed. A confederation of Native American tribes waged a decade-long war to dispute the American claim to the entire Northwest Territory. Under the terms of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, the tribes regained control of the Connecticut land west of the Cuyahoga River.



In 1796, the Connecticut Land Company dispatched a survey party headed by Moses Cleaveland to secure the Connecticut stake by laying out a settlement along the Cuyahoga River. The original town plan, drawn by surveyor Amos Spafford, plotted the town entirely on the east side of the river. However, Connecticut settlers soon ignored the Greenville Treaty and the low-lying and marshy nature of the west river bank. While Lorenzo Carter, the area's first permanent white settler, built a log cabin in 1797 on the east side of the river, he established a farm in 1810 on the west side. The Village of Cleveland, situated on the bluffs above the east bank, was incorporated in 1815; three years later, Brooklyn Township was incorporated on the west bank. Brooklyn Township originally extended from Detroit to Monroe Avenues and was bounded on the west by today's W. 28th Street. An 1835 map of "Cleveland and its Environs" showed development on both sides of the Cuyahoga River. Both the City of Cleveland and the west bank's City of Ohio (more popularly known as Ohio City) were incorporated as cities in 1836.

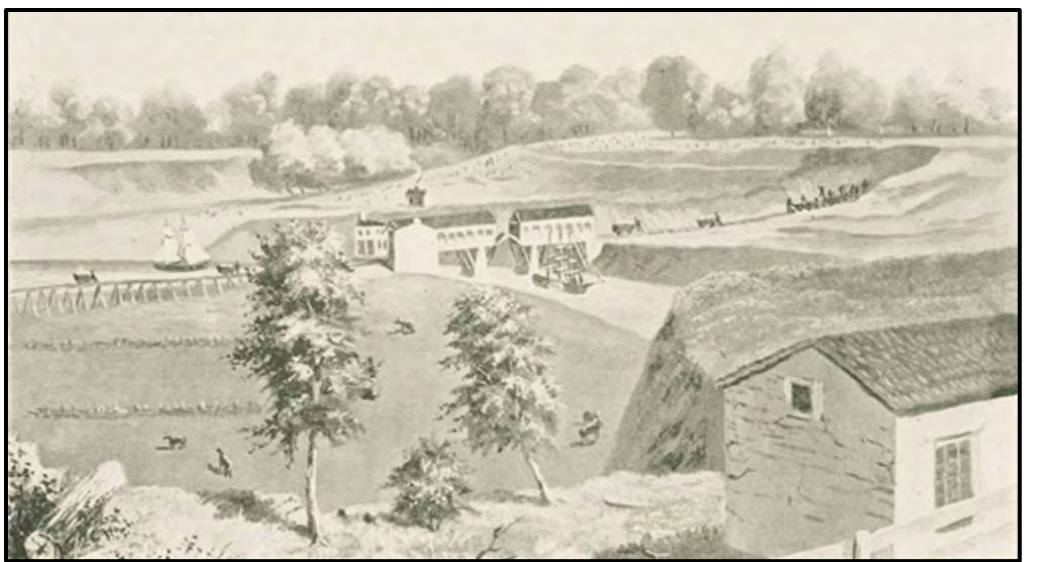
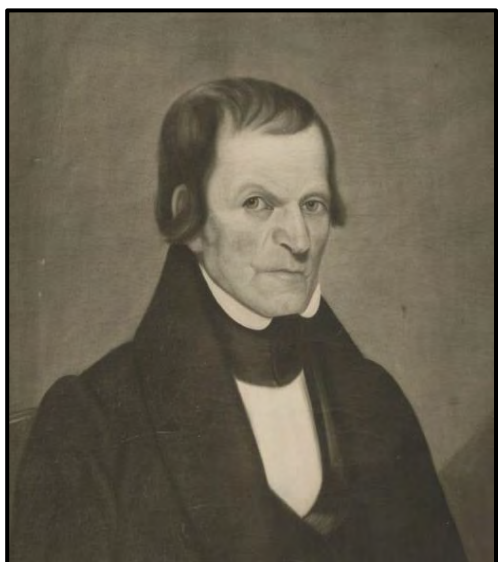


