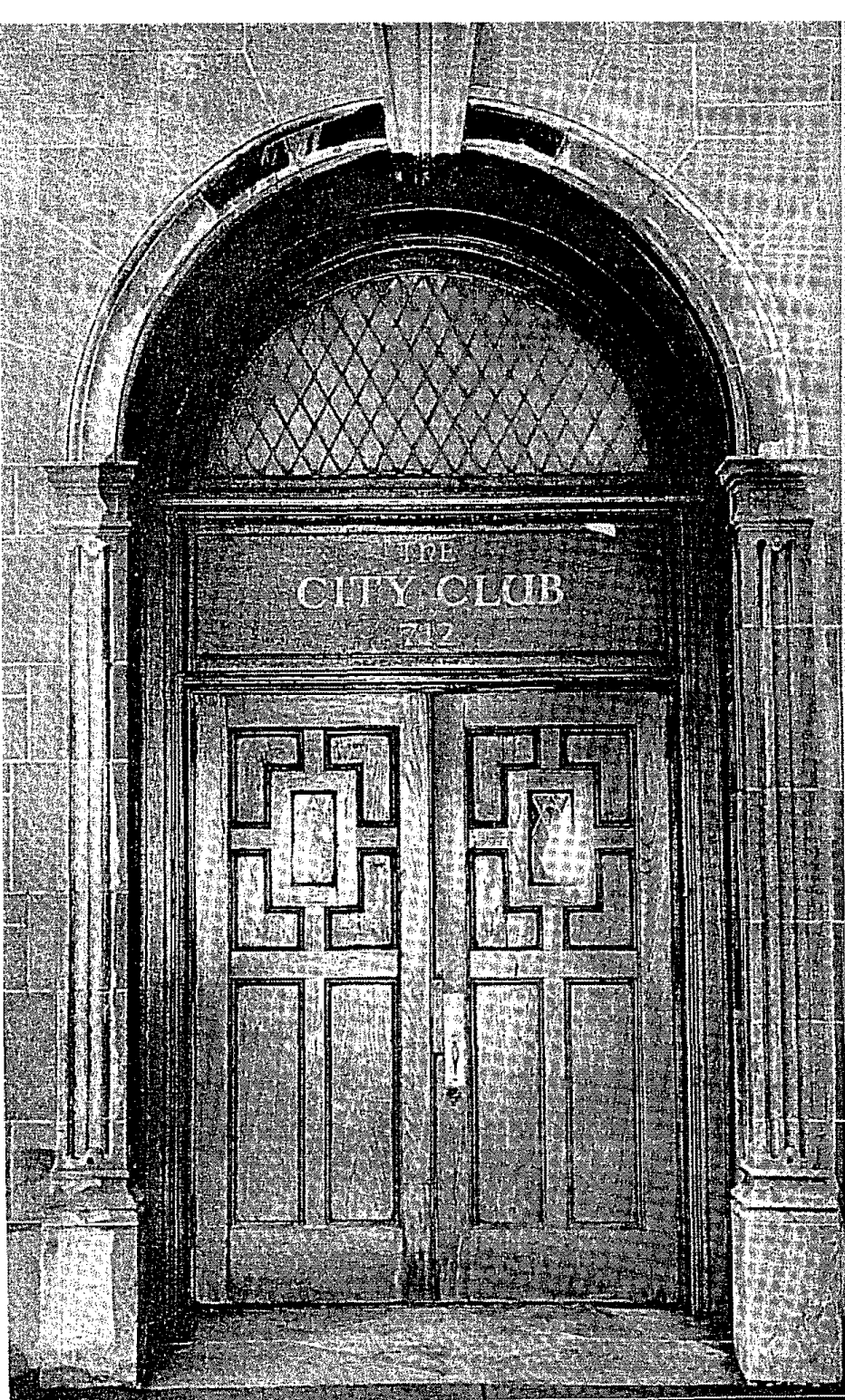


FREEDOM'S FORUM



Freedom's Forum

THE CITY CLUB 1912-1962



A HISTORY BY Thomas F. Campbell

THE CITY CLUB · CLEVELAND

CY 8

65119761 . CY 8

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY PUBLIC LIBRARY

To

RALPH HAYES

*whose creed has been the lodestar
for the City Club of Cleveland*

The poem on the dedication page is from "Choose
Something Like a Star" from *Complete Poems of Robert Frost*.
Copyright 1949 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Reprinted by
permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
The poem from Joseph S. Newman's *Verse Yet!* is reprinted
by permission of The World Publishing Company.
Copyright © 1959 by Joseph S. Newman.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 63-16573

Copyright © 1963 by The City Club of Cleveland.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced
in any form without written permission from the publisher, except
for brief passages included in a review appearing in a newspaper
or magazine. Printed in the United States of America.

Designed by Jack Jaget

So when at times the mob is swayed
To carry praise or blame too far,
We may choose something like a star
To stay our minds on and be staid.

—ROBERT FROST

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CLEVELAND HISTORY
MATHER HOUSE #14
CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44106

323.443
C153f

CONTENTS

	PAGE
<i>Preface by Samuel O. Freedlander</i>	9
<i>Foreword</i>	13
THE CITY CLUB: FORUM FOR REFORM	17
EARLY YEARS	28
THE CITY'S CLUB	34
THROUGH THE PORTALS	39
OF CABBAGES AND KINGS	52
A FORUM FOR FREE SPEECH	62
<i>Appendix</i>	75
<i>Index</i>	125

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This account of the City Club's history is based primarily on the Club's records: minutes, letters, Club pamphlets, volumes of newspaper clippings, and forty-seven volumes of the Club's weekly, *The City*. In addition the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *Cleveland Press*, the *Cleveland Leader*, and the *Cleveland Citizen* were read for the years 1912-19. The Daniel E. Morgan papers at the Western Reserve Historical Society, a few letters and speeches of Mayo Fesler from the Citizens League files, and the City Club newspaper clippings of Walter Hayes were consulted. A large number of City Club members have contributed names, incidents, and descriptions; they will recognize their material.

I would like to thank for their assistance the Secretary of the City Club, Bill Sanborn; his office staff, especially Miss Hilda Snyder, Miss Mary Gallagher, and Mr. Dean Butler; Mrs. Alene Lowe White of the Western Reserve Historical Society; Estal E. Sparlin of the Citizens League; and those City Club members mentioned above.

I am obligated to Joanne Kaufman for the many hours of research she undertook for the City Club and for her perceptive comments on local affairs. Dean C. H. Cramer of Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, read this manuscript and made many useful suggestions that were gratefully accepted. Finally my thanks to my wife, Peggy, for her valuable assistance throughout the writing of this history.

T.F.C.

September 1962

PREFACE

"The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market."

—JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

The strength of a democratic society is dependent upon its ability to get the citizens to participate in public dialogues concerning significant issues.

The City Club was founded and has endured because it has offered a meeting place for the open discussion of important social, political, and economic problems. Membership has always been open to men of all shades of belief and all kinds of social and racial backgrounds. These contacts, whether at the Forum, at lunch, in the lounge, or among participants in the Anvil Revue, tend to lessen prejudice and create better understanding. In the Club atmosphere, men meet as equals without regard to the importance of their political, financial, or social position. Thus people may learn to understand values and points of view which previously had been alien. They may acquire tolerance for ideas which seem, at the moment, to threaten cherished beliefs or their own security.

One thing this history of the City Club will make apparent is that, quite often, what were minority points of view at the time that they were expressed later became accepted opinion. To quote Arnold Toynbee, "Human progress is generated by a creative minority. Unless this minority gets an adequate hearing a society will deteriorate."

This brief story of the City Club describes the efforts of a group of citizens to participate actively in the democratic process. Let us hope that it has helped to develop sound public opinion and will continue to provide the free forum that is vital for the maintenance of an open society.

SAMUEL O. FREEDLANDER
President 1961-1962

THE CREED OF THE CITY CLUB

I hail and harbor and hear men of every belief and party; for within my portals prejudice grows less and bias dwindles.

I have a forum—as wholly uncensored as it is rigidly impartial. "Freedom of Speech" is graven above my rostrum; and beside it, "Fairness of Speech."

I am the product of the people, a cross section of their community—weak as they are weak, and strong in their strength; believing that knowledge of our failings and our powers begets a greater strength. I have a house of fellowship; under my roof informality reigns and strangers need no introduction.

I welcome to my platform the discussion of any theory or dogma of reform; but I bind my household to the espousal of none of them, for I cherish the freedom of every man's conviction and each of my kin retains his own responsibility.

I have no axe to grind, no logs to roll. My abode shall be the rendezvous of strong—but open-minded men and my watchword shall be "information," not "reformation."

I am accessible to men of all sides—literally and figuratively—for I am located in the heart of a city—spiritually and geographically. I am the city's club—the *City Club*.

—RALPH HAYES (1916)

FOREWORD

As the City Club of Cleveland celebrates its fiftieth anniversary, no one who honors the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States can doubt the value to the community of a forum for free speech. Yet since the turn of the century many important civic organizations have withered and died despite their potential usefulness and the enthusiasm of their founders. Few of the City Clubs that sprang up all over the country during the "progressive era" survive today. Why, then, has the City Club of Cleveland continued to exist in a half-century of crisis that has witnessed repeated threats to traditional American freedoms: a war to defend democracy that nearly destroyed that same democracy with a "red scare"; an economic depression that drove desperate people to fascist or communist tyranny; and a second world war followed again by postwar hysteria that sought to fight a new totalitarianism at the expense of individual liberty?

Perhaps the City Club has survived because its founding members and their successors have been the spiritual descendants of the Greeks eulogized by Pericles over two thousand years ago: "An Athenian citizen does not neg-

lect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action."

FREEDOM'S FORUM.

The City Club: Forum for Reform



IN THE DECADE prior to the founding of the City Club in 1912 Cleveland had earned a national reputation for its achievement in municipal reform and social progress. The dynamic leadership of the reform mayor Tom L. Johnson stimulated progressive Clevelanders in both political parties to meet the problems resulting from an industrial revolution that was changing the face of America.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century Cleveland had grown from a small center of local trade to a sprawling metropolis of over half a million people. Its geographic location, at the junction of a waterway from Minnesota ore deposits with a rail line from the Pennsylvania coal mines, made possible the production of steel that became the basis of a vast industrial and commercial complex. Attracted by the opportunity for employment, thousands of immigrants poured into the community, making the city a patchwork of nationality enclaves.

In the late nineteenth century town boosters pointed with pride to the city's increasing size, wealth, and importance, but they overlooked its growing ugliness. Cleveland, caught in a whirl of industrial activity and expansion, had made no effort to assimilate its exploding population. The city's natural leaders were too busy accumulating wealth to discern the contrast between the material progress and the social deficiencies in their community. The great mass of the citizens, who labored twelve hours a day at heavy manual work, had neither the energy nor the education to initiate reforms.

But the problems of the expanding community demanded attention. For example, no one could escape the effects of the inadequate sewerage system which poured thousands of tons of untreated refuse into the same lake that supplied water to the city. This "circulatory system," as the local health officer called it, was responsible for a death rate from typhoid in Cleveland that was three times greater than the rate for New York and Brooklyn combined. Early attempts at reform were concerned with the symptoms rather than the causes of urban dislocation. Assorted citizen organizations sprang up to close the doors of saloons or limit the immigration of southern and eastern Europeans. The majority of these groups withered in the arid soil of political partisanship or died from internal conflicts between the moderate "wets" and the irreconcilable "drys." Only one reform organization, the Municipal Association, survived into the twentieth century, and it became effective only after it ceased to equate good citizenship with membership in the Republican Party.

The blind allegiance to party of both Democrats and Republicans was a major impediment to essential politi-

cal reform. Recently arrived immigrants, who had little knowledge of the language and much less of election procedures, looked to local ward bosses not only for political advice, but also for work. A few weeks before elections hundreds of immigrants were herded to the courts to appear before "Republican" or "Democratic" judges to obtain citizenship papers that would give them the right to vote. If the immigrants who came bewildered to a strange country followed the dictates of their ward bosses, they were no more thoughtless than native-born Americans who regularly voted a party ticket determined by narrow economic interest or accident of birth. The Reverend Hiram C. Haydn of the Old Stone Church was not speaking to recent immigrants when he told his congregation that "loyalty to a party for twenty years was not a sign of good citizenship."

The mood of Cleveland's leaders was changing by the turn of the century. The change was reflected in a speech given by Samuel Mather to the Chamber of Commerce. In an address entitled "The Businessman—His Responsibilities as a Citizen," Mather confessed that for the past twenty years he had grown "less attentive to his duties as a citizen, until he came to neglect them well nigh all together." In discussing corrupt bossism in city government he declared that there was no one to blame but those who by default allowed the bosses and ward politicians complete control. Citing the progress of English cities in the correction of such problems as slums, sewerage, and the supply of pure water, he referred to that "most prominent man," Joseph Chamberlain, who took time from his business activities to serve many years as city councillor and mayor of Birmingham. Mather called upon his audience to follow Chamberlain's example if

they wanted to attain a standard of municipal excellence.

By 1901, when Tom L. Johnson forsook his streetcar business to become Cleveland's reform mayor, the city was ready for such a businessman turned politician. While Johnson is well known for his municipal reforms, perhaps his greatest contribution to the city was his ability to attract able young men who wanted to restore the sense of local pride that had disintegrated in the unbridled competition of the new industrial age. They were interested in making Cleveland a good place to live—with cultural attributes such as a municipal orchestra and a fine arts center, as well as with adequate parks, streets, and sewers. "Civitism" is the word Newton D. Baker fashioned to describe this new feeling about the city. Although the word is seldom used today, the philosophy it describes left its mark upon Cleveland.

If local Democrats emulated Johnson and Baker, Cleveland's Progressive Republicans looked for leadership to Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States from 1901 to 1909 and later leader of the Progressives' Bull Moose Party in the 1912 presidential campaign. Here was a folk hero of reform—a scholarly historian who had herded cattle out west, a police commissioner who had fought for the abolition of sweatshops, a civil service commissioner who had immortalized his regiment of Rough Riders with a wild foray up San Juan Hill. When he was raised to the presidency by the assassination of McKinley, this "damned cowboy" delighted Progressives with his talk of reform and objugation of those who abused their positions of privilege. In 1912 Progressive Republicans deplored the rejection of Roosevelt by the party's conservative leadership and

enthusiastically followed their hero into the Bull Moose Party.

This was the milieu in which the City Club of Cleveland was formed. The roll of its founding members reads like a roster of the young men active in the political and social reform movements of the day. In 1912 the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* called three future presidents of the Club—D. E. Morgan, A. R. Hatton, and J. D. Fackler—the "governing triumvirate of the Bull Moose Party" in Cleveland. Leading figures in the reform wing of the Democratic Party—Carl Friebolin, Alfred Benesch, Mayor Newton D. Baker and most of the men in his cabinet—were all founding members of the City Club. The reforms of the famous Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1912 and the new Cleveland Charter of 1913, as well as the movements for woman suffrage and child labor laws, all drew active support from early City Club members.

