

View from The Overlook



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DOUBLE VISION: *Cleveland Heights' Two-Family Home Heritage*

Story by LAURA PESKIN



Figure I: "Finest Double in Cleveland Heights" on W. St. James Parkway.

(Photo: Laura Peskin)



Figure III: Closeup of medallion on front of 3232 Clarendon Road

(Peskin, L.)



ABOVE: Figure IV: Author's mother, Carolyn Peskin and author's great-grandfather, Herman Rymond in front of corner double, 14622 Superior Road. 1933 (Peskin family) **LEFT:**

Figure II: "Cleveland Doubles" on Edgewood Road (Peskin, L.)

The Cleveland Heights Historical Society



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The Cleveland Heights Historical Society, founded in 1983, is a state-chartered, 501 (c) (3), not-for-profit organization.

Our Mission

The Cleveland Heights Historical Society is dedicated to preserving and promoting the diverse character and traditions of Cleveland Heights. As a community-based historic organization, the Society encourages and facilitates greater knowledge, understanding and awareness of the heritage of Cleveland Heights.

From the President...

Folks,

It's been generously announced but, in case you haven't heard, the Cleveland Heights Historical Society is a recipient of the coveted State Historic Preservation Office's Public Education and Awareness Award for 2024. We don't know yet how many organizations or communities have also received it this year but we know in recent years the number was only a few from the entire state. It happens, though, that the Cleveland Heights Landmark Commission was honored twice in the 1990s — twice for the same award. This is one of two award categories the Preservation Office — under the auspices of the Ohio History Connection — offers each year, with the other named an award for preservation merit.

Awarded specifically is our Historical Society's journal, *View from The Overlook*, of which we have now produced 50 since 1997. The Preservation Office's announcement to us states, "Through its detailed exploration of local architecture, neighborhood development, and area history, the journal has made an outstanding contribution to understanding the built environment in Cleveland Heights and to historic preservation education in Ohio."

Some of you have received a letter distributed by the Historical Society outlining our new dues level structure, included on our clevelandheightshistory.org website, and mentioning we hope to hold a fundraiser in the Spring, 2025. We requested the membership dues very late in 2023 for that year so, in case you responded to that request very early in 2024, we are requesting you consider paying once more to cover 2024. The usual form for this is here, and I assure you we shall put these funds to good use

As you can see the current *View*, the result of very great effort by writer and former CHHS Trustee Laura Peskin, is an extensive study pertaining to the thousands of double houses we are graced with in Cleveland Heights. They are a major and memorable feature of our fair suburb and, though the Cleveland Landmark Commission produced a brochure and photo exhibit on the topic in 1998, for which the Commission actually received one of the two aforementioned State Awards, it is time for another broad look.

Please let us know your thoughts as to programs or any concerns you may have regarding our website. And don't forget our lively Facebook Page if you are a member of that site.

— Ken Goldberg



Preface

THE TOPIC OF CLEVELAND HEIGHTS' plentiful double or triple homes is one near and dear to my heart. My mother's first home 1931-1949 was a triple in Superior Heights near Cain Park. (See fig. 00.)

The house was three-generational when my family owned it with my mother and her parents on the first floor and her maternal grandparents on the second floor. Three-generational households made up about 9%-17% of all double/triple home households 1920-1950, depending on year, on a street in the Minor Heights section of Cleveland Heights, according to original Census research I conducted.

Minor Heights is not far from my mother's first home. In the Census research, I examined households within DeSota Avenue's doubles/triples. By 1950, there were 75 double/triple houses on DeSota Avenue and 10 single homes. DeSota Avenue was selected for an in-depth look because of its high percentage of doubles/triples, though another such street in another neighborhood, for example, Hampshire Road or E. Derbyshire Road could have just as easily been picked. Bias undoubtedly entered the selection process; I briefly lived on DeSota Avenue around 1990.

Over time, in my Minor Heights Census research, the percentage of three-generational households increased, largely because they spread into the two large suites of the house on the first and second floor, rather than being more likely, as in 1930, to use one large suite of the house supplemented with attic rooms.

For example, in 1930, grandparents, parents and children may have lived on a second and third floor, while in 1940, grandparents were more likely to have been on the second floor, parents and children on the first floor. Thus, in 1940, the house had two three-generational



Figure V: 3326 E. Overlook Road in 1958
(Cuyahoga County Archives)

households while in 1930, it only had one.

My mother's particular type of occupancy with the three-generational family in the first and second story suites and an unrelated tenant on the third floor was rarely replicated in my Minor Heights Census research. A possible reason was the tendency, especially by 1950, for the Minor Heights three-generational suites to contain the grandparents' childless offspring and even their spouses in

addition to the grandchildren and their parents.

For example, the grandparents of Family Y might live on the second floor with both an unmarried adult son and an adult daughter and her husband. The first floor might then house an unmarried adult daughter, an adult son, his wife and their children. Third floor bedrooms could accommodate these additional people.

Also, I found no Minor Heights cases that mirrored my family's former triple house in another way; one of the intergenerational family households, my mother and her parents, also had a live-in maid. This was in addition to the third-floor tenant.

It is, however, quite a misconception that Cleveland Heights double/triple homes lacked servants. Heck, a lot of such homes were built with servants' quarters, an observation that surprised some doubles/triples residents I interviewed!

My Minor Heights Census research found that 12% of doubles/triples households had servants in 1930, 3% in Great Depression recovery year 1940 and 1% in 1950. I believe if I had surveyed neighborhoods with historically large Catholic families, a population I under-explored, I may have found larger numbers of doubles households with servants post-1940. — L. Peskin



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DOUBLE VISION:

Cleveland Heights' Two-Family Home Heritage

Double and Triple Homes Defined

Readers may have heard of all the following terms: two-family-house, duplex, or double. Most of them are not exact synonyms and depend on who is speaking or the context. “Two-family houses” were the legal definition first used in the 1921 City of Cleveland Heights zoning code to denote houses with one suite on one floor and another on the other floor. In this regard, such homes were distinguished from what the same zoning code termed “double houses.” Those were dwellings with one two-to-three floor suite plus basement on one side of a firewall and another such suite on the other side. (The 2001 zoning code refers to ALL two-suite dwellings as “two-family houses,” regardless of how the suites are arranged.)

ABOVE:
Figure x: 1666
Hillcrest Road
Note unusual
building
orientation, as
well as Arts
and Crafts
columns and
window frames
(Goldberg, K.)

Popular Northeast Ohio language on houses containing two suites partially echoes the former legal definition of “two-family-houses.” That term in everyday conversation tends to apply more to the up-and-down-double home. The side-by-side tended to be termed a “duplex” in the 1970s, the present writer recalls. Writer and researcher Chuck Owen remembers corner doubles being called “duplexes” in the 1960s. (Old ads show that this usage actually dates back to the 1920s.) More confusingly, the dictionary defines a duplex as ANY house with two suites.

This article refers to ANY house containing two or three suites as a double or triple. It avoids the terms “two-family house,” “three family house,” and “duplex.” Instead, for descriptive reasons, it uses “up and down” double or triple and “side-by-side” double.

Why Study Double Homes: a Sociological and Architectural Overview

The architecture of double homes often holds a certain elegance in twos. See fig. xxv. On the other hand, many other double homes conform to styles associated with single homes by minimizing exterior features that would identify them as doubles. Creatively masking doubles in this way was important for neighbor appeasement in upscale suburbs such as Cleveland Heights, though not required per its 1921 zoning code. In more restrictive, nearby Shaker Heights, the 1920s zoning code mandated that no house have exterior features such as dual front entrance doors that would absolutely give it away as a double.

Another reason to study and read about Cleveland Heights double/triple homes is for their sheer numbers in the city. According to city permits, there are around 1,200 double/ triple homes in Cleveland Heights, approximately 9% of the city’s homes, not including apartments/ townhouses. Still the count of double/triple homes is sizeable, made more signifi-

cant by the larger number of households in double/triple homes compared with single ones.

Additionally certain neighborhoods in Cleveland Heights, for example: Cedar Heights, the Cedar Hill Allotment (South Overlook Road), the Fairmount-Coventry Subdivision (Roxboro area), Coventry Park Land Co, Subdivision (Renrock, Stillman and E. Derbyshire Roads), the Meadowbrook Allotment, Grant Deming’s Forest Hill including E. Derbyshire Road, Superior Heights, the Cedarbrook Allotment, Minor Heights (Altamont, DeSota Avenues etc. between Lee and Taylor Roads), Helmsdale Avenue off Noble Road, the Coventry-Mayfield Land Co. Subdivision (north of Mayfield Road between Coventry and Hillcrest Roads), and Coventry Village — particularly Hampshire Road west of Coventry Road — are heavy in double/triple homes. Thus, these areas are only properly appreciated by discussing doubles/triples. In the growth years of 1915-1919, one out of every four homes built in the city was a double/triple.



Figure vi: Jim Miller and Deborah Van Kleef love their “double life” in Cleveland Hts., since 1985. They have made many friends among their tenants. (Miller and Van Kleef)



Figure viii: The in-wall sweep chute at 2930 E. Derbyshire Road, a Ray Hummer built double, displays two themes of this story: preservation of original features in Heights doubles and their high comfort and convenience level. (L. Peskin)

DeSota Avenue, a street hit hard by the 2008 mortgage crisis and ensuing Great Recession.)

Many absentee landlords care about maintaining Cleveland Heights' housing resources, especially if they also live in Cleveland Heights. One such investment landlord and property restorer relayed that market-rate rents help finance maintenance of Cleveland Heights' architectural treasures. Another landlord, Ben Greenberg, remarked that retention of quaint architectural features such as sconce lighting helps attract quality tenants. Another investment owner, Becky Sanders, enthused about her Prairie-styled double home:

This house in my opinion is a work of art that conveniently is an investment property. When a young university student of interior design, I fell in love with Frank Lloyd Wright's theories of architecture as they relate to nature. His Prairie Style is one of my favorites. Many an interesting group of people have occupied my Prairie house since I have taken ownership. By far it has always attracted those with artistic tastes.