Several key investors drove the development of the "west side." One Connecticut man, Samuel Phillips Lord, owned most of the land that would become Brooklyn Township. Lord's son-in-law Josiah Barber was the first of several family members to arrive in northeast Ohio, in 1818. Barber organized Brooklyn Township and began to sell off the Lord family's land. Real estate speculation accelerated in the

area after the opening of the Ohio and Erie Canal, which was constructed between 1825 and 1832, with Cleveland as its northern terminus. Irish immigrant laborers who helped dig the canal stayed in the area to take jobs loading and unloading canal barges and were settling on the west bank of the Cuyahoga along "Irishtown Bend." A group of developers, bankrolled by wealthy citizens of Buffalo, New York, purchased Lorenzo Carter's farm on the west side of the Cuyahoga River in 1833, and began selling lots north of Detroit, between the river and what is now West 28th Street. A partner of Josiah Barber's bought the Charles Taylor Farm to the west of the Carter farm in 1835, opening up lots north and south of Detroit between today's W. 28th and W. 44th Streets. The Ohio City charter anticipated further westward development, establishing today's W. 58th Street as its western boundary. By 1854, when Cleveland annexed Ohio City, the western boundary had pushed to W. 67th Street.

Serving as Ohio City's first mayor, Josiah Barber laid out a radial city center whose spokes included Franklin and Fulton Avenues and W. 28th Street—at today's Franklin Circle. Barber also planned a farmer's market at W. 25th and Lorain. But at the same time, rival speculators purchased land south of Ohio City, along Columbus Street, for a development called Willeyville. John Willey, who was then Cleveland's first mayor, was one of the investors. The Willeyville group swiftly put up the Columbus Street Bridge, seeking to link their development to the center for canal commerce on the east bank and a competing Central Market perched above the canal basin. Realizing that the bridge would route east-west traffic away from Ohio City, angry west siders swarmed the bridge, intent on destroying it—until everyone agreed that more than one bridge could span the river. In the end, the Willeyville developers lost their short-lived advantage when the railroad rolled into town less than a decade later and quickly eclipsed the canal.

Images: 1805 map showing the overlap between "New Connecticut" and the boundary of the 1795 Greenville Treaty negotiated by General Anthony Wayne (dotted line); Amos Spafford's town plan for Cleveland (WRHS); 1835 Map of "Cleveland and its Environs" (WRHS); Developer Josiah Barber (WRHS); the Columbus Street Bridge, built by real estate speculators in spring 1836 (CSU).



