

BUILDING A CITY

by

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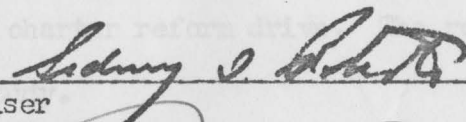
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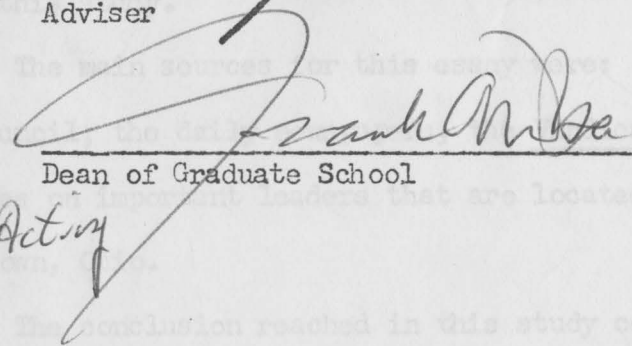
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## ABSTRACT

## BUILDING A CITY

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This detailed study of Youngstown, Ohio during President Harding's administration, tests the validity of the revisionist point of view that progressivism continued and, in some cases, became stronger in the period of the 1920's. This essay studies Youngstown's institutions: the City Council, the service organizations, the social agencies, the schools, churches, and newspapers. In addition, an examination is made of the role of industry and the businessman. The analysis includes the municipal charter reform drive. The role of community leaders concludes this study.

The main sources for this essay were: the records of Youngstown City Council; the daily newspapers, the Vindicator and the Telegram; and the files on important leaders that are located in the Arms Museum of Youngstown, Ohio.

The conclusion reached in this study confirms the revisionist assertion that not only did progressivism survive but expanded its horizons in the 1920's. The Youngstown story, in all probability, is typical of the rest of the nation.

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

The period of the 1920's, a relatively recent age, has been subjected to a wide variety of interpretations by historians. One major school of interpretation, the traditional one, is perhaps best illustrated by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.<sup>1</sup> He depicts an era marked by the dominance of businessmen whose actions were dictated solely by the interests of their pocketbooks. In addition to this self interest, other traditionalist historians have depicted this as an era of hooded terrorism, free wheeling individualism, unbridled scandals, loose morality, and the nadir of the American presidency. As the leader of the Ohio gang, President Harding is depicted as the darling of the reactionary, the isolationist, and the get rich quick industrialist. Eliminated from this traditional view is any manifestation or influence of the progressive movement that had been so strong at the beginning of the twentieth century. The progressive movement at the turn of this century was a national phenomena, a complex, fragmented reform impulse that saw large numbers of people led by social workers and reformers into believing that in an industrialized and urban society the government must assume responsibility for the welfare of the individual citizen. The traditional view denies any continuation of this movement into the twenties, and sees the first World War as divorcing the nation

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919-1933 (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1957).

from its program of reform. When the war to end all wars was over, the progressive movement was simply dead. From this perspective, the twenties are viewed as an era of prosperity but not of progress.<sup>2</sup>

Challenging this negative portrayal of the decade, is a revisionist school, of which one of the most distinguished proponents is Arthur Link. In a significant article entitled, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?" Link poses this question and describes the progressive in 1920 as being at a crossroads, that much of the movement did proceed to decline in the twenties, but that much of the progressive movement did survive. Link asserts that indeed, "in spite of reversals and failures," which saw the corroding of many progressive programs, "important components of the national progressive movement survived," and not only did they maintain a bare existence, but they survived, "in considerable vigor and succeeded to a varying degree, not merely in keeping the movement alive, but even in broadening its horizons."<sup>3</sup> These horizons were extended by the farm groups, the public power coalition, a powerful Congressional coalition, and a reform movement in the cities and states of this country.

In the city, this movement allegedly saw programs aiming at an attempt to preserve the democratic system amidst the beginnings of a new industrial age. The range of specific examples is outlined well by Link:

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<sup>2</sup>These ideas have been used in standard texts of the period. Some of these texts are: Harvey Wish, Contemporary America: The National Scene Since 1900 (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant: A History of the Republic, Vol. II (Boston: Heath and Co., 1966); John Garraty, The American Nation: A History of the United States (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

<sup>3</sup>Arthur Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?" The American Historical Review, LXIV (July, 1959), p. 850.

the managerial form of government; the beginnings of zoning and city planning movements; the efforts to keep abreast of the transportation revolution; an increase in educational and welfare activities in the cities; factory legislation; and the beginnings of social insurance. Municipal reform was thus, according to the revisionist school, very much alive and functioning in the 1920's. Contrary to the traditional school, the new view argues that the twenties were one of public concern and a strong identification of the business leader with good government and community responsibility.

This interpretation is a far cry from the traditional picture of bootlegging, gin parties, and unbridled individualism. The traditionalist concept denies the existence of varied economic reforms, the social reform movement which remained strong, and the impulse to improve municipal government which the revisionist argues was very much in evidence.

The purpose of this essay is not to resolve the historiographical controversy of the 1920's as such, but rather to offer a detailed analysis of Youngstown, Ohio in order to test Arthur Link's thesis of broadened progressive horizons. By isolating Youngstown, during the presidential administration of Warren G. Harding, March 4, 1921 to August 2, 1923, this essay will examine the validity of the revisionist writing in a specific urban area. If other students of the twenties analyze a number of cities, the evidence then can collectively make a contribution to the historiography of a not too distant decade.

## CHAPTER II

## YOUNGSTOWN AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

By 1921 Youngstown, Ohio, located halfway between Pittsburgh and Cleveland in the northeastern corner of Ohio, was in the process of distinguishing itself as a growing industrial city. Steel held the center of the stage as new world capacity records were set at Brier Hill Steel Company, and possible mergers were discussed between the major steel companies of the Mahoning Valley.<sup>4</sup>

Directed by a mayor and city council form of government, the fast developing urban center with a population in 1920 of 132,358 had developed and grown along the banks of the Mahoning River; and that river continued to play a vital part in determining the sectionalizing of Youngstown. The south side in 1900 was described as scarcely more than a village, with practically the entire city being located on the north side of the river, while on the east side of the river many of the foreign born of the 1920's came to reside.<sup>5</sup> The city with its narrow streets, omnipresent railroad tracks, insufficient sewage service, and lack of bridges and recreational facilities presented many problems. By 1921, a City Planning Commission was busily involved in proposing some order to this unplanned spread of population.

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<sup>4</sup>"Iron Output Establishes New Records," Vindicator, May 3, 1923, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup>St. John's Episcopal Church, History of St. John's Episcopal Church, Youngstown, Ohio: 1894-1934 (Youngstown, Ohio "n.d.").

The aftermath of World War I had brought financial distress to the large numbers of Blacks and other minority groups who had flocked to Youngstown seeking work in the steel mills. In 1919, the community took organized action by founding the Community Corporation to relieve this distress and along with other social agencies, social organization, and the city government, this institution took on the problem of meeting the needs of an industrial order in the 1920's.

As early as 1884, cultural organization had come to Youngstown in the form of the Young Men's Christian Association, and it was soon followed by the Young Women's Christian Association in 1911.<sup>6</sup> Higher education was represented by the "Y" college and by 1920, a four year course in business administration along with numerous night courses and a law school had been started by the Y.M.C.A. Under Superintendent Dr. Novetus Chaney, education in the public schools from 1902-1920 underwent a period of its greatest expansion. In a time when Youngstown was seeing a rapid rise in its population, the public schools, under the guidance of this very forceful and dynamic superintendent reflected certain progressive concepts by their added programs of mental hygiene and manual training. Dr. Chaney's resignation in 1921 led to the appointment of Superintendent Ovetus Reid who declared his main objective was to keep the system upgraded and in line with the growing needs of the community. The churches in Youngstown reflected that they, too, had a stake in a concern for the city's residents. The Social Gospel was evident from St. Patrick's to Westminster as marked by church involvement in leading political and social crusades.

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<sup>6</sup>Youngstown Sesqui-Centennial Committee, Youngstown Grows With Ohio (Youngstown, 1953).



As Youngstown emerged from a town to a city, it was served by two major daily newspapers: the Telegram and the Vindicator. The Telegram owned by Samuel G. McClure of Columbus, Ohio, had a daily circulation in 1921 of 22,418 and in 1923 it had increased to 23,409. The Vindicator had a daily circulation that was comparable: in 1921 - 23,750 and this increased in 1923 to 24,787.<sup>7</sup> The Telegram had no strong editorial policy on local issues and tended to neglect certain areas of local concern such as labor news. At times, however, the Telegram took on certain drives with a clear crusading direction. This was seen, for example, in the municipal drive for a city charter in the years of 1921-1923.

The Vindicator, founded in 1868 to give the Democrats a voice, remained the only Democratic paper in the Mahoning Valley. United States Supreme Court Justice John Clarke of Youngstown served as president of the paper for forty years until his death in 1933. Clarke was a nationally known leader of liberal causes and a crusader for the League of Nations. Thus, it is not surprising to see that the Vindicator gave strong support to many of the leading crusades in this first quarter of the twentieth century: the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Federal Reserve Act, the Civil Service Commission, woman's suffrage, and the League of Nations.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, the Vindicator, the only locally owned major newspaper, had established itself by 1920 as a powerful crusading force. This was

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<sup>7</sup>Editors and Publishers, Incorporated, "Rates, Circulations and Executive Personnel of United States Daily Newspapers," Editors and Publishers International Yearbook, Serial Publication, (New York: 1921, 1923) pp. 43-52.

<sup>8</sup>"William F. Maag, Jr., Publisher Dies," Vindicator, February 29, 1968, p. 17.

seen in its fight against the precursor to the Klu Klux Klan, the American Protective Association, and in its promotional campaign to expand Mill Creek Park from its original 400 acres.<sup>9</sup> In all of these drives, the Vindicator was led and directed by William F. Maag, Sr., General Manager, who was termed the "inspiring spirit of the paper from its beginning up to his death in 1924."<sup>10</sup>

Shortly after World War I, his son, William Maag, Jr., began a long and distinguished career as Managing Editor. Through editorials, written primarily by William Maag, Jr., rang the cries of all the liberal causes of this period. Issues were spelled out and the Vindicator usually took the more liberal stance. The influence and regard of the paper along with its editorial policy can be noted in a tribute paid by the Cleveland Press in 1952 to William Maag, Jr., who was termed "one of the great publishers in America."<sup>11</sup> Maag earned this tribute by working consistently towards making the "Mahoning valley industrial region a better place in which to work and live."<sup>12</sup>

Examination of the articles and editorials of this newspaper shows a sharp concern for the social needs of the new order of society, a high respect for the business concept, and a strong thrust for economic reforms. The Vindicator was engaged in all of these issues during President Harding's term of office, an age commonly referred to as the

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<sup>9</sup>"The Vindicator and Youngstown Have Grown Up Together," Ibid., March 27, 1938, sec. 6, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>"William F. Maag, Jr., Publisher Dies," Ibid., February 29, 1968, p. 17.

<sup>12</sup>Editorial, Ibid., March 17, 1954, p. 21.

era of normalcy, the age of business leadership, or the "new era."

During this era, the Vindicator, saw one vital need of society to be the importance of responsible citizenship. A major target for concern in Youngstown during these years was politics, and the Vindicator came out strongly for the need to take municipal elections seriously and to commence a general house cleaning. Note was made of recent scandals in Cleveland and, as other newspapers had done at the turn of the century, the Vindicator made a plea for grass roots municipal reform. It was this newspaper's philosophy that the citizenry would respond to a crisis if they were properly appealed to and informed,<sup>13</sup> and thus in "Building A City," the spirit and temper of its citizenship was depicted as the most vital factor to a city's well being.<sup>14</sup>

In 1922, with the resignation of Mayor George Oles after only a six month term of office, Youngstown had a political crisis. The Vindicator considered the abrupt and unplanned departure of the mayor to be the antithesis of the public service that was so greatly needed.<sup>15</sup> The plea here, as in other editorials, was for a willingness on the part of the people to serve the community "with a fighting spirit in the face of opposition."<sup>16</sup> A large majority had believed in Oles and had worked with him in what was believed to be an "honest effort to give us a better government."<sup>17</sup> During Oles' term, the citizenry had been made aware of the incompetent city government which had brought Youngstown to deplorable

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., September 23, 1921, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup>"Building A City," Ibid., January 7, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup>Editorial, Ibid., July 1, 1922, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Ibid., <sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

financing in which interest on loans of the past two years had reached a total of \$1,000 a day, and was draining the city so that little was left to pay for essentials.<sup>18</sup> The Vindicator took the position that had Oles stayed in office, the city government would have been held accountable "as never before," and a "great public service" would have been accomplished.<sup>19</sup>

Another area in which the Vindicator saw the need for the citizen to serve was in support of the public schools. Before each local election that was concerned with tax levies, articles would appear showing the advances and growth in education in Youngstown and the importance of support on the part of the citizen. Youngstown schools were shown as having the highest per capita wealth on the basis of its tax duplicate among cities of comparable wealth.<sup>20</sup> Yet, as the Vindicator pointed out, the city had the lowest levy for a school program. Thus, 1922 was seen as a "critical stage" for the public schools with a new tax proposal being offered in the November election. On November 4th, the Vindicator had a front page illustration depicting education as the means by which good citizenship was obtained. The caption read: "Children of Today: Pilots of Tomorrow." Among other things, in order to arouse public opinion, daily pictures of overcrowded schools were shown prior to the election. The levy was passed.