Cleveland needed a forum where men of all parties, creeds, and races could meet to discuss ideas for the "improvement of the political, social and economic conditions of the entire community." It is not surprising that Mayo Fesler, an idealistic young reformer who came to Cleveland from St. Louis to direct the reorganization of the Municipal Association, should attempt to organize such a forum. His experience in organizing a City Club in St. Louis stimulated local reformers who also knew of similar clubs in New York, Boston, and Chicago. The New York City Club, which had been formed in 1892, had grown out of a reform organization. Chicago's City Club was founded in 1903 by men active in the Municipal Voters League. When Fesler first talked with Augustus R. Hatton, the Marcus A. Hanna Professor of Political

Science at Western Reserve University, his idea of a civic forum was received with enthusiasm. Together they broached the subject to Munson Havens, Secretary of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. Their original plan was to have the Chamber of Commerce and the Municipal Association sponsor joint luncheons at which prominent figures would talk on topics of interest to the community. When Havens failed to respond to this idea, Fesler and Hatton approached the President of the Municipal Association, Morris A. Black, who became greatly interested and even suggested that his organization permit Fesler to devote part of his time to organizing a City Club.

After receiving Black's encouragement Fesler and Hatton called together a number of civic-minded young men. Daniel E. Morgan, Walter L. Flory, H. Melvin Roberts, and Starr Cadwallader assisted in planning an organizational luncheon, which was held on the 14th of June, 1912, at the Chamber of Commerce. Since Cleveland was playing host to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections at the same time, Fesler and Hatton were able to arrange for convention delegates prominent in City Clubs in other cities to address their luncheon. Judge Julian Mack spoke of the Chicago City Club's work in purifying local politics by setting up study groups to arouse civic interest in political and social questions. Representatives from the Boston City Club attributed their group's success to the fact that it "never bound itself to a man or an issue" but provided an impartial forum for discussion by men of all walks of life. Roger N. Baldwin, who later achieved international recognition for his work in civil liberties, told the meeting that the Club in St. Louis exerted strong

civic influence by permitting the freest discussion of advanced social thought.

During the discussion which followed these addresses it was agreed that there was a need in Cleveland for a City Club, one which would not conflict with the function of the Chamber of Commerce or any other existing organization. The meeting appointed a committee of ten to consider the City Club project. When that committee returned a favorable report on July 30, 1912, it listed three reasons for such an undertaking. A City Club would fulfill Cleveland's need for a meeting place where civic-minded individuals and organizations could come together for free discussion of the community's social, political, and economic problems. By getting together men of all shades of belief and social background a City Club would eliminate prejudices and create better understanding and closer cooperation among individuals and organizations working in various areas of public welfare. Furthermore, a City Club would help to create a greater interest in public movements among the large number of young men who felt no particular obligation to public service. After considering the degree of militancy of other City Clubs, in other words the extent to which they pressed for reforms or just limited themselves to providing an opportunity for discussion of civic problems, the committee postponed making a policy recommendation on this question. The report concluded with a recommendation that the Club establish low dues in order to make membership available to men of modest incomes.

On October 28, 1912, The City Club of Cleveland was incorporated under the laws of Ohio. Invitations were sent to 165 people for an organizational meeting of a

"social club with a civic purpose" to be addressed by Mayor Newton D. Baker, the Honorable John H. Clarke, the Honorable Frederick A. Henry, and Professor Augustus R. Hatton. At this first meeting on the 30th of October, 104 out of the 111 men attending agreed to buy \$10 shares in the new corporation. The principal speaker, Mayor Baker, emphasized the need for the Club to maintain a nonpartisan spirit for the unbiased discussion of public matters. At the business meeting that followed, the members decided to form a nonmilitant type of City Club, limited to providing a forum for free discussion of important issues. It is greatly to the credit of the founding members, who were deeply involved in various activist groups such as the major political parties, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Municipal Association, that they did not destroy the Club's function as a free forum by trying to superimpose their special interests. Had the Club become an activist group making policy recommendations on specific issues, it would have lost the opportunity to become a clearinghouse of ideas with the united support of men of diverse beliefs. The founding members of the City Club laid a good foundation with a policy of "information, not reformation."

The result of a power struggle that took place when the City Club chose its first Board of Directors determined the middle-of-the-road leadership that contributed to the Club's survival. In a speech to the City Club on its twenty-fifth anniversary Mayo Fesler recalled the decision to keep the Club in the hands of the conservative progressives in order to attract the widest possible community support. The founders believed that the radicals of the day, single-taxers and extreme progressives, would come along anyway and should not be in a position to

alienate men of substance in the community. The first list of directors included: the son and the son-in-law of one of Cleveland's leading industrialists, Amasa S. Mather and Dr. Robert H. Bishop; four young attorneys, Daniel E. Morgan, Walter L. Flory, George A. Welch, and Arthur D. Baldwin; two clergymen, Rabbi Moses J. Gries and the Reverend Worth M. Tippy; a stockbroker, Edward M. Baker; a social worker, Starr Cadwallader; a newspaper editor, Erie C. Hopwood; and a college professor, Augustus R. Hatton. Mayo Fesler became the Club's first Secretary.

The directors elected Daniel Morgan and Edward Baker as their first President and Vice President. In the subsequent fifty years several hundred men have filled the directorships. Like the Club members who selected them, they have been an assorted group of individuals. A few have unsuccessfully sought to impose their narrow views of freedom of speech upon the Club. Others have indirectly tried to include creed and color in the Club's character qualifications, but they too have failed. The great majority have distinguished themselves and their Club by their earnest commitment to freedom of speech, their humanitarian concern for civic problems, and their responsible community service.

Most clubs attract certain types of individuals. The City Club type is well represented by Daniel E. Morgan, the Club's first President and a member until he died in 1949.

Morgan's grandparents, Daniel and Catherine Morgan, had come to this country in 1837. While their decision to emigrate was no doubt related to the economic and social difficulties that poverty-stricken Wales was suffering in the early nineteenth century, the immediate reason for

their flight to the New World was freedom to marry—Catherine's parents were freeholders, opposed to her union with the landless Daniel Morgan. Their grandson Daniel was born in the Welsh mining village of Oak Hill in Jackson County, Ohio. From the little two-room schoolhouse where he learned the traditional three "R's," he went on to graduate from Oberlin College and Harvard Law School. When he came to Cleveland in 1901 to practice law, he soon became involved in politics and in such municipal and social reforms as home rule, woman suffrage, and child labor legislation. He was a member of the Cleveland City Council from 1910 to 1912 and played an active role in the Progressive Party during and after the 1912 campaign. In the years following World War I Morgan courageously condemned the hysteria that followed the red scare of 1919, and he continued his reform work with the Cleveland Municipal Association and the Ohio Consumer's League. In 1928 he was elected to the Ohio Senate and received state-wide recognition for his masterful committee work on the new election code. Two years later Morgan was selected by the Cleveland City Council to be city manager; his term was distinguished by his notable independence of local political bosses. After Cleveland abandoned the city manager plan, Morgan was an unsuccessful candidate for mayor and for the Republican nomination for governor. He remained in politics as Republican county chairman and later as the successful manager of Harold H. Burton's mayoralty campaign in 1935. After becoming Judge of the Court of Appeals in 1939, Morgan dropped out of politics but continued active community service as a member of the National War Labor Board and chairman of Cleveland's postwar planning council. In

1948 he received the coveted Charles Eisenman Award presented by The Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland.

One incident aptly illustrates Morgan's independence of thought and indirectly reflects the ideals of the City Club he helped found. In the late 1920s Morgan left the bench to join an antilynching march, although it was allegedly organized by left-wing groups and was condemned by some as a Red plot to embarrass the United States. His response to criticism of this action was simple: "That parade was against lynching; I am against lynching!"

It would be a mistake to infer that all members of the City Club have been so active and so courageous in public life. The Club creed says: "I am the product of the people, a cross section of their community—weak as they are weak, and strong in their strength . . ." Yet the very fact that the Club recognizes the need for free discussion of community problems has made it attractive to civic leaders of open and independent mind who are capable of contributing to the welfare of Cleveland.

Early Years



IN THE FIRST six months of its existence the City Club had no permanent home. Meetings were held in a variety of halls until May 17, 1913, when the Club moved to the third floor of Weber's restaurant at 244 Superior Avenue. The Club's first location in the heart of Cleveland was across the street from City Hall and just around the corner from the Court House on Public Square. Before Weber's old German restaurant vanished from the Cleveland scene, it was a favorite meeting place of politicians and young lawyers. It was essentially a man's restaurant. The furnishings were heavy and dark, like the oak-paneled walls and ceilings. The food was also heavy and the beer dark and unpasteurized. There was always talk: the quiet whispering of plotting politicians, the loud arguments of the little group of single-taxers who met there for a weekly luncheon, or the jovial conviviality of old friends.

The members of the City Club had their dining room on the second floor. After lunch they would retire to

the clubrooms on the third floor to listen to a speaker, play a game of pool, or read one of the many newspapers and magazines that lay scattered about the library table. The atmosphere was one of warm fellowship cemented by a common interest in civic affairs and a hypnotic fascination with politics. Fortunately for the Club, those who joined to enhance their prestige soon drifted off to more fashionable social clubs after they found the emphasis to be on "plain living and high thinking." From time to time ambitious members cast envious eyes at building programs such as that of the Boston City Club with its million-dollar fourteen-story building. Luckily such clubs were not emulated because most of them sank beneath the weight of their property debts during the Depression.

By 1913 the Club was bustling with activity. Many of the features that have become distinctive had their origin on the third floor of Weber's restaurant. The Anvil Revue's satirical comment on the passing political scene had its beginning as a stunt night at the Club's first annual meeting. That same year plans were laid for a bulletin, but insufficient financial support postponed the publication of the Club's popular weekly, *The City*, until April, 1916. The Election Night smokers initiated in 1913 were well attended until the combination of radio communication and the movement of the populace to the suburbs killed them. Members and their friends gathered in the clubrooms by the hundreds to partake of traditional cider and doughnuts while receiving election returns by direct wire from the Board of Elections.

Another early feature was the personal appearance of the congressional candidates, who presented their views and answered the questions of City Club members. In

later years this program was expanded to include candidates running for the governorship, the United States Senate, and the most important local races. Soon an appearance before the City Club in political debate with opponents became routine procedure for major candidates in the Cuyahoga County area. Later the radio and television broadcasts of the forums increased the audience and permitted listeners to join the program by phoning in questions.

A number of educational programs sponsored by the City Club revealed the members' serious interest in education. In 1913 and for several years thereafter the Club arranged with the nation's leading publishers to display their latest publications. Another presentation arranged by the Club received wide publicity in 1917 and 1918: twenty-seven colleges and universities used the City Club rooms to display exhibits of their educational programs and campus life. In 1918 over a thousand members of the general public, including five hundred high school students, attended these exhibits, which were designed to attract prospective students.

Many members of the City Club were keenly interested in securing a municipal university in Cleveland. In 1914 one member, E. H. Wells, wrote a series of articles for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* on this topic, and the same year Professor C. E. A. Winslow, an expert from New York, spoke to the Club on the need for municipal universities to train specialists in city problems.

Soon afterward a City Club committee met with the President of Western Reserve University to discuss the possibility of holding extension courses in the Club rooms. When the School of Applied Social Sciences opened in the fall of 1916, courses in municipal organ-

ization and administration were held at the City Club for county and city employees. A young instructor, H. C. Hodges, who later became the wartime Secretary of the City Club, was placed in charge of this extension work. Several series of lectures were given that fall, but with the entrance of the nation into World War I the extension courses fell by the wayside. After the war several members of the City Club were instrumental in getting Western Reserve University to open Cleveland College, which met the need for adult education at a downtown location.

The City Club was also involved in educating the general public about community problems. An exhibit on city planning was complemented by several Forum meetings addressed by visiting experts. The health and protection of the consumer was a matter of great importance to those active in the progressive movement. The City Club invited Dr. Harvey Wiley of the famous "poison squad" of the United States Department of Agriculture to lecture in connection with an exhibit sponsored by the Cleveland Board of Health. The feature that caught the attention of the public was a section devoted to patent medicines. Alongside fifty packages of popular patent medicines the Health Department placed whisky bottles containing the exact amount of alcohol that each medicine contained. There is no indication that this valuable lesson in consumer information was remembered a few years later during the "noble experiment."

The City Club's diverse interests included promoting and expanding the cultural life of the city. When Mayor Baker was struggling with the city council to restore its budgetary cuts in the appropriation for the municipal orchestra, the Club provided a platform for him and

invited the orchestra to the meeting. To provide financial support, City Club members attended in large numbers on a day designated as City Club Day at the orchestra's concerts. The Club even opened negotiations to bring a New York opera company to Cleveland but failed to secure sufficient financial support.

While these activities illustrate the variety of concerns involving City Club members, their abiding interest in municipal affairs is evident in the roster of speakers who appeared during the first year. The Forum season opened on December 21, 1912, with a talk by the famous reform mayor of Toledo, Brand Whitlock, on "Some Lessons from German Cities." Eleven of the remaining twelve speakers devoted themselves to topics of local government. The one exception was a discussion of child labor laws by the renowned social worker, Florence Kelley.

In 1912 the main topic of discussion among Cleveland reformers was the proposed Home Rule Charter. The City Club played an important role in the debate on this issue. Experts from universities and other cities were invited to the Forum to give Clevelanders the benefit of their experiences. George A. McAneny, President of the Borough of Manhattan, described the recently adopted New York City charter. From Europe came Professor Werner Hageman, a German city-planner, to show slides illustrating the benefits of careful municipal planning. The City Club organized debates on the City Charter, which were attended by charter commissioners who discussed points raised by the speakers and by questioners during their own meetings. At the final Forum session the city charter commissioners headed by Mayor Baker presented the contemplated Charter and argued for its adoption. Baker addressed the City Club members as a

"company of governmental and institutional sharks," a "compliment" reflecting the fact that no other organization in Cleveland contained as many members as well informed on the affairs of the community. By providing a platform for debate on the proposed Charter the City Club played an essential part in the democratic process of decision-making during its first year of existence.

The City's Club



THE INTEREST in municipal affairs which was originally responsible for the organization of the City Club has continued to the present. A review of the official activity of the Club and the private activity of its members reveals that decisions on the best type of city government, problems of municipal transportation, and the social welfare of the community have been dominant interests throughout the years. Although the watchword "information, not reformation" has governed official Club policy, many members who gathered at the Club have not been hesitant to engage in reform.