Integrally, double/triple homes contribute part and parcel to the Cleveland Heights communal spirit. Dwellers in doubles and multi-family housing are some of the Cleveland Heights' most neighbor-connected residents. For example, Kate Pitrone, a 1960s



Figure vi: Victorian elegance for rent at 2253-55 Grandview Ave., a single home converted to a double before 1930. (Peskin, L)

Truly no residential or sociological study of Cleveland Heights or comparable communities is complete without inclusion of multi-family housing including double/triple homes. While doubles/ triples are far from the exclusive province of modest-income residents, such housing certainly makes home ownership more affordable. Renting out one or two suites, while living in another has significantly subsidized the mortgage for many an area homeowner. Separate ownership of a double's two suites is also common. From 1920-1940, about a third of households in double/triple homes in the present writer's Minor Heights Census study area corresponded to an owning family. Sadly, the trend toward owner-occupied double/triple homes has been ebbing for years in favor of absentee ownership.

The present writer's Census analysis found that in 1940, about one third of DeSota Avenue households in double/triple homes owned; today only about 7% do. (Current owners with tax-mailing addresses off DeSota Avenue were assumed not to live there. Many owners were corporate, and a handful were out-of-state or out-of-country. Perhaps owner-occupancy in Cleveland Heights as a whole is not as bleak as on

denizen of the S. Overlook Road double home district, shared fond neighbor memories. Brenda Ingram, an interviewed owner-occupant of a corner double in the Noble/ Elmwood Roads area, enjoys a close-knit neighborhood where residents know one another, have each other's phone numbers and keep an eye on each other's children and homes.

Most doubles, save those built Postwar, have at least one open porch. Open front porches and shared rear balconies create communal space. Those raised in two-family houses sometimes warmly remember roomy open front porches that invited the lost art of neighborly dropping by. Front porches are semi-public spaces that encourage community building. Certainly, older single homes also had front porches conducive to similar social intercourse. Yet, the porches of double/triple homes already serve a micro-community and are thus already better connected to the neighborhood. The Midcentury passing of the front porch in new construction represented a loss of neighborliness and community.

Not surprisingly, residents of Cleveland Heights' doubles welcome the suburb's diverse make-up. Representatives of that diversity, of course, may have spent time on another floor or side of these residents' own homes.

John Rode III, an owner-occupant of a double, observed that "Cleveland Heights was always a model of diversity. There were all types of houses and classes of people living in close proximity." Doubles resident-owners Kathleen Greenberg and Lisa Moose echoed these sentiments. Chuck Owen stated that his former triple home and the greater

Cleveland Heights experience exposed him as a 12-year old transplant to types of people he had not experienced in his previous community.

Doubles in American and Local History

Double homes regularly appeared in mid-18th-century American Colonial seaport cities such as Newport, RI. These early doubles were either side-by-side or back-to-back. The latter predominated in the 18th-century but had been superseded by the side-by-side type by the 19th-century.

Double homes in urban American architectural history, above all other factors, came out of limited space and consequently high property values in the urban environment. In American history, double homes may have been more desirable than multi-family housing, namely rowhouses. (Apartment houses are a post-Civil War phenomenon.) The double house offered greater fire safety, more privacy and more light, it being windowless on only the adjoining side. In former times, a double house was also noted, perhaps more than today, to be less costly than two single houses.

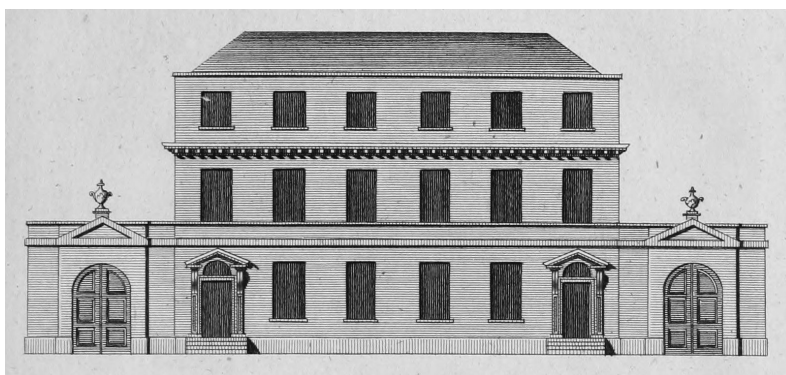


Figure xi: Crunden, John. *Convenient and Ornamental Architecture, consisting of Original Plans ...* (London: Taylor, 1797), plate 27 for a double home. According to Oxford Reference, Crunden (1741-1828) was best known for his plan books, influential in the U.S.

In Early and Colonial America, double homes were as much the territory of the upper class as the working class and all in between. See fig. xi for a prototype of a late 18th-century, upper-middle-class double. (A currently standing, if modified, example of this double home style occurs with the 1760s-built Blake Tenements in downtown Charleston, SC.)

Mid-19th-century doubles homes are hard to study in a smaller, Midwestern city like Cleveland. Pre-Civil War Cleveland was in its industrial infancy. Thus, it lacked mass in-migration for factory jobs and the ensuing congestion. Consequently, Cleveland had less need for the more economic or efficient land use double homes provided. Occasionally one will see a mid-19th-century Federal double such as 3902 Woodbine Avenue in Ohio City. Careful city-directory and insurance-map research often find, as in this particular case, that the home most likely started out as a single.

Germans and the Irish emigrated to pre-Industrial Cleveland and possibly could have used double homes. There are few proper mid-19th-century mappings of early, soon rebuilt Irish-settled areas. Pre-Civil War areas of mixed German and Irish settlement in Cleveland's near Northeast-side Clinton Park neighborhood are better documented through maps such as the 1881 Hopkins' one on Cleveland Historic Maps (arcgis.com). That shows individual houses. Very few of them, if any, according to that map or the 1886 Sanborn map were official doubles/

triples. Census records, show, for example, that in 1860, Prussian-born Nicholas and Catharine Wolf lived under one roof with their two sons aged 9-23, their two married adult daughters, husbands and grandchildren. This placed a total of 14 people at 1045 Hamilton Avenue. The modest two-story single dwelling with a petite one-story rear addition sat on a narrow, 33-foot-wide lot. Family-kept records indicate that the Wolfs bought the home in the 1830s and that

it then housed up to 25 extended family members.

The preceding account of the Wolf family illustrates how pre-Civil War immigrant Clevelanders made do with both limited budgets and the town's inadequate housing stock. In the mid-19th century, in a great portion of the US, official double homes were merely the stuff of plan books. Within those pages, period plans largely were aimed at wealthier residents. The books also contained flexible designs that could be used for single or double homes, the doubles merely having smaller rooms.

Judah Rubinstein noted that when Eastern European Jews arrived in the Central-Scovill Avenue area in the 1880s, they desired multi-family housing. Encountering mainly vacant single homes left by the established German Jews, now moving eastward, the new arrivals subdivided them. So appears the present writer's great-grandparents' double on E. 39th Street on an 1886 Sanborn insurance map. On a 1912 Sanborn map, as a triple, it merely has a whole other house or addition tacked on the rear behind a firewall.



Figure ix: Leaded glass sidelights at 3165 Meadowbrook Blvd. (Peskin, L.)

Despite the improvised housing just noted, by the time of the 1886 Sanborn insurance map, proper side-by-side-doubles could be seen in Central-Scovill and all over Cleveland. It is not hard to spot post-1880 doubles nowadays either. They range from the opulent such as 7217 Euclid Avenue on Millionaires' Row (razed ca. 1987) to the modest such as 3259-63 E. 57th Street in Slavic Village. 2178 E. 100th Street in the Fairfax area (Jesse Owens' home), 3402 Bridge Avenue in Ohio City, and 1958-60 E. 120th Street, Little Italy illustrate the variety of late 19th-century doubles designs for Clevelanders of various income levels.

Just for fun, the present writer further analyzed, mainly through the Census, 1880 to 1915-built doubles of which she happens to have photos; this represents a biased sampling. Most of the houses were in Greater Cleveland, a few in Cleveland Heights, and even a couple in other states. In total, 37 1900-1920 doubles-dwelling households were examined. While this sample is neither large nor scientific, coincidentally it had somewhat similar findings to university sociological researcher Oliver Zunz's studies in the same period of three-generational and other extended family households in general; he did not study multiple family houses specifically. Zunz found that in 1900, 16% of both Irish and native white American Detroit households were extended in some form. Likewise, the present writer found that 8% of all 1900-1920 double households from her little non-scientific sample were three-generational. Additional households involved other types of extended families.

Whether historically double homes were rented or owned is also worth noting because it relates to residents' economic security. L.A. Glasco has reported that almost half of native-born whites owned their homes in 1855 Buffalo, while 40% of Germans and 25% of Irish did, though his study didn't distinguish

between single and double homes. Looking at 1900 Detroit, Oliver Zunz found that foreign-born Polish families had the highest rate of home ownership among all foreign and native groups; about 68% of Poles owned either single or double homes and that about the same percentage lived in doubles. Zunz also noted that post-1910, foreign-born Hungarians had high rates of home ownership. The present writer in her nonscientific sample, nonetheless, found that 1900-1920, 33% of the owning households in doubles were foreign-headed, while only 20% of the renting doubles households were foreign-headed.

Only 13.5% of the 1900-1920 doubles-residing households the present writer looked at were female-headed, but there was a pattern; these female heads represented another third of the homeowners. In a former era where few women worked, a woman household head in a double, often a widow, possibly desired to retain ownership of her home and use the rental income.

Likewise, reflecting a need for income, female-headed households were overrepresented in doubles' households with boarders. In the present writer's little sample, 16% of all examined doubles households had boarders. (Boarding with a family at one time was a fairly common American residential pattern.) One third of the households found with boarders were female-headed, while again female-headed households only comprised 13.5% of the sample total. The conclusion of this article will provide comparative but more recent and more Cleveland Heights-relevant sociological data.