Social concern in ecology was not overlooked in Youngstown, and the Vindicator in a clever cartoon depicted man's destruction of nature in an illustration of the picnickers with the title, "Here Come the Nature

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Editorial, Ibid., June 1, 1922, p. 6.

Lovers."<sup>21</sup> On a more serious note, an editorial in 1922 called attention to the pollution of streams by the depositing of open sewage into those streams and the need for modern equipment and a sewage plant.<sup>22</sup> The need for smoke elimination was also seen, and this same editorial pointed out that Pittsburgh had already begun such a program. Regulation by industry itself was seen as a measure of health as well as economy, for modern equipment was pointed out as a savings to industry as well as a benefit to the community's ecology.<sup>23</sup> A sanitary and sufficient water supply for the needs of the expanding city, and for necessary fire prevention, was also expounded upon by the Vindicator. The news was welcomed when Council passed a resolution in June of 1921 providing for a \$5,000,000 bond to build a water belt around the city. Clean air, clear and sufficient water, and a concern for the balance of nature was clearly and strongly pointed out by the Vindicator in the 1920's.

Another concern with society's needs is noted in the Vindicator's crusade for prison reform and a positive suggestion for self-sustaining prisons. An editorial recommended that prisoners be given work which would put the prison system on the same basis as any business. There seemed to be a wide concern directed by the editorial staff to all elements of society that were coming together in the "new era."<sup>24</sup>

Economic reform was a basic tenet of William Maag, Jr. and his staff. One of the most obvious needs was to aid the unemployed, and in

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<sup>21</sup>"Look Out, Here Come The Nature Lovers!", Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>22</sup>Editorial, Ibid., May 6, 1922, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Editorial, Ibid., June 14, 1923, p. 6.

1921 that need was put into a financial figure of \$500,000 for the coming winter.<sup>25</sup> In a series of articles that precipitated the Community Corporation drive at this time, the urgency of the unemployed was stressed. In the first of a week long series of articles that, in reference to the Community Corporation, was entitled, "Youngstown's Greatest Pride," the Reverend Levi Batman stated: "The real test of a city is not in its business but in the character building activities."<sup>26</sup> These activities became greatly publicized concerns when the needs for the unemployed increased as a comparison of figures reveals. During a normal winter providing for the unemployed had been equaling \$4,000 a month. In 1921, a spectacular jump was seen in the cost rising to \$25,000 a month.<sup>27</sup>

With the workingman's needs in mind, the Vindicator came out strongly on several issues. In 1923, the editorial staff attacked the position taken by the Iron and Steel Institute on the eight hour day. This Institute, an association made up of basic manufacturers and individuals in the steel industry, had come out supporting the twelve hour day. "If the 8 hour day would make steel cost more, the answer is that with the 12 hour day the country may be paying a far higher price for its steel in other things than money."<sup>28</sup>

In addition to the workingman's need for a shorter working day, the Vindicator saw also the need to make that worker have a vested

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<sup>25</sup>"Unemployment Policy Sought," Ibid., September 15, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>"Youngstown's Greatest Pride," Ibid., May 13, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup>"How Youngstown Feeds the Poor, Shelters the Homeless," Ibid., May 13, 1922, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>Editorial, Ibid., June 4, 1923, p. 6.

interest in Youngstown. One means was by home ownership which would hopefully make him take a more responsible role in the community. An editorial attacked Detroit for overlooking, in its rush to produce, the workingman's basic need - his home. Indeed, as the Vindicator evaluated the issue, "Cities are the most prosperous in the end where workers own their homes and being home owners have a deeper interest in all city affairs."<sup>29</sup> Thus, public service and the public interest seem to underlie much of the Vindicator's news gathering of this period.

While the Vindicator promoted and influenced public concern, it was the Youngstown City Council which directed the city in its growth. An examination of the records of Youngstown City Council shows the minutes not filled with homicides, corruption, or bootlegging, but rather the records show that councilmen were confronted with providing services to a rapidly changing community and aiming toward the municipal reform that Link asserts.

Then, as now, financing for the increasing demands and services was Council's number one problem. Some of these services depicted basic concerns of progressivism and the financial reports show just how those concerns were met. In June of 1921, the report revealed that bonds were issued for three major areas: sewerage construction and repairs - \$100,000; street construction and repairs - \$200,000; park and playground funds - \$260,000.<sup>30</sup> It is important to see here that these funds were created and a committee appointed in order to provide jobs for the unemployed. The previous month, in May, Council had given themselves the right to

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., June 1, 1923, p. 6.

<sup>30</sup>Youngstown, "Youngstown City Council Journal," Vol. 19, June 27, 1921.

issue bonds for emergencies, and the unemployment issue came to be considered as a crisis for the entire community. Common labor was employed by the city under emergency relief work and was handled by a professional social agency, the Youngstown Emergency Relief Association. This professional agency attempted to find jobs for the unemployed in the mills or on city payrolls. In the period from July to October of 1921, when this service was first provided, a total of 466 men were given jobs, 304 of them being employed in the mills.<sup>31</sup>

An alleged fact about the 1920's, taught in many texts, is that the period was one of consistent prosperity, but in viewing Youngstown in detail one finds a cyclical nature in the economy. Things got better and employment improved whenever the steel business improved. When the latter was down, as it had been in 1921, Council issued bonds and transferred funds from the Municipal Court Fund whenever it was legally possible to do so. In all of these maneuverings, Council showed definite signs of being innovative and worked towards some consolidation of departments for the sake of efficiency. This can be seen in Council's move in January of 1923 to delegate under the Board of Health all the collection and disposal of garbage, and to merge in that same month the Director of Public Safety and the Director of Public Service.<sup>32</sup> Council showed their businesslike ability in abandoning a plan initiated in 1922 that had provided for municipal lodging houses. They had proven unprofitable and with the savings accruing from the stoppage of this plan, Council hired nine special traffic policemen and applied the remaining savings to running

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<sup>31</sup>"Work for Unemployed," Telegram, November 22, 1921, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup>Youngstown, "Youngstown City Council Journal," Vol. 21, January 8, 1923.



the municipal House of Refuge for one year.<sup>33</sup> This theme of efficiency is clearly in line with the progressive dogma of efficiency as proposed by historian Samuel Hays.<sup>34</sup>

Council was constantly extending itself into new services as can be determined in noting the committees and departments that were operating at this time. A Safety Committee dealt with the new problems of auto safety, fire hazards, and the regulation and authorization of billboards. This committee tried to keep abreast of the transportation revolution that had the citizens calling for reform in streets which had been designed for horse traffic. In 1923, after a long struggle, an ordinance was passed that gave the Director of Public Safety the right to control and regulate "vehicular traffic for the purpose of public safety and welfare."<sup>35</sup>

The General Improvements Committee had as one of its basic aims to aid the unemployed. In a motion of April 11, 1921, Council authorized the buying of land for the Oak Street Bridge. The ordinance was carried out as an emergency in order to provide work for the unemployed. Likewise, on May 2, 1921, the sale of \$450,000 in bonds was passed for the West Federal Street Bridge, for the same purpose of providing work to the unemployed.

In noting the importance of street improvements in the Council record, a meeting that was held on September 11, 1922 should not be over-

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Vol. 21, June 18, 1923.

<sup>34</sup>Samuel Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1959).

<sup>35</sup>Youngstown, "Youngstown City Council Journal," Vol. 21, June 18, 1921.

looked. At that time, Mayor William Reese, the public service director, officials of the railroad, and officers of the Brier Hill Steel Company and the Carnegie Steel Company all met to discuss the removal of railroad lines over Division Street. In March of that year, the General Improvements Committee had tacitly accepted the river project of the Planning Commission. Plans by the Commission showed how removal of the tracks to the river would yield a greater supply of business locations, a business center with a completely changed design of streets, and a new railroad station. A survey of civic leaders had shown approval by all, and an engineer's survey was to be made that would show the railroads how the plan would be both economical and desirable for them.<sup>36</sup>

One may gather from the above facts, the build up of social pressure on the part of the reform leaders to make the corporations and the railroads see their social responsibility. Although economy was used as motivation, the real push behind this move can be seen as a desire to make all business assume a degree of social consciousness. This motivation for business to assume social responsibility is depicted by historian Robert Wiebe as having begun in the early years of the twentieth century and characterized the businessman's form of reform.<sup>37</sup>

A vital part of the General Improvements Committee work was the communications with the Planning Commission. In March of 1922, Dr. Robert D. Gibson of the Commission's staff introduced a plan to the Federation of Women's Clubs which called for a widening of streets, rivers,

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<sup>36</sup>"Removal of Erie Tracks," Telegram, March 9, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup>Robert Wiebe, Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1962).

parks, and a changing of railroad tracks.<sup>38</sup> The fact that this agency was alive, functioning and promoting such plans shows a Youngstown progressivism within the framework of Link's thesis.

On June 12, 1922, the ordinance #26380 was carried in Council which established the "Wick and Crandall Parks Residence District." This zoning plan, as passed in January 15, 1923, was to regulate in that area the location and height of buildings, the dimensions of yards and lots, the stores that were to be built, and finally the erection of the Stambaugh Memorial that was to be included in the plan.

On October 2, 1922, Council received the communication that the Planning Commission engineer was planning a complete zoning plan for the entire city that would be comprehensive in its regulation. This communication got a strong endorsement by the editorial staff of the Vindicator on May 5, 1923. The decision on such a plan was not made during the time period covered by this paper, but the issue is noteworthy in showing the city's attempt at planned growth and regulation.

An active and vital aspect of Council was waged by the City Park Commission. The main controversy in the department at this time centered on control of Mill Creek Park. The land had been made a township wide park in 1891 by a special enactment of the state legislature plus a vote of township voters.<sup>39</sup> Since 1900, the park had been extended from its original 400 acres, and, as the town grew, annexation had become very much a reality.

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<sup>38</sup>"Dr. Gibson's City Beautiful Plan Impresses Federation," Vindicator, March 1, 1922, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup>Youngstown Chamber of Commerce, Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley, compiled by Robert Conway (Youngstown, 1933).

On March 1, 1920, Council moved and carried that the solicitor prepare legislation to take Mill Creek Park into the city under the City Park Commission. The protest was immediate and sustained from citizens, churches, service organizations, and conservation groups. The general feeling was that the land would fall into the hands of unscrupulous realtors and politicians, and the people obviously wanted the park to remain intact. The people's feelings were clearly outlined by the Telegram which listed the above fears and questioned how the city would be able to run the park since it was on the verge of bankruptcy.<sup>40</sup> The newspaper went on to list the advantages of maintaining the land under the present Park Board that was appointed by the Common Pleas judges. One such advantage was that the \$35,000 in the treasury would be lost to the city if the latter were to take over the maintenance. Clearly the association with city politics was the great fear. The mistrust toward city politicians was a basic anxiety that progressivism perhaps lessened by its reforms, but obviously progressivism cannot be condemned for failing to change basic human nature that feared a loss of its agrarian heritage.

On May 29, 1922, in spite of the protests, Council authorized the Park Commission to assume jurisdiction over lands then controlled by said Mill Creek Park. By June 19, 1922, Council responded to the overwhelming protests and petitions and the ordinance was tabled indefinitely.

The City Park Commission also had jurisdiction over the playgrounds and hospital activities, two vital aspects in progressive concerns. Council frequently discussed playgrounds and the means of

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<sup>40</sup>"Mill Creek Park," Telegram, May 4, 1922, p. 1.

providing land and equipment. As one example, on March 1, 1921, \$15,000 was removed from the Municipal Court Fund and added to the Park Fund to provide additional equipment.

During this period in the 1920's, Youngstown saw a concerted drive for greater hospital care. On September 12, 1921, the clerk to the Municipal Hospital Committee introduced a motion that called for an additional \$25,000 to erect a contagious hospital unit that would be contingent to the municipal hospital. On October 31, 1921, an ordinance was introduced to erect a new municipal hospital at a cost of \$1,500,000. Though there was some discussion as to financing, the consensus in Council was that the hospital was needed for the growth of the city and its civic pride. All these motions were approved and the new municipal hospital was completed and accepted by Council on November 16, 1922.

The Board of Health was another active division of municipal government, and during this period its responsibilities were broadened. On February 5, 1923, the Board was given the added responsibility for all garbage service; on February 26th bonds of \$125,000 were approved for building a garbage incinerator plant. In addition, the Board served as a watch dog over industries dumping waste into the creek, over individuals who violated the public health codes, over the milk industry, in particular, and over the public school health program. Public health concerns received much attention, and an event such as "Rat Week," May 7, 1921, was a much heralded municipal event complete with a "Pied Piper" and a school pageant.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>"Rat Week," Vindicator, May 7, 1921, p. 1.