Probably the most militant reformer of the early days was Professor Augustus R. Hatton. He was a great admirer of the city manager plan of government, which most progressives of the day believed would bring the reformers' "New Jerusalem" to the urban world. He began promoting the plan in 1907, but as long as Cleveland had chief executives of the caliber of Johnson and Baker he made little progress. After Harry L. Davis be-

came mayor in 1916 many people and organizations started to show an interest in a new form of government. In 1917 representatives of fifty civic organizations formed a committee of fifteen to investigate the city manager plan. H. C. Hodges, the Club's wartime Secretary, was executive secretary of this committee, and seven of its members were active in the City Club. The City Club willingly furnished its rooms for the committee's hearings and invited experts on the city manager plan from all over the country to present their views at the Forum. After Major General George W. Goethals addressed the City Club on the building of the Panama Canal, he was interviewed by the city manager committee as a prospect for the post if Cleveland adopted the plan. When the committee completed its investigations in 1919, its recommendations were fully debated by Augustus R. Hatton and George B. Harris, a prominent Republican who opposed the plan from the beginning. Many other talks and discussions of the subject followed until the plan went into operation in 1924. It was at the City Club's Forum that the first city manager, William R. Hopkins, made his first speech after coming to office. The newspapers noted that by giving a vigorous presentation of his plans for the future he forestalled the customary critical questions.

When it became apparent that the political bosses Maurice Maschke and W. Burr Gongwer were the power behind the city manager's desk, the City Club Forum was used to bring public pressure to bear. As the city manager plan came under increasing attack, the Forum again provided the platform for intelligent discussion of charter amendments proposed to correct abuses. In 1931 after a debate between William C. Keough and Saul S.

Danaceau on "The Manager Plan—Shall We Keep It or Kill It?" the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* commented that "no important campaign can be opened properly until a discussion has been held before the City Club."

The end of the city manager plan came in 1931, when three men closely associated with the Soviet Table at the City Club—Saul Danaceau, Ed Doty, and Ned Downer—gathered in Ed Byers' office to form an organization aimed at ousting the plan and bringing back the mayor-council form of government. They were greatly helped in achieving their aim by a Forum address in which Hopkins denounced Maschke as the hidden power behind the city manager. The following week Maschke told a crowded audience at the City Club that Hopkins was no more than an ingrate whom he had put back on the sidewalk where he found him. Cleveland voters killed the city manager plan the following November.

The metropolitan plan of county government is another proposed innovation in city government which has received considerable support from individual City Club members. The issue was first debated before the Forum in 1919 and has been revived frequently since then. In 1959 Seth Taft and Charles Carr debated the merits of the proposed county charter with William McKnight and Wilson Stapleton.

The vital problem of city transportation was a natural issue of interest to the City Club, in particular because two of its early members were personally involved in the question. Early in 1913 Peter Witt, the street railway commissioner, and William R. Hopkins, president of the Subway Company, met to discuss "The Street Transportation Problem in Cleveland" before the City Club. Witt's opposition to the proposal for building a subway

at that time set a pattern for his opposition to such schemes in the future. After Witt's death, Albert S. Porter, county engineer, became a notable successor to that tradition of vigorous opposition. When the subway project was revived in 1957 Porter and Donald C. Hyde, general manager of the Cleveland Transit System, engaged in such a lively argument before the City Club that WGAR, the radio station that has carried the Forum programs since 1938, kept it on the air for an extra forty-five minutes.

Many members of the City Club have been intimately involved with Cleveland's welfare programs. For example, Martin A. Marks and Whiting Williams were respectively the first President and Secretary of the Cleveland Welfare Federation. However, it was Marc J. Grossman who was concerned with the most dramatic issue of social welfare. In 1935 Grossman, who had been Chairman of the Cuyahoga County Relief Committee for three years, was angered by the political maneuvers of Governor Martin L. Davey and by community criticism of the whole relief program. He broke his public silence to address the City Club on the subject. In a speech entitled "Shall Our Answer Be 'Let Them Eat Cake?'" Grossman ripped into Governor Davey for exploiting the underprivileged for his own political advantage and defended the integrity of social workers administering relief. Grossman did not confine himself to belaboring politicians but went on to condemn the "Bourbons" in the community who made false charges that workers on relief were refusing jobs and who really wanted to terminate the whole relief program. He charged that with catchwords like "balance the budget" they had lost all perspective on the city in which over 60,000 families

were dependent upon relief for their daily bread. He closed with a warning that "those who love America wish neither a dictator of the right or the left, but if we fail to succor the helpless and homeless our free institutions may well fall by the wayside." By presenting Grossman's recital of the hard facts of the relief situation, the City Club was carrying on its objectives of eliminating "unnecessary prejudices and [providing] a better understanding of each other's points of view."

Through the Portals



AS THE NUMBER of City Club members increased during its first few years of existence, the directors reluctantly decided in 1916 to move from their cozy quarters at Weber's to more spacious accommodations on the third floor of the Hollenden Hotel. The new clubrooms included a large dining room, several small dining rooms for private meetings and parties, a large lounge which housed a branch of the Public Library, a writing room with tables for chess and checkers, and a game room with equipment for pool, shuffleboard, and quoits.

The dining room was then and always has been the heart of the Club. Down the center ran a large table known as the "trench," surrounded by smaller tables. It was across the "trench" that Judges Manuel Levine, George S. Adams, Carl Friebolin, and Pierre White, John Alburn, John Fackler, Starr Cadwallader, Sherman Kingsley, A. B. DuPont, and a host of other "nation savers" hurled their oral broadsides at every and any problem—"the revolution in Russia, the German retreat,

the ever-present submarine or the near railway strike." A contemporary noted that "a barrage of wit [and] wisdom, withering and wanton greets every postulate on any subject" and added ironically that sometimes there was more heat than light.

World War I brought internal changes. The newly appointed Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, persuaded the Club's bustling Secretary, Ralph A. Hayes, to go with him to Washington. In 1916 another graduate of Western Reserve University, Francis T. Hayes, was appointed as a replacement. "Pat," as the latter Hayes was affectionately known, was Secretary until 1923, except when H. C. Hodges and Charles S. Findley acted as Club Secretaries while Hayes was absent for one and a half years of military service. If Ralph Hayes set the tone for serious pursuits of the early years, it was Pat Hayes who was responsible for the Club's many successful social activities. He was a warm-hearted genial Irishman whose love of talk, interest in politics, and great ability as an organizer far outweighed his lack of business acumen. During his period as executive officer the City Club reached its largest size—2,500 with a long waiting list—enjoyed its most expansive social program, and made its greatest effort to maintain freedom of speech and assembly.

It was during Pat Hayes' period as Secretary that the colorful annual "round-up" or picnic started. On such occasions over 1,200 members and their families piled into whatever automobiles the Secretary and his committee could locate. Led by Cleveland's chief of police the City Club procession started to the noisy music of a blaring thirty-piece band. If the parade was headed east the Club was officially met as it entered Cleveland

Heights by Mayor Frank Cain. All the way to the picnic grounds the band would play, to announce that the City Club was invading the countryside. Before enjoying a "sumptuous repast" members engaged in baseball games, tug-of-war contests, and the ever-present chess and checker matches. For a number of years during the twenties these round-ups were the height of the Club's social life.

Chess and checkers have always been popular with City Club members. After the war the Club became the chess and checker center of Cleveland and acted as host to the Western Chess Association championship in 1919. Later, Newell Banks, world checker champion, and Samuel Rzeszewski, the eight-year-old Polish chess prodigy who later became U.S. champion as Sammy Reshevsky, put on exhibitions sponsored by the Club. The contemporary interest in chess and the role of the City Club in promoting it were the subject of an article in *The Sunday Newsleader* in 1921. The reporter asked Pat Hayes about the considerable interest in a game not usually associated with the American way of life. Hayes ventured the opinion that men found relaxation in chess and checkers during the unrest and turbulence of the postwar years. Interest in chess faded during the early thirties, and today only two or three tables are occupied where once thirty were filled before and after lunch. Perhaps men have grown accustomed to a world of unrest and turbulence.

In 1926 the City Club dropped its slogan, "a social club with a civic purpose." Although no reason was given, there was probably a connection with a current lawsuit designed to secure a refund from the Internal Revenue Service. In retrospect the dropping of the slogan was symbolic of the curtailed social activities that re-

sulted from the changes taking place in urban society in the United States. The migration to the suburbs that started to develop in the 1920s, the trend toward a five-day workweek, the rise of the country club, the increase in automobile transportation along with more reliable cars and better roads, all began to create problems for the "central" city. Soon the country club and the golf course were competing with the social activities of the City Club. Charles Ryan, Pat Hayes' successor as Secretary, along with the Public Affairs Committee, attempted to counter this decline by presenting some of the best Forum programs that the Club has ever had, but when the Depression began to paralyze the country in the late 1920s, only those members most deeply committed to the Club's ideals continued to give their time and money.

It was just before the stock market crash of 1929 that the City Club moved to its present quarters on Vincent Avenue. Short Vincent, as the street is more popularly known, is the vestigial remains of the old Tenderloin district that lay northeast of Public Square at the turn of the century. Joseph S. Newman, who loved the City Club as much as he loved Cleveland, once wrote an "Ode to Short Vincent":

Here flourished the honky tonks, the pubs,
The stately bank, the worthiest of clubs.

The Depression years were difficult ones financially. Only the windfall of a \$44,346 tax refund and the continued support of faithful members enabled the City Club to survive. Although the Club pondered various ways of increasing its membership, any measure that would have watered down the original goals of the Club was firmly rejected. In 1930 when the House Ex-

penses Committee proposed to save \$3,000 a year by dismissing a houseboy and a maid, the Board of Directors, not wanting to put the head of a household on the streets at that time, held the matter in abeyance until the Secretary could inquire discreetly into the maid's marital status.

That the City Club survived at all during the Depression was in large measure due to Jack J. Lafferty, who was first appointed Secretary in 1931 to increase Club membership so that dues would at least cover running expenses. Lafferty saved and wheedled and worked until the Club was back on its feet again. When there wasn't sufficient cash to pay everyone, Lafferty made sure that other employees were paid, even if he himself went without salary—a frequent occurrence to judge from the fact that the Club once owed him over three thousand dollars in unpaid salary. Emerson once said that an institution is but the shadow of a man. Jack Lafferty's shadow lay richly and creatively over the City Club for twenty-six years.

After the City Club began to recover from the effects of the Depression, the Editorial Committee under the chairmanship of Milton Widder suggested that the Club celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary by endowing its Forum. The idea, which was originally suggested in 1926, was brought up again by John W. Barkley and Norman Krichbaum. It was in 1940 that the idea was implemented by the formation of a Forum Foundation fund, created to maintain a forum of free speech in Cleveland's City Club. Many people were involved in launching this long-anticipated project, but the chief momentum came from Philip Porter, the President of the Club at the time, and former President John W.

Barkley. The list of men incorporating the Foundation included the editors of Cleveland's three newspapers, Paul Bellamy, Nat Howard, and Louis B. Seltzer; Judges Friebolin, Morgan, and Lausche; Mayor Harold Burton, former United States Senator R. J. Bulkley, a number of lawyers of different political backgrounds including John W. Barkley, Marc J. Grossman, and Marvin Harrison, and several others (from nonlegal fields) such as Peter Witt, Norman Krichbaum, Charles A. Carran, Philip Porter, and Jack Lafferty. After the drive was started to raise \$100,000, Frances P. Bolton gave one of the first contributions in honor of her late husband, Congressman Chester Bolton, because "no association in Chester's life meant more to him than his membership in the Cleveland City Club." Subsequent donations have come from small individual contributors as well as organizations and foundations.

When Lafferty retired in 1957, his position was filled by James M. Davenport for two years until William E. Sanborn became the Club's eighth Secretary. Sanborn's early career reflected his deep involvement in public issues. Before he came to the City Club, he was involved in several congressional and presidential campaigns, and he had been lecturer in political science at the University of Washington and regional director of the American Civil Liberties Union. This valuable experience and his interest in the civic life of Cleveland have enabled the genial Sanborn to revitalize the City Club's traditional involvement in community affairs, while his talent as a gourmet cook has brought about a renaissance in the kitchen that has doubled attendance in the dining room.

Many people have worked for the City Club during its long life, but none have become as much a part of

the Club as its Assistant Secretary, Hilda Snyder. For over thirty years she has guarded the best interests of the City Club from the crowded cubicle in which she works.

While the energy and interest of the various Secretaries have contributed to the survival of the City Club, it is the activities of its members that have given it a distinct flavor. The luncheon table groups that have developed over the years are often at the core of these activities. Some, like the Schoolmasters' Table, which is particularly popular with administrative personnel of the Cleveland public school system, have attracted little attention outside the Club. Charles Lake, Allen Y. King, William Levenson, Ralph Crow, and H. E. Chenoweth were notable at this convivial table, which included those who furnished tax money as well as those who spent it. Other tables, such as the one at which Judge Friebolin, Harold Glickman, Frank Herbert, Fred Tyler, Joe Newman, and others have gathered to spin and weave the plots, puns, and lyrics of the Anvil Revue, frequently come into the limelight. But the table that has achieved the greatest fame, or notoriety, has been the Soviet Table.

This table is first mentioned in City Club records in January, 1922, but like other ancient institutions its inception is shrouded in mystery. After the first world war a coterie of those who loved to talk, had strong opinions, and did not consider it heresy to question the utterances or deeds of Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge began to gather around a table in the west corner of the dining room. Among the leading members of the group were Peter Witt, Jack Raper, Ed Doty, the twins Dr. W. C. and Dr. W. H. Tuckerman, Don Mills, Saul S. Danaceau, Ned Downer, Ed Byers, and Don

Knowlton. The revolution in Russia was usually a topic of conversation, if only to shock the hundred-percenters; so one day when Jim McLaughlin, a florist, sent a centerpiece of red roses, the ready-witted Pat Hayes placed them on the west table and remarked, "At last you have your true colors—the Soviet Table." Jack Raper once admitted that "none of us knew the exact meaning but thought it must be something wicked and, like a lot of little boys, we adopted the name." When the City Club moved to Short Vincent this convivial group acquired a baronial-sized round table on which they painted the Soviet emblem and the names of their comrades. Years later during the McCarthy period someone suggested that the name Soviet Table was a source of embarrassment to the Club. Ed Byers, one of the original comrades, dismissed the idea tersely: "It began as a joke, let it stay—now it's even more of a joke!"

The Soviet Table, which even boasts a few "right-wing deviationists," has been the center of discussion of political, economic, and social issues of the day. For years the acknowledged leader of these discussions was Peter Witt, who would arrive every day at noon and hold forth for two hours. He was joined by his friends Jack Raper, Ed Doty, and Ed Byers, although the others were handicapped by the fact that Witt never ate lunch, but used his spoon to emphasize his points. Witt was an iron molder by trade and became a single-tax advocate by avocation. In 1925 he initiated his famous "town meetings," for which he hired a hall and charged people admission for the privilege of hearing him "skin the skunks." Although he attacked those who violated the public trust with bitter invective, beneath his "sour and irascible exterior" lay qualities of integrity, generosity,

and courage that attracted many people who became his lifelong friends.

While Peter Witt used a meat cleaver to attack hypocrisy, Jack Raper, columnist for the *Cleveland Press*, used the more incisive tools of his trade to comment on life in general and public leaders in particular. In his column Raper originated the "Raper Bull," a bovine facsimile placed opposite the fatuous statement of some public figure. He loved the City Club and the Soviet Table and was quick to come to their defense if either was attacked. Most of his many talks before the Forum were confined to humorous observations, but in 1935 he rose in waspish temper to answer criticism that the Soviet Table had received from Mayo Fesler and William Feather, publisher of the monthly bearing his name.