Cleveland Heights as a “Streetcar Suburb” and How it Acquired Double Homes

Multi-family housing in Cleveland Heights rides on the coattails of the suburb's upscale beginnings. In an era preceding the automobile, efficiently moving

people up the daunting escarpments to the Heights necessitated installation of public transportation; streetcars handily accomplished the task. Patrick Calhoun, developer of Cleveland Heights' regal 1890s predecessor, the unincorporated Euclid Heights in East Cleveland Township, paid for electric streetcars to scale steep Cedar Glen and then furnish essential access to his Euclid Heights Blvd neighborhood.

Over the decades, some of Cleveland Heights' oldest 19th-century Euclid Heights homes and other singles from its pre-incorporation period became doubles. Besides in Euclid Heights as a whole, this occurred a special portion of it, later termed the Carriage House District. Cedar Heights, and the Noble Road area also contain single-to-double home conversions, just to mention some neighborhoods with them. See sidebar text (fig. xii).

The chart in fig. xx shows which streetcar service in which years served the various Cleveland Heights neighborhoods. The chart also includes addresses and dates of the first double homes in the mentioned neighborhoods. A few neighborhoods not included in the chart have out-of-the-ordinary histories involving their double/triple homes. For example, in 1918 Cedar Road streetcar service reached Coventry Road. This transportation expansion occurred just three years after the Cleveland Catholic Diocese opened St. Ann Church (later Communion of Saints Church) at Cedar and Coventry Roads.

Also in 1915, the Diocese assured housing for its parishioners through a loan to the Catholic-owned Meadowbrook Land Company. That firm held the Meadowbrook Allotment. This area consists of Meadowbrook Blvd. and cross streets between Maplewood and Lee Roads. There are many doubles here. Anna Staiger, the Catholic socialite owner of the Meadowbrook Land Co., also owned the Coventry-Cedar subdivision further west along Meadowbrook



Figure xvi: The natural stone foundation at 2320 Bellfield Ave. supports its 19th century build date (Peskin, L.)

Blvd., including both some double homes and the block where St. Ann Church is situated.

Howard A. Stahl's Coventry Park Land Company 1916 subdivision northeast of the Cedar/ Coventry intersection includes Stillman and Renrock Roads, home to many doubles in the shadow of St. Ann Church; these include up-and-down and side-by-side-doubles. Hardly all residents were Catholic, though. 2106 Renrock Road was Paul Newman's former home. Notably, William Koehl (1883-1956), the architect of St. Ann Church, designed the gambrel-roofed, side-by-side double where the Newmans lived. In the alteration/ restoration section of this article, we will visit another double convenient to St. Ann Church also designed by the prolific Koehl.

Toward the end of the 20th-century's third decade, the Cedar Road streetcar finally reached Hampstead Road, a stone's throw from major thoroughfare, S. Taylor Road. At this point in time, the present writer's grandmother and great-grandmother bought a triple home at 3326 E. Overlook Road, in Superior Heights near Cain Park. Neither woman drove. Neither did Chuck Owen's mother, who spent her childhood and young adult years in Ridgewood-Queens, NYC, where

public transportation use far outstripped driving. In the early 1960s, Mrs. Owen from her Meadowbrook Blvd. double took advantage of prompt public transportation, as well as nearby convenient shopping at Cedar Lee, commercially developed in the 1920s. Since that period, the shopping center made all of the surrounding residential developments more livable. For example, the Cedarbrook Allotment, at the SE quadrant of the Cedar/ Lee Roads intersection, was sparsely populated until the 1920s brought streetcars and shopping; then it gained many double and single homes.

A Word on Zoning

In 1901, 92 registered voters in the Euclid Heights, Ambler Heights, Cedar Heights, Mayfield Heights, and Haycox-Quigley-Gooding allotments of East Cleveland Township as well as in the remaining unincorporated portions of the southern township voted to unify these areas as the Hamlet of Cleveland Heights; this was 42 more voters than needed to achieve hamlet status. Many of the voters, led by the Euclid Heights elite, believed the hamlet was necessary to prevent annexation of their wealthy or solidly middle-class enclaves by Cleveland or the Village of East Cleveland; the well-heeled voters of Cleveland Heights didn't want their paradise hijacked by urban or working-class concerns. The state's hamlet distinction was phased out in 1903, and all hamlets, including Cleveland Heights, automatically became villages that year.

While hamlet government mainly concerned itself with protecting citizens and providing roads and transportation, villages have more trustees and employees, and look after more matters of general well-being in their jurisdictions. Such concerns include parks, commerce and buildings. As early as 1906, double homes were regulated to some degree in Cleveland Heights, when Ordinance 205 was put on the books.

It necessitated a firewall dividing the suites of side-by-side-doubles. The wall was to extend from foundation to roof peak and be at least eight inches thick. The earliest original Cleveland Heights doubles that the present writer has any record of date to 1907 *Plain Dealer* ads for new construction in Cedar Heights.

In 1921, Cleveland Heights voted for city status largely to stave off secession of its northern neighborhoods to East Cleveland, which provided most of the transportation schemes and schooling for that part of town; neighborhood secession is more difficult in a city than a village. City status enlarged Cleveland Heights government. As Cleveland Heights became a city, it passed its first comprehensive statute providing zoning for single homes, double homes, apartment buildings and commercial land use. In its introduction, this law, Ordinance 2337, listed its purpose as preserving Cleveland Heights as a pleasant residential area while "prevent[ing] congestion" and promoting "safety, comfort and prosperity." On a map (see a reprint of it in the Cleveland Heights Historical Society {CHHS} Facebook Doubles Figure Gallery), the city was divided into five different use districts designated U-1 to U-5, with U-1 meaning only single family homes permitted, U-2 signifying double/triple homes permitted, as well as single family homes, and U-3 to U-5 designating other uses.

The use districts in the 1921 zoning code corresponded to area districts A-1 through A-4. Area districts stipulated the minimum lot square footage that a household needed. For example, in an A-2 district 2,400 square feet per household were needed whether the house was a single or double. Also, a lot needed to be 50 feet wide for new construction of a double; doubles already built on narrower lots were grandfathered in.

An A-1 district required 5,000 square feet of lot space per household, thereby excluding average-

19th Century Cleveland Heights Homes Converted to Doubles

BECAUSE SO LITTLE OF 19TH CENTURY CLEVELAND HEIGHTS is left, any remaining home is notable. 19th century singles converted to doubles do not always show high overall interior architectural integrity. The floor plans can appear “chopped up.” Original but later inconvenient features like stairways may wind up in closets. Still fine exterior features and elegant interior architectural details remain. Space and time don’t permit doing justice to three of the seven known 19th century singles that later became doubles. The George Campbell house in eastern Euclid Heights, the Georgian Revival Myron T. Herrick Carriage House (#1 Herrick Mews), and the Melvin B. Johnson Carriage House (#5 Herrick Mews), the latter two in the Euclid Heights Carriage House District, are merely mentioned, not described here. All conversions discussed here except the Asa Cady house are to up-and-down doubles/ triples.



Figure xiii: ca. 1841 Asa Cady farmhouse, 3921 Bluestone Road, converted to double occupancy by 1920 (Peskin, L.)

Asa Cady house, ca. 1841, 3921-23 Bluestone Road

This is one of Cleveland Heights’ oldest homes. Its original location was the corner of Noble Road at the later Bluestone Road. Around 1900, it was moved east along Bluestone Road to its present location. The 1920 Census already shows the farmhouse as a side-by-side double with two addresses and unrelated renting families at each. In 2023, the historic house underwent yet another exterior remodel. See fig. xii. However, only the left-most portion of the rambly house, the part with the front-facing gable, is original. There, according to the city Landmark nomination form, oak structural beams retain their bark.



Figure xiv:
ca. 1894
Walton-
Shapero
House, 2197
Grandview
Ave.,
remodeled
as a triple
in 1918
Peskin, L.)

Walton-Shapero house: 1894, 2197 Grandview Ave.

Edmund Walton (1868-1916) of the Walton Brothers property development team made his own home in his Cedar Heights subdivision until his 1916 death. Tax duplicate research strongly suggests that this home dates to 1894. In 1918, Morris A. Shapero, then the owner of 2197, at a cost of \$4,500 remodeled it as a triple. The home is an altogether spacious and imposing Type 1 double. (See the “Common Doubles Typology” section of this article for term definitions.) Generous finished attic space juts over the classic two levels of front porches. By 1964, the main body of the house not counting the front porches was 60 feet deep. The county auditors’ website today indicates as much living space in each three-bedroom first or second floor suite as in an average three-bedroom single home.

**Cartwright House/ Obrock Dairy: 1894,
2320-24 Bellfield Ave.**

In 1906, Christian Obrock (1880-1963, fig. xvii), a local dairy operator since 1901, bought a house at 2324 Bellfield Avenue for his home and dairy. See fig. xv. The 1913 Sanborn map shows his milkhouse out back. Through tax duplicates, it is known that the house had been standing since 1894 and built by a tool maker named John V. Cartwright, its owner-occupant who sold it to Obrock. See fig. xvi of the 19th century natural stone foundation. 1906 is also the year Obrock got married; maybe he needed a bigger place to start a family. It appears from the 1920 Census that 2324 was still a single home then. About two years later, the Obrocks left for 3203 Mayfield Road, a much larger dairying facility that survives to this day repurposed as Alternative Solutions Car Care. A house, now razed, adjoined the Mayfield Road dairy. The Dean Dairy next door processed the Obrock milk. (Its building also still stands, repurposed as a U-Haul rental business.) Obrock was a big name in local dairying until selling out to Dean Dairy in 1953. After the Obrocks' move to Mayfield Road, they retained ownership of 2320-24 Bellfield Avenue until 1954. The Obrocks had already converted the house to a double by 1930; that year the Census already shows it with the second suite and two tenants.



Figure xv:
Ca. 1894
Cartwright-
Obrock
House,
2320-24
Bellfield
Ave.,
converted
to double
occupancy
by 1930
(Peskin, L.)