Another division within City Council was the Library Committee which had the common problem of an inadequate budget to meet the demands of increasing services and costs. On April 18, 1921, \$24,000 was transferred from the Municipal Court Fund to provide for books plus the increased rate of steam heat. What is important to note here is that the services were expanded, even though money was not abundant. On December 31, 1922, plans were made for a better children's services and on July 3, 1923, after much support by many service organizations, Council passed an ordinance providing for a Public Square library branch. The reason for the latter exemplifies a progressive goal: to encourage the workingman to read. Asael Adams, President of the First National Bank, summed up the civic spirit in stating that this move was to "serve to remind people that Youngstown is as interested in books as well as dollars."<sup>42</sup>

One issue that constantly confronted City Council and required much attention, was the care of the indigent. On April 4, 1921, Council approved a shelter house for "diseased women," and for that purpose Council purchased the Foster homestead on Indianola Avenue. On April 18, 1921, an ordinance was passed for purchase of a House of Refuge for the city, financing it with \$25,000 from the Public Safety Fund. On September 19, 1921, the House of Refuge was organized under the Director of Public Safety. On October 17, 1922, a transfer of \$5,000 to the Public Safety Fund was made to provide for two municipal lodging houses. It should be seen here that City Council was extending itself into providing social services that were a fruition of the social justice

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<sup>42</sup>"Public Library Branch," Ibid., July 1, 1923, p. 3.

movement of the progressives.

In addition to the municipal government, the service organizations played a definite role in sustaining the progressive impulse. This paper does not intend to make an exhaustive listing, but the theme of involvement in social concern and reform measures occurs in all of the organizations.

One organization that particularly strengthened reform was the League of Women Voters whose main contribution was in voter education. In July of 1922, the League magazine, The Ohio Woman Voter, was devoted to candidates answers of questionnaires that were sent them regarding the upcoming November election.<sup>43</sup>

The whole issue of women in government got considerable attention and achieved some surprising success in this period. In 1922, the first women ran for county office. Of the three female candidates, Mrs. Irma Schilling was the only one who lost, and that post was for county treasurer. Mrs. Christ J. Ott won as one of three state representatives, and Florence Allen became the first woman to be elected a justice of the Supreme Court in Ohio. It is noteworthy that the latter candidate led in Mahoning County by 3,000 votes over any other candidate.<sup>44</sup> Likewise, five women were appointed to the Charter Commission and politicians and newspapers spoke frequently about the need for women in government. This can be seen, for example, in a speech in Youngstown given by James Emery, legal counsel for the National Manufacturer's Association, in which he pleaded for women to enter government and industry.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>"League of Women Voters," Ibid., July 15, 1922, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup>"Election Results," Telegram, November 8, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup>"America Best, Hoover Tells Audience Here," Vindicator, June 8, 1922, p. 1.

"Women's Power in Politics," an editorial of the Vindicator,<sup>46</sup> shows some indication that the community leaders were very much aware of the importance of the female vote. At a commencement speech at Rayen School, Dr. Bradley, the pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational Church in Cleveland,<sup>47</sup> traced the progress of women's status and concluded that the "clinging vine" type was gone. He stated that women now could enter almost any occupation open to men, and that women had entered the business and commercial life not as a rival but as man's "comrade."<sup>48</sup>

The large percentage of women in the progressive movement had given rise to the General Federation of Women's Clubs. In Youngstown, Mrs. Harriet Ritter led this service organization to the forefront of many municipal reform drives: the drive for the charter, the retaining of Mill Creek Park as a township possession, and the creation of a foster home for girls. The home opened in 1921 and at that time the Federation was credited as being the main supporter of the institution.<sup>49</sup>

Although they, too, supported the above drives, Kiwanis and Rotary had as their special interest extended care for crippled children. A program of teaching skills to the crippled child in the Youngstown Municipal Hospital was undertaken in 1923 by the Rotarians.<sup>50</sup> A feature

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<sup>46</sup>Editorial, Ibid., June 10, 1921, p. 6.

<sup>47</sup>"Tells of School Needs as Rayen Class Graduates," Ibid., June 15, 1923, p. 30.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>"Formal Opening of Foster House," Telegram, October 12, 1921, p.2.

<sup>50</sup>"Rotary Club Hears of Good Work Done," Vindicator, June 13, 1923, p. 21.



article commending the Kiwanis organization in 1922 exemplifies the attitude of civic morality that made these organizations so influential in this era of business leadership. It was entitled, "We Build." The building alluded to ran the gauntlet from working for the library appropriation to securing passage of hospital and school bonds.<sup>51</sup>

Rotary and Kiwanis meetings were the common arenas for public issues, reforms were discussed and the speakers revealed the prevailing issues. A leading example of the involvement was the charter drive, at which time both federal and managerial proponents used these clubs to advertise the advantages of their respective plans.

Other organizations were very active and mention should be made of the Boy Scouts who had a total of 1,000 members in 1922.<sup>52</sup> There was a city wide program and both the Vindicator and the Telegram had a section devoted to Scout news. Additional organizations to be mentioned as taking an active part in civic reform were the Knights of Columbus, the American Legion, the Exchange Club, the Garden Club, the Moose, and the Advertising Club - all vigorously supported the charter drive in 1923.

Every one of these organizations reflect the social reform movement, but one, the Improvement Clubs, depicted particularly the social setting of Youngstown in the 1920's. Youngstown at that time had very definite foreign born sections, and what arose were the East, West, South, and North Side Improvement Clubs that represented the best interests of their respective sections. When the charter drive was on, all of these clubs were addressed on the various types of municipal government.

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<sup>51</sup>"We Build," Ibid., July 21, 1922, magazine section, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup>"Boy Scout News," Ibid., July 30, 1922, p. 9.

The attention these Improvement Clubs were given by the Charter Commission and political candidates strengthens the argument of certain historians such as Joseph Hutmacher.<sup>53</sup> He contends that Richard Hofstadter overlooked the importance of the immigrant in the progressive movement, that much of the reform in the cities could not have been done without the vote of the foreign born. The political importance of the immigrant's vote in Youngstown can be seen by the Vindicator headline on the 1921 primary election day, August 9th: "Foreign Vote May Decide Primary." The results indicate that this was true and serve as an example of the immigrant influence in the 1920's. Analysis by the Vindicator showed that both the Black man and the foreign born ignored the polls and as a result the favorite of the minority groups, Gus Doeright, lost in the Republican primary to the favorite of the female voter, incumbent Mayor Fred Warnock.<sup>54</sup>

Along with social organizations, there were professional social agencies in Youngstown whose work reveals much about the social and economic concerns of the city. The Community Corporation, the corporate name of Youngstown's Community Chest, was the most talked about agency in Youngstown at this time. Unsupported by taxes, directed by trustees and its president, Andrew O. Fleming, the Community Corporation was hailed as bringing business methods into charity.<sup>55</sup> The drive for \$300,000 in funds in 1922 was seen as imperative due to the defeat of bond issues in

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<sup>53</sup>J. Joseph Hutmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIX, No. 2 (September, 1962), pp. 231-241.

<sup>54</sup>"Warnock Wins - Defeat of Charter," Vindicator, August 10, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup>"How the Community Corporation Spends Your Money," Ibid., June 19, 1921, magazine section, p. 1.

the election of 1921. To promote the annual drive, the Vindicator and Telegram both ran a series of articles for a week on "The Pride of Youngstown," in which prominent citizens explained the citizens' responsibility to help the underprivileged and also explained the twenty-seven affiliating agencies that depended on the Community Corporation.

Significant among these affiliated agencies was the Allied Council, formed after World War I to give relief regardless of race, color, or creed. Headquartered in the basement of the Public Library, it was composed of a composite of many organizations. Examples are: the Jewish Social Service Bureau, the Salvation Army, and the Youngstown Society for the Blind. In an examination for progressive concerns, it is important to note that relief was merely part of the Council's task. A professional staff conducted counseling to aid the underprivileged and displaced. Conferences were arranged with physicians and lawyers for those in need of said services, and the staff of thirteen fulfilled some responsibility in this city of 132,000 people.<sup>56</sup>

Other agencies supported by the Community Corporation included: St. Elizabeth's Hospital, a Kindergarten and Day Nursery, a Baby Welfare Clinic, the "Y's" and their services, the Youngstown Humane Society, Christ Mission, a Children's Bureau for Disturbed Children, and the Booker T. Washington Settlement House on Federal Street.<sup>57</sup> All of these agencies made up a sizeable social settlement influence upon the community.

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<sup>56</sup>"How Youngstown Feeds the Poor, Shelters the Helpless," Ibid., May 13, 1922, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

One of these agencies, the Youngstown Humane Society, prosecuted when necessary in order to protect children, aged parents, and also animals. Examples of child abuse appeared not infrequently in the newspapers, and the agency appeared to be vigorous in its investigation. Under the Community Corporation, Youngstown had established programs for under privileged children. Each summer 750 children were sent to summer camp, and feature articles would stress the importance of such an experience for these children of city dwellers. "Troubled" children were sent to either the Youngstown Humane Society or the Children's Bureau. Children whose mothers worked were cared for in the Kindergarten and Day Nursery from 7:00 to 5:30 p.m.<sup>58</sup>

The Booker T. Washington Settlement House, another agency under the Community Corporation, was part of the social services for the Black man in Youngstown. There was also a "colored" community center and "colored" Improvement Clubs.<sup>59</sup> These groups met regularly to discuss the betterment of their race and should not be viewed entirely as a form of racism, but also as an attempt to aid one of the many groups that was underprivileged at that time in Youngstown.

Another agency of the Community Corporation remains to be mentioned for its social impact on the community. The Visiting Nurses Association was a bureau that aided the settlement movement by establishing welfare stations in the congested districts of the city, the seventh one being established in June of 1923.<sup>60</sup> These stations, staffed with a pediatrician and a nurse, were aimed to aid mothers with their small children.

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., May 17, 1922, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., May 18, 1922, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup>"New Station for Mothers," Ibid., June 17, 1923, sec. A, p. 2.

An agency of importance was Christ Mission, which the Vindicator lauded as being, next to the public schools, the most important single agency for raising the level of citizenship.<sup>61</sup> In 1922, more than 10,000 Youngstown men, mainly immigrants from the slums of the East Side, attended the night school of the Mission. In addition, charity was a vital part of its services and meals were given nightly for four cents. Free milk was also distributed to underfed children, and this Emergency Milk Committee had the cooperation of dairies, the Visiting Nurses Association, the schools, and the churches.<sup>62</sup>

After the 1922 drive of the Community Corporation, which raised \$265,931 of a \$300,000 goal, Fleming recommended in the annual meeting, activities for 1923 which were clearly progressive in philosophy: a community hall, an opportunity farm for boys and girls, a mental hygiene clinic, lip reading classes, and a tubercular clinic.<sup>63</sup> Then, in 1923, with much newspaper publicity and led by industrial and business leaders, the Community Corporation drive raised \$299,703.45 of its \$300,000 goal.<sup>64</sup> A speech by the chairman of the drive, Jonathan Warner, President of Trumbull Steel Company, revealed a definite civic pride and optimism in Youngstown's growth as a city, "We have seen our flappers and bootleggers, but the city is far better now than when I was a boy," for as Warner described the city, the citizens were now "doing things for our neighbors,"

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<sup>61</sup>"The Remarkable Record of Christ Mission," Ibid., December 3, 1922, sec. A, p. 6.

<sup>62</sup>"Emergency Milk Committee," Ibid., March 16, 1922, p. 9.

<sup>63</sup>"Community Corporation - Annual Meeting," Ibid., February 16, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup>"Community Corporation Budget," Ibid., June 16, 1923, p. 1.

and this to him was the "true Youngstown spirit."<sup>65</sup> "Youngstown's Greatest Pride" thus contributed to the needs of the city's heterogeneous population. But these services cost money, as for example, in 1921, \$60,000 was contributed to St. Elizabeth's the Municipal Hospital, and the Visiting Nurses Association.<sup>66</sup> This organization, under Fleming's direction, and with much newspaper support, was amazingly successful in its campaign for money and in the breadth of services offered to the residents of Youngstown.

During this same period, an institution that showed rapid growth with increased services and broadened programs was the public school system of Youngstown. With the strong support of the Vindicator, school levies consistently passed and the end of the first term of a long range building program in 1922 saw the completion of four new schools, including the new Rayen High School.

An example of progressive reform in education can be discerned in June of 1921 when the school board appropriated \$6500 for a psychological clinic because they felt such a clinic "indispensible to modern education." The clinic was headed by a woman psychologist, Dr. Henrietta Race.<sup>67</sup> Under the supervision of the physical education department, the city appeared to rank high in its health program. The working unit consisted of a director, four part-time medical inspectors, and six full time nurses. The enrollment at this time was 21,000 pupils in the forty-five grade schools, and a nurse visited each elementary school once a week.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>"Community Chest Drive," Ibid., May 5, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup>"Youngstown's Greatest Pride," Ibid., May 16, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup>"Woman to Head School Bureau," Ibid., June 21, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>68</sup>"Youngstown Pupils Health Inspection One of Best," Ibid., April 3, 1921, p. 1.