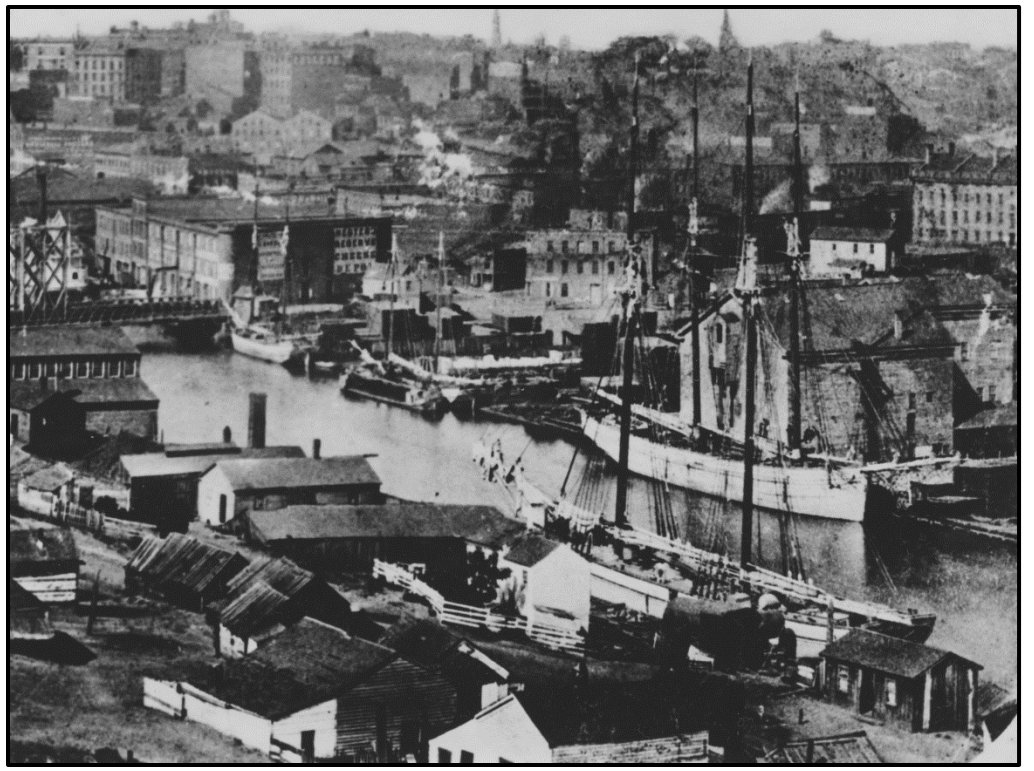
The Role of Irish Immigration

Several waves of Irish immigration helped to shape the development of Cleveland's near west side in the 19th century. When "canal fever" hit the United States in the 1820s—and work on the Ohio and Erie Canal began in Cleveland in 1825—Irish immigrants were willing to shoulder the back-breaking work for low pay. Jobs related to the canal and river—such as hauling and dredging—led many of the canal-era immigrants to settle along a steep stretch of the west bank of the Cuyahoga River—dubbed Irishtown Bend—in the late 1820s and early 1830s. It was no accident that the first Catholic Church in Cleveland, St. Mary's on the Flats—organized as a parish in 1826 and dedicated in 1840—was located on Columbus Street in the canal district. By 1850, when a rare surviving photograph was taken, both banks of the river had become a tangled jumble of warehouses, interspersed on the west bank with the old frame houses of Irishtown Bend.

The influx of Irish Famine immigrants, between 1845 and 1852, roughly coincided with the arrival of the railroad in Cleveland. The canal terminus—near the foot of Superior Avenue on the east bank of the river—lost ground as the city's commercial hub, as the railroad lines—both east-west and north-south—avoided the low-lying area. Irish immigrants had already begun to move up from the west bank of the river, settling in Ohio City on lots carved from the old Brooklyn Township and Carter and Taylor farms. Immigrants who arrived with or were able to acquire a trade—such as shoemaking or blacksmithing—tended to settle on the high ground east of the river in Cleveland's present-day downtown. Two new industrial centers were also emerging—in Newburgh Township to the south of the city, where the city's first iron "rolling mill" opened in 1857, and west of the mouth of the Cuyahoga in the area that would become known as the Triangle or Angle. Catholic churches were organized to serve the growing immigrant population. In 1848, work began on the Cathedral of St. John in Cleveland's city center, at the corner of today's E. 9th Street and Superior. In Ohio City, St. Patrick's on Bridge was organized in 1853, while the forerunner of Holy Name Parish formed in Newburgh in 1854. St. Malachi's was founded in the Angle in 1865.

The Angle, with its iron ore docks and shipbuilding and railroad yards, offered the kind of hard, physical work that fresh waves of unskilled Irish immigrants were willing to take on. But at a time when laborers typically walked to work, the densely packed streets of the Angle were becoming ever more crowded. The crowding was exacerbated when a new wave of hungry and poverty-stricken Irish immigrants arrived in Cleveland in 1883 and 1884 and flocked to the Angle. Suffering from several bad weather- and bad growing- years in the west of Ireland, these immigrants came to Cleveland on an "assisted emigration scheme" spearheaded by an English Quaker named James Hack Tuke in order to prevent another full-blown famine from developing. In reporting to the Diocese about events in St. Malachi Parish in 1883, the pastor, Fr. James P. Maloney, wrote, "The number of poor Emigrants who arrived here last year is very great." In 1883 and 1884, the Tuke Emigration Scheme transported 3,500 people to North America from communities surrounding Blacksod Bay in northwest County Mayo, including Achill Parish, Mullranny, Ballycroy, and Belmullet. More study is needed, but at least a fourth of the total came to Cleveland, many of them settling in the Angle.