Figure xviii: Ca. 1894 Walton-Arter House, 2253-55 Grandview Ave., converted to double occupancy by 1930 (Peskin, L.)

**Walton-Arter house: 1894,
2253-2255 Grandview Ave.**

This turreted Victorian villa is verified through tax duplicates to date to 1894. 1894-1897 developers Edmund and William Walton owned; use then is unknown. In 1898, Theodore J. Arter (1863-1953), a cooperage agent and property investor, bought the house and lived in it a few years. After the 1901 birth of son, Theodore J. Jr., the Arters moved. In 1903, Michael Clifford, a manufacturer of architectural ironwork, bought the residence. The Clifford family lived there at least until 1920. Though the premises today evince little ironwork, if there ever was much, they do boast two Victorian fireplaces. (See fig. vii.) The hexagonal turret roof is slate covered. The grounds include a 19th century stable with a hayloft. In August 1920, the Cliffords sold the place to building company estimator Charles McCullough. By the 1930 Census, the house had become a triple with a second address. Local investor Winslow Crocker (fig. xix) has owned the property since 2000.

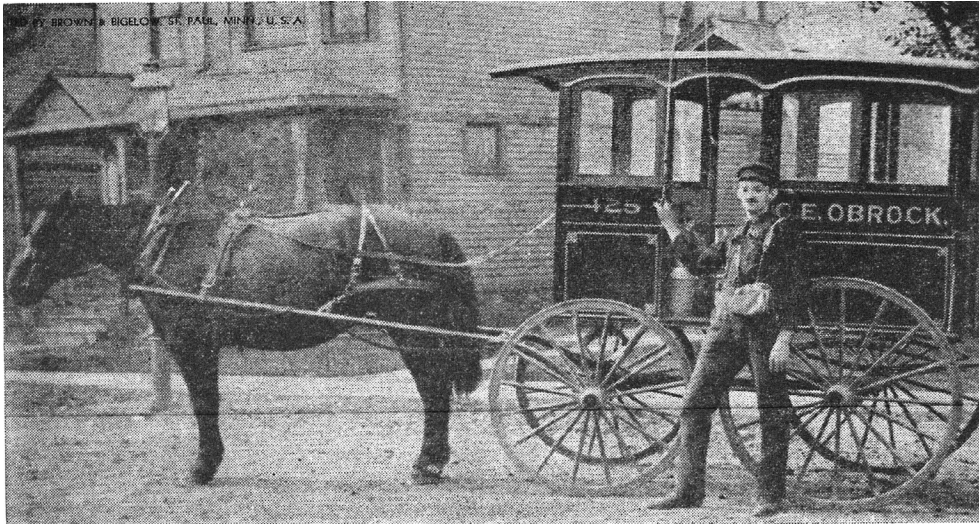


Figure xvii: Ca. 1903 photo of C. Obrock, early resident of 2320 Bellfield Ave., since the mid-1930s converted to double occupancy. Obrock lived there until 1920, purchasing the house (NOT pictured) in 1906. (Obrock Dairy 1951 postcard image, courtesy of T. Weeks)

sized double homes. Yet, all doubles, even extra-large ones (see CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery) were banned in A-1 districts anyways. A-1 districts were also U-1 use districts stipulating only single homes. Double homes on the odd-shaped corner lots of A-1 districts, were excepted. A requirement for a double home on a corner lot was that each unit front on a different street. The front doors around the corner from each other create more privacy and somewhat separate yards.

Oakwood, Inglewood, Ambler Heights and the Euclid Golf District lack double homes altogether. The western part of Hampshire Road, almost exclusively doubles, actually represents the eastern part of posh Euclid Heights. Converted single-to-double in this area, the 1898 George Campbell house, illustrates the former splendor of Hampshire Road, however, sparsely built until 1915. In a 1913 economic downturn, Patrick Calhoun went bankrupt, causing undeveloped portions of Euclid Heights to be auctioned

off. Builders, such as Patrick J. O'Donnell, whom we will later learn about, bought Euclid Heights land and placed doubles, apartments and modest singles there. Due to Calhoun's bankruptcy, deed restrictions mandating large houses were removed.

While generally the 1921 zoning law did not mention individual streets, it did change E. Fairfax Road (between Lee and Taylor Roads near Fairfax Elementary School) to U-1, thereby barring further doubles on any of the street's then empty lots. By 80% to 20%, E. Fairfax Road residents petitioned for the zoning change. Today the street has about 13 doubles, counting corner ones, out of its approximately 89 homes. In 1922, an older ordinance was amended to the effect that no basement rooms could be converted into a living suite for a double or triple home. Nor, the law spelled out, would any cooking at all be permitted in the basement of an up-and-down-double. This was due to ventilation and fire safety; up-and-downs and any house per law (for example Section 191 of the

Table of Cleveland Heights Streetcar Service and Residential Development

DATE	STREETCAR LINE	AREA REACHED	AREA'S 1ST DOUBLES' DATES/ ADDRESSES
1890s	Mayfield Road	Lee Road	Brand new Hyde Park Ave. double advertised in 1908 <i>Plain Dealer</i> , corresponds to 3249 Hyde Park Ave. on 1912-13 maps. See fig. xxv.
early 1900s	Cedar Road	Cedar Heights	Brand new Grandview Ave. double, address unknown, advertised in 1907 <i>Plain Dealer</i> — Cleveland Heights' original up-and-down double, 2206 Bellfield Ave., built in 1908 (fig xxii) and early side-by-side double at 2264 Grandview Ave. built the same year (fig xxvi)
1918	Cedar Road	Lee Road	Meadowbrook Allotment streets Oakdale, Edgewood and Rexwood fill in with doubles, as does E. Derbyshire Road and nearby streets in other subdivisions
ca. 1930	Fairmount Blvd.	Canterbury Road	services recent vintage single and double homes in Idlewood Village, such as on Idlewood, Clarendon and Bradford Roads

1929 building code) need have only one stairway to the basement.

At some point, cooking was disallowed on third floor suites of triple homes, as well, again largely for reasons of fire safety; generally, third floors are reached by only one stairway; Section 190 of the 1929 building code, if not earlier code, mandated two stairs per tenant floor. The 1960s housing code revisions specifically mention occupied third floors requiring the two stairs, while prior code has vaguer language. Lack of third floor cooking wasn't as initially inconvenient as it later became. The third floor suite was often intended as the maid's or extended family quarters. In more recent years, third floors have come to be more occupied by single people and students.

Early Cleveland Heights Subdivisions/ Early Double Home Types

Modest Cleveland Heights neighborhoods enhanced their own prestige through their proximity to opulent



Figure xix: Winslow Crocker, owner of 19th century 2253-55 Grandview Ave., next to pillar he moved from front porch to third floor interior (Peskin, L.)

enclaves. Wealthy Euclid Heights is the progenitor; in 1892, well-known landscape architect Ernest Bowditch laid out its meandering streets. Euclid Heights intended to supersede Euclid Avenue or Millionaires' Row for housing Cleveland's elite. In the late 1890s, no longer an urban oasis, Millionaires' Row found itself in proximity to sooty air, commercialism and throngs of poorer city residents. Euclid Heights promised to be a residential arcadia for those fleeing the avenue. By 1893, the new community had its first resident, architect Alfred Hoyt Granger.

Cedar Heights along with tonier neighboring Ambler Heights represent the earliest permanent housing development south of Cedar Glen Parkway in the part of East Cleveland Township that became Cleveland Heights. In 1892, dentist and developer Dr. Nathan Hardy Ambler subdivided some of his land south of the parkway and north of Doan Brook. This became Ambler Park, where a bit later in the 19th-century a handful of commodious homes were built along carriage paths.

In 1893, brothers Edmund and William Walton, prolific developers of modest housing around Greater Cleveland, from real estate investor Nathaniel D. Moore snatched up 38.55 East Cleveland Township acres a little to the east of the former Ambler estate. The land was subdivided and named Walton Brothers' Cedar Heights or Cedar Heights for short. This former cow pasture was developed similarly to the Waltons' efforts downhill in Little Italy. Houses on Cedar Heights' two principal streets, Bellfield and Grandview Avenues, were affordable but attractive, comfortable and substantial.

The Waltons capitalized on Cedar Heights' proximity to the luxurious Euclid Heights. Efforts to brand Cedar Heights as respectable not only came in its Queen Anne-style turrets but in the form of deed restrictions. For example, the 1899 land deed for

sublot 160-161 (2285 Bellfield Avenue, incidentally with a pre-1920 single-to-double home conversion) prohibited for five years, the "sale of intoxicating malt or vinous liquors, groceries, ... meat, [or] hardware ... upon the described premises." Livery stables were disallowed in the same deed. Construction was required for a period of five years to cost \$1,000; in fact, 1904-05 tax duplicates show the house, then new, tax-valued at \$800.

More sinisterly, Walton brothers' deeds around Greater Cleveland including Lakewood, contained such a clause as that of the Walton Realty Company to A.J. Benes for subplot 193 in Cedar Heights, a future site of a double home. This 1909 deed specified that

it is agreed ... that the injury resulting to surrounding property ... by the sale, mortgage, lease or other conveyance of said premises or any part thereof to a negro or mulatto will subject the person thus disposing the premises ... to the payment of damages ... fixed at \$5,000.

A 1948 Supreme Court decision nullified all such racial clauses. The court ruling also voided the J.D. Rockefeller family's similar race based covenants in its Forest Hill development. Yet to come was violent 1960s Cleveland Heights intolerance such as the firebombing of seminal Black homeowner J. Newton Hill's E. Overlook Road residence and the Cedar-Fairmount area murder of Black folk singer Ted Browne.

As more potential homeowners, investors and renters reached Cedar Heights via streetcar, double homes appeared in the subdivision. For this article, Cedar Heights double homes visible on the 1913 Sanborn fire map or the 1912 layer of Cleveland Historic Maps (arcgis.com) were scrutinized for build dates through deeds and tax duplicates. The present writer located her earliest compellingly identified up-and-down-double originally built as such at 2206

Bellfield Avenue. It was completed by 1909 and rented to two separate households by the 1910 Census. See figure xxii. Its most dated particular is a recessed third floor front dormer window. This common early 20th-century feature was influenced by the then-popularity of Shingle Style architecture.