In the field of special education, there was an obvious concern. At Grant Jr. High School, an "opportunity class" was held for the retarded pupil with the express aim of preventing drop-outs.<sup>69</sup> The motto appeared to be from the trade shop to citizenship. In addition, trade schools were maintained by the school board as well as a night school. In 1921, two hundred fifty, principally the foreign born, attended the night school of Youngstown.<sup>70</sup> Special education seemed to hold the interest of many and in 1922 an Americanization Institute was held in the city by the state supervisor for special training in the teaching of immigrants.<sup>71</sup> Speeches in Youngstown showed interest in reform also. Dr. Frederick B. Slutz, head of the Morain Park School in Dayton, Ohio, urged the progressive concept of the whole child and attacked such things as the college entrance examination and the stress on grades.<sup>72</sup> The state superintendent of the feeble minded spoke in Youngstown on a delinquency institution for "defective delinquent boys" as being the most urgent need in Ohio. The aim of the school was not to remove the boys from society, but to provide them with means of earning a living.<sup>73</sup>

During these years, the Telegram ran a crusade against supposed fire safety hazards in the schools. Inspections by the state fire marshall

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<sup>69</sup>"Here's Class in Which They Spend No Time on Theories," Ibid., March 3, 1922, p. 5.

<sup>70</sup>"250 Attending Night Classes of East Youngstown Board of Education," Ibid., November 16, 1921, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup>"Americanization Institute," Telegram, September 27, 1922, p. 9.

<sup>72</sup>"Abounding Health First Necessity in Education," Vindicator, November 18, 1922, p. 4.

<sup>73</sup>"Delinquency Institution for Defective Delinquent Boys Most Urgent Need in Ohio," Ibid., February 16, 1922, p. 22.

at the request of the Telegram, were much publicized by that newspaper. So it is with interest to note that the Vindicator proudly announced in 1922 that any school in Youngstown could be cleared in one and a half minutes.<sup>74</sup> Undoubtedly, there was some exaggeration in the reporting of both newspapers, but the coverage did keep the public aroused about their schools and concerned.

A marked characteristic of the progressive movement was the development of the Social Gospel, and the organizations which clearly reflected this drive for social justice were the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. The Y.M.C.A. was identified with higher education during this period in Youngstown. The "Y" college's night classes were a clear reflection of the settlement movement in their reaching out to educate the foreign born and the workingman. In 1922, there was a student body of 2,000, fifty-one per cent of whom came from the mills. Six hundred men attended the free citizenship classes and English classes were held in the night school.<sup>75</sup>

In addition to the main Y.M.C.A., branches carried the services to the neighborhoods of the foreign born, for example, the branch at Brier Hill.<sup>76</sup> A camping program that began in 1884 was continued and in 1923, the East Y.M.C.A. branch opened a new camp for boys six miles from town.<sup>77</sup>

On September 26, 1922, a great educational institution was projected by the Y.M.C.A. At that time, the latter took over the Youngstown

<sup>74</sup>"Safety Program," Telegram, March 11, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>75</sup>"Aims of Y," Ibid., September 27, 1922, p. 5.

<sup>76</sup>"How Youngstown Feeds the Poor, Shelters the Helpless," Vindicator, May 13, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup>"East Youngstown Y.M.C.A. Opening Camp for Boys," Ibid., June 8, 1923, p. 8.



Institute of Technology. The four main schools at the college level became not only night schools, but also day schools. The school was moved into new quarters, the Bonnell House, adjacent to the Public Library. The four schools were: engineering, law, liberal arts, and commerce and finance. In addition to these schools, a business school, trade school, elementary and high school were continued at the central Y.M.C.A. and the shop building was retained on East Rayen Avenue.<sup>78</sup>

The Vindicator and Telegram both gave strong support to this action and the Vindicator came out with an editorial entitled, "The 'Y' Has Risen to the Need."<sup>79</sup> The article stressed that this act truly marked the beginning of a university in Youngstown. On June 6, 1923, one hundred graduated from all the above schools of the Y.M.C.A. and the school ranked fifth in size among all the "Y" schools in the country.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to the above services, the Y.M.C.A. gave a well publicized Sunday lecture series every winter in which noted men of the country were invited to speak. The speakers were often of a religious nature, but diversity did exist as can be seen in one series of 1922 where the range covered a Jewish immigrant, a union machinist, and a 33rd degree Mason.<sup>81</sup>

Although the Y.W.C.A. was not begun until 1911, the Executive Secretary, Miss Sarah Shaw, spoke of program expansion in 1921 and announced 5,000 new members. She stressed the social clubs, the International Institute that worked to reach the foreign born women, and

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<sup>78</sup>"Y.M. Technology for Youngstown," Telegram, September 26, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup>Editorial, Vindicator, September 26, 1922, p. 6.

<sup>80</sup>"100 to Graduate from 'Y' Schools," Ibid., June 6, 1923, p. 4.

<sup>81</sup>"The 'Y' Lecture Course," Telegram, December 30, 1922, p. 2.

Bentley Hall that was maintained for young working girls.<sup>82</sup> A summer camping program was also initiated at this time at "Happy Hollow."<sup>83</sup>

In addition to the above organization, a study of the churches in Youngstown shows a marked and united involvement in the Social Gospel, which was discussed from the pulpit as well as in special series of talks and social clubs of the churches. Examples of concerns from the pulpit were many. One such was Y.M.C.A. Day in which all the churches of Youngstown urged the support of the "Y," declaring this particular branch to be one of thirty leading "Y's" in the country in its breadth of services.<sup>84</sup> There was also a Race Relations Day in which the sermon was devoted to racial peace and understanding, and on that date an interchange of ministers and choirs took place.<sup>85</sup> In 1923, the Protestant churches opened a month long series of outdoor religious services devoted to peace.<sup>86</sup> It is interesting to note that this concern for peace was not necessarily a blanket for pacifism, for in a speech to the Presbyterians of Youngstown by the Executive Secretary of the Ohio Federation of Churches, the Reverend B. F. Lamb, urged the draft and war preparedness in schools and colleges.<sup>87</sup> This is indeed contrary to the stereotyped picture of isolationism that was to have followed World War I.

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<sup>82</sup>"Y.W.C.A.," Ibid., September 2, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>83</sup>"Happy Hollow Camp Opens Monday," Vindicator, June 15, 1923, p. 23.

<sup>84</sup>"Y.M.C.A. Day Observed in Churches of the City," Ibid., May 1, 1922, p. 19.

<sup>85</sup>"Observe Race Relations Day in Youngstown's Churches," Ibid., February 11, 1923, sec. A, p. 8.

<sup>86</sup>"Open Peace Program Today," Ibid., July 1, 1923, sec. A, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup>"Rev. Lamb Asks United Action to Save Church," Ibid., May 8, 1922, p. 33.

For the churches and the city, temperance was a leading social issue and one example of participation was a series of talks programed by the social services board of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, which was headed by the City Solicitor of that time, Jesse H. Leighninger. On special events such as these, outside authorities were brought into the community, and on this occasion Dr. Winfred Hall, the Associate Secretary of the National Board of Temperance and Social Welfare of the Presbyterian Church, was the keynote speaker. As the evils of liquor were often associated with the sins of the city, in the social settlement movement, temperance was looked upon as a means of moral and social regeneration for a community. After the Youngstown election of 1923, when the "drys" and the charter had been victorious, the chosen topic over the city in the pulpits was "Politics-Prohibition."<sup>88</sup>

Another issue that confronted the Social Gospellers was the Klu Klux Klan, and the churches took a loud and unanimous stand against the Klan. On September 9, 1921, the Vindicator gave front page coverage to the Reverend Charles Martin of Youngstown who came out for a proposed campaign against the Klan. Nationally, the Federal Council of Churches, twenty million Protestants strong, united in a concerted crusade against the Klan.<sup>89</sup>

Two community concerns generated much attention on the part of the churches in this period of the 1920's. First, the churches opened

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<sup>88</sup>"Politics, Prohibition Are Topic in Churches," Ibid., June 18, 1923, p. 5.

<sup>89</sup>"Churches Fight Klan," Telegram, October 16, 1922, p. 1.

fire on the twelve hour day in the mill after the Gary Committee of the Iron and Steel Institute announced its findings in 1923. The headline read: "Churches Fight Gary."<sup>90</sup> Supporters of the crusade included all three divisions of the church community in America: the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare; the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; and the National Conference of Churches.<sup>91</sup> The issue as the churches proclaimed it was that profits were being considered above humanity.

A second issue of public concern was for the municipal charter. It served as the chosen topic in pulpits over the city during the election time of 1923, and after the election, the Reverend Levi Batman pleaded for a mayor of great ability under the new charter form, saying that with the large power now accorded him, a great ability was likewise needed.<sup>92</sup>

The local minister, priest, or rabbi was a much sought after speaker at banquets. The Reverend Levi Batman was an outstanding example of this type of Social Gospeler. It was he who wrote many of the articles for the newspapers adulating the needs of "Youngstown's Greatest Pride." Likewise, he served on the managerial slate of the Charter Commission, and on the Municipal Committee for the Unemployed.

The Jewish division of the church community was also active in community relations. A new rabbi, Benjamin H. Bernbaum, was often quoted in the newspaper as an exponent of the belief in "modernism."<sup>93</sup> Such

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<sup>90</sup>"Churches Fight Gary," Vindicator, June 6, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>"Get Real Man for Mayor, No Freak, Urges Batman," Ibid., June 18, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>93</sup>"Jew to Launch Campaign Here for Anti-Defamation," Ibid., October 15, 1922, sec. A, p. 2.

"modernism" took the form of using religion as a guide to human conduct. The Jewish community, as a result of these ideas, launched an anti-defamation campaign at this time in the 1920's with the cooperation of the Knights of Columbus, the Y.M.C.A., and the Boy Scouts. Its aim was to promote a better understanding of people of all creeds and it is still in existence today. In line with this campaign, Rabbi Isidore Philo of Rodef Sholom synagogue, gave a speech entitled, "Jew-Christian, How Far Apart,"<sup>94</sup> in which the stress was laid on the belief that here in America the Jew and Christian could meet in ideological harmony.

At this same time, the Guild of Catholic Women were working hard at the goal of a nonsectarian children's home for the city,<sup>95</sup> and the local Protestant churches were organized in a Federated Church Organization. In 1922, the Federation had a one week campaign to raise money for their promotion work which included special events, speakers, and special Sunday School affairs.<sup>96</sup> On November 15, 1922, a School of Religion was opened by the Federation in cooperation with the Y.M.C.A. Fourteen lectures were to be given, one a week, and four courses conducted in which religious workers from the city were enrolled.<sup>97</sup> Special events of the Federation such as "Institute Week" and "Religion Inspiration Week" received large newspaper attention and the events were used to bring to the Youngstown audiences the aims of social betterment through Christianity.

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<sup>94</sup>"Jew-Christian, How Far Apart," Ibid., November 12, 1922, sec. A, p. 2.

<sup>95</sup>"Children's Home for This City," Ibid., May 10, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>96</sup>"Federated Church Association Plans to Raise \$7,000," Telegram, February 3, 1922, p. 6.

<sup>97</sup>"Opening of School of Religion," Ibid., October 16, 1922, p. 23.

At a Mahoning County banquet, the field secretary of the Christian Endeavor World told his audience that "in spite of what you hear about the flapper . . . young people were not going to the dogs."<sup>98</sup>

Before leaving this topic of Youngstown churches, it is pertinent to mention two case studies that have been done: Westminster Presbyterian Church and St. John's Episcopal Church. In the case of the Westminster history, the city was described as being in a period of its greatest growth in the 1920's, and the churches responded to the needs of that growth by supporting such charitable organizations as Christ Mission and the Crittenton Home, a place for unwed mothers. An outstanding example of the Social Gospel can be seen in the beginning of a Sunday School for East Youngstown, started by an elder in the church, William Hawking, and assisted by the young people of that church. It was called the Campbell Christian Neighborhood House.<sup>99</sup>

St. John's Episcopal's history revealed the growth of parish work in these years which followed the war. The era up to 1923 was referred to as a period of "material difficulty." In that time of adversity, a Boy Scout troop was formed in 1920, and in 1922 church group meetings were begun in the homes as an effort to reach out to the lives of the church members.<sup>100</sup>

What can be concluded here is simply that the churches were not hesitant about taking stands on reform. Furthermore, a reaching out to

<sup>98</sup>"Young People Not Going to Dogs, Christian Endeavor Hears," Vindicator, February 5, 1923, p. 14.

<sup>99</sup>Westminster Presbyterian Church, The Story of the First Fifty Years of Westminster Presbyterian Church: 1893-1943 (Youngstown: "n.d.")

<sup>100</sup>St. John's Episcopal Church, History of St. John's Episcopal Church, Youngstown, Ohio: 1894-1934 (Youngstown: "n.d.")

both members and the community to promote social concern prevailed.

It appears clear that the basic institutions of Youngstown were continuing a program to meet the needs of the "new era." Schools, churches, city government, social organizations, and social agencies--all aided and abetted the cause of social justice. Whether it was the issue of religion in politics, women in government, or planning city growth, Youngstown made a remarkable record in broadening its own horizons.

On September 9, 1921, Mayor Fred Warner and City Council held a conference attended by many of Youngstown's leading businessmen concerning unemployment. The year 1921 had been a very poor period for business in Youngstown, and by September, the city government was desperately looking for a solution from businessmen to solve the unemployment problem. The conference, however, was unable to secure such a solution, and as the year turned to 1922, business in general remained on a low economic level. Business conditions continued to remain poor and the municipal government itself was in dire straits. In 1922, the new mayor, George Glas, threatened to drastically reduce the number of the police and firemen. In spite of the city's economic condition, businessmen, in a report requested from Mayor Glas, urged that city services not be curtailed.