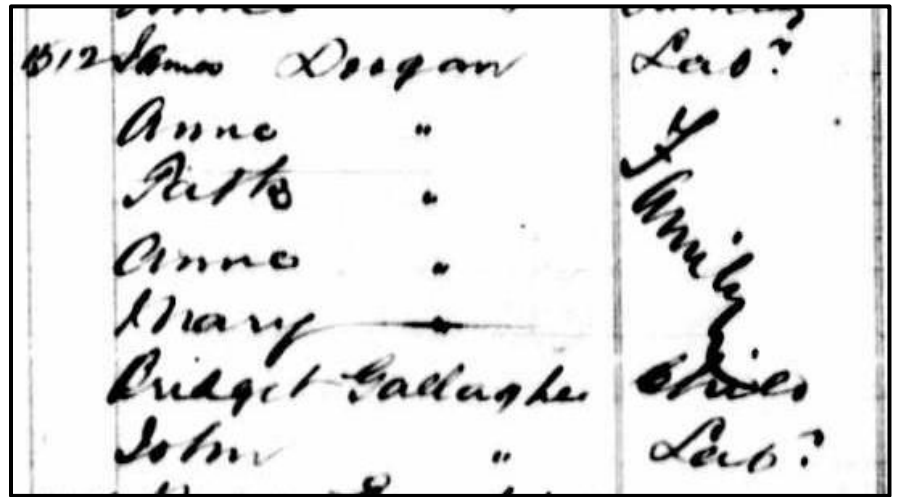
Poverty and crowding were accompanied by the urban ills of fighting and drinking, as one of Cleveland's first "ghettoes" took shape. However, real estate developers were eager to meet the demand for new housing. The village of West Cleveland, part of Brooklyn Township, was incorporated in 1871, bounded on the north by the lake, on the east by the Cleveland border near today's W. 65th Street, on the west by today's West 117th Street, and on the south by Lorain. According to local historian James Dubelko, in an article titled "West Cleveland Town Hall," on www.clevelandhistorical.org, "The village was developed by landowners as a residential subdivision. It was hoped that the suburban setting would appeal to the housing wants and needs of Clevelanders living in an industrial area of the near west side known as the "Triangle". The plan was successful, and the area was predominately settled by working class immigrants." The city of Cleveland would annex West Cleveland in 1894.



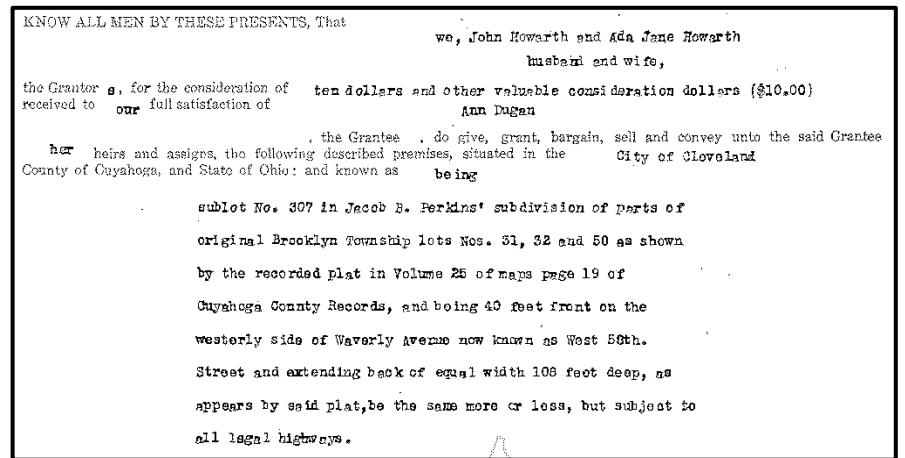
Images: View of the Cuyahoga River from the west bank, ca. 1850 (CPL); View of the Iron Ore Docks, to the west of the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, ca. 1870s (CPL); Railroad cars loaded with coal, 1906.