Besides in Cedar Heights, turn of the 19th-to the 20th-century housing styles not evinced in later parts of Cleveland Heights stood on some lost streets and blocks. Some of these, for example, were in the Haycox-Quigley-Gooding Allotment, since 1960 largely taken up by the Cleveland Heights municipal/ service department complex, excepting some apartment buildings on a then-truncated Ridgfield Road. Razed homes, viewed on parcel cards at the Cuyahoga County Archives, included a fair number of simple types with the older-style, front-facing gable.

Haycox-Quigley-Gooding came out of an 1880s East Cleveland Township population and commercial district around the Superior Road toll gate of Mayfield Road, then a planked turnpike. This was one of the oldest settled areas of the future Cleveland Heights; its extant Curtis-Preyer hand-hewn stone dwelling dates to 1834.

In 1893, local landowners James Quigley, a dairy farmer, along with quarrier James Haycox, and his nephew, Joseph Gooding platted a subdivision of homes, businesses and gathering spots at the northwest corner of Mayfield and Superior Roads. The allotment included the voting booth where the Cleveland Heights hamlet council first met in 1901. Later a genuine town hall replaced it. The location remained the site of Cleveland Heights City Hall until 1988, when it moved to Severance Circle.

The Haycox-Quigley-Gooding Allotment contained at least one side-by-side-double, 1618-20 Ridgfield Road. It, too, was razed in 1960 with neighboring homes. The simple front gable house had two central



Figure xxi: 1618-20 Ridgfield Road was a small side-by-side double built by 1913 and razed around 1960 (Cuyahoga County Archives)

front doors and single front windows. See figure xxi. According to the street card at the County Archives, each unit had three bedrooms upstairs, but only 1,140 total square feet of living space. Only a single finished third floor room on each side provided additional space. See 1013 Starkweather Avenue, Tremont, Cleveland, for instance, for a comparable, slightly larger house.

The razed Ridgfield Road double is not the only ghost of a lost duplex Cleveland Heights. Until 1912, Cleveland Heights included land south of Fairhill Road, west to Baldwin Road, south to Ingersoll (later Mt. Carmel) Road and east to the Warrensville Township line. After 1912 and a failed annexation attempt to the newly independent, former Shaker Heights Village section of Cleveland Heights, Ingersoll Heights along with at least four other nearby allotments applied for and received annexation to Cleveland.

The Ingersoll Heights subdivision of Cleveland Heights was established around 1905. It was located just east of Luna Park. Ingersoll Heights contained a

later-raised double home, 11223 Ingersoll Road Today this lot, since around 1930 readdressed 11301 Mt. Carmel Road, holds a 2003-built frame single home. The lost double, according to the 1913 Sanborn map, was, unusually for the 20th-century, a front-back type. The 1959 Cuyahoga County Archives parcel card indicated suites of three bedrooms. In 1940, this home's flat roof was changed to a gable roof, adding third floor space and giving the house a tall appearance in its only known photo, that on the parcel card. See the CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery.

Common Doubles Typology from the Cleveland Heights Building Boom Years:

During Cleveland Heights' building boom of 1915-1930, three distinct types of doubles, as well as other catalog types, and unique, architect-designed doubles were built. Here is a brief guide to the more common double types.

≈ Type 1: "Cleveland Double"

(average 1922 Cleveland Heights sales price: \$14,500)

The classic Type 1 case is the up-and-down, two-to-three-story double or triple with full, covered front porches and an asphalt shingled construct serving as both lower porch eave and upper porch railing. Type 1 doubles generally have sturdy brick railings on the lower porches. Interior-wise, they generally have two bedrooms with a generous dining room and kitchen. Variant floor plans offer three bedrooms with smaller kitchens and dining areas. See cover image of this *View from The Overlook* issue for examples of Type 1 doubles/ triples.

Eric Johannesen writes that the Cleveland Double, though detailed in many national catalogs and built all over the country, became popular around the Cleveland area because of its narrow and long urban



Figure xxii: 2206 Bellfield Ave., completed by 1909, is the earliest original Cleveland Heights up-and-down double for which the author has a documented build date. (Peskin, L.)



Figure xxvii: Architect/ builder Ray Hummer created typical side-by-side double 2928-30 E. Derbyshire Road as his family's home (files of Hummer, Lenore Weger, 1924)

lot shapes. Of course, the lots had long been shaped that way; the innovation from long, narrow single home to long, narrow Type 1 double/triple came with the realization that one or two suites could be let out, thus supplying a regular income. Johanssen noted that early 20th-century Hungarians off Buckeye Road

were quick to accept Type 1 doubles for their income-generating power. Oliver Zunz in Detroit observed that a third of the immigrant Hungarian heads of household were homeowners in the same period; they also bucked Detroit's trend toward single family housing; Zunz concluded around half owned doubles, where they lived beside their renters.

It is harder to pin down the genesis of the name "Cleveland Double" and maybe not even worth trying. It is possibly local patois, not used to describe Type 1 doubles in other cities. However, the well-read 1926 *Sears Roebuck Catalog of Homes* only showed two doubles, of which the most basic was called The Cleveland. This one also had a jerkinhead third floor gable roof, popular around Greater Cleveland. Alas, the Sears Cleveland was not legal in Cleveland Heights as designed because it provided access to the second floor only by a single rear stair. By the 1920s, the city required two stairways, so an extra one would have been added.

Type 1 variations are numerous and often involve alternate front porches or dormers. For example, 2661 Hampshire Road has ample third floor space as evinced by its large side-facing third floor dormer gable. See the CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery for a photo. Instead of the usual solid asphalt shingled rail on the upper porch (also serving as lower porch eave), one non-illustrated but very common variant entails more lightly covered and railed upper and lower porches. It is not rare to find the upper porch uncovered.

3388-90 DeSota Avenue on just one house, shows two more variations. (See CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery.) For one, it illustrates the minority, though not unusual case of separated front doors for the two main suites, one door being on the right end of the façade and the other on the left. Secondly, 3388-90 DeSota Avenue shows the second-floor front porch only partially covered. Symmetrically, both the right



Figure xxiv: 2606 Hampshire Road is a usual Type 2 double (Peskin, L.)

and left ends of this front porch are uncovered. This partial covering serves to provide sunny and shady spots on the porch and in the rooms off it.

🌀 Type 2: Up-and-Down-Double with Side Porch

(average Cleveland Heights 1922 sales price: \$17,000)

This is the up-and-down, two-to-three story double, possessing on the front side upper and lower front porches. In many cases front porches on the Type 2 Double are enclosed, creating a front sunroom or den or even extra bedroom space. This and ample other rear and side porches, sometimes also enclosed, make Type 2 generally roomier than Type 1. See fig.'s. xxiv, xv, and the CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery for good examples of both open and enclosed-porch Type 2's.

Variations on Type 2: These occur along the line of the variants to Type 1; on Type 2, as well, there are alternate porches, such as only the second-floor porch enclosed as a sunroom, but the first-floor porch open. See fig. 00. Another variation on Type 2 is wider than it is deep. This is more common outside Cleveland



Figure xxvi: Pre-1909 home, 2264 Grandview Avenue, is a Type 3 double, though on the corner at Cecil Place. (Peskin, L.)



Figure xix: 3300 Dellwood Road is an unusual variation on a Type 3 double; it has a jerkinhead roof and large side dormers (Peskin, L.)

Heights, for example in Lakewood. In the Cleveland Heights examples, this variant relates to lot shape. Fig. x shows an example at 1666 Hillcrest Road. There are other cases, as well, for example at 1713 Glenmont Road. One at 3259 DeSota Avenue is so wide that it sits right at the lot line but frees up yard space.



Figure xli: At 2630 and 2634 Hampshire Road, one finds a front-gabled variant to the Type 3 double. (Peskin, L.)

There are numerous variants on the Type 2 double. An unusual one at 1642-44 Hillcrest Road has a gambrel roof with a front gable. See the CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery

☞ **Type 3: Side-by-Side-Double**

This is the side-by-side, two-to-three story double with a firewall separating the two suites. The two sides are usually identical interior-wise and usually mirror each other on the exterior, as well. Like Type 1's and Type 2's, Type 3's are deeper than they are wide; Type 3's are only slightly deeper. Cleveland Heights Type 3 doubles more often than not have side gables rather than front ones.

Typical Type 3 double suites generally have more square footage than up-and-down- doubles; Type 3's usually have three bedrooms, generally on the second floor up private, interior stairs. Each Type 3 suite has its own basement and own attic or crawl space. For a typical example, see 3249 Hyde Park Avenue in fig. xxv, or 2928-30 E. Derbyshire in fig. xxvii. E. Derbyshire Road between Lee and Cottage Grove Roads is mainly built in typical Type 3 doubles.

Dutch or gambrel-roofed side gable versions are also fairly common, for example, Paul Newman's former residence of 2106 Renrock Road. East Derbyshire Road has plenty of this variation. Meadowbrook and Cedar Road have them too. Some will be discussed in this article's upcoming section on corner doubles.

Variations on Type 3: Type 3 doubles have numerous variations. One is a bungalow style such as at 2316-18 Bellfield Avenue (fig. xxviii), or 1493-95 Parkhill Road and 2196 Bellfield Avenue (not pictured). These three houses have full third floors and 2-3 bedrooms per suite. They are squarish in shape.

Another variant on Type 3 has a front gable rather than a side gable. See fig. xli of 2630 and 2634 Hampshire Road. There are also unpictured examples, such as 2275-77 South Overlook, and 1491-93 Maple Road.