## CHAPTER III

## THE ROLE OF THE BUSINESSMAN

In a speech before the Kiwanis Club, businessmen were referred to as "Community Builders,"<sup>101</sup> and this appeared to be their role in Youngstown during these years of 1921-1923. It is not surprising to find that the businessman who hated inefficiency and waste looked for reform in government. The records show that the leadership extended beyond the drive for efficiency, and by their practices, the Chamber of Commerce and business leaders seemed to take on a high degree of responsibility and concern in all the main problems of urbanization of Youngstown.

On September 9, 1921, Mayor Fred Warnock and City Council held a conference attended by twenty of Youngstown's leading businessmen concerning unemployment. The year 1921 had been a very poor period for business in Youngstown, and by September, the city government was desperately looking for a solution from businessmen to solve the unemployment problem. The conference, however, was unable to secure such a solution, and as the year turned to 1922, business in general remained on a low economic level. Business conditions continued to remain poor and the municipal government itself was in dire straits. In 1922, the new mayor, George Oles, threatened to drastically reduce the number of the police and firemen. In spite of the city's economic condition, businessmen, in a report requested from Mayor Oles, urged that city services not be curtailed.

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<sup>101</sup>"Kiwanis Club," Vindicator, October 25, 1922, p. 10.



Perhaps Julius Kahn, President of Truscon Steel Company, reflected the local attitude of business leaders. He noted that although 1921 saw enormous losses and the greatest depression anyone in the Mahoning Valley had ever known, the trend appeared upward and businessmen were optimistic. The main needs for business improvements were seen to be the lowering of freight rates and the meeting of foreign competition. He concluded that the Mahoning Valley existed in the commercial world and should provide new methods and look at problems from new angles in order to meet new competition.<sup>102</sup>

One such method of meeting the competition was expressed by Charles Schwab, President of the Board of Directors of Bethlehem Steel Company. He stressed the development of the Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal. The development of a multi-purpose waterway program had been a major part of Theodore Roosevelt's conservation program and the canal was recognized locally as a means by which competition could be utilized in the transportation field.<sup>103</sup>

Another means to aid the city was the annual Community Chest Drive, and the chairman of that drive was usually a prominent businessman. In 1923, the prominent industrialist, Jonathan Warner, President of Trumbull Steel Company, led the drive. He was assisted by James Campbell, President of Youngstown Sheet and Tube and Asael Adams, President of the First National Bank.

The Chamber of Commerce during this period reveals that it initiated reforms, supported reform movements, and worked closely with City

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<sup>102</sup>"Julius Kahn, Truscon President: View on Business," Ibid., January 1, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>103</sup>"Boom Coming," Ibid., March 3, 1922, p. 1.

Council. In January of 1922, the members gave ideas on what was most needed to benefit the city.<sup>104</sup> Committees were established, some of which revealed the Chamber's interest in an extension of government services and concern for the city's needs. One such committee was the Health and Sanitation Committee that worked to establish a practical public health program and a unified municipal sanitation program. Other committees of special reform interest were: the Housing Committee, the Fire Prevention Committee, the Soliciting Schemes Committee, the Canal Board Committee, and a Retail Merchant Board. The last group was to experiment with cooperative deliveries for suburban districts and to deal also with fraudulent advertising. A committee for good roads was established and in addition to working on road improvement, the upgrading of postal routes was on its agenda. It was in February of 1922 that East Youngstown procured its first daily mail service; preceding that year, the residents of that district had been forced to go to the Central Post Office for their mail.<sup>105</sup>

Then in July of 1922, the Chamber, still anxious to promote a program of municipal concern, conducted a survey to determine what was needed to bring Youngstown to its highest potential.<sup>106</sup> Questionnaires were sent to the citizens and some of the answers reveal basic progressive concerns: better city government, an improved water system, cooperation with the Planning Commission on the zoning plan, a need for better

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<sup>104</sup>"Chamber of Commerce Plans More Diversified Industries," Ibid., January 1, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>105</sup>"East Youngstown Now Has Daily Mail Service," Telegram, February 3, 1922, p. 4.

<sup>106</sup>"Chamber of Commerce Opinions," Vindicator, July 31, 1922, p. 7.

building laws, a need for new parks, an urging of public and open meetings of governmental agencies, and a need for a coordinating committee for local municipal transportation in order to plan for future years.

The Chamber, in August of 1922, proposed for the following month, a new public education program that was termed by the Vindicator, "the most progressive move ever attempted in the city."<sup>107</sup> The two most important matters to be taken up dealt with city taxation and the city water supply. The issue of city taxes was a vexing one for the citizens, and the prevailing opinion expressed in articles throughout this period was that the citizen should know more about how his money was spent. Similarly, the city was also vexed by taxes. Here the problem was inadequate funds. On June 30th, Mayor Oles announced that the city was bankrupt and unable to secure credit. After Oles resigned, the new mayor, William Reese, wrote in the Vindicator on the various municipal ways tax money was spent. On October 5th, the Vindicator urged the citizens to vote for a tax levy that would be on the ballot in the November election. So such a study as the Chamber proposed was indeed not only timely, but one of great local concern.

Two months after the Chamber of Commerce's program on municipal taxes and water supply, a large scale campaign was begun by the Chamber to enlarge the organization so that it could meet the needs of the growing city.<sup>108</sup> The aim of the campaign was to improve Youngstown, and a feeling of local responsibility can be seen in the words of the Chamber's

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<sup>107</sup>"Chamber of Commerce Proposes New Civic Program," Ibid., August 18, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>108</sup>"Chamber of Commerce Plans Better Youngstown," Ibid., December 25, 1922, p. 1.

President Homer Williams, who stated that he was "ready to fight for Youngstown," since everything he had he owed to the city.<sup>109</sup> In this drive, the progressive concept of personal service and not money was stressed as the prime factor in making Youngstown a better city.

It is important to observe that shortly after this campaign started Miss Elizabeth Carmichael, a public school music instructor, became the first woman member of the Chamber. At this same meeting, the accomplishments of the Chamber were noted: the building code of the Chamber had been adopted nationally; the organization had boosted municipal levies and the drive for a city charter; its aid in the time of a crisis such as floods was acknowledged by the city government; and the presence of women at the meeting showed a new expansion in education within the Chamber.<sup>110</sup>

During this same period, the Chamber had worked with Council in all of its economic problems. In the most acute financial period, 1922, Council sought cooperation from the Chamber in solving its financing problems. On January 27th, in a special Saturday evening session, City Council took action on the city finances as reported by the Chamber of Commerce and the Retail Merchant's Board. At that time appropriations were set up for the period ending June 30, 1923. On January 29, 1923, the Council formally commended the Chamber for helping the city to make up its budget.

Business leadership then was instrumental in guiding the city government of Youngstown. These years were ones of business, not

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

<sup>110</sup>"Chamber of Commerce Banquet," Telegram, November 18, 1922, p.3.

political leadership. So, it is not surprising that President Harding's death brought no panic, but a calm announcement that the business outlook remained the same.<sup>111</sup> In the "City Council Journal" there was no entry or mention of the President's death.

Thus, business had a role of leadership which cannot be ignored when discussing the progressive elements of the city. These leaders and their program stood for a continuation of civic services, an extension of power for the city government, and all within the framework of the so-called Square Deal.

In spite of the traditional picture of general prosperity, Youngstown reveals a period marked by a fluctuation between industrial successes and failures. Youngstown's economy was interwoven with the steel industry whose future looked good in 1921. But the steel industry locally could not solve the general industrial problems of unemployment and rising costs of living. Amidst the era of good times when Youngstown's gain in jobs led the nation's industrial cities,<sup>112</sup> and the steel mills had advance orders for seven weeks, the unemployment situation was getting worse.<sup>113</sup> In terms of volume, 1921 had been the poorest year in Youngstown's history. In February wages were reduced, in July the eight-hour day was abandoned, and in August there was a further reduction of both labor and wages and a decrease in the stock dividend.<sup>114</sup>

At this time in the city there existed a general fear of a proposed merger within the prominent Youngstown steel plants, and the city rejoiced when Youngstown Sheet and Tube in 1922 withdrew from such a proposal. The Vindicator, by use of a cartoon, showed how elimination

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<sup>112</sup>"Youngstown's Gain in Jobs Leads Nation," Ibid., November 6, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>113</sup>"Unemployment Policy Sought," Ibid., September 15, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>114</sup>"Unemployment in Bad Year," Ibid., February 14, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>111</sup>Editorial, Vindicator, November 6, 1922, p. 1.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE ROLE OF INDUSTRY

In spite of the traditional picture of general prosperity, Youngstown reveals a period marked by a fluctuation between industrial successes and failures. Youngstown's economy was interwoven with the steel industry whose future looked good in 1921. But the steel industry locally could not solve the general industrial problems of unemployment and rising costs of living. Amidst the era of good times when Youngstown's gain in jobs led the nation's industrial cities,<sup>112</sup> and the steel mills had advance orders for seven weeks, the unemployment situation was getting worse.<sup>113</sup> In terms of volume, 1921 had been the poorest year in Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company's history. In February wages were reduced, in July the eight hour day was abandoned, and in August there was a further reduction of both labor and wages and a decrease in the stock dividend.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>"Youngstown's Gain in Jobs Leads Nation," Ibid., November 6, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>113</sup>"Unemployment Policy Sought," Ibid., September 15, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>114</sup>"Good Showing in Bad Year," Ibid., February 14, 1922, p. 1.

of huge trusts was an aid to the expansion of business.<sup>115</sup>

At this same time, the eight hour day was a leading issue for industry, and the accent was placed on the iron and steel manufacturers. The Vindicator came out strongly for the eight hour day and articles asserted that the seven day week, twenty-four hour turn was being abolished.<sup>116</sup> The American Engineering Council Board held that the eight hour day was both economical and feasible,<sup>117</sup> and a National Committee from the American Iron and Steel Institute was created at the request of President Harding to study the problem of the twelve hour day. James Campbell, President of Youngstown Sheet and Tube, was appointed to this committee, and the results published in 1923 got wide newspaper publicity. The report stated that due to the dearth of labor and the demands on industry for products, the committee could not recommend the eight hour shift.<sup>118</sup>

An immediate protest was voiced by the Chairman of the Board of Jones and Laughlin, Benjamin F. Jones, Jr., who stated that the National Committee gave the wrong impression of the industry, that much had been done already to abolish the practice of the longer day. Since 1910, the iron and steel industry had reduced by fifty per cent the men working ten hours and over. Jones brought up the problems the manufacturers faced in changing over to the eight hour day abruptly.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>115</sup>"How to Let Out the Tame Ones Without the Wild Critters Coming Too?," Ibid., April 12, 1922, p. 6.

<sup>116</sup>"U.S. Investigates Feasibility of 8 Hour Day," Ibid., March 13, 1921, p. 20.

<sup>117</sup>"8 Hour Day in Steel Industry is Held Feasible and Economical," Ibid., September 17, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>118</sup>"Gary Committee Okays Twelve Hour Day," Telegram, May 25, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>119</sup>"Jones Sees End of 12 Hour Day," Vindicator, June 5, 1923, p. 1.

The issue of the shorter working day gained considerable ground in Youngstown during this period, and by June of 1923, less than twenty-five per cent of the workers were on the twelve hour shift. The majority were on the eight hour day.<sup>120</sup> The two departments which continued to have the longer day were the Coke Plant and Blast Furnace. The defense offered by the industry for this was that the work was mechanical and a decrease in hours would not increase productivity.

One of the central problems of this period, unemployment, prompted President Harding to call for the first Federal Unemployment Conference in October of 1921.<sup>121</sup> James Campbell, President of Youngstown Sheet and Tube, was appointed to that committee and upon his return from Washington, Campbell met with Mayor William Reese and gave his views and the recommendations of the committee.<sup>122</sup>

First, Campbell pointed out the aim of the conference was to provide work for everyone capable of working. Among other things, recommendations from the committee included: the creation of municipal emergency committees; winter repair project programs instead of waiting for spring; the use by manufacturers of part-time work; rotating the work and reducing the hours of labor. Campbell made it clear that he was against a reduction of steel workers' wages. The remedy both in Youngstown and Washington was seen to be to give the farmer a profit, lower railroad transportation fees, and provide work programs.

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<sup>120</sup>"Eight Hour Day Gaining Ground in Local Mills," Ibid., June 17, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>121</sup>"Conference on Unemployment," Telegram, October 1, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>122</sup>"Mayor Confers with Campbell on Relief Plan," Vindicator, October 3, 1921, p. 1.



In order to meet this need of a work program, Youngstown City Council was asked to raise a fund of \$100,000 by subscription. A special committee for the unemployed was created by Council on Campbell's recommendation.<sup>123</sup> A permanent organization was to be established and the Community Corporation and other relief organizations offered their support. On the special unemployment committee were United Labor Congress leader, Harry Dechend, who was also editor of the Labor Record, leading clergymen such as Levi Batman, and social leaders such as the President of the Women's Federation Club, Mrs. Harriet Ritter. At this same time, Campbell held meetings with members of the Chamber of Commerce and the steel makers of Youngstown, and commented that he was much encouraged with the local response.<sup>124</sup> On the issue of the unemployed, it can be seen that industry was utilizing public opinion to the fullest and making that issue a public concern.