In the November, 1934, issue of the *Citizens League Bulletin* its editor, Mayo Fesler, had bitterly criticized "that small group of political malcontents who form the nucleus of the so-called Soviet Table" for their opposition to the charter-commission slate proposed by the Citizens Committee, an independent group supported by the Citizens League and vehemently backed by Mayo Fesler. Behind this attack was the fact that a charter-commission slate led by Saul Danaceau and composed largely of Soviet Table veterans had run in opposition to the Citizens Committee slate and had succeeded in electing two commissioners, thus breaking the Citizens Committee monopoly. After much newspaper coverage of Fesler's attack, the Soviet Table "malcontents" retaliated by electing Fesler an "honorary non-life member."

The whole matter was revived a month later when Bill Feather supported Fesler by charging that the "Soviet

Table is a haven for irreconcilables," defeatists by nature and a drag on Cleveland's efforts at comeback. This was too much for Jack Raper, who used the Forum's platform the following week to defend the accused. As he itemized a long list of attempts by private interests to benefit from the public purse, he "used wit and humor to drive home his points, but turned now and then to such stinging words as he thought befitting the incident or the individual or the crowd or gang he was describing."

If Raper, Witt, and other members of the Soviet Table regarded what they considered their civic responsibility with all the devotion reserved for Holy Writ, the City Club's other principal luncheon group, the Sanhedrin Table, took themselves less seriously. The table, which was named after a "great council of Jews," came into existence when its founders, Dr. Louis E. Siegelstein, Jim Monnett, Bill Tugman, E. H. Bevier, and Frank Cain, seceded from the Soviet Table because it was "an island in the west corner of the Club entirely surrounded by rhetoric." Believing that lung power was not a substitute for serious discussion, they formed their own group led by Dr. Siegelstein and Sid Rosenbaum, two sharp-witted and somewhat irreverent members who were probably responsible for the table's name. Although the Sanhedrin Table has not sought or received the publicity showered on its chief rival, the interesting assortment of members who have sat there has included Dave Gibson, publisher and editor; A. A. Stambaugh of Standard Oil of Ohio; Norman Krichbaum, advertising executive; Walter Belding of the Land Title Company; Rev. Frank Baker of Goodwill Industries; and lawyers including J. M. Costello, Hugh Wells, and Thomas J. Herbert, former governor of Ohio.

While the luncheon tables have provided color within the City Club, the annual Anvil Revue has projected the Club's image to the public. John Kenneth Galbraith, the noted economist, has remarked that the American equivalent of the Kremlin's walls is the stuffed shirt, which must be deflated if the United States is to progress. For forty-nine years a lively, witty, adopted citizen of Cleveland, Carl D. Friebolin, has been this city's principal contributor to the art of deflating stuffed shirts with his production of the City Club's Anvil Revue.

The Revue had its origins at the first annual meeting of the City Club when several of the members prominent in politics were "good naturedly roasted" by several speakers, as well as by bogus telegrams which were read aloud. A telegram from Baker to his secretary at City Hall read "Please instruct all ward and precinct workers to vote for me in a nonpartisan way." The telegram was a not-so-oblique criticism of the nonpartisan feature of the proposed city charter. The next year the first "Stunt Nite" got under way with a satire on the city's Democratic administration, entitled "Liberty Lubricates Life." The skit was originally written by Joe Hostetler and Fred Bagley, but when Friebolin, who played Mayor Baker, said the lines were "lousy" and he could write better ones, Bagley told him to go ahead. With the exception of the year 1928 Friebolin has been the principal author of the annual Anvil Revue ever since. During his presidency in 1918 he extended the idea of skits by initiating the traditional requirement that prospective directors demonstrate their talents to the members on "Candidates Field Day."

For the next three years, 1914-16, "Stunt Nites" were included in the program at the annual election of City

Club officers. The lines of one of their songs, "Reformers for the Pee-pul," reveal that members of the City Club did not hesitate to include themselves in their satire of the local scene:

The City Club has in its ranks
Some people of wide renown,
The members fight to have the right
To educate the town,
They fill the air with phrases rare
They orate everywhere—
All for the sake of the Pee-pul.

Reform, Reform, the myriad cries arise:
Reform, Reform, the accents pierce the skies;
Every predigested plan, proposed by any man,
Is all for the sake of the Pee-pul.

The first complete musical comedy, *Fitness and Fury or the Folibilities of the City Manager Plan*, was presented in 1917. The play depicted Cleveland on the day after the adoption of the city manager plan. When the directors of the Civic League met to select the manager, Cleveland's leading political bosses, Maurice Maschke and W. Burr Gongwer, explained to the "good citizens" that if they were chosen to hold the position jointly, they would continue running the city as they had in the past. Ironically Friebolin's satire foreshadowed the very weaknesses that were revealed when Cleveland did adopt a city manager plan five years later.

Subsequent Anvil Revues have not only reflected political life in Cleveland over the years but have also revealed the encroachments of national and international events. If the historian cannot do justice to the satire it is because Will Rogers was right when he said "no [topical] joke can get over after it's six hours old."

But each year's Revue has served its purpose in placing in perspective the public endeavors of fellow citizens. It was William McDermott who pointed out that "Friebolin is Cleveland's Aristophanes—who reveals the inner core of bunk that makes city government a little better for a while."

Many others have contributed without restraint to the City Club's annual two hours of civic improvement. From 1921 until 1958 Joe Newman wrote lyrics and puns at the drop of a hat. For nearly forty years Walter Belding has been responsible for all the musical arrangements. Professor Barclay S. Leatham, who has been the Show's director for many years, has had the able assistance of Eleanor Frampton as choreographer and Nathan A. Schwartz as stage manager. While John A. Duncan, whose cover designs for the programs have captured the essence of each show, has left Cleveland for warmer climes, he continues to send his designs each year. All those involved in the Anvil Revues have helped to demonstrate, in a paraphrase of the City Club's first production, that laughter lubricates liberty.

Of Cabbages and Kings



IN THE PAST fifty years City Club members have heard more than 2,500 speakers address their Forum. Many have been leaders of men—both political and intellectual “movers and shakers of the world.” Some have had national or international reputations, while others, although not exactly village Hampdens, have not been widely known. Like the owners of a house where George Washington slept, Club members are proud of the number of important people who have addressed their Club, but they are even prouder of the fact that many of these speakers who have helped change the face of the world were not so well known when they first came to the Forum.

One of the first of these unknowns was George Lansbury, who spoke in 1914 on the social and economic revolution in England. Fifteen years later he became a cabinet minister, and during the 1930s he was the leader of the British Labour Party.

Among the unknowns who came in the early years of

the Forum were many who spoke for the political freedom of subject peoples and later became important officials when their countries gained independence. In 1914 Count Michael Károlyi of Budapest asked the City Club to assist Hungarians in obtaining independence. In 1919 he became the first president of independent Hungary, and when he was forced into exile in the 1920s by the dictator Admiral Nicolas Horthy he again found a sympathetic audience at the City Club. Thomas G. Masaryk, the future president of another Central European country, Czechoslovakia, also came to the City Club Forum during its early years. When he spoke in 1918 he was a college professor under sentence of death in Austria. City Club members were deeply impressed by his sincere praise for American support of self-determination for small nations, and a year later, after he became president of Czechoslovakia, they gave his son, Jan Masaryk, a warm welcome. In 1919 from the other side of the world came Syngman Rhee to tell of Korea's aspirations for freedom and democracy and to warn that Japan was a growing menace to world peace. Little did members of the City Club dream then that a communist coup in Czechoslovakia and the breach of a latitudinal boundary in Korea would cast long shadows across the world to darken their lives thirty years later.

Eamon de Valera, another famous rebel who visited the Forum in 1919, was met at the outskirts of the city by pipe bands, mounted police, the strange new sound of a circling airplane, and a twenty-one-gun salute. A reception was given for him at City Hall before he attended the City Club meeting. Mayor Harry L. Davis and scores of other politicians attended, their deep concern for Ireland's independence not unrelated to the

size of the Irish-American vote. The hallways and ballroom of the Hotel Hollenden, where the City Club was quartered, were so crowded that De Valera was escorted through the kitchen to get to the rostrum. When the Club's President, John D. Fackler, apologized for this unorthodox entrance, De Valera, who was an experienced guerrilla fighter by this time, commented in his detached manner that it was all right, he was "thoroughly accustomed to using backstairs."

Other leaders from the four corners of the earth have addressed City Club audiences. In her long struggle for independence India has sent many able representatives. The first of these, an Indian journalist who came in 1922, told the Forum that Gandhi's movement of passive resistance would bring freedom for his country. When this aim was finally accomplished in 1947 India's first ambassador to the United States was delighted with the warm welcome he received when he came to discuss his country's future. On the other hand the acid comments of India's controversial minister of defense, V. K. Krishna Menon, created more hostility than understanding during his visit to a special midweek Forum in 1960. During that same year, another subject of the vanishing British Empire, Julius K. Nyerere of Tanganyika, gave members of the City Club a thorough appraisal of aspirations for freedom in Africa.

National as well as international leaders have been glad to use the platform provided by the City Club Forum. Two Presidents of the United States have spoken at the City Club, but not while they held office. When Theodore Roosevelt came in the fall of 1914 the banquet room was overflowing with people who wanted to see and hear the inimitable "Teddy." He condemned the

political bosses and the "wets" in characteristically colorful moral terms and won prolonged applause for his support of woman suffrage. J. H. Donahey had a cartoonist's field day capturing the toothy grimaces of the gesticulating Roosevelt for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer's* audience. It was a quieter meeting when Franklin D. Roosevelt appeared as the running mate of Governor James M. Cox in the 1920 presidential elections. Although he was young and personable and spoke well, the audience did not receive him as enthusiastically as they had "Teddy."

Presidential aspirants and their supporters have also campaigned at the City Club. Hiram Johnson and Burton K. Wheeler appeared before the Forum in the exciting election year of 1924. Wheeler's speech was the first ever broadcast from the City Club, but radio coverage did not become a regular feature until 1928. In 1927 over 6,000 people heard William Borah, the most powerful member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, support the ill-fated Kellogg-Briand Pact to outlaw war. During the Depression year of 1932 the "Kingfish" of Louisiana, Huey P. Long, warned City Club members that unless there was a redistribution of wealth there would be a revolution, which he indicated he would be happy to lead. Four years later the former head of the NRA, General Hugh S. Johnson, came to the Forum to campaign for Franklin D. Roosevelt. The vitriol-tongued "Iron-Pants" Johnson denounced Alfred Landon as "nothing more than a substitute Hoover dressed up like a Jayhawker," called John L. Lewis "an economic pansy," and characterized Al Smith as a "sour bitter old grudge bearer!" In 1948 Harold Stassen used the City Club platform to do battle in Robert Taft

territory for the Republican presidential nomination. When Taft came in the same year he found the same perceptive and challenging audience the City Club had offered him ever since his dramatic debate with Senator Robert J. Bulkley in 1938.

Not all City Club speakers have wanted to trample down empires or become leaders of great nations. Many have been men seeking to change the patterns of thought and social custom or trying to stem the tide of such change. In the 1920s there was popular interest in the eugenics cult, a bastardized offshoot of the science of eugenics; one of the cult's principal theories maintained the existence of a superior race, either Aryan or Anglo-Saxon. Lothrop Stoddard, author of *The Rising Tide of Color*, a book stressing the danger of intermarriage with "inferior races" such as the Mediterranean "type," received a dubious response from the cosmopolitan audience at the City Club in 1925. A few weeks later a young clergyman from Detroit, Reinhold Niebuhr, warned portentously that a philosophy of Nordic superiority would lead to war. The debate continued in 1926 when Professor A. E. Wiggam declared that the survival of civilization necessitated laws of the jungle to kill off the weak and the stupid. Wiggam was challenged by Dr. Melville Herskovits, a professor of anthropology at Columbia University, who criticized theories of genetics that were based on speculation rather than experimentation. In 1960 Herskovits, then Director of African Studies at Northwestern University, returned to the City Club to talk on "The New Africa and United States Foreign Policy," a topic whose very title would have made no sense thirty-four years earlier.

Various aspects of psychology, a relatively new field

in the social sciences, attracted a great deal of interest in the 1920s. The famous psychiatrist Karl Menninger and the equally famous criminal lawyer Clarence Darrow both appeared before City Club audiences to oppose capital punishment in the light of new findings in criminal psychology. In 1928 over 2,500 people attended a debate between Reverend Joel B. Hayden and Judge Ben B. Lindsey on Lindsey's proposal of companionate marriage. A subsequent poll taken by Western Reserve University students revealed that Lindsey had won a number of converts. The following year the larger radio audience as well as attending members heard the philosopher and gadfly of humanity, Bertrand Russell, attack the hypocrisy of romantic love in an address entitled "Marriage and Morals." The question period was rough, but Russell handled it in the adroit manner for which he has become famous. The subject was a more sober one at Russell's next and last City Club appearance, in April, 1939. He forecast the onset of a war before the year was out and predicted the eventual involvement of the American people, who would emerge from the conflict the most powerful country in the world and the benefactors of the devastated nations.

Margaret Sanger, more a reformer than a philosopher, spoke with such conviction of the need for birth control that several City Club members, including a cleric, wanted the Club to endorse her position. Although Dr. J. J. Walsh, medical director of Fordham University, attracted a large crowd with a rebuttal entitled "Sex! Sex! Sex!" his denunciation of birth control and contemporary emphasis on sex drew a less enthusiastic response.

If any one topic received a full hearing at the City Club Forum during the twenties, it was prohibition.

Year after year, until the eighteenth amendment was repealed, members listened to debates and discussions about the evils of liquor or the consequences of restricting alcoholic consumption. In 1929, ten years after the introduction of prohibition, the winner of a national contest for the best plan to enforce the amendment amazed City Club members by calling upon the sporting spirit of Americans to give prohibition a fair trial. On the other hand, Congressman Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York received ardent applause at the end of a witty two-hour attack upon prohibition which he called "the greatest legalized hypocrisy in history."

In the 1930s the emphasis changed from interest in the problems of the individual to national issues of politics, economics, and war and peace. The Forum's dialogue of ideas reflected the anxieties of lean Depression years and growing totalitarianism. Shortly after the 1929 stock market crash Dr. David Friday predicted that the Depression would be of short duration. Even after hearing Friday explain that the mechanical inefficiency of the Wall Street tickers, which were constantly behind, was a chief cause of the economic decline, some members rushed to the platform to secure his advice on buying stocks. In 1932, after the extent of the collapse was no longer in question, John D. Fackler, the deputy tax commissioner of 1913, who had earned a reputation for progressive liberalism by pursuing John D. Rockefeller for nonpayment of taxes, gave the Forum his recommendations for pulling Cleveland out of the Depression by cutting wages and salaries, drastically reducing public employment, and slashing school expenses to a minimum. This forthright speech was followed by a storm of pro-

test and comment from columnists and editors as well as struggling members of the community.