An unusual Type 3 variation can be found at 3300 Dellwood Road. See fig. xxix. It has a jerkinhead roof and large side dormers. An extra-large version of the Type 3 double exists too. For example, 2355 South Overlook is a whopping 68 feet wide and 32 feet deep with another rear section that is 26' x 24.' Each suite has five bedrooms and three baths. See CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery.

≈ Type 4: Up-and-Down-Double

Another standard double type is more common outside of Cleveland Heights than in. For example, Rochester, NY is brimming with this front-gabled double with two-story front porch enclosures covering a half of the front façade. There is often a roof over the front door. See fig. xxx for a local example at the NE corner of Compton and Berkeley Roads.

This style comes in several variations, as well. For example, there is a hip-roofed, alternate at 2831-33 Avondale Road. Here the two stories of porch enclo-



Figure xxviii: 2316-18 Bellfield Avenue illustrates the bungalow variant to Type 3 doubles. (Peskin, L.)

sures are in the middle; there are two front doors with roofs over them, one on the left end and another on the right. See fig. xxxi.

≈ Type 5: the Corner Double

(average Cleveland Heights 1922 sales price: \$20,000)

A-1 Districts on the 1921 zoning map only allowed doubles on the corner. However, there are many other parts of Cleveland Heights with many doubles, where the special corner double is pretty typical.

The corner double, as touched on earlier, is a side-by-side-double with front doors on the different streets of the corner. A typically shaped corner double can be seen in fig. xxxii of 2242 Westminster Road/ 2932 Clarkson Road. This house with a streamlined, half-timbered look is another of architect William Koehl's creations. The president of its building company and the actual builder co-owned and lived in this distinguished double for its first 10 years.

The interior plan may vary on each side of a typical corner double. These plans as well as exterior varia-

tions in house orientation can be viewed at the CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery.

Exceptions to special corner doubles occur on many a Cleveland Heights corner. In earlier Cedar Heights, doubles used slightly earlier styles than in later Cleveland Heights subdivisions. Both the north and south duplexes on Cedar Heights' Grandview Avenue at small cross street, Cecil Place, were built by 1915, the southern one being pre-1909. They are ordinary side-by-side doubles, not Type 5. See fig. xxvi.

Variations: The corner double concept accommodates many exterior variations in style. For example, in Cleveland Heights there are about six extant, yellow brick, corner doubles with Colonial Revival "eyebrow" dormer windows. See the CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery for 2880 Meadowbrook Blvd./ 2189 Lamberton Road. One "eyebrow double" at the corner of Coleridge and Lee Roads was recently lost to fire damage.

Perhaps you have viewed Cleveland Heights' corner doubles with gambrel roofs See fig. xxxiii of 2929 Meadowbrook Blvd. at Westminster Road. An orgy of windows dazzles the viewer here, as well. This home

was architect-designed, again by William Koehl. Other architect-designed corner doubles will be discussed in the "Unique Doubles" section of this article.

Arts and Crafts Exterior Features on Otherwise Typical Cleveland Heights Doubles:

The Arts and Crafts architectural movement took strong hold in Cleveland Heights. The movement gives considerable attention to style and workmanship and thus is well expressed with the generous budgets given to much Cleveland Heights 1920s building. Even more modest structures such as doubles came under Arts and Crafts influence.

Specifically, the Arts and Crafts movement, which dates to the 19th-century and Great Britain, sought to celebrate the individual artist or craftsman. Additionally, to quote Gustave Stickley, Arts and Crafts architecture embraced "simplicity, durability, and fitness for life." Arts and Crafts employed some principles of Modernism. Here "fitness for life" came in. The Arts and Crafts movement and Frank Lloyd



Figure xxv: 3249 Hyde Park Avenue is a usual Type 3 double. (Peskin, L.)



Figure xxxi: 2831-33 Avondale Road shows a variant to the Type 4 double with a few attention-grabbing details. (Peskin, L.)



Figure xxxii: The handsome corner home, 2242 Westminster / 2932 Clarkson Roads, shows the usual Type 5 double. (Peskin, L.)



Figure xxxiii: 2929 Meadowbrook Blvd. depicts a gambrel-roofed variant to the Type 5 double. (Peskin, L.)

Wright, at one time a student of the movement, both stressed Modernism’s livability, streamlining and human primacy in architecture.

The Arts and Crafts movement in addition to Modern elements, also incorporated Revivalist ones. One reason Arts and Crafts was interested in the past was for the sound decorating and workmanship principles to be found in bygone times. The Arts and Crafts movement celebrated the homemade and eschewed machine-made components.

Ray Hummer, prolific Cleveland Heights architect/builder of doubles and singles, was steeped in the Arts and Crafts movement and its emphasis on high quality. Out of this devotion, Hummer co-founded the Cleveland Home Building Association, for years an advocacy group for high standards in the building trades and an organization still around today.

The following photo tour points out Arts and Crafts elements on Cleveland Heights doubles that could have largely been built through catalog plans: Note the “twin” Type 2 doubles at 12977 and 12971 Cedar Road (see fig. xv) with the Spanish tile roofs. These are in line with an Arts and Crafts interest in exotic elements that provide great beauty, simple low maintenance, and durability. A fireproof Spanish tile roof

satisfied all criteria. Another Spanish-roofed Type 2 double at 2623 Colchester Road is not pictured in this article.

The very large corner double at 2612 W. St. James Parkway, (See fig. xxxiv), yet another designed by the talented William Koehl, has bold lines in the window frames, prominent flower box brackets, and an arresting stone chimney. The combined flat/hipped roof also shows strong Arts and Crafts influence, though it evinces Prairie influence, as well. Note in fig’s. xxxv and xxxvi, the flared Arts and Crafts columns surrounding the front door at 2929 E. Derbyshire Road. See also fig’s. x and xxxi for more flared columns and



Figure xxx: A home at the NE corner of Compton and Berkeley Roads well illustrates the usual Type 4 double. (Peskin, L.)



ABOVE: Figure xxxvi: Usual Type 2 double, 2929 E. Derbyshire Road, exhibits one or more Arts and Crafts features (*Cuyahoga County Archives, 1958*). **LEFT:** Figure xxxv: Usual Type 2 double, 2929 E. Derbyshire Road, has flared, Arts and Crafts columns around the front door (*Peskin, L.*).

window frames on Type 2 doubles near Coventry Road north of Mayfield Road.

Prairie Exterior Features on Otherwise Typical Cleveland Heights Doubles

A thoroughly Prairie, architect-designed double is featured in the “Unique Doubles” section of this article. The section at hand deals with Prairie flair on more typical doubles possibly otherwise using catalog plans.

The Prairie Style was a late 19th to early 20th-century American and British reaction to traditional architecture. The Prairie Style emphasized livability, including letting in abundant light. The heart of the aptly named Prairie architectural movement was in Chicago and the Midwest. The presumed tastes of ordinary Midwestern folk informed the style with its value on simplicity, openness, practicality and linearity. Many Prairie homes display a strong horizontal-

ity, intended to foster a feeling of spaciousness. The Prairie Style, an example of Early Modernism, exhibits an overall unified appearance with emphasis on mass and materials. Major practitioners in a Prairie vein included Frank Lloyd Wright, William Purcell, and George Elmslie.

1752-54 Lee Road at Somerton Road is a possible catalog house with a Prairie-influenced appearance. While on a corner, it is a Type 3 home; both sides have a front door on Lee Road. See fig. xxxviii. This double is also, unusually for Northeast Ohio, a one-story bungalow. The crawl space dormers and hipped roof magnify the bungalow exterior feel. The house’s general practicality and its horizontality constitute its largest ties to the Prairie movement. The perimeter grid on the front windows’ upper sashes are Wrightesque. This same perimeter grid pattern is seen on many an otherwise humble Type 1 double. For example, refer to 3165 Meadowbrook

Blvd. (fig. lviii), and 3388-90 DeSota Avenue in the CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery.

Several Cleveland Heights up-and-down-doubles have the low angled, hipped roof of the Prairie Style, as well as other features associated with the style. See fig. xxxix of 1639-41 Belmar Road.

Newer Cleveland Heights Doubles

There are only about 2,420 Postwar homes in Cleveland Heights including singles, doubles, apartment houses, condos/ townhouses and more. Only about 30 are doubles. One style is a streamlined Colonial side-by-side with garages attached either in the middle or on the ends. This style can be seen, for example, at Cumberland Road/ Euclid Heights Blvd. or Overlook Road atop the Edgemoor Road hill. For the latter example, see the CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery.

Cleveland Heights' Doubles' Lavish General Architectural Details Inside and Out

The information in this section mainly comes from the present writer interviewing doubles/ triples own-

ers and residents and touring their homes. A common luxuriant feature in Cleveland Heights' double homes are the living room and dining room built-ins. The most widespread of these is a built-in bench on the windowed wall of the dining room. At either end are built-in, glass-doored cabinets, sometimes with beveled glass. Almost all Prewar Cleveland Heights homes, including doubles, have fireplaces. Built-in bookcases often flank both sides of the tasteful fireplace. If on an outer wall, these bookcases often have beveled glass doors above which there are small windows. Pre-1930, leaded glass was popular for these little windows.

Some doubles' built-ins are more unusual than living room shelving or the dining room bench/shelving scheme. 2332 Bellfield Avenue, a pre-1915 side-by-side-double, has striking wooden seating in the living room across from the front door. The rail upstairs furnishes a back for this bench. See fig. xlii.

The first paragraph of this section mentions leaded glass doors on cabinets or nearby small windows. Leaded glass is found elsewhere on pre-1930



Figure xxxiv: 2612 W. St. James Parkway is a Type 5 double with a number of Arts and Crafts elements (Peskin, L.).



ABOVE: Figure lviii: Close-up of Wrightesque perimeter grid window at otherwise typical Type 1 triple, 3165 Meadowbrook Blvd (Owen, Chuck)



ABOVE: Figure xxxviii: 1752-54 Lee Road at Somerton Road is a Prairie-styled, one-story bungalow Type 3 double (Peskin, L.). **RIGHT:** Figure xxxix: 1639-41 Belmar Road is an up-and-down double with strong Prairie styling (Goldberg, Ken)



Cleveland Heights singles and doubles, as well. It can take the form of sidelights around the front entry door (see fig. xliii), glass paned entry or divider doors, or casement windows.

Casement windows deserve an extra mention for their decorative examples. For instance, at 3165 Meadowbrook Blvd, otherwise a typical Type 1 double/triple, five groups of casement windows on a front porch enclosure are each topped by five-light, fan-style transom windows. See fig. xxxvii.

Tile foyer floors are areas where typical doubles really shine. For example, the entire foyer floor at an up-and-down-double in Superior Heights is tiled with the middle in one color and a border in two more colors. The tile foyer floor at pre-1915 2332 Bellfield Avenue is mainly white, but there is a decorative hexagonal pattern in the center composed of darker tiles. See fig. xlv. The small front windows next to the central firewall of a side-by-side double are often in the master bedrooms' closets. This serves to freshen clothing. (Of course, windowed closets in doubles are hardly confined to side-by-sides' front walls nor the master bedroom. At an up-and-down-double in Superior Heights, the

two bedroom closets connect and share a window.) Sometimes the two matching inner front windows are not in closets at all but in the middle of the room. In these cases, they have exterior architectural primacy and create an eye-catching surface. Such is the case at pre-1915 2332 Bellfield Avenue.

Three of the interviewed doubles' owners spoke fondly of their artist tenants over the years and pointed out permanent contributions to décor by these tenants. For example, wall art of a tropical rainforest graces a room in a side-by-side-double near Fairfax School. An expressive mural of a tree and another of an arboreal snake decorate a foyer of a Cedar Heights double.

Alteration and Restoration of Cleveland Heights Doubles

Cleveland Heights' doubles over the years have retained original architectural details down to built-in exterior clothesline hooks. One double owner-occupant near Meadowbrook Blvd. is a painstaking restorer. He has made replica wooden bases for porch columns and has rebuilt trellises around stoops. He has fashioned radiator covers to match the originals



Figure xxxvii: 3165 Meadowbrook Blvd., what seems at casual glance a usual Type 1 triple, sports at least three special features: 1) five-light, fan-style transom windows topping the casement windows of the porch enclosure 2) Wrightesque perimeter grid windows (Figure lviii shows this better) 3) leaded-glass sidelights around front door (Figure xliii shows this better) (Peskin, L.).

or ordered custom replacements. At the same time, he and other doubles owners acknowledge changing other features to fit the times. The mentioned owner-occupant has created a lavatory, often absent in doubles, in a space previously used as a pantry. The same owner-occupant removed a clothes chute for extra cabinet space in a kitchen already enlarged 40 years ago.

Kitchens are something that preservationists or respectively rental-property owners are sensitive about. Occasionally an owner-occupant will update one but keep the 1920s original cabinetry for the rental suite's tenants who appreciate that. That's the situation at both 3314 E. Overlook Road and 2928-30 E. Derbyshire Road. See figs. xlv and xlvi for the

stunning woodwork in these kitchens. Carl Goldstein, until very recently owner and former occupant of 3297 DeSota Avenue, was proud of the beautifully varnished, original kitchen cabinetry.

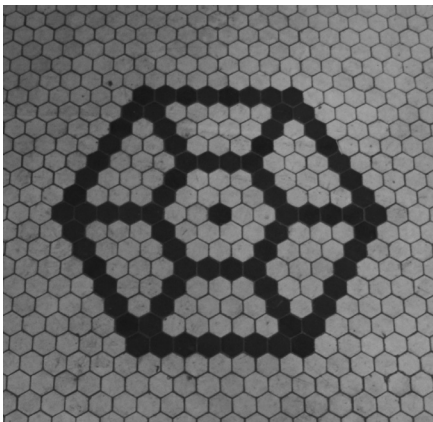
As some residents and tenants savor 1920s hexagonal bathroom tile and graceful sinks of this period, at least two interviewed owner occupants have kept these features. Several owners mentioned alteration of bathrooms. One interviewed owner put a new bathroom in the basement and kept the 1920s one in the living suite.

One original feature of many a side-by-side-double is a communal second floor balcony spanning the entire rear of the house. Some owner-occupants such as Jim Miller and Deborah Van Kleef have left their



Figure xlii: built-in bench at 2332 Bellfield Avenue; stair rail serves as seat back (Peskin, L.)

Figure xliv: standout tile floor detail, 2332 Bellfield Avenue. (Peskin, L.)



balcony communal, while others have been partitioned by rails or even solid walls.

Architects and Builders of Typical Cleveland Heights Double Homes

Cleveland Heights resident Raymond Hummer (1896-1976) (see fig. xlvii) was a prolific architect and builder in Shaker Heights, particularly of individualized doubles in the Tudor style, a type this article will turn to in its next section. He also worked in Cleveland Heights on various residential building projects. In the early 1920s, he was in business with his brother Alfred J. Hummer, a builder/architect himself. By 1926, Ray struck out on his own. His brothers Carl and Roman were builders, as well, and all four sometimes collaborated on building projects.

The four Hummer brothers altogether built 161 homes in Shaker Heights and about 45 in Cleveland Heights. 2899 Clarkson is a corner double. 3169 Meadowbrook Blvd. is a Type 1 double with portions of the second floor porch covered and uncovered. Ray also designed a handful of more typical Type 1 doubles.

Ray Hummer loved to put convenient and attractive built-ins in his homes, including doubles. These range from drawer chests, to cutting boards to dust chutes. See fig.'s viii and xlviii.

Hummer, whose father was German, was raised in the German-American enclave of Delphos, Ohio on the Miami/Erie Canal. This German immersion influenced his style. Hummer would sometimes use the Germanic-American Vernacular to style homes' exteriors. For a Type 2 double receiving this treatment, see 2128 Renrock Road in fig. xlix.

Another important Cleveland Heights builder, including of many double houses, was another city resident, Patrick J. "P.J." O'Donnell (1882- 1953). Already discussed has been the numerous doubles



ABOVE: Figure xlvi: 2930 E. Derbyshire Road has an original kitchen (Peskin, L.) **LEFT:** Figure xlv: 3314 E. Overlook Road has one original kitchen (Peskin, L.)

he built on Hampshire Road on land he bought from a bankrupt Patrick Calhoun. O'Donnell's homes tend to be in contiguous parcels he owned, for example, a row of typical side-by-side-doubles on Woodmere Drive. From 1916 to 1929, O'Donnell's most active years, he constructed a diverse assortment of homes in and around Cleveland Heights, from apartments to doubles to singles; he also sold vacant land.

Most prominently, in 1922 O'Donnell and developer Howard A. Stahl added a new section to Stahl's 1916 Cedar-Coventry Subdivision in the SW quadrant of the Cedar-Coventry Rds. intersection. The new section comprised the NW quadrant of the intersection and encompassed parts of the two main roads as well as property on Derbyshire Road. (See the CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery.) The Coventry Road portion includes a few double homes. The Cedar-Coventry subdivision was another victory for parishioners at nearby St. Ann Church. While some of the day's Cleveland Heights developers were still hostile to Catholics, O'Donnell was a Catholic-born native of Ireland.

Cleveland Heights' Unique Doubles and their Architects/ Builders

Many Cleveland Heights double homes lack separate entrances and replicated exterior features between floors or sides. Add to that a Revival architectural style, such as Tudor, Colonial or French, particularly on front façades. Corner doubles have facades on two different streets, encouraging more Revivalism or other architectural curb appeal. Now, at least in theory, one is moving away from architecture that can quickly be pegged as a double. Oris and Mantis Van Sweringen, who developed neighboring Shaker Heights as a restrictive, upscale community, mandated that double homes within its boundaries fit this description. Yet, Cleveland Heights holds a fair number of these "Van Sweringen" doubles.

Tudor

It surprised people in the late 1920s that individualized Tudor motifs would work nicely in doubles. Architect/ builder Ray Hummer's most celebrated



ABOVE: Figure I: This detailed Tudor double at 3071 Meadowbrook Blvd. may have been architect-designed (Peskin, L). **RIGHT:** Figure xlvii: Raymond Hummer (1896-1976) built and designed dozens of Cleveland Heights and Shaker Heights homes, including many doubles (Hummer, Lenore Weger files, 1939).



work was a 1928 Tudor Revival demonstration model on Latimore Road, Shaker Heights; 7,000 people toured. Its sound design principles were applied in Shaker Heights and Cleveland Heights by several architects and builders, including those with catalog plans. Such Tudor Revival doubles can be found, for example, in Cleveland Heights at 3071 Meadowbrook Blvd (see fig. I), 3220 Berkeley Avenue, and 2621 Idlewood Road. An outstanding Tudor Revival corner double can be found at 2930 Meadowbrook Blvd. See the CHHS FB Doubles Figure Gallery.

Storybook Style

The Storybook Style is that exaggeratedly, sometimes cartoonishly French, Belgian, Medieval or other Revival style either in an entire building or elements on a building. The Storybook Style arrived post-WWI,

when bored troops in trenches soaked up the vernacular architecture of the Continental countryside. Belgian Village on Fairhill Road near Shaker Heights represents an entire complex in the *Storybook Style*. Cleveland Heights' double homes incorporate the Storybook Style in a few features here and there.

A corner double at 3986 Bluestone Road (see fig. li) prominently displays the Storybook Style in its door surround. There, “radiating voussoirs” of brick, to quote *Storybook Style*'s authors, create a fairytale aura. The builder was William Ingram, who in the 1920s executed several Storybook Style hybrid homes, largely singles, in the same neighborhood, as well as elsewhere in Cleveland Heights. Ingram's earlier homes are plainer. See fig. lii for a comparative Ingram Storybook Style hybrid single on Hyde Park Avenue.

☞ Prairie Style

Cleveland Heights has at least one thoroughly Prairie-styled, architect-designed up-and-down-double. See fig. liii of a 1919-built home in the E. Derbyshire/Cedar/Cottage Grove Roads area. The light-colored stucco house is accented with darker diamonds and squares; a 1919 ad shows the dwelling always had these flourishes. The house also features a hipped, low angled roof, a front window bank, and second floor pocket balconies in the front. The interior in Prairie fashion includes built-in furniture. An eating area has two unusual glass-doored cabinet/bench all-in-ones. The four-foot high wooden mounts for the cabinets serve as backs for the benches. See fig. liv. An attractive wooden tabletop between the benches is anchored to the wall.

The architect of the just-described Prairie double is Adrian Foose (1884-1969), a Van Sweringen favorite, who along with partners George Fox and James Duthie designed many a decorative up-and-down-double in southern Shaker Heights, usually in Revival style, as the Van Sweringens did not embrace Modernism. Foose, like most architects, worked in many styles and on single homes, doubles and institutional buildings. His prolific catalog includes with

or without partners at least seven commissions in Cleveland Heights and 144 in Shaker Heights. Foose designed St. Emeric Church near The West Side Market and for a time partnered with William Koehl, the architect of several churches and homes whom we have already met in this article.

Thoroughgoing Prairie doubles are few and far between in Cleveland Heights, but at 3117 Meadowbrook Blvd. near Lee Road, one can find a much admired corner double in a Prairie, Arts and Crafts or Germanic vein. (See fig. lv.) Its all-over stucco surface with occasional decorative cross-timbers emphasizes mass and texture. The chimney and foundation are constructed of matching, eye-catching flagstone.

☞ East Coast Row House

On Sycamore Road, near Ivydale Road, stand unusual Cleveland Heights salutes to row-housing. These take the form of six side-by-side-doubles, built in 1919 and designed by William W. Hodges (1867-1923). See fig. lvi. Hodges largely conceived apartment houses and churches. The brick Sycamore Road side-by-sides are angular and mostly flat-roofed. Triangular parapets accent. Bay windows and enclosed front porches, also in brick, round out the urbane look.



FAR LEFT: Figure xlix: 2128 Renrock Road is a Ray Hummer-built Type 2 double in the German Vernacular style (Peskin, L.).

LEFT: Figure xlvi: Large, built-in chest of drawers for the maids' quarters, 2128 Renrock Road (Peskin, L.)



Figure lii: Compare 3986 Bluestone Road to another William-Ingram-built home in a Storybook hybrid style, this one a single at 3334 Hyde Park Avenue (Peskin, L.).



Figure Iv: Much-admired hybrid-styled corner double at 3117 Meadowbrook Blvd. (Peskin, L.).



Figure li: The fanciful, two-colored brickwork on 3986 Bluestone Road's entry door surround exemplifies the Storybook Style interest of its builder, William Ingram (Peskin, L.).

“The Finest Double in Cleveland”

Carl E. Howell and James W. Thomas, Jr., the predominant architects of Cleveland Heights' Euclid Golf District neighborhood, designed a palatial side-by-side double at the corner of West St. James Parkway and Tudor Drive. A 1919 ad for the just-completed home

dubbed it “The finest double in Cleveland,” though this descriptor perhaps wasn't intended literally; the two architects' motto was “builders of fine homes,” and that of the Euclid Golf District “the finest allotment.”

The shape and location of the grand W. St. James Parkway/Tudor Drive double aimed to obscure the view seen from exclusive Euclid Golf of more modest doubles on Colchester Road. The “finest double” is not, however, in Euclid Golf but in the neighboring Fairmount-Coventry Subdivision. (The Euclid Golf District contains no doubles.) See this *View from The Overlook's* cover for a photo of this magnificent Georgian Revival side-by-side-double.

Materials and design on the “Finest Double in Cleveland” are quality and individualized. The house's special character is evident both upon approach and down to the last detail. A triad of stately Roman arches create an august entranceway. Actual mudrooms rather than the alcoves of most doubles help keep a clean house. Mezzanine offices provide convenience and Florida rooms relaxation. The Florida rooms' built-in



ABOVE LEFT: Figure Ivi: These side-by-side doubles evocative of East Coast rowhouses were designed by William W. Hodges and built in 1919 on Sycamore Road (Peskin, L.). **ABOVE RIGHT:** Figure Ivi: The trapezoidal garage for ‘Cleveland’s Finest Double’ reflects the unusual lot shape (Peskin, L.).

corner bookshelves break up the angular walls and further relaxing ambience.

On the exterior, the rear third floor dormer is sided in weather resistant slate. The garage has an unusual trapezoidal shape to fit the lot. See fig. Ivi. While each suite only has three bedrooms, if the finished third floor is included, total suite square footage exceeds that of many a three bedroom single home.

Servants

The West St. James Parkway deluxe double just described was built with third floor servants’ quarters on each side, each with its own bathroom. Other more modest doubles have only one such third floor bathroom. Yet, many, many Cleveland Heights doubles were built with third floor bedrooms and a bath. Some were advertised as servants’ quarters and others were marketed as rental suites. Eight of the double homes where the present writer visited or interviewed had these original finished attics. Four of those homes have records of actual servants there. Of those, the two West St. James Parkway households had four servants in 1930, two for each family. The two servants’ bathrooms served them well.

The hundreds of other Cleveland Heights doubles households studied by the present writer had no



ABOVE: Figure Iiii: Unusual Prairie style up-and-down double designed by Adrian Foose (Peskin, L.) **LEFT:** Figure Iiv: Built-in cabinet, seating and table for Prairie double shown in nearby photo (Sanders, B.).

more than one servant at a time. Yet, there are no 1940 and 1950 Census records of servants in the West St. James Parkway double. Only two houses from the interviews had a servant in 1940 and none in 1950, third floor tenants having replaced maids in the up-and-down-doubles. A verbal interview indicated one household with a live-in servant post-1960. ☞



Afterword

Three-Generational Doubles/ Triples Revisited

AS TOUCHED ON IN THIS ARTICLE'S PREFACE, my interest in Cleveland Heights' double/triple houses stems from my mother, grandparents and great-grandparents living in a triple house 1931-1955. While this article interviewed past and present doubles/ triples owners and residents both to learn more about architecturally notable Cleveland Heights doubles and to talk to people who loved their homes, regardless of architecture, notably, of the 14 dwellings so examined, interviews and Census records show at least 35% housed three generations at some point in their history; at least another 29% at some point housed otherwise related people. Of course, it stands to reason that these much loved abodes would be kept in the family. My formal DeSota Avenue research of all that street's 137-141 doubles/ triples households, 1930-1950 paints a less biased picture. It reveals 9%-17% of those households as three-generational depending on year.

The formal DeSota Avenue Census research proved illuminating on who was likely to live three-generationally in a double/triple home 1930-1950. During that time, DeSota Avenue residents in both single and double homes became more blue collar. While only roughly a third of households in doubles/ triples owned their home 1920-1940, half of three-generational households owned in 1930, though in Great Depression recovery year 1940, three-generational households had roughly the same 33% home ownership rate as the street's double/triple households generally. (There weren't enough houses or households in 1920 for analysis; the 1950 Census did not collect home ownership information.)

In 1930, three-generational DeSota Avenue doubles households were a little less likely to contain foreign-born adults than have none; the street as a whole was fairly evenly split. In 1940 and 1950, that picture had vastly changed: while only slightly over half of all the street's

doubles/ triples households had at least one foreign adult, three quarters of three-generational households did.

In one final measure, while 1930-1940 female headed households in the street's doubles/ triples increased from 1.5% to 6%, female headed households among the three-generational group increased from 16% to 23%. This most likely was because the three-generational family existed sometimes to accommodate an elderly, widowed grandmother. In 1950, however, three-generational doubles households dropped to 6% female-headed, mirroring the street's double/triple households as a whole. I am not sure why, but I have a couple not-yet-tested hypotheses.

Possibly partially responsible for females being less likely by 1950 to head three-generational Minor Heights households in doubles was the small but growing trend for elderly widows to live independently by then. Average DeSota Avenue doubles-triples household size dropped from 3.74 to 3.03 people 1920-1950. Noone lived alone in DeSota Avenue doubles or triples in 1920 or 1930. Less than 1% of households were a single person in 1940, and 3% in 1950. All of those solo residents were foreign adults, often a widow and an owner; all but one was female.

It was perhaps finally affordable for a widowed female to stay in her longtime home, where her tenants could keep an eye on her. Secondly, most immigration had ended in the mid-1920s, making the foreign-born not only an older population but one less connected to younger natives. There began to be culture barriers to foreign grandparents moving in with native born offspring or grandchildren.

The Postwar relocation of the Jewish community from Cleveland proper to the suburbs and the transfer of the Orthodox Jewish community to Minor Heights and nearby Severn Park and Taylor Heights may have also played a role in the lower percentage of female-headed

three-generational households seen on DeSota Avenue in the 1950 Census. In 1950, 100% of three-generational DeSota Avenue doubles/ triples households were Jewish. Orthodox Jews tended to marry and bear children slightly earlier than their Heights neighbors in the Mid-century period. Resultingly, Orthodox grandparents were slightly younger and possibly less likely to be widowed.

Intergenerational living in all its expressions has been on the decline for over 100 years; in 1900, about 45% of seniors, defined as Americans over 65, lived with extended family of ANY sort, a subset of which is inter-generational living; in 1980, less than 20% of American seniors lived with any extended family.

For Cleveland Heights specifically, the cumulative five

year Census data ending in 2022 indicates that, mirroring the state and national average, about 2% of its seniors lived with their grandchildren, though others may have lived with other extended family.

A very different type of household has increased in recent years, that of one person living alone; this situation represented 28% of all American households by 2020 and 37% of those in Cleveland Heights.

These changing demographics spell a vastly different word on Cleveland Heights' double/triple homes today than when my mother, grandparents and great-grandparents shared a triple home near Cain Park. Still, double and triple homes today are an equally vital but under-explored part of Cleveland Heights' residential composition.

— L. Peskin

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atlases of Cuyahoga County. 1892, 1903. Digital Gallery of Cleveland Public Library

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