On the same day that the press release was made on Campbell's satisfaction to the local response on unemployment, the Vindicator also published a speech he made to the Cotton Manufacturer's Association, which reflected his plan for railroad reform. His program called for the abolition of the Railroad Labor Board and the transfer of its functions to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Campbell saw the supervision by the railroads' management plus two separate governmental agencies as creating a situation of "excessive costs" and thus

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<sup>123</sup>"Provide Work, Give Relief," Telegram, October 4, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>124</sup>"Relief Work is Outlined at Meeting, Ibid., October 4, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>125</sup>"Campbell Asks Rail Changes: Address to Cotton Manufacturers," Vindicator, November 4, 1921, p. 1.

"excessive rates."<sup>125</sup> His plan would enable labor to be paid rates that prevailed in the specific areas of work being done and one can see here the efforts toward efficiency and scientific management that was so important in the businessman's concept of reform. To the industrialist of Youngstown, lower freight rates held the key to industrial prosperity. With the reduction of transportation charges, Campbell foresaw a cost of living decline, then a farmer's buying power increase which would result in full factory operation and a utilization of railroad facilities.

What this particular examination on unemployment and the eight hour day demonstrates is the interrelationship between Youngstown and Washington and the dominance of the steel industry in Youngstown. There was a reliance by the community and the nation upon such industrial leaders as James Campbell to bring scientific management to the industrial order and to bring the masses to a high sense of community service.

On the other side of the industrial scene was labor whose official political voice was the United Labor Congress. One example of the position of this body was the formal acceptance of the municipal hospital building in October of 1922 by City Council only after a lengthy investigation of that building by the Labor Congress. Communications to Council from labor were made by the United Labor Congress and this group actively participated in the reform movements of that day.

The President of the United Labor Congress, Audley B. Howe, came out strongly for a revised municipal charter, citing the following as reasons: a means for people to take control from the politicians; a close control by the people through the use of the initiative and recall.

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<sup>125</sup>"Campbell Asks Rail Changes: Address to Cotton Manufacturers," Vindicator, November 4, 1921, p. 1.

Howe went on to state that this document had the "most liberal recall I have ever seen in any city charter . . . a step forward to be able to go directly to the mayor."<sup>126</sup>

In the entire period of 1921-1923, the United Labor Congress actively supported the charter, but it was divided on the issue of the federal versus the city managerial form of government.<sup>127</sup> Then, in July of 1921, the Labor Congress came out in favor of the federal plan.<sup>128</sup>

Locally, the main issue for labor concerned the level of wages. There was almost constant arbitration over this issue between all the various mayors and some faction within labor. At one time in June of 1922, there were three concurrent strikes, all over wages; the bricklayers, the barbers, and the linemen or street car operators. But there was no violence over these strikes and arbitration proceeded peacefully.

In addition to arbitration as a means of labor negotiation, this period saw a strengthening of the closed shop. The Chamber of Commerce came out strongly endorsing the principle of the open shop.<sup>129</sup> Nevertheless, the period saw the abandonment of the two year fight for the open shop by the Building Trades Association.<sup>130</sup> Previously, in June of 1921, the street car company had stopped their demand for the open shop

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<sup>126</sup>"Howe Gives Reasons Why He Supports Charter," Ibid., May 2, 1923, p. 30.

<sup>127</sup>"Organized Labor Divided on Federal Versus City Managerial Form of Government," Ibid., June 14, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>128</sup>"Manager Plan Condemned by Labor Congress," Ibid., July 26, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>129</sup>"Chamber of Commerce Demands Open Shop," Ibid., May 4, 1921, p. 3.

<sup>130</sup>"Abandon Fight for Open Shop," Ibid., March 11, 1923, p. 1.

after Mayor Reese had intervened in a wage dispute of that time.<sup>131</sup>

On the issue of housing, Youngstown's laboring class appears to have been rather fortunate. After completing a study of housing in 1923, the Department of Labor stated that Youngstown had improved in the construction of new homes, that it was now not far behind Dayton and much ahead of Akron, and presently ranked sixth in the state. The figures for the preceding three years were: 1920, 333 new homes; 1921, 724 new homes; 1922, 734 new homes.<sup>132</sup>

The newspaper for labor in the Mahoning Valley was the Labor Record whose predictions for 1923 were indeed progressive in concept: the eight hour day, a ban on child labor, collective bargaining, and the closed shop.<sup>133</sup> In 1921, the Postal Savings Bank, a savings institution authorized by the Federal government at specified post offices, had come under their fire. The two per cent interest was seen as the lowest in the world and since this was where the immigrants were putting their savings for security, a change in the laws was urged.<sup>134</sup>

Perhaps the best source of what labor was really thinking at that time comes from the Labor Day speeches of 1922. The serious theme heard by the people dealt with regaining economic justice for the American worker. The unemployment conference was seen as a joke, but speakers E. D. McDougal and Joseph Heffernan stated that the resentment rested on

<sup>131</sup>Council Journal Vol. 19, June, 1921.

<sup>132</sup>Editorial, Vindicator, June 27, 1923, p. 6.

<sup>133</sup>"Labor Editor Predicts Benefits for Workingman," Ibid., sec. 4, p. 1.

<sup>134</sup>"Dechend Gives His View on Postal Savings System," Ibid., October 17, 1921, p. 11.

the wrong shoulders. The wrong doers belonged to the past generation, and men of this present generation were the "more innocent successors."<sup>135</sup> McDougal and Heffernan gave as their theme that there was far more sympathy with the aspirations of workers in these years than in preceding generations. The speeches had religious overtones, and the men spoke of the evil of the general strike and the rising of truth against the menace of class war. There was no evidence of any Marxist philosophy here, but rather a plea to work and arbitrate within the system of American capitalism.

During this period social changes were occurring within industries. Brier Hill Steel Company began an organization for employees that emphasized civic and cultural activities as well as athletics, and enthusiasm for the group was noted.<sup>136</sup> Carnegie Steel Company built a Community House in McDonald for its employees at a cost of \$100,000 and its facilities were made free to the public.<sup>137</sup> When the branch library building on the Public Square was proposed in 1923, labor unions donated their services for the building of the branch, and one electrical contractor volunteered to furnish all the electrical materials.<sup>138</sup> This new facility was evidently close to the civic pride of Youngstown's working class.

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<sup>135</sup>"No Pomp Here to Labor Day Celebration," Ibid., September 5, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>136</sup>"Brier Hill Organizes New Athletic and Civic Organization," Ibid., December 1, 1922, p. 30.

<sup>137</sup>"Community House Built by Carnegie Steel," Telegram, November 16, 1921, p. 9.

<sup>138</sup>"Many Favor Branch Library Plan on Public Square," Vindicator, February 15, 1923, sec. A, p. 5.

In addition to the basic role of management and labor, an examination of the industrial order shows two new fields of service were emerging in the "new era": public transportation and public utilities. In the field of public utilities, electric power was much in the minds of industrialists and during this period a rise in state service and a growth of utility company power was evidenced in the Mahoning Valley. Two new steam electric power stations in the Ohio Valley were built in Zanesville and Steubenville at a cost of \$15,000,000 in order to provide for Ohio's industrial growth.<sup>139</sup> These Pennsylvania and Ohio stations were welcomed by the industry of Youngstown which in the past had been handicapped by a limited water supply for power plant purposes. In February of 1923, it was announced that Ohio was to spend \$75,000,000 in developing electric power and Youngstown was to be one of the cities to benefit. A great system was envisioned that would link the entire state in four years.<sup>140</sup> This evidence supports well Arthur Link's assertion that regulation of electrical power was one of the "horizons" that broadened the progressive movement in the 1920's.<sup>141</sup>

A utility already having ecological problems was the state water supply system. The state health director held a meeting in Cleveland on pure water with coke and steel industry leaders, plus water officials of several Ohio cities, including Youngstown. At this meeting the industrial leaders were told by the director to clear up the mess that they had been

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<sup>139</sup>"P.O. To Build \$15,000,000 Power Plant," Ibid., October 1, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>140</sup>"Ohio to Spend \$75,000,000 for Developing Electricity," Ibid., February 8, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>141</sup>Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement," p. 850.

depositing in the state water system. He stated that the drinking water had become "unbearable" due to the industrial waste combining with the chlorine.<sup>142</sup>

Another basic issue for Youngstown was public transportation, and here the much advertised competition lay between city controlled street cars and privately owned jitneys. To counter the competition, the municipally owned street car industry was buying buses to connect with the street car lines. In Council there was much discussion on the traffic congestion caused by having both the jitneys and street cars on the city streets. On June 19, 1923, Council voted and the motion carried that the "jitneys must quit the city streets."<sup>143</sup> Thus, for the time, municipal owned industry won out over private industry.

In looking at the activities of industry in Youngstown, an attitude of searching seemed to prevail, for a sense of newness guided both labor and management. Many of the problems were totally new, such as the drinking water hazard and street congestion.

Some of the problems such as providing public work programs for the unemployed and establishing standards and regulations for the worker became an integral part of the New Deal. In these intervening years between the New Freedom and the New Deal, many of the problems were met with a notable degree of success on the part of the industrial leaders, and a willingness to follow those leaders was evidenced on the part of the workers.

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<sup>142</sup>"Pure Water Is Up To Plants," Vindicator, June 9, 1923, p. 3.

<sup>143</sup>Council Journal Vol. 21, June 19, 1923.

## CHAPTER V

## THE CHARTER DEVELOPMENT

Municipal reform in Youngstown is well illustrated by the drive for a charter form of city government. This reform impulse became very strong in 1921 and all elements of city leadership became involved in the charter movement. Throughout this development for a charter, the motivation behind the drive was the belief that with a charter the city could be governed more honestly, efficiently, and autonomously.

Early leaders in the drive were Asael E. Adams, President of the First National Bank, Judge George Gessner, Attorney William J. Williams, and Judge David Jenkins. These men spoke to the various Improvement Clubs and service organizations on the several types of municipal government. Citizen's groups were formed whose aim it was to educate the voters. On April 10, 1921, Council was asked to authorize a charter vote at the August primary election, and a steering committee for the charter was submitted to Council.<sup>144</sup>

During this period, two approaches to a local charter government developed: the federal and the city manager form. The managerial form was supported by certain prominent citizens and had the backing of the Chamber of Commerce, all of whom justified their support on the basis of efficiency.<sup>145</sup> At this time, Jacob Brenner was head of the committee

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<sup>144</sup>Council Journal Vol. 19, April, 1921.

<sup>145</sup>"Efficiency of City Manager Form Sponsored by Chamber of Commerce Justified," Vindicator, May 27, 1921, p. 21.



for such a plan which Judge Jenkins had co-authored along with William Davies.<sup>146</sup> On June 4, 1921, the managerial slate was announced by Judge Gessner and all fourteen candidates were pledged to give talks on this form of city government to audiences throughout the city. The slate was selected by an executive committee which in turn had been approved by City Council. The steering or executive committee was headed by Judge Gessner.<sup>147</sup>

Although Mayor Warnock and Council gave early support to the charter drive,<sup>148</sup> the mayor soon announced his opposition to the city manager form in a speech before the South Side Improvement Club.<sup>149</sup> However, stronger opposition was yet to come. The United Labor Congress participated in the drive for the charter, but stayed divided on the two forms being offered until July of 1921 when they openly condemned the managerial form.<sup>150</sup>

The most popular speaker for the city manager form was Judge Jenkins. In a speech before the Kiwanis Club, Jenkins stated that a democracy consisted of people controlling the public offices and the city manager form gave the most control to the people. He asserted that a basic difference between the managerial form and the federal form was the distinction between unification and division of power. To Jenkins' reasoning, the federal form brought diminution of popular control

<sup>146</sup>"City Manager Government Discussed," Ibid., May 4, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>147</sup>"Manager Slate Chosen," Telegram, June 4, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>148</sup>Council Journal Vol. 19, January 14, 1921.

<sup>149</sup>"Manager Plan Opposed by Mayor," Vindicator, January 21, 1921, p. 21.

<sup>150</sup>"Manager Plan Condemned by Labor Congress," Ibid., July 26, 1921, p. 1.

and the city manager form brought unification, which in turn brought responsibility and power to the people. At this point, Jenkins then reflected the cult of business leadership that was so strong in this period. He spoke of the success of American business methods as this country's unique contribution to the world, and how the failure of American city governments was in strange contrast to the management of American corporations. His question to his audience was: "Is the time not here when we shall recognize that public business is no different from private business?"<sup>151</sup>

As brought before the voters in the August primary of 1921, the managerial form called for a Council of nine which was to be nominated by wards or districts, and this Council was to have the power of naming the manager. This program did not propose to change the state constitution, but did propose that the initiative and referendum should be included in the local charter.

During the months preceding the August primary, the federal plan drive was led by Attorney W. J. Williams, one of the fifteen candidates on its slate. Williams charged that under a manager form there was no check on the Council, but that under a federal form, the mayor, by means of the veto, held a check on city government.<sup>152</sup> Williams spoke to many of the service clubs and to all of the neighborhood Improvement Clubs. By the time of the election, the charter campaign was a verbal duel between Jenkins and Williams.

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<sup>151</sup>"Manager Plan Most Democratic," Ibid., July 8, 1921, p. 27.

<sup>152</sup>"Williams Flays Manager Plan," Telegram, June 9, 1921, p. 3.