The Dugans and the Tuke Emigration Scheme

One of the Irish immigrant families who came to Cleveland by way of the Tuke Assisted Emigration Scheme was the family of May Dugan, although May wasn't born yet when her parents, Annie and James Dugan, set sail for Quebec on the SS Scandinavian in April 1883. Her mother Annie was born McManamon and in 1874 had married Anthony Gallagher, a widower with a son named John. Annie and Anthony had three Gallagher daughters. The Gallagher daughters and Anthony's son John were part of the family group on the SS Scandinavian. Widowed in 1879, Annie married James Dugan in 1881; their young son Patrick also traveled with the family.



The McManamons and Dugans lived in a townland in Achill Parish in northwest County Mayo that was called in Irish Tóin a'tSean-bhaile, transcribed in English as Tonatanvally, and popularly known as "The Valley." Many people who lived in the Valley in the 1880s had already been evicted several decades earlier, toward the end of the Famine, for failure to pay rents. At that time the average householder in Ireland was a tenant and subsistence farmer. Several years of bad weather and bad growing years in the late 1870s and early 1880s threatened to trigger the same kind of disruptions and dislocations that had marked the earlier Famine years.



Ten inter-related families left the Valley via the Tuke Emigration Scheme in 1883. Most were bound for Cleveland, where a number of Achill families had already settled in the 1860s; a few of the families went to Nebraska, drawn by pamphlets extolling the agricultural life on the Great Plains. The Dugans headed first to Newburgh. However, a large strike had shut down the rolling mills there in 1882. The management of the Cleveland Rolling Mills blamed Irish workers for the strike and recruited strikebreakers from Poland and today's Czech Republic. 1883 may not have been the most opportune moment for an Irish laborer to arrive in Newburgh.



By 1891, the growing Dugan family can be picked up with certainty in public records in the Angle. The youngest daughter, May, was born in about 1892. In 1898, the family purchased property in the old Buffalo Allotment of Lorenzo Carter's farm on Hanover Street, today's W. 28th Street. While James Dugan continued to work as a laborer, perhaps on the iron ore docks, the family also operated one of the many saloons that dotted the Angle. Soon after 1900, the Dugans left their house and saloon in the Angle in care of a relative. Like many Irish immigrant families at the time, when they moved "up" and out of the Angle, they stayed at several addresses north of Detroit, at W. 45th Street, W. 65th Street, and at 5615 Herman Avenue. In 1918, the Dugans purchased the property at 1380 W. 58th Street that would anchor the family's saloon business for many years.



During Prohibition, which lasted from 1920 until 1933, the family got through lean times by bootlegging. May Dugan's father and first husband William Reynolds both died in 1928. With her mother Annie's help, May raised five children and kept the family business going. Though she would marry a second time, to Frank Fay, she would always be known by her maiden name. May Dugan's son Hubert Ignatius "Iggie" Reynolds was the last family member to operate the bar at W. 58th and Breakwater, which was torn down in 1992.

The Dugan saloons functioned as unofficial community centers. Immigrant workers came in for a hot meal, to cash a paycheck, to find out how to fill out naturalization papers, or to seek help writing letters back home. Born and educated in the US, May had a knack for navigating bureaucracies. The family's Achill and Angle roots gave her connections on all sides of the law. She could just as easily seek help from Congressman Michael Feighan, whose grandfather ran a grocery store in the Angle, as assist gangster Shimmy Patton in distributing food baskets to families down on their luck during the Depression. Helping others was second nature to May. As her granddaughter Charleen Reynolds-Cuffari told a *Freshwater Cleveland* reporter in 2016, May Dugan's motto was, "You give. You don't expect to receive." Daughter of Irish immigrants, May Dugan was a fitting and emblematic person to commemorate when the Near West Side Multi-Service Center dedicated its current facility on Bridge Avenue in 1974.

Images: The Dugan family group on the manifest for the SS Scandinavian, which arrived in Quebec on April 22, 1883; the 1918 deed to the Dugan property, part of the old Brooklyn Township, on W. 58th Street, which was put in Annie Dugan's name; Annie McManamon Gallagher Dugan, ca. 1853-1936; May Dugan, sitting behind her daughter Rita Reynolds Kioussis, at a family wedding in 1954. This display was compiled by Margaret Lynch, Irish American Archives Society