As the Depression dragged on, there were many more speakers who addressed themselves to the welfare of the nation. One of these speakers was Lewis Corey, an economist. Few members of the City Club realized that the man standing before them was really Louis C. Fraina, a founding member of the American Communist Party, and a communist organizer in Mexico. After Fraina left the Communist Party in 1922, he assumed the name Lewis Corey and became an economist of national reputation. Although he broke with Marxism after the Russian purges of the mid-thirties, his loyalty was seriously impugned by a congressional investigating committee over fifteen years later. Like many other men of his generation whose political commitments were governed by intellectual integrity as well as a social conscience, he was damned by both the right and the left. In 1935 Corey warned members of the City Club that if the current course of events continued, the United States would be divided into two camps, the workers and the ruling class. Out of such division would arise a fascist government in which the middle class would lose its strength and identity. Corey's recognition that American democracy was on trial was shared by the famous teacher John Dewey, who had spoken to the City Club in 1934. Dewey, however, was much more confident than Corey that the strength of democracy was sufficient to prevent the triumph of fascism.

Concern about dictatorship became even more acute for some City Club members when Roosevelt proposed to make changes in the Supreme Court in 1937. The sub-

ject was certain to be thoroughly discussed in a club that claimed so many lawyers. The "court-packing case," as it became known, aroused deep opposition and cost the Roosevelt administration many friends. The City Club brought two distinguished law professors, T. R. Powell and R. M. Hunter; two leading politicians, Gilbert Bettman and Burton K. Wheeler; and an interested layman, Peter Witt, to present their views. These meetings were followed by some of the most searching questions ever put to City Club speakers. If the discussions failed to resolve the issue to the satisfaction of partisans or opponents of the plan, they did serve to enlighten the community on the political and constitutional intricacies of presidential power in relation to an independent judiciary.

During World War II and the cold war struggle that followed, the City Club continued to provide a platform for the explanation or criticism of governmental policy. For example, during the Korean War the Assistant Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, spoke on the United States' Far Eastern policy, and in 1958 Cyrus Eaton, Cleveland industrialist, urged what he regarded as more constructive policies to avoid the holocaust of nuclear war.

Although the City Club has remained faithful to the original purpose of presenting speakers on social, political, and economic questions, program planners have been careful to include a number of humorists in the roster of speakers to prevent members from being allowed to take themselves too seriously. On a number of occasions Will Rogers came to delight members with his pungent and witty comment on life in America. During his first visit he quickly became attuned to the

local scene and did not fail to capitalize on the well-known foibles of Fred Kohler, Cleveland's most colorful mayor. Local wits like Ted Robinson and Jack Raper also addressed the City Club and delighted the radicals, amused the moderates, and angered the reactionaries with their sharp barbs at swollen-headed bureaucrats—the public and private leaders of Cleveland.

Although the "talk of many things" has ranged from Irish independence to birth control in the past fifty years of the Forum, the humanistic values of the members of the City Club have clearly set a consistent guide for the selection of speakers.

A Forum for Free Speech



IF DISCREPANCIES existed between the promise of American life and its performance in the years before the first world war, they were in the political and economic sphere, not in the nation's commitment to freedom of speech. The papers of the City Club's founders reflect their interest in public discussion of problems affecting the community, but they took freedom of speech so much for granted that it is never mentioned in the early records.

This climate of unchallenged freedom of ideas changed during World War I. The hysterical nationalism of the war made conformity a virtue and paved the way for suppression of speech when the rise of international communism and fascism threatened American democracy. In the years following World War II Americans coined a new word for the baseless defamation of character and loyalty that made men afraid to speak. "McCarthyism" proved another challenge to free speech. The City Club, reflecting both the strength and the weaknesses

of its members, found its Forum inevitably involved in this changing climate of national opinion.

During the period of American neutrality after war broke out in 1914 the City Club remained faithful to Wilson's plea to be "impartial in thought, as well as in action." At the Club's second annual meeting in September the members sang the national anthems of all the belligerent powers and arranged the Forum program to allow each nation equal opportunity to present its views. When Gifford Pinchot, a leading progressive and conservationist, revealed that he intended to speak on the Allied cause, his engagement was postponed until a speaker could be found to represent the Central Powers at the following meeting. The neutralist position was represented by Senator Atlee Pomerene. Debates were arranged between those who wished to provide greater support to the Allies and those who wanted America to stay out of the war. The members of the City Club also heard nationals from South America, Africa, Japan, and India discuss the impact of the war on their countries. W. E. B. DuBois, the American Negro historian, prophesied that the colored peoples of the world would demand freedom from those countries that were talking about fighting for democracy.

The City Club faced the first real test of its commitment to free speech when Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, a former German colonial secretary, came to speak on "Conditions of Permanent Peace from the German Viewpoint." He arrived in Cleveland on the 8th of May, 1915, to be greeted by banner headlines proclaiming the sinking of the *Lusitania* the previous evening. Angered by the loss of American lives, Clevelanders bombarded the City Club with protests against the German's

luncheon speech. The War Department, worried about the possibility of an international incident arising out of injury to Dernburg, sent security men to the Club rooms. The Club's officers, Eric C. Hopwood and Mayo Fesler, considered the demands for canceling the speech but decided Dernburg had been invited as their guest and had the right to be heard. Their only precaution was to ask Dernburg to bear in mind public sentiment and forgo any mention of the *Lusitania* incident. As a tense crowd of five hundred people watched the guest speaker rise to speak, a cry came from the audience: "What about the *Lusitania*?" Before Dernburg had a chance to reply, the majority of the members called out for silence. Dernburg finished his talk and departed peacefully. The City Club had laid a cornerstone for its forum of free speech.

In the remaining years before the United States entered the war the City Club continued to present an uncensored Forum. In 1916 when Pancho Villa raided the little town of Columbus, New Mexico, and killed seventeen of its citizens, enraged Americans demanded that their government prevent such displays of brutality in the future. Senator Albert Fall of New Mexico, whose private oil interests later became a matter of public scandal, demanded the immediate occupation of Mexico. When a group of Clevelanders protested the movement of United States troops into the country, they were faced with editorial denunciation and the threat of Safety Director Anton B. Sprosty to prevent such protest meetings on Public Square. The City Club stepped into the breach by providing a platform for Señor Luis Bossero, an unofficial representative of President Carranza's Mexican government. Club members applauded Bossero's ex-

planation that his government was worried about the imperialistic motives of the United States when the Army sent thousands of slow-moving infantry troops to catch bandits on horseback. City Club members gained valuable information about a crisis which was inadequately understood by the majority of contemporary Americans.

The City Club also provided a platform for native-born dissenters in those early years. Socialists appeared before the forum to present their proposals for contemporary problems. Scott Nearing, dismissed from the faculty at the University of Pennsylvania for his criticism of the private enterprise system, received a hearing which promoted lively discussion among City Club members.

But when the United States entered the war the City Club's practice of hearing all points of view was arrested. The zealotry of the members during this period was foreshadowed in April, 1917, by their enthusiastic response to Governor Cox's "rip-roaring war speech" in which he declared that the "bums on the street corners who consume but do not produce would be taken to farm detention homes." In May the City Club heard Roger N. Baldwin defend the socialists and humanitarians who objected to war on ethical grounds, but he was the last speaker to oppose the war in any way or even criticize the country's war aims. On the contrary City Club members listened to the most obvious war propaganda, and there is no record to indicate that they were critical of the distortions that were inflicted upon them in the name of truth. A theologian told them that God, "the Great Democrat of History," would help the Allies win the war, while a psychologist claimed that one could demonstrate that the Germans were evil by the shape of their heads. These overstatements were bad enough, but

the parade of visiting "war heroes" was even worse, for they attempted to poison the minds of their listeners with fabricated atrocity stories. For example, an English colonel, a commander of a North Country regiment, told the City Club that the Germans were worse than cannibals. He illustrated his claims with several horror stories, including one of a captured German soldier who was discovered with a souvenir package of two baby hands wrapped in a handkerchief.

And so during this period the City Club devoted itself entirely to activities and forums with the sole aim of winning the war. It is interesting to note that one of the casualties of the restriction on freedom of speech at this time was C. E. Ruthenberg, a socialist who ran for mayor in 1917. Although he had spoken to the Club on several occasions before the war, he was denied a platform during this election because he was under indictment for making antiwar and anticonscription speeches. After the war he became a Communist leader and, when he died in 1927, he became one of only three Americans ever buried within the Kremlin walls—a strange resting place for one who debated the value of partisan primaries before the City Club just thirteen years earlier.

In his war message Wilson had prophesied that the spirit of ruthless brutality engendered by fighting would enter the very fiber of national life. In the years immediately after the war this brutality extended beyond war dissenters to anyone who criticized the dominant business civilization. The intense nationalism that swept the country found expression in a general suppression of civil liberties. The midnight raids of A. Mitchell Palmer, Wilson's Attorney General, who tried to ride into the

presidency on the backs of a few deported aliens, symbolized for many the attack on traditional American freedoms.

On the local level self-appointed vigilantes tried to support what they called one hundred percent Americanism. In Cleveland the one hundred percenters joined by opportunistic politicians were unwittingly abetted by the extreme tactics of left-wing socialists who welcomed terror and violence to prove the need for revolutionary action. In 1919 these extremists turned the May Day parade into a bloody riot in which two men died. The reactionary wave of protest resulted in demands for the prohibition of free assembly and created an atmosphere of hatred against all foreigners.

Many members of the City Club were disturbed by the shrinking boundaries of freedom in Cleveland. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Judge Bradley Hull initiated a program of public extension forums organized by a committee under Dudley S. Blossom. When the first extension forum met at East Technical High School, Carl Friebolin opened the meeting with an invitation to the listeners to heckle the speakers, Hull and Silver, after they had finished debating the question "Is America Sound?" Both debaters took the position that the United States was essentially a sound country whose defects could be corrected at the ballot box. Questions rooted in bolshevism, socialism, single-taxism, and theories of direct action were hurled at the speakers long after they finished, until the meeting was finally terminated by the custodians, who turned out the lights. City Club members debated social and economic issues at equally successful forums established at three other centers throughout the city.

The Forum Extension Committee also organized meetings on Public Square at the spot Tom L. Johnson had dedicated to free speech. The Board of Directors of the City Club supported these Public Square forums to demonstrate to the public the principles of free speech and assembly. For four years beginning in 1920 a series of eight summer forums were held to bring to Clevelanders speakers with opinions not usually heard in the community. At twelve o'clock noon buglers would summon people to gather around the rostrum that the City Club had built. After the mayor or one of his representatives had opened the forum for the season, the first speaker of the summer would discuss the constitutional guarantees of civil liberties. Subsequent meetings followed the format of the City Club's weekly Forum. One of the first speakers was Raymond Robins, a progressive Republican who had just returned from Russia and was having a difficult time finding a platform from which to present his views.

By 1924 the directors of the City Club were able to report that "under capable auspices by a club of standing in the community, the idea of free speech had been firmly re-established . . . by these meetings held in the square." Student and church groups and other community organizations were patterning their own forums after the City Club's extension meetings. With its work accomplished the Forum Extension Committee was discontinued until it should again "become necessary to foster a similar movement to preserve the free speech-free assemblage privilege."

The City Club's regular weekly Forum also heard local and national dissenters. After the war the Club regained its sense of perspective and again provided a

platform and a critical audience to "men of every belief." In 1921 the Cuyahoga County Council of the American Legion demanded that the City Club cancel the engagement of Dr. John Haynes Holmes because he had defended conscientious objectors during the war. The Club refused but offered to provide a platform should the Legion care to provide a speaker with views opposite those of Holmes.

In this age of world politics discussion groups, council on world affairs lectures, university extension programs, and "specials" presented by radio and television news experts, it is hard to realize the parochialism of local newspapers and the paucity of opportunity for disseminating any ideas, not just dissenting ones, during the 1920s. By inviting speakers with a specialized knowledge, the City Club was able to enlarge the horizons of a large number of Clevelanders, who followed press accounts of the Forums if they were not able to attend in person. This platform for new ideas was particularly important in the atmosphere of chauvinistic isolationism that characterized the postwar period. In 1919 when news coverage of Soviet events was incomplete and biased, City Club members heard Raymond Robins discuss for five hours his visit to Russia. A few weeks later the son of Count Tolstoy gave an opposite point of view. While the one hundred percenters were spreading hatred of all foreigners, Professor Raymond Moley and Dr. Joseph Remenyi were given a platform to plead for better understanding of the city's immigrants.

The only time that the City Club abandoned its principle of not endorsing a man occurred during this period. When Frank Harris, editor of *Pearson's Magazine*, appeared before the Club, he denounced Postmaster

General A. S. Burlison's censorship and stated that the national herd instinct, which had arisen during the war in the name of American patriotism, had trampled individual liberty to the ground. A man in the audience responded to this declaration by shouting, "Hurrah for the American flag." Amid loud applause Harris replied that he had taken an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, "but not to your damned opinion of it." At the end of the meeting the Club passed the following resolution proposed by Matthew B. Excell, former safety director of Cleveland: "I move that we thank Mr. Harris for saying things that many of us would like to say, if we had the ability to say them and were not too cowardly."

It was in the postwar era that the City Club gained its national reputation for free speech. In 1925 a writer in the famous English magazine *The New Statesman* commented that the progressive flavor of Cleveland was due in some substance to its great forum—the City Club. Yet in 1923 the issue of free speech divided the membership when the Public Affairs Committee decided to invite the socialist Eugene Debs, who had just been released from prison. Some members of the Board of Directors objected strongly to inviting a man who had been indicted for sedition and sent to prison at the height of the war. Internal dissension delayed final action on the invitation until the story was leaked to the newspapers. One of the strongest supporters of the invitation was the fiery radical Peter Witt, who told reporters he was determined to see if the Club's creed meant anything or was just "bunk." While the debate raged for several weeks, *The Cleveland Town Topics*, a magazine better known for its coverage of local society than the political

scene, fanned the wartime flames of hatred by comparing Debs to "butcher" General Ludendorff. Despite the assertion of the Club's President that he would not preside at the Forum should Debs come, the Board of Directors voted 6-4 in favor of the invitation. Among those voting for the invitation were two of the Club's wealthiest members, Philip R. Mather and Robert J. Bulkley. The decision caused the resignation of forty-seven members, including James R. Garfield. The idealistic Debs wrote a gentle letter canceling his speech because he did not want to cause dissension among the Club's members. The *Cleveland Press* noted that Debs with his refusal came out with more dignity than those who had "feared their wells of reason might be poisoned by his presence."

Since this episode the City Club has never faltered in its commitment to provide a forum for all points of view. In the troubled years of the thirties the Forum was open to communists, apologists for Hitler and Mussolini, and speakers who advocated controversial ideas from trial marriage to technocracy. It was ever heedful of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' warning that freedom of speech must include "freedom for the thought we hate." During the second world war the City Club provided a platform for speakers discussing American and Allied policy, wartime problems, and postwar planning. The approach of the speakers was sober and avoided the extremes of wartime propaganda that had been evident during the previous war. Shortly after Colonel R. R. McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune* advocated outright American imperialism after the war, Judge R. N. Wilkin appeared to plead for a world organization like the United Nations. The only limitation placed upon the City Club was the request by the United States government that

the radio microphone be switched off when a question was being asked from the audience, to prevent any slip that would aid the enemy. The presiding officer of the Forum paraphrased the question when he repeated it over the radio.

As World War II neared an end many of the older Club members feared a repetition of the intolerance and economic unrest that had followed the first war. Speaking on the occasion of the City Club's thirtieth anniversary, Judge Daniel E. Morgan warned his audience that the next ten years would be the most important in its history. After victory the Club would have the challenging opportunity of continuing to promote the vigorous exchange of free ideas to save man from the horrible destruction of global war. The words of Daniel Morgan's prophecy came back a decade later when the United States was locked in a deadly struggle with Russia, the former ally of wartime years. As the fears and suspicions engendered by the rise of McCarthyism began to still the voice of the nonconformist, many men feared that precious American liberties would be eroded away in the fight against international communism. Cleveland's City Club was one of the few places where citizens could still hear the views of dissenters.

In 1952, at the height of McCarthyism, Dr. Carl Wittke of Western Reserve University addressed the Forum on "The Contracting Perimeter of Freedom." He deplored the fact that "terms like 'isolationists,' 'appeasers,' 'internationalists,' 'interventionists,' and the like had become terms of opprobrium, used with more heat than understanding," and he went on to declare that "whether we like it or not, the United States cannot resign from membership in the human race. Our plunge into the

maelstrom of world politics . . . was made irrevocably, long ago." Wittke reminded his audience that the critical problems of the world could be solved only through the application of man's reason in the free market place of ideas. Urging that they discriminate between the independent thinking of the nonconformist and the disloyalty of the traitor, he warned that liberty could "never be defended by the methods of totalitarianism."

When Carl Wittke's appearance during the McCarthyism of the early fifties is juxtaposed with the engagement of Robert Welch, leader of the John Birch Society, during the "new frontier" period of the early sixties, it seems fair to conclude that a conscious commitment to freedom of speech has become a vital part of City Club tradition. Throughout its fifty years of existence the City Club has eagerly taken the responsibility for presenting all points of view to its members and to the larger reading and listening audience. By sponsoring a civic forum that contributes to a better informed citizenry the City Club will continue to provide a bulwark for democracy.

Appendix of Biographies



APPENDIX

In the fifty years of the City Club's history many thousand Greater Clevelanders have been members. Who are the men who come to dine at the clubrooms and spend their lunch hours in debate or pleasant conversation with old friends? Who are the people who gather every Saturday during the Forum season to listen to a speaker and then ply him with questions?

The audience that the City Club President brings to order each Saturday at one o'clock with the clanging tones of his Chinese gong is composed of all races, creeds, and nationalities. For the most part the membership has been middle-class—lawyers, doctors, newspapermen, teachers, politicians, and businessmen. But in many respects City Club members are unique. Most of them are active citizens in their communities, the opinion-makers in the city and the movers and shakers of their civic, political, and professional organizations. They are citizens in the classical sense of the word.

This appendix includes short biographical sketches of twenty-four men who have been chosen as a representative sample of active City Club members. Having played leading roles in a wide variety of community activities, they reflect the kind of citizenship that the City Club has served and fostered since its founding.

NEWTON DIEHL BAKER

After serving a long political apprenticeship under Tom L. Johnson, the forty-one-year-old Newton D. Baker became Cleveland's chief executive in 1912. Baker's method of running the city reflected his personality. Reserved and shy in public, the scholarly Baker was more technician in government than stormer of barricades of privilege. What Johnson had won, Baker used to build upon and consolidate. In addition he attempted to make municipal government play a role in the cultural enrichment of the community by using public funds to support an orchestra.

Baker's impressive administrative talents were fully utilized for the first time when he served as the nation's Secretary of War from 1916 to 1921. In just eighteen months he raised an army of four million men and spent fifteen billion dollars with a minimum of scandal. After his service under President Wilson he returned to Cleveland, where he practiced law, led the local Democratic Party, and gave freely of his time and energy to humanitarian and educational causes. All his life he remained loyal to Wilson's concept of a League of Nations, but he died in 1937 long before the nations of the world realized that this was the only way to prevent mutual destruction. In 1932 he was mentioned as a possible candidate for the Democratic ticket by prominent columnists such as

Walter Lippmann, but he did nothing to further his candidacy. Although he remained a loyal Democrat, he grew increasingly restive under the policies of the Roosevelt administration.

Baker was a charter member of the City Club and was one of the principal speakers at its organizational meetings. He used the Club's Forum to press for the adoption of the 1913 Home Rule Charter and was the first mayoralty candidate to appear on the City Club's platform when candidate debates were initiated. In 1914 his unsuccessful opponent came to the Club but refused to confront him. Later Baker addressed the members when seeking support for his municipal orchestra plan. As a reform mayor he was a perfect target for the stunt night satire of his friend Carl Friebolin, and he continued to provide material for the later Anvil Revues. As he grew older his contacts with the Club lessened, but when he died in 1937 most members felt that the City Club's ex-Secretary Ralph Hayes spoke for them, too, when he said that for forty years Baker had "been to this municipality, counsellor, guide, and friend."

WALTER H. BELDING

Walter H. Belding was born in Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada. In 1912, after working for a few years in the Canadian banking system, he decided to emigrate

to the United States and he settled in Cleveland. He began as a cashier with the Guarantee Title and Trust Company of Cleveland and rose to be president and treasurer of the company before it merged with the Land Title Abstract & Trust Company in 1933. That same year Belding's extensive knowledge of the real estate business was put to use by Case Institute of Technology when he was appointed their mortgage and real estate agent, a position he held for twenty-two years. For ten years he worked for the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada in the same capacity. In 1935 he joined the public relations and advertising department of the Land Title Guarantee and Trust Company, and by the time he retired in 1958 he had become the company's assistant vice president. To round out his career in the land title and real estate business, in 1952 he wrote a history of the title business from the days of Moses Cleaveland to modern times.

Belding joined the City Club in 1921 and was soon an integral part of the group who met for lunch at the Sanhedrin Table. His quiet, pleasant personality made an impression upon the Club members, who elected him a director in 1926. Shortly thereafter he was elected Treasurer, serving with efficiency during some of the Club's most difficult years financially. Although one does not usually associate the real estate business with music, Belding has had a lifelong love of music, particularly choral work. Soon after coming to Cleveland he was associated with the Singers Club, and in 1934 Carl Friebolin persuaded him to write the musical arrangement for that year's Anvil Revue. He has written the arrangements for every show since, besides serving as director of the show's chorus for many years. Members of the Sanhedrin Table

are as proud of Belding's contribution to their daily luncheon conversation as members of the City Club are of his indispensable role in that yearly operation for reducing Cleveland's swollen heads to normal size—the Anvil Revue.

PAUL BELLAMY

Paul Bellamy was born in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, in 1884, just four years before his father, Edward Bellamy, published his famous utopian socialist novel, *Looking Backward*. Paul inherited many of his father's qualities—idealism, fairness, and courage—but not his desire for a society so ordered that almost every aspect of daily life was planned. Young Bellamy went to Harvard and completed his undergraduate work in only three years, still managing to graduate magna cum laude. While at Harvard he met and became a friend of a future President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

After graduation Bellamy worked for a short time on the old *Springfield Union* before heading for Cleveland, where he was hired by the *Plain Dealer* in 1907. Within two years, at the age of twenty-six, he became the youngest city editor in the paper's history. In 1916 he entered

the publishing business as a vice president of the Chicago Credit Company, a bank-directory publishing firm. Two years later he resigned to enlist in the Army as a private, and on his discharge he returned to the *Plain Dealer*, serving as general assignment writer for a year before becoming managing editor in 1920. When Erie C. Hopwood died in 1928, Bellamy was placed in complete charge of the paper's editorial department but did not assume the title of editor until 1933.

Bellamy was deeply respected by his associates as a "working newspaperman," and his own description of himself as "an old forgotten liberal individualist" was one that many Clevelanders felt was accurate. His editorials were noted for their forceful content and colorful language. When he did not like an action or attitude of some public figure he said so bluntly. This characteristic habit of speaking his mind extended even to the President of the United States. While he was a guest of President Roosevelt at the White House in 1939 he told his college friend in no uncertain terms what he thought was wrong with the President's policies. In typical Roosevelt fashion the President turned the criticism aside and joked about their college days at Harvard.

Bellamy, a charter member of the City Club, was its President in 1935-36 and a director on several occasions. He was devoted to the Club's forum for free speech, and he gave the Forum Foundation his fullest support, as a contributor, as a trustee, and in frequent editorials in the *Plain Dealer*. When he died on April 11, 1956, he was discussing one of his favorite subjects—the City Club of Cleveland.

ALFRED A. BENESCH

In 1962 Alfred A. Benesch resigned from the Cleveland Board of Education, of which he had been a member intermittently since 1926. His open declaration that he was disqualified because of having moved outside the city limits reveals the probity of the man some have dubbed "the Robert Moses of Cleveland." Benesch was born in Cleveland and blazed a distinguished academic career that started at Central High School and went on to include three degrees from Harvard—A.B., A.M., and LL.B. Returning to Cleveland, Benesch began to practice law and engage in the social and political life of the community. Two years after he was elected a city councilman in 1912, he was appointed, by Mayor Newton D. Baker, Director of Public Safety under the city's new charter. As a councilman he had been active in legislative efforts to improve the health of the community; the refrigeration facilities of the new municipal market on the West Side were installed through his efforts. His abiding interest in education was revealed early in his career as Director of Public Safety when he provided a course in municipal administration for the police force: he arranged for lectures on all phases of municipal life

as seen from the broader perspective of cabinet officers, university experts, and the mayor. Benesch continued to fill one public office after another. He was a member of the city's first planning commission, a member and several times President of the Board of Education, a Director of Commerce for the State of Ohio, and an Area Rent Director for the Office of Price Administration. In addition to these public offices Benesch has taken responsibility in a variety of community organizations, including the Educational League, the Citizens League, B'nai B'rith, Bellefaire, and The County Hospital Board, among many others. His service to the community has been recognized by distinguished service awards from five organizations—the Chamber of Commerce, the United Appeal, the Citizens League, the Board of Education, and Mt. Sinai Hospital—as well as by an award from the French government—Les Palmes Académiques.

Although Benesch has been a lifelong Democrat, from the days he belonged to the Tom L. Johnson circle of young "Brain Trusters" he has shown a spirited independence in support of anyone whose public service is of high quality. There is no doubt that Benesch, a charter member of the City Club, was one of those individuals Judge Daniel Morgan referred to when he described the City Club as the place where "the choice spirits of the town meet."

EDGAR S. BYERS

Edgar S. Byers was born in 1876 in Sharpsville, Pennsylvania. Ten years after his birth his family moved to Cleveland. In 1901, after attending Western Reserve University Law School, he teamed up with Carl Friebolin in what became the longest unchanged law partnership in the history of the Cleveland Bar.

Byers was a Republican until he became an admirer of Tom L. Johnson, but as with many other members of the City Club his loyalty was always more to the man than to the party. This independent attitude was clearly demonstrated in the national election of 1924. When the Republicans nominated Calvin Coolidge, and the Democrats put forward the equally conservative John W. Davis, Byers and a number of his friends supported Robert La Follette, who was running on the Progressive ticket. To the amazement of all the political pundits Byers managed to organize a political machine that carried the county for La Follette. Unfortunately his next political effort, for Peter Witt's mayoralty primary campaign in 1932, was not so successful.

Through the years, until his death on February 21, 1963, Byers continued to play an active role in his com-

munity. His letters to the editors of the Cleveland papers were often the rallying point for strong-minded independents, who subsequently initiated civic protests or taxpayers' suits to protect the public interest. It has been estimated that he saved Cleveland taxpayers several million dollars by his intervention in such affairs as the building of the Stadium and the infamous land frauds of the late 1920s. On the other hand, Byers chafed at his failure to get the city administration to pay what he considered an adequate price to the owners of the city's transit system, when it was turned over to Cleveland in 1942.

Byers joined the City Club in 1915 and served as a director in 1927-30. The daily lunch sessions with his friends at the Soviet Table provided him with his greatest satisfaction. When Byers, Doty, and Witt gathered at the table, it was an unfortunate man who ventured an opinion that ran counter to theirs. The only escape was the sudden discovery of an urgent appointment.

Byers had another commitment that coincided with his devotion to the City Club. For over forty-three years he was a clarion advocate of civil liberties and had been called "the outstanding liberal in the State of Ohio, a constitutional liberal who believes in free speech, free press, and free creed." In 1958 the Cleveland chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union gave him the rare distinction of an honorary life membership in recognition of his years of work for civil liberties.

FRANK C. CAIN

Frank C. Cain came to Cleveland in 1895 from Springfield, Ohio. Although he was fully engaged as a grain broker in those early years, he found time to become a councilman in the rapidly growing village of Cleveland Heights. In 1914, after four years of service as councilman, he was elected mayor, a position he held until 1945. Like many other businessmen he supported the city manager plan and helped to secure its adoption for the city of Cleveland Heights in 1922. While he has always sought to improve and beautify the city, he finds special satisfaction in the park bearing his name, which contains an open-air community theater and children's playground. Cain Park, which was opened in 1938, not only enriched the cultural life of the community, but also gave useful work to many of those on relief in those dreary Depression years.

Cain was elected to the City Club Board of Directors in 1921, three years after he became associated with the Club. His hardheaded business approach to Club activities proved indispensable during the period of his presidency, 1922-23, when the Club, like many other institutions and individuals in the country, got caught up in the stock market game and bought a number of

fifty-year Royal Serbian bonds, possibly showing more confidence in the Serbian government than the people of that country. Cain stopped such unsound financial practices and introduced a rigorous reformation of the Club's accounting practices. After retiring from the presidency, Cain continued to frequent the Club, enjoying the easy atmosphere of the Sanhedrin Table. He even found time to appear in one Anvil show as County Sheriff Charles Stannard. When the Club's Forum Foundation was formed in 1940, he was elected its first vice president and then served as the Foundation's treasurer for twenty-two years.

SAUL S. DANACEAU

In the 1920s it was not uncommon to find writers in popular weeklies expressing fear that the sturdy American stock would be polluted by the tremendous influx of "inferior" southern and central Europeans. Pointing to the general labor unrest, they noted that the majority of the agitators were foreign-born. These protectors of Anglo-Saxon purity argued with easier facility than validity that the civic corruption of our great cities was due in large measure to the millions of immigrants who had flooded into the country in the decades before 1914. Yet had these writers looked around their prejudices,

they would have seen the foreign-born making tremendous contributions to the American scene. Saul S. Danaceau is one of those immigrants whose presence has enriched not only the lives of his associates, but the life of the entire community. Cleveland is a richer city because the Danaceaus traveled from Lithuania to the New World with their infant son, Saul.

Danaceau, a graduate of Central High School, Adelbert College, and the Law School of Western Reserve University, was infected with the political virus at an early age. Tom L. Johnson, Newton D. Baker, and Peter Witt were the heroes he emulated while campaigning for Wilson in 1916. After service in the Navy during World War I he returned to Cleveland to secure a law degree. He joined the City Club, where he helped to bolster the Soviet Table. He became active in the campaign to give Cleveland the city manager form of government. Then, as he worked to get Peter Witt elected a member of the first council under this city manager plan, his childhood idol became a close friend. But Danaceau learned quickly that the political bosses had retained power and were manipulating both manager and council. Determined that the people should regain effective control, Danaceau and his associates conducted a long and eventually successful campaign to oust the city manager plan and restore a strong mayor-council form of government. It was Danaceau who wrote the basic parts of an amended charter. His skillful draftsmanship and practical knowledge of municipal affairs is attested to by the fact that this charter is still in use over thirty years later. But the joy of passing the new charter was mingled with despair when his great friend Peter Witt, for whom he was campaign manager, failed to become the

first mayor under the charter. Danaceau withdrew from active politics for a few years, but the program and personal magnetism of Franklin D. Roosevelt drew him back into the political arena again. In 1936 he was appointed an assistant county prosecutor, and a few years later his legal ability secured his promotion to chief assistant in that office. He has sent crooked policemen and fraudulent voters to jail and was one of the chief prosecuting attorneys in the famed Sheppard murder trial. His work in that office earned him the Junior Chamber of Commerce Good Government Award in 1955 as well as recognition in numerous newspaper editorials and articles. In 1958 he was elected to the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas, where he presides with quiet dignity and calmness—"a man completely at peace with himself."

EDWARD W. DOTY

Edward W. Doty was born in Pierrepont, New York, in 1863. When he graduated from Cleveland's West High School in 1882, he went to work as a reporter on the *West-Side Sentinel* for several years before transferring to the old *Cleveland World* as a reporter and editorial writer. In 1892 he ran successfully on the Republican ticket for the state legislature and served in the Ohio

House of Representatives until 1896. As a result of his support of Mark Hanna during the latter's struggle with Mayor Robert McKisson, he was appointed secretary of the Sinking Fund Commission for the Cleveland Board of Education. He held this position from 1898 until 1935. In addition he served as a member of the city's Sinking Fund Commission from 1908 to 1914, and as clerk of the State House of Representatives from 1904 to 1909.

These appointments were what the good citizen-reformers called political payoffs, but Ed Doty was never a political "yes man" for anyone. He may have received these jobs in return for political support, but he held them because he was a skilled and knowledgeable technician in the art of government. He carried the party label of Republican all his life, but, as Al Benesch said, "mere party affiliation made no appeal to him. He exemplified and typified the spirit of true political independence." This quality was recognized by his friend Tom L. Johnson, who appointed Doty to the secretaryship of his bank, the Depositors Savings and Trust Company.

Doty's practical political experience made him a leading battler in the struggle for such measures as municipal home rule and the adoption of the initiative and referendum measures. He acted as an "unofficial floor leader" during the Constitutional Convention of 1912 and a year later served with distinction on the Cleveland Charter Commission. That same year a Democratic governor, James M. Cox, appointed him a member of the State Public Utilities Commission. This public service and active political role was characteristic of Doty's life. When he died in 1935 he had just completed service on the Cuyahoga County Charter Commission.

Ed Doty had another side to his personality that was seldom seen in public. He was one of the sharpest wits in the city of Cleveland. Carl Friebolin, no mean wit himself, once said of Doty that he had "a mind on which one could sharpen his own." A charter member of the City Club, Doty served as director and President of the Club during the 1920s, but the fact that he was one of the founders of the Soviet Table pleased him most. He and his friend Peter Witt shared a commitment to the single-tax philosophy and frequently expounded it at lunch. Often in heated discussions about current events Doty would cry out that it was useless to worry about reform, for "the human race was a flop," but his own record in trying to make the world a better place for the great mass of humanity was proof that he regarded the human race as more foolish than forsaken.

EDWARD THORNTON DOWNER

Edward Thornton Downer was born in Cleveland, where he attended Central High School and Adelbert College of Western Reserve University. Like many other members of the class of 1917, he spent the year after graduation in France with the American Expeditionary Forces. Before returning to this country he studied in England for a year at Caius College, Cambridge University. Back

in Cleveland he taught high school for a short time and then began lecturing on American government at Cleveland College. He served as registrar and assistant dean from 1927 to 1942, when he left to spend two years in the Office of Price Administration. He subsequently became the registrar for Western Reserve University, facilitating the university's adjustment to those hectic years when the returning veterans jammed the classrooms by the thousands.

When Downer retired from the university in 1959, he took the opportunity to expand his interest in the history of the Civil War, particularly the life and military career of one of the Confederate Army's best soldiers, Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. His work on the Civil War has won him recognition as an authority on Jackson's Shenandoah Valley campaigns.

While still a student at Adelbert College, Downer was converted to Professor A. R. Hatton's plan to give Cleveland a city manager form of government. He joined other City Club members in urging the adoption of the city manager plan, which was approved by the voters in 1922. But when it became apparent that the city council and the manager were under the thumb of the local political bosses, Downer was one of the first to join forces with S. S. Danaceau to restore the mayor-council plan, which they felt was more responsive to the electorate.

Downer's first association with the City Club began in 1916, when he served as Assistant Secretary under Ralph Hayes. In 1931 he was elected director of the Club. When Cleveland College was downtown he was a "regular" at luncheons at the Soviet Table. His scholastic title did not prevent Peter Witt or Ed Doty from verbally "clobbering the Dean," who was quite able to return the blows in

this battle of town versus gown. One of the City Club's most important contributions to the community has been the fact that it offers men like Edward Downer, not a politician, but a man with a strong sense of civic responsibility, the opportunity to participate in the free exchange of ideas that lead to municipal reform.

JOHN D. FACKLER

John D. Fackler, a charter member of the City Club, served as its President in 1919-20 and remained a member until his death in 1953 at the age of 75. An honor graduate of Wooster College, and with an LL.B. from Harvard Law School, Fackler was deeply committed to the idea that citizens should play an active role in their community. In addition to carrying on an active legal practice and an extensive real estate business, he was elected a councilman from the suburb of Glenville in 1905 and soon began to play an important part in the local Republican organization. Like many of the other young men of his day, he found himself drawn to the politics and philosophy of Theodore Roosevelt, so he was soon engaged in the attempt of Ohio progressive Republicans to wrest control of the party from the conservative followers of William Howard Taft. He was a member of the famed Ohio Constitutional Convention

of 1912, an unsuccessful congressional candidate in that same year, and a leader in the Progressive Party in Cuyahoga County. Forty years later James Thurber, recalling having seen Fackler in action against the cornstalk brigade, called him "a kind of Ohio La Guardia" in the Bull Moose campaign of 1912. When Fackler was deputy tax commissioner for Cuyahoga County in 1913, he acted in typical La Guardia fashion when he charged John D. Rockefeller with evading his responsibilities as a citizen by not paying adequate taxes. He started an indignant uproar by making public Rockefeller's tax return, which listed personal property worth about \$5,100.

The collapse of the Progressive Party sent him out of the political arena for a few years, but he returned to run unsuccessfully for Congress in 1922 and 1928. He continued to speak out sharply on a variety of local issues, from the proposed location of the Lorain-Carnegie bridge to how to pull Cleveland out of the Depression. Speaking before the City Club in 1932 he dismayed some of his former colleagues by advocating the firing of large numbers of public officials, reducing the salaries and wages of the rest, and cutting school expenses drastically. The last time he spoke before the City Club was in 1938 when he debated with Mayor Harold H. Burton over a proposed extension to Cleveland's municipal light plant. Fackler was the spokesman for the citizens' committee that opposed issuing bonds to extend the light plant. As a member of the Progressive movement prior to World War I, Fackler believed that the application of methods of business efficiency to government would produce lower taxes and an end to corruption. Those who protested that Fackler had forsaken the progressive

ideas of his youth in his later speeches failed to realize that John D. Fackler had not changed—but the times had!

MAYO FESLER

Mayo Fesler was a one-time schoolteacher who became the leading crusader for local government reform in the United States. He was born in Morgantown, Indiana, in 1871 and graduated from the University of Chicago in 1897. The next five years he spent teaching in an Indiana high school while he worked for higher degrees. It was at this time that he organized the University of Chicago Alumni Association. In 1904 he became secretary of the St. Louis Civic Association, a position he held until 1910, when he was invited to become executive secretary of Cleveland's reorganized Municipal League. He immediately threw himself into the broad spirit of reform that characterized Cleveland at that time and transformed the Municipal League into a constructive force in the community. He became a civic reformer, serving as secretary of the Cleveland Charter Commission in 1913 as well as becoming the first Secretary of the City Club—a position without monetary compensation at the time.

His aggressive ability to get things done brought him

repeated offers from other cities, and he eventually left in 1918 to become secretary of the Brooklyn, New York, Chamber of Commerce. In 1922 he took a position as secretary of the City Club of Chicago but left the following year to return to Cleveland as head of the newly reorganized Citizens League. Fesler remained in this position for the next twenty-two years, fighting effectively for civil service law, sound budget practices, abolition of the county fee system, a new election code for Ohio, and county home rule. The fact that many of these reforms were accomplished is a tribute to his zeal for good government.

Fesler was one of the original movers and shakers who got the City Club started in 1912. He was often referred to as the "Father of the City Club" and, like many another father, he was often disturbed at the attitude of some of the "children" in his Club. His conviction that his solution was the only right one brought him into repeated clashes with some of the equally strong-minded individuals who were members of the Soviet Table, but although their disagreements were bitter Fesler never severed his connection with the City Club. He remained a member until he died in 1945. He truly believed the words he spoke on the occasion of the Club's twenty-fifth anniversary: "A forum for free speech should be maintained in every city . . . a free forum where every ism [can] be aired out and where every difference on sound principle [can] be ironed out. A forum for free speech is an essential part of democracy's program."

CARL D. FRIEBOLIN

Carl D. Friebolin was born in Owatonna, Minnesota, in 1878. Twenty-one years later he received his law degree from Western Reserve University in the city he was to serve with distinction for over half a century. Friebolin, a serious student, was the editor of the school's law *Journal* but still found time to be active in fraternal affairs. In 1899 the school passed the following judgment on "Shorty" Friebolin: "He was the greatest and the best." These words still hold true for him today.

After admittance to the Ohio Bar, Friebolin began to practice law. In 1901 Ed Byers became his partner, and they began the long distinguished association that lasted until 1947. Attracted by the policies and personality of Tom L. Johnson, Friebolin was persuaded by the mayor to enter politics. He was elected a state representative in 1911 and a state senator in 1913. In addition to his legislative duties Friebolin was an ardent supporter of the suffrage movement and other reforms of the progressive era. In 1914 Governor Cox appointed him to fill a vacancy in the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas, and two years later he was appointed by President Wilson United States referee in bankruptcy in the northern Ohio district, a position he still holds.

In the intervening years Friebolin has remained true to the Johnsonian ideals of public service with which he was imbued as a young lawyer. Both his profession and the community have benefited from his leadership and hard work. Numerous civic and professional organizations have made him their president. Most men would wilt under Friebolin's strenuous round of public service, but neither the work nor the repeated honors have changed him. At eighty-five, working with a vigor that men forty years his junior would like to possess, he has avoided the folly of self-importance that so often afflicts men who have been in the center of power for many years.

Carl Friebolin was a charter member of the City Club. He served as director for two terms and as President in 1917-18. To those who know him he is "Mr. City Club," a title he well deserves. He is the creator of the annual Anvil Revue that had its origins in the "stunt nite" of 1914, and he has been the mainstay of the forty-nine Revues that the Club has produced. His curtain speeches for them have been noted for their pungent wit and penetrating insight into the personalities and ambitions of public officials. When a reporter once asked him why he bothered to write these time-consuming shows, his answer was characteristically honest and thoughtful. He said that he had two reasons, one private and one public. The private one sprang out of the natural desire of men to be something other than what they are. Writing the Revues satisfied this desire for him. The public reason was related to the natural tendency on the part of public officials to abuse their powers unless they were awakened to their own absurdities. Friebolin, with his natural gift for satiric comment and irony, has done exactly that.

His middle name is David. It is a fitting epithet for a man whose mental slings have hurled many a sharp stone at modern Goliaths.

HAROLD J. GLICKMAN

Harold J. Glickman, alias "Ben Sapp," was born in Lorain, Ohio, shortly before his family moved to Cleveland. He is a graduate of Cleveland Heights High School, Adelbert College, and Western Reserve University Law School. He started practicing law in 1932 and has been active in his profession ever since. At the present time he is a partner in the law firm of Ulmer, Berne, Laronge, Glickman, and Curtis. He maintains membership in the Cleveland, Cuyahoga, Ohio, and American Bar Associations and has become a well-known specialist in insurance and corporate finance. Ohio State University has invited him to lecture on the principles involved in fire and marine insurance and on legal problems in consumer financing.

Glickman has been an active force in many educational and welfare organizations in Cleveland. He has served on the board of directors of Western Reserve Law School, as a member of the Delegate Assembly of the Cleveland Welfare Federation, and on the board of trustees of two hospitals, the Family Service Association,

the Jewish Welfare Fund, the Council of the National Refugee Service Agency, and Fairmount Temple.

Glickman joined the City Club in 1935 and served as a member of the board of directors in 1947 and as President in 1949-50. He is, however, best known to members and to Cleveland officialdom for his imaginative portrayal of Ben Sapp in the Anvil Revue. For over twenty-five years his impersonation of this Chaplinesque creation of Judge Friebolin's fertile mind has earned him annual plaudits from the critics and delighted response from audiences who watched this helpless citizen, bewildered in a world of red tape, pompous bureaucrats, and conniving politicians. But in 1945 the *Plain Dealer* observed editorially that it had noticed the evolution of Ben Sapp from the innocent victim of his public officials to a more sophisticated citizen, the master of these same officials. One wonders if Clevelanders, educated by City Club speakers in the increasing complexities of the twentieth century, have experienced a similar metamorphosis over the years.

MARC J. GROSSMAN

Marc J. Grossman was educated in the Cleveland school system and went on to Harvard, where he obtained an A.B. and an LL.B. He was admitted to the Ohio Bar in

1916 and has combined the practice of law and public service ever since. He did two other things in 1916 that were most important to his future. In June he married Carolyn Kahn, and in October he joined the City Club.

Grossman had always been active in public affairs, but the community did not realize what a humanitarian dynamo it had in its midst until the great Depression of the 1930s hit. Cleveland was ill-prepared for the massive unemployment that swamped the private agencies which traditionally provided relief. In 1929 Cuyahoga County had only 1,800 families on relief. In 1933, when Grossman took over as chairman of the newly organized Cuyahoga County Relief Administration, the number had risen to 36,000; and two years later over 60,000 families were totally dependent upon Grossman's department, which worked prodigiously to organize relief so that these unfortunates could get help as quickly as possible. To do this well he had to fight unscrupulous politicians and indifferent citizens. The former looked upon Federal relief assistance as a private feeding trough while the latter, ignoring the reality of twelve million unemployed, tossed out clichés about anyone being able to get work if he really wanted it. Grossman foiled the politicians and shamed the self-righteous.

His successful handling of the relief situation led to his appointment as chairman of the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, a post he held from 1933 to 1943, when he left to serve his country as a lieutenant colonel in the Army. The community has turned to Grossman repeatedly for service in civic organizations such as the Red Cross Home Service, the Citizens League, the Family Welfare Association of America and Mt. Sinai Hospital. When he returned to civilian life after

the war he resumed an active round of community activities, including a term as president of the Cleveland Bar Association and activity in the Green Cross Safety Council.

Marc Grossman served the City Club as a member of its board of directors in 1921 and as President in 1938-39. His Christmas message to the Club in that year of Depression and threatening totalitarianism reflects his keen perception and his readiness to defend the freedoms for which the City Club stands: "If, recognizing the menace and the threat, we have not the intelligence and the fortitude to safeguard our cherished liberties, we have proved ourselves unworthy of them."

GEORGE BARNES HARRIS

George Barnes Harris was born in Findlay, Ohio, and became a Republican, a college professor, and a lawyer, in that order. After earning an A.B. from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1900, he took his first public office by becoming the secretary to the state's fire marshal for one year, then resigned to teach mathematics at Baldwin University. During the next two years he earned his LL.B. degree, teaching students during the day and attending law school at night. He has practiced law ever since, except for the years from 1930 to 1935 that he spent

as a judge of the Cuyahoga County Court of Common Pleas.

His early interest in education was never forgotten, as his work with the Cleveland Adult Education Association and the board of trustees of Ohio Wesleyan University testifies. He was president of the former organization from 1939 to 1944 and a trustee of his university for twenty years. But when he began to practice law, he found himself engaged in a lifelong struggle between the attractions of that profession and the lures of the more capricious mistress—politics. Somehow he managed to combine both careers and simultaneously find time to engage in a full round of civic activities that have included helping to organize the Community Fund in its early years, organization of the Citizens League and active membership in it, and chairmanship of one of the Selective Service Boards during the second world war. As a lawyer he has been a member of the executive committee of the Cleveland Bar Association, a member of the Committee on Professional Ethics and Grievances of the American Bar Association, President of the Ohio Bar Association, and an organizer and director of the Cleveland Association for Criminal Justice in the 1920s. As a member of the Republican Party he served as a precinct committeeman and member of the party's executive committee for over thirty years. From 1912 to 1918 he served as the chairman of the County Central Committee. In 1945 he jumped the party traces to run unsuccessfully as an independent candidate for mayor of Cleveland.

Harris joined the City Club four years after it was founded and was one of the early members of the Soviet Table. A skillful debater, he was always able to defend

the G.O.P. against the frequent onslaughts of the Democrats at that table. Harris took part in some of the early stunt nights, in which he gleefully impersonated the reformer Mayo Fesler. In 1935 he became a director of the City Club, and he was elected its President in 1937. As he remarked wryly, he was one of the few Republicans elected that year.

AUGUSTUS R. HATTON

Professor A. R. Hatton was the first incumbent of the Marcus A. Hanna chair of Political Science at Western Reserve University. Hatton and Hanna may have had far different ideas of political verity, but they both possessed a single-minded determination to be successful in their assaults upon existing political power. Hatton was a farm boy from Indiana who graduated from Franklin College in 1898 and went on to the University of Chicago, where he studied for his Ph.D. under the famed political scientist, C. E. Merriam. He was a beloved teacher at Western Reserve University from 1907 until 1927, when he left for Northwestern University. Later he became visiting professor at the University of Texas for several years, and a visiting professor and adviser to the chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico. He retired to his Texas ranch at seventy and died three years later in 1946.

Hatton, the scholar-reformer in politics, was active in the Progressive Republican campaign of 1912, the woman-suffrage movement, and the entire spectrum of municipal reform. He became a leading authority on the city manager plan and the proportional representation method of voting in the United States. During the years he taught at Western Reserve he was closely associated with municipal reformers all over the country and abroad. As a leading advocate of the city manager plan and proportional representation in Cleveland, he reached the pinnacle of his success that day in 1922 when the voters adopted these plans. Doris Dockstader later recalled the joyful parade from election headquarters to the Tom L. Johnson statue in Public Square, where the tall, angular professor made an impromptu victory speech. When Hatton was elected to the first council under the new city manager plan, his propensity for engaging in verbal battles provided colorful copy for reporters. Later, as the new form of government came under increasing attack, Hatton organized the campaign to retain it. Ironically, it was one of his former pupils, Saul Danaceau, who was responsible for abolishing the plan in Cleveland. At a City Club speech in which he deplored its destruction, Hatton was asked about his former student's role in attacking his pet idea. His reply brought laughter from everyone present, especially from Danaceau. He reminded the audience that as a teacher he could instruct his students, but he could not impart wisdom.

Hatton, a leading figure in the founding of the City Club, was President in 1915-16 and remained an active member until he left the city, even though his relations were strained with those members of the Soviet Table who had destroyed his city manager charter. When he

left for Northwestern University, it was the City Club that gave a public dinner honoring his service to Cleveland.

RALPH A. HAYES

In 1913 Mayo Fesler told the Board of Directors of the City Club that he had his hand in so many civic movements he was unable to devote sufficient time to the task of running the new organization. On the recommendation of Professor Hatton the board appointed a young Adelbert student named Ralph A. Hayes as an Assistant Secretary to Fesler. Hayes was an extremely gifted and able young man who had come to Cleveland from the small town of Crestline, Ohio. Not only was he a member of Phi Beta Kappa, but he was also an active member of the college debating team which had won the Ohio peace contest in 1914, a manager of the school's basketball team, and business manager of the dramatic club.

The job of assistant secretary was an ideal one for an energetic youth who had already developed a firm commitment to the City Club's philosophy of civic responsibility. Mayo Fesler later recalled that he proved to be a "wonder," suggesting so many fine ideas for expanding the Club's activities that only a few of them could be

undertaken. When Hayes succeeded Mayo Fesler as Secretary in 1915, the Club began to expand its membership and broaden its activities. The following year Hayes started the weekly bulletin and composed the creed that has served the Club so well for over forty-six years. In the course of arranging for Mayor Newton D. Baker to address the City Club, the young Secretary first met the man who was to become his mentor. The mayor was so impressed with Hayes that he asked him to be his private secretary when he became President Wilson's Secretary of War in March, 1916.

Hayes served Baker for two years before resigning to enlist as a private in the Army. He fought overseas in the 11th Division and received a commission as a lieutenant in 1918. After the war he returned to Washington as an assistant to the Secretary of War until the Wilson administration left office. Returning to Cleveland, he began an outstanding career in business that demonstrated his unusual executive ability. From his first position as an assistant to the president of the Cleveland Trust Company he went on to become successively assistant to the president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, vice president of Chatham Phoenix National Bank and Trust Company, second vice president of the Press Publication Company, and executive director of the New York Community Trust. In addition he has risen in the Coca-Cola corporation to the position of vice president.

During the years he remained in Cleveland, Hayes was very active in the City Club, serving as a director and Treasurer for several years. Although he left the city in 1922, he has never severed his connections with the Club he first served so creatively nearly fifty years ago.

JOSEPH S. NEWMAN

Joseph S. Newman was born in New London, Ohio, in 1891, but was brought up in Cleveland, where he graduated from the old Central High School. He attended Case School of Applied Science, but family financial problems forced his withdrawal to go to work in a dry goods store. He became the buyer and later the store superintendent for Levy & Stearn, but left five years later to start his own company, which manufactured educational toys. When the store added a line of sporting goods and a partner, it became the well-known Cleveland company, Newman-Stern.

The role of successful businessman did not fully occupy the tall, balding, inveterate pipe-smoker who impressed his friends and customers with his keen wit and wisdom. In 1915 he began to send his verse and poems to the old *St. Nicholas Magazine*, and in 1925 he teamed up with Carl Friebolin as tuneful lyricist for the Anvil Revue, a fruitful partnership that continued until 1958.

In those thirty-three years he turned out nearly 775 songs with barbed comments about public affairs and public figures in Cleveland. In addition to active membership in the City Club, Newman was deeply committed to the preservation of civil liberties in America,

an interest that turned his sharp pencil to those who sought to destroy or weaken basic American freedoms. As the years passed, Joe Newman, who felt that money was useful only for enjoying life and not the other way around, began to devote more of his time to writing verse, which was published in several books. He began to teach at Cleveland College, and in 1950 he retired from business altogether. Two years later he started to contribute a weekly column to the *Cleveland Press*. This column, "It Could Be Verse," proved to be so popular that *Press* editor Louis B. Seltzer asked him to write a daily column. The witty comments on public affairs of "Joe Newman's Frying Pan" placed it in the tradition of Jack Raper's "bullpen." Many Greater Clevelanders who got to know Newman only from his writings shared the great sense of loss that his close personal friends felt when he died unexpectedly in 1960.

Newman was a long-time member of the City Club. His presence at the Anvil Revue lunch table was marked with the witty banter and punning that found public expression in his yearly shows and newspaper columns. He used to say that his mission in life was "to convert Christians to democracy and bluenoses to laugh at themselves." In his last book there is a poem that expresses the zest for living that Joe Newman possessed and shared with the world.

There's no rest for the wicked,
And slumber there is none!
There's no rest for the wicked . . .
They're having too much fun!

PHILIP W. PORTER

Philip W. Porter was born at Portsmouth, Virginia, shortly before his family moved to the Cleveland area where he has made his home ever since. He is a graduate of Lakewood High School and of Ohio State University; his newspaper career began as editor of the Ohio State *Lantern*. Summer work with the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* led him to a permanent position with that paper in 1922. During the long course of his newspaper career with the *Plain Dealer* Porter has worn a great variety of journalistic hats. As a cub reporter he covered the police beat, the courthouse, city hall, and general assignments. From 1924 to 1929 he was the paper's political editor and legislative correspondent, and between 1924 and 1948 he reported all the national political conventions. He became day city editor at the age of 28 and has subsequently been news editor, columnist, assistant Sunday editor, Sunday and feature editor, managing editor, and executive editor. In 1934 Porter began the "Inside the News in Cleveland" column. After three years of distinguished service in the Army during the second world war he returned to start a column under his own byline. Several times weekly the *Plain Dealer* has carried his comments on local, national, and international events as

well as his special tributes to good citizens whose public service to the community needs recognition. He has consistently supported freedom of speech for dissenters from both left and right in the political continuum.

Perhaps it was the free speech platform that attracted Porter to the City Club in 1925, but once he became a member it was the fascinating personalities at the Soviet Table who particularly intrigued him. He soon was a regular participant in the lively arguments and sparkling conversation that centered around Peter Witt, who became a close friend of Porter's. His visits to Witt's cottage on North Bass Island were memorable for the all-night bull sessions at which fake politicians and public phonies were discussed in language that was colorful as well as descriptive.

In 1930 Porter, serving as chairman of the Public Affairs Committee, managed to maneuver the famous Maurice Maschke-William Hopkins debate before one of the largest crowds in the Forum's history. This debate is remembered not only as a clash between strong colorful personalities, but also as the fatal blow to the city manager plan, exposing as it did the system's political vulnerability. Later, in 1939, when Porter was the Club's President, his own deep commitment to the forum for free speech was the driving force behind the establishment of the City Club Forum Foundation, thus ensuring that Cleveland would continue to hear "men of every belief and party."

JOHN W. (JACK) RAPER

Louis Adamic once called Jack Raper, the *Cleveland Press* columnist, Cleveland's most effective citizen. He was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1870, the son of the town's newspaper editor. Following in his father's tradition by becoming a reporter in his teens, he worked on papers in Buffalo, Albany, and Chicago before settling down in Cleveland. After working briefly for the *Plain Dealer*, he came to the *Cleveland Press* in the 1890s and remained there until he retired in 1947.

Raper was the paper's drama critic, but his devastating comments on the quality of the shows brought theater owners' protests and advertising boycotts. When his editor asked the youthful drama critic to be more just to theater owners, Raper's next attempt was a succinct one-line review: "Rotten, my God, how rotten!" Shortly afterward the editor dismissed his drama critic, suggesting that he write a daily column on "most anything."

And so was born one of the most interesting columns in the history of the Cleveland newspapers. For forty-six years Jack Raper did for Cleveland what Finley Peter Dunne did for the country. The "Most Anything" column had three features—Josh Wise, a homespun philosopher; News from Hicksville, the doings of an imaginary

small town; and Raper's famous bullpen, where he placed the pretentious statements of officialdom, particularly his favorite targets—politicians, policemen, judges, and bankers. The cant uttered by public figures must have been curtailed by those who stopped to remember that their words might end up next to Jack Raper's bull the following day. When Raper died in 1950, the *Plain Dealer* noted editorially that he was "in fact a City Club Anvil Revue, showing every publication day of the year."

Raper joined the City Club a few years after it was formed and was a prominent "charter member" of the Soviet Table. He frequently spoke at the Club's Forum about local and national leaders, using the semihumorous style of his homespun philosopher Josh Wise, with a few bullpen statements thrown in to make the politicians wince. Not until he was attacked by Mayo Fesler did City Club members feel the full force of his caustic tongue. In an address entitled "The Soviet Table or the Rise of Civilization in Cleveland" he presented a biting, penetrating political analysis of the power structure of Cleveland that spared no political and civic leader who he thought was not putting the community's interest first. It was Jack Raper at his best.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

In 1917 Abba Hillel Silver came to Cleveland to become the spiritual leader of The Temple. Although he was only twenty-four, he quickly became an active force behind many social reform movements of the day. He joined the City Club shortly after his arrival in Cleveland and on numerous occasions used its platform to advocate support for those causes he fervently believed in. In 1919 he spoke out sharply against the "tribal Americans," a small but vociferous element yelling for a narrow Americanism that would destroy the rich cultural contributions of the immigrant. His championship of child labor laws, unemployment insurance, and the right of labor to organize made him a pioneer in these areas, but his greatest contribution to the City Club and to the community has been his clear-sighted devotion to freedom and liberty. In 1926, at a time when many were singing the praises of Mussolini and his alleged efficiency, Rabbi Silver told a City Club audience that while bolshevism had been duly condemned there was much open and covert approval of fascism—despite the fact that democracy was the common victim of both totalitarianisms. His conclusion was portentous: "One fatal blunder and the men closest to Mussolini and the mob

now singing his praises would turn on him and rend him." His passion for freedom became a bulwark for the Zionist movement, for which he became the foremost spokesman in the United States. He pleaded the cause of Israel before the United Nations and with great joy watched the emergence of that nation in 1948.

In a letter congratulating the City Club upon its fiftieth anniversary Rabbi Silver recalled "with particular satisfaction