Both forms of the city charter plan were defeated on election day, August 9, 1921, along with all of the bond issues for city improvements. Disinterest and confusion were cited by the Vindicator as the reasons for the charter failure.<sup>153</sup>

This drive for a municipal charter form of government had a change of luck on June 31st of the following year when the resignation of Mayor Oles had a sharp and decided influence upon the people who were looking for reform in municipal government. A mass meeting of citizens was called for on July 3rd by Mrs. J. F. Ritter, President of the Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Ritter spoke of Oles' resignation as proof of the need for a new form of city government.<sup>154</sup> Oles' resignation had heightened public sentiment against politicians and had revitalized the cry for home rule. Dirty politics was seen as the main reason for Oles' inability to accomplish constructive work in city government. The weakness of the political system had led to a direct reaction to that system and now public sentiment for a city charter came to a climax.

After the defeat of the charter in August of 1921, the Telegram had editorialized that American cities did want good government and would vote for it when the issue was fully presented.<sup>155</sup> In February, 1922, the Telegram editorialized in support of the city manager form.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup>"Defeat of Charter at Primary," Vindicator, August 10, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>154</sup>"Mass Meeting Called on Home Rule Charter," Ibid., July 1, 1922.

<sup>155</sup>Editorial, Telegram, September 15, 1921, p. 8.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., February 20, 1922, p. 8.

The Vindicator likewise advocated the city manager form as a business form of government, more responsive than the "old political system."<sup>157</sup> Now, after Oles' resignation, the Telegram urged a representative charter that would insure home rule. All the politicians were viewed as having been against Oles and against the charter; the time was seen as ripe for a change.<sup>158</sup>

Fourteen hundred citizens attended the mass meeting on July 3rd. When Attorney Williams, the leading exponent of the federal plan was appointed chairman of the charter committee, it appeared that the federal plan had the advantage over the city manager plan. This meeting held its exciting moments, for there were those present who did not favor any charter, but Williams reminded the audience that Youngstown could not cope with Ohio municipal codes that had been adopted over twenty years ago in which one system of governing was used for all Ohio cities, regardless of size. It was pointed out that lack of local power in government put such services as public utilities at a disadvantage. With a home charter, all powers of local self-government could be acquired at once. The questions raised by Williams that had yet to be settled were: what form of city government did the people prefer, managerial or federal; should Council be elected by wards or at large; should the Council be large or small; were the people for or against Civil Service? At this meeting, it was formally decided that City Council be asked to call for an election that would decide on a Charter Commission.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>157</sup>Editorial, Vindicator, August 9, 1921, p. 3.

<sup>158</sup>"Home Rule," Telegram, July 3, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>159</sup>"Ask Council for Charter Vote," Vindicator, July 5, 1922, p. 1.

From 1921-1922, City Council heard both the pros and cons of adopting a city charter. On July 17, 1922, ordinance #26546, "Shall a Commission be chosen to Frame a Charter," was tabled for one week. In that time Council received many communications favoring a charter vote in the coming election. This pressure bore fruit in that at the second reading on July 24th, a Charter Commission was approved by a vote of thirteen to three. The attitude of Council seemed quite conciliatory toward the charter drive in that on November 11, 1922, the Charter Commission was granted the right to hold meetings in Council's chambers.

The Charter Commission built up its drive by means of many speeches. Factions for both plans were very active, but in September of 1922, the group backing the managerial plan substituted the Youngstown plan for the former one. This plan, first proposed by ex-Congressman James Kennedy, called for a governing body of seventy people, elected by wards. They in turn elected a mayor, city council, and a school board. Each ward would have seven members. The people would have the power of removing any public official. The plan appeared reminiscent of Greek democracy and in an editorial in the Vindicator, the plan was deemed "unique and original," but too idealistic.<sup>160</sup>

Judge Barnum, one of the most active speakers in support of the charter at this time, gave support to the federal plan as opposed to the Youngstown plan when, in a speech to the Rotary, he stated that the people wished to elect their own mayor and the charter should allow for this. Barnum went on to state that the people of Youngstown might not be ready for what was best for them, and what people do not understand

*Ibid.*, November 2, 1922, p. 8.

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<sup>160</sup>Editorial, Ibid., September 27, 1922, p. 6.

cannot be forced on them. However, along with that disparaging note, the Judge emphasized that municipal government was more vital to the individual citizen than the state or national government. The progressive concept of the short ballot was also emphasized in his speech.<sup>161</sup>

By an earlier invitation from the Vindicator, Judge Barnum had clearly outlined eleven specific ways Youngstown would benefit by a charter. These were: 1) the number of public officials would be precisely determined; 2) offices would be consolidated; 3) provision would be made for appointment rather than election of certain officials; 4) Youngstown would adopt its own Civil Service rules; 5) safeguards would be made against claims for personal injuries; 6) a levy would be made for occupational taxes; 7) a provision would be made for a short ballot in city elections; 8) there would be conviction for certain crimes that had grown out of current conditions; 9) a modern auditing and budget system would be implemented; 10) Council would be elected at large; 11) city elections would be held on a non-partisan basis.<sup>162</sup>

The election that followed on November 8, 1922 held many surprises, for the voters seemed to cross party lines and indicated a new degree of sophistication. The Republican majority was cut to a new low and partisan strongholds disappeared by the splitting of tickets. Prohibition carried by only seventy-eight votes and all levies, except those for the schools, failed. Much to the politicians' surprise, the charter passed by 1,712 votes. The federal plan won by 4,000 votes over the Youngstown plan, and,

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<sup>161</sup>"Judge W. P. Barnum Talks to Rotary Club on Charter Proposal," Ibid., November 2, 1922, p. 8.

<sup>162</sup>"Judge Barnum Lists Ways Youngstown to Benefit from Charter," Ibid., July 14, 1922, p. 1.

along with this plan, the voters approved a small council and election by wards on a non-partisan ballot. Judge Gessner received the highest number of votes of the fifteen chosen for the Charter Commission, and five women were elected to that Commission, including Mrs. Harriet Ritter.<sup>163</sup>

On January 3, 1923, the Charter Commission President, W. J. Williams, announced that the charter draft would be ready on March 15th and the election would be held May 15th. On March 7th, there was a meeting to hear all citizens who had not taken part in the drafting and who wished to raise objections to the charter as it now stood. The provisions of the charter were outlined in the Vindicator and the Telegram. In a Telegram article, the theme of centralization was stressed and some of the changes were as follows: the Board of Health was to be changed to a Commission of Health under the direction of the mayor; a non-salaried commission was to be appointed by the mayor for the purpose of inspecting charitable and correctional institutions; the City Planning Commission was to be composed of seven members: the mayor, city solicitor, city engineer, commissioner of parks, and three citizens, one of whom was to be a woman. This committee was to be appointed by the mayor for a term of four years. The mayor could be removed by recall, and political parties were barred from endorsing a candidate for municipal office. The eight hour day was established for city workers.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>163</sup>"Election Results," Telegram, November 8, 1922, p. 1;  
"Election Brings Many Surprises," Vindicator, November 8, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>164</sup>"Charter Draft Completed," Telegram, March 14, 1923, pp. 1, 9.

The Vindicator printed the final form on March 14th. The Civil Service Commission was to be eliminated and examinations were to be held by the head of the department. Suspension of fire and policemen was in the hands of the respective chiefs. A request for review could be made to the Board of Appeals which would consist of the mayor and the president of Council along with the presiding judge of the Municipal Court. There were to be seven wards instead of the then existing thirteen. Council could call a meeting and elect its own president. The mayor's term was to be for four years and he could succeed himself. The only elected public offices of the city were to be the Board of Education, municipal judges, the mayor and City Council. Members of Council as well as the mayor were subject to recall, and provisions were made for the initiative and the referendum. Another provision prohibited Council from enacting public utility rates as emergency legislation. Moreover, the public was given the power, and the referendum, to establish the public utility rates.

An aspect of the charter that received much attention, and indeed was progressive in concept, was the non-partisan emphasis. On February 23, 1922, the Vindicator headlined: "Charter Bars Political Parties." The article went on to state that under the charter, the Commission would make it a misdemeanor for a political party to endorse a candidate.

On March 19th, Council authorized the mailing of this charter to every registered voter, 30,000 copies. At the same time, the rules were suspended so that Attorney Williams could address the Council on the charter and thank the group for their consideration of the Charter Commission.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>165</sup>Council Journal Vol. 21, March 19, 1923.



On election day, May 16, 1923, with less than twenty-two per cent of the electorate voting, the charter won by 4,938 votes for the charter and 2,687 votes against the charter. The Telegram saw the election as a two to one endorsement, and portrayed the election as the winning of a ten year battle. The small number who voted was not considered as significant as the fact that those who did vote favored the charter. The victory showed that Youngstown was to be put on a "business basis."<sup>166</sup>

After the election, the "League of Electors," was formed by the Charter Commission to endorse candidates on a non-partisan basis. The committee which would investigate the candidates was to consist of twenty members representing all interests and sections of the city. In the month of June it was announced that the League was seeking 10,000 new members and was carrying on its program to endorse one candidate for each office on a non-partisan basis.<sup>167</sup>

In this major reform drive, the impulse for change was persistent and did, in this instance, create a basic alteration in Youngstown that reflected many progressive concepts. Perhaps nowhere else in this study does one example represent so clearly the continuation of progressivism as in this specific reform drive for a local charter.

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<sup>166</sup>Editorial, Telegram, March 16, 1923, p. 7.

<sup>167</sup>"A Voters League for the New Charter," Vindicator, June 5, 1923, p. 6.

## CHAPTER VI

## LEADERS

In all of the areas of progressive activities which this essay has covered, it is obvious that certain people greatly influenced Youngstown's actions and developments during these years. Certain leaders who aided and influenced the reform movement deserve to be discussed at length.

James Campbell, one of the most influential men of this period, has already been noted to some degree in chapter IV. One may easily draw a picture of a man with extensive power and responsibility. Under his direction, by 1923, Youngstown Sheet and Tube grew to be the second largest steel plant in the country.<sup>168</sup> Barron's, a national weekly newspaper, depicted Campbell as one of the two or three leading steel men in the country.<sup>169</sup> What is important to emphasize is that this industrialist, whose prestige has already been shown by his national appointments,<sup>170</sup> felt the importance of taking an active role in his own community. He gave direct service in the Community Chest drive as well as other charitable organizations and personally supported the municipal charter drive. His pragmatic view on the eight hour day and

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<sup>168</sup>"Sheet and Tube OK's Deal," Vindicator, February 28, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>169</sup>"Wall Street Finds Campbell One of Two or Three Leading Steel Men," Ibid., June 7, 1922, p. 20.

<sup>170</sup>See p. 44 in Chapter IV.

his attitude towards railroads were indeed reflective of this business age;<sup>171</sup> his concern in extending his responsibilities into the community is typical of the role the business leader carried out as his response to industrialism. It is this concern which sustained and continued much of the reform in Youngstown. James Wick, Jr., in a biographical sketch of Campbell, referred to him as a man who inspired all to excel. Wick considered it a rare privilege to be associated with the man.<sup>172</sup>

One of the most interesting men to ever cross the Youngstown stage was Mayor George Oles. Running independently from the Old Guard Republicans in 1921, Oles' victory was seen as a triumph against law-breakers, gamblers, and dirty politics. In his first message to Council, Oles urged frugality, business judgment, and efficiency. He stated his appointments would be based on ability rather than politics. His attempts at carrying out such a progressive program collapsed within six months, but his ascent from a vegetable peddler to the "leading light in a progressive city,"<sup>173</sup> left its mark on Youngstown. His resignation's effect on the city charter drive has been discussed, but perhaps his effect went beyond that, for Oles' colorful actions contributed to the stereotyped picture of the 1920's that has been the traditional view.

Oles saw issues in the terms of a businessman; he put in such things as cash registers in City Hall and talked of time clocks. In

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<sup>171</sup>See pp. 44-45 in Chapter IV.

<sup>172</sup>James Wick, Jr., personal biographical sketch of James Campbell, 1845-1933. Arms Museum Historical Society files, Youngstown, 1968.

<sup>173</sup>"Oles Offers to Clean Up Pittsburgh, Makes Address," Vindicator, May 13, 1922, p. 11.

short, he was looking for the same efficiency in government as one expected from business. One cannot defend his sometimes strange behavior such as the removal at night of steps from buildings on the Public Square on the grounds that they were unsafe for pedestrians, nor can one understand his uncompromising attitude and refusal to place gas stations on city streets, which he regarded as public lands. Nevertheless, he was a progressive in that he sought reform, and worked almost single-handedly against the whole political machinery of a city. His order to the underworld to "love up, drink up, and pack up" within a week and his efforts to remove city officials entrenched in power by Civil Service opened a period of "political earthquakes" such as City Hall had never seen.<sup>174</sup>

Still another community leader was Judge David Jenkins whose image in Youngstown was that of a supporter of the little man and labor. Before becoming a lawyer, he had started the Youngstown Labor Advocate in 1903, a labor paper, and was a charter member of the Mahoning County Labor Congress. As city solicitor, he had appointed as his assistant the first Negro ever chosen for a major position in Youngstown government, Harrington Simpson; after his election as Judge of Common Pleas he continued to pursue a policy of reform. That reform extended from the urging of free textbooks in the public schools to opposing a tax for shoe shine boys. An editorial of 1970, five years after his retirement,<sup>175</sup> summed up his personal philosophy: "in early years on the bench

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<sup>174</sup>"George Oles," Ibid., March 27, 1938, sec. L, p. 16.

<sup>175</sup>Judge Jenkins Retires," Ibid., September 11, 1965, pp. 1-2.

some of the things Jenkins advocated were considered radical for conservative American thinking . . . events have proved he was merely far-sighted."<sup>176</sup>

It is interesting to observe that in 1922, Jenkins left the bench to return to private practice. This was the same year that the city management plan, which he had co-authored, was competing with the federal plan in the city charter movement. Although the city management plan was turned down in Youngstown, Jenkins saw the plan adopted in Dayton and in a large number of other cities, large and small. After the defeat of his plan here, Jenkins went back as a judge in 1924, claiming a liking for the bench and a disliking for politics.<sup>177</sup>

As a reflection of his age, Jenkins was a very religious man and an avid reader of the Bible. This is substantiated in a letter written to the Judge from B. F. Wirt, a practicing attorney of the time, who wrote to Jenkins of the religious inspiration he had given him during his lifetime.<sup>178</sup> In an interview with the Vindicator in 1922, Jenkins summed up two attitudes that reflected his concern for religious ethics and his attitude towards accomplishment. In respect to the former, he cited moral courage as the greatest virtue. In regards to the latter, he gave as his favorite motto, "Work will accomplish everything."<sup>179</sup> These concepts, put into action by Jenkins, earned for him a revered position in the community. From his initial election in 1918, he was never defeated for public office.

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<sup>176</sup>Editorial, Ibid., June 13, 1970, p. 6.

<sup>177</sup>"Judge Jenkins," Ibid., March 27, 1938, sec. G, p. 7; sec. H, p. 7.

<sup>178</sup>Benjamin F. Wirt, personal letters, Jenkins file, Arms Museum, Youngstown, Ohio

<sup>179</sup>"Mental Portraits," Vindicator, May 5, 1922, p. 7.

Judge Gessner was another distinguished leader in reform whose work in the charter drive has been discussed, but other efforts of Gessner deserve mention. In 1921, Council appointed him to a committee to secure arbitration between management and labor in the building trade.<sup>180</sup> That negotiation resulted in an endorsement of the closed shop in 1923. In 1922, Judge Gessner handed down a decision that was to end indiscriminate searching of homes and businesses, what the newspaper described as an end of "John Doe raids."<sup>181</sup> In 1922, Gessner urged Council to make improvements in the city jail.<sup>182</sup> He appears to have been actively concerned in the needs of Youngstown, but it was in the drive for a change of municipal government that he exerted his strongest influence during these years by his active campaigning as a candidate for the Charter Commission.

Another member of the bench, Judge "Joe" Heffernan, should be cited along with these other progressive leaders, for his image was that of one concerned about the "unprotected."<sup>183</sup> Heffernan was the presiding judge of the Police Court and he earned the reputation of having compassion for everyone who came before him, regardless of their station in life. His courtroom was noted for its fairness and this in turn brought the Judge the respect and admiration of the "unprotected."

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<sup>180</sup>Council Journal Vol. 20, October 2, 1922.

<sup>181</sup>"Gessner Ends John Doe Raids Here," Vindicator, February 14, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>182</sup>Council Journal Vol. 20, October 2, 1922.

<sup>183</sup>"Wit and Humor Reported from Police Court Trials," Vindicator, June 17, 1923, p. 3.

Judge Harold Doyle belongs to this progressive group of judges, although Doyle was not admitted to the bar until 1920 and his services as judge in the United States Court of Appeals falls after this research period. Doyle went on in his career to serve many volunteer organizations and became legal counsel for the Legal Aid Society.

A Youngstown native of national importance at this time was Federal Justice John Clarke of the United States Supreme Court. His resignation from the Court in 1922 for the avowed purpose of giving his full time to work on the League of Nations and the World Court coincided with an upturn of interest in those organizations. By 1923, the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association was formed and active here in Ohio, and the country itself was literally flooded with pamphlets concerning these subjects.<sup>184</sup>

Clarke believed that the future of the United States depended on the League and his resignation stirred great public sentiment here in Ohio. Articles appeared throughout the country concerning his resignation. The Cleveland Plain Dealer stated that the "course points to greater freedom of politics,"<sup>185</sup> and the Vindicator headlined the issue, "Clarke's Resignation Stirs Country."<sup>186</sup> Clarke himself disclaimed any labeling as a progressive, for as he appraised the title, he asserted that the

<sup>184</sup>David Jennings, "President Harding and International Organization," Ohio History, Vol. 75 (Spring-Summer, 1966), p. 151.

<sup>185</sup>"Clarke Will Have Task Worthy of Him Editors Say, Comments on Resignation," Cleveland Plain Dealer, quoted in Vindicator, September 6, 1922, p. 7.

<sup>186</sup>"Clarke's Resignation Stirs Country," Vindicator, September 5, 1922, p. 1.

"progressive of one case is the reactionary of another."<sup>187</sup>

Clarke's work in the League Association did not prevent him from influencing Youngstown's local matters. In 1923, in an address to the Rotary and Chamber of Commerce, Clarke urged the formation of a Municipal University Association by which community problems could be solved.<sup>188</sup> In 1922, Justice Clarke contributed \$10,000 to the Youngstown Public Library as a memorial to his sister, Dr. Ida Clarke, an outstanding benefactor and physician who had died in 1922. Dr. Clarke had held a high position in the area for espousing the cause of education for women and had served as the first president of the Free Public Library Association.

Justice Clarke's influence showed how a figure of national repute could effect Youngstown's thoughts and actions. President Warren G. Harding and his cabinet should certainly be included among those personalities of the national scene who influenced local matters. This city's problems were often compared to the plights and problems of the national climate: the cost of living, the unemployed, and the high cost of freight rates. Local Republicans such as Attorney B. F. Wirt were concerned over law and order and were very much aware of the fact that Ohio Republicans held power in Washington.

Letters in the B. F. Wirt collection show correspondence preceding and during this period between the Attorney General, Harry Daugherty, and Wirt on law and order.<sup>189</sup> Another example of the close tie Wirt felt to

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<sup>187</sup>"Justice Clarke's Resignation," New York Times, quoted in Vindicator, September 8, 1922, p. 9.

<sup>188</sup>"Justice John H. Clarke Urges Formation of Municipal University Association," Vindicator, December 12, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>189</sup>B. F. Wirt, personal letters, April 5, 1920 and June, 1916.



the Republican leaders can be seen in the personal correspondence Wirt had with Warren Harding. In a letter dated February 17, 1920, Harding expressed his concern to Wirt over the lack of Republican harmony in the local area, and his anxiety over finding a "middle ground between irrational radicalism and reactionary conservatism."<sup>190</sup> This was written prior to Harding's election as President, but it brings up the issue of the reappraisal of Harding by the revisionists.<sup>191</sup>

Certain revisionists point out that Harding was more of a leader in uniting the factions of the Republican Party than he has been given credit for; that Harding changed in his international view, worked to secure membership in the League and World Court, and by the time of his unexpected death had a larger world perspective than in 1921.<sup>192</sup>

Regardless of the outlook of historians today, in 1922 there was general dissatisfaction in Youngstown in both political parties. Democrats talked of planning a new organization, and Republicans were worried that they would lose in 1924 because of Harding's domestic policies. In 1923, Harding declared the government normal again after having inherited all the Wilsonian problems in 1921, and he pointed with pride to the fact that the government had lived within its budget. As he started his fatal trip west, the President urged more economy.

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<sup>190</sup>Ibid.

<sup>191</sup>A major source for this interpretation is Robert Murray's The Harding Era (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969).

<sup>192</sup>David Jennings, "President Harding and International Organization," Ohio History, Vol. 75 (Spring-Summer, 1966), p. 161.

Amidst this setting in these years, the victory of such progressives as La Follette in Wisconsin and the political campaigning of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. in 1922 show that individual progressives were not silent nor still. Roosevelt's appearance on the Youngstown scene reveals a dramatic effect on the audience who came only to see and hear him. The apathy to other speakers was duly noted by the Vindicator, but the audience responded enthusiastically to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy's endorsement of business in government.

Thus, the net result of the Harding administration appears to have been a mixed one; much of what is termed the business concept seeped down from all levels and in some cases was the impulse for change. Harding's Conference for the Unemployed, the first national meeting ever called on this issue, had been promoted by Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover. Hoover's first visit to Youngstown came in 1922, when he addressed the Ohio Manufacturers Association. Introduced by Campbell as a "wonderful man of a wonderful age," Hoover expressed his views that provided for equal opportunity and service in the "best social system in the world."<sup>194</sup> He based his forecast for recuperation on a government reorganized on a business basis. His development of progress in American society by means of a national government program gave support and encouragement to those businessmen of his Youngstown audience that were looking to Washington to solve their economic problems.

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<sup>193</sup>"Teddy Jr. Gets Warm Welcome in This City," Vindicator, October 14, 1922, p. 1

<sup>194</sup>"America Best, Hoover Tells Audience Here," Ibid., June 8, 1922, p. 1.

It is important to conclude this chapter with a man who perhaps more than any other single individual influenced Youngstown's continuation of the progressive impulse, William F. Maag, Jr. As managing editor of the Vindicator, he showed his concern for the workingman, the educated voter, and a better city; these issues wove throughout his editorials, only one of which were ever signed.<sup>195</sup> One of Maag's special interests during this time was directed toward the elimination of the Klu Klux Klan in Youngstown. Although it cost the Vindicator thousands of subscriptions, Maag did not relent on the drive to advertise the evils of the Klan.<sup>196</sup>

Industrial betterment was another interest of Maag, Jr., and he fought freely for a waterway in Youngstown. He was regarded as a liberal in what was best for the valley, and many honors from industry and civic leaders were to come to him. As one example, in 1963 he was named Youngstown's first citizen by the Mahoning Valley Historical Society. His influence is best summed up in an editorial that appeared in the Vindicator: "an institution is but the lengthened shadow of one man."<sup>197</sup> At times this influence can be used to the detriment of a community, but in this example the influence was exerted to sustain certain fundamental beliefs inherent in progressivism.

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<sup>195</sup>The one editorial that was signed by Maag, Jr. dealt with the topic of General George Marshall.

<sup>196</sup>"William F. Maag, Jr., Publisher Dies," Ibid., February 29, 1968, p. 17.

<sup>197</sup>Editorial, Ibid., February 29, 1968, p. 16.

## CHAPTER VII

## SUMMATION

Arthur Link asserted that for the general purpose of describing his thesis, progressivism could be defined as the "popular effort" that had begun in the 1890's and had "waxed and waned" up to contemporary times "to insure the survival of democracy in the United States."<sup>198</sup> Link saw not just one progressive movement, but many organized progressive movement campaigns by "special interest groups" that were often "inspired, staffed, and led by businessmen."<sup>199</sup>

This essay tests Link's thesis that progressivism did indeed survive and, in some cases, become broader in its horizons. This study clearly shows that there was a Youngstown progressivism which was most evident, continuous, and active during the Harding administration.

Youngstown's major groups, leaders, and institutions conformed to Link's definition of progressivism. The theme of meeting change, securing added governmental services, and mobilizing for needed social reform emerged in the actions of the newspapers, schools, churches, City Council, and all of the social agencies and organizations of this city.

Certain factions within the city had added influence. The immigrant's role and the neighborhood Improvement Clubs, indigenous to

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<sup>198</sup>Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?" p. 836.

<sup>199</sup>Ibid.

the make up of this industrial center in the 1920's, exerted a strong influence at the polls. The steel industry and its leaders not only influenced the economic security of this industrial valley, but guided the social reform structure. This was seen, for example, by James Campbell's proposals for programs such as the special permanent unemployment committee and the emergency work projects that Council executed following Campbell's return from the Federal Unemployment Conference in 1921.

Businessmen launched programs of surprising diversity. The aid to the city in economic regulation, such as the preparing of the annual budget, was matched by active leadership in social and political reforms: the municipal charter drive, zoning ordinances, building codes, and the reform for woman's acceptance in the business world.

This study, in addition, shows that labor leadership actively participated in the reform movements of that day. Their success on such issues as the closed shop and the shorter working day, along with the development of social organizations within industry, was definitely progressive in concept.

Aside from the parochial interest of each of these groups, progressivism in Youngstown received support by all the elements of society in organizing and fulfilling the greatest single progressive issue in Youngstown during this period, the municipal charter. The Youngstown newspapers, the Vindicator along with the Telegram, aided and abetted this crusade. Their role was not an uncritical and automatic endorsement of this new form of municipal government. Rather, these newspapers proved an incisive influence by voicing critical evaluations, advertising the various steps in the political progress of the reform, and above all,

making the average citizen aware of all the social, political, and economic extremities of the city as they existed under the political structure of 1921. Thus, this study emphasized the importance of leaders such as William Maag, Jr., for the influence of newspapers in an urban society cannot be overestimated.

The progressive activity illustrated in the lives of Youngstown leaders exemplifies the accommodation to the new industrial order within the framework of the "Square Deal." This framework called for social concern, efficiency, and a provision for future growth. All of the people, factions, and institutions studied showed these characteristics. Whether it was the enlargement of state regulated electrical power or municipally owned and controlled transportation services, this examination reveals the enlargement of governmental power over the institutions and life of Youngstown that was at the very heart of progressive belief in 1900 as well as 1923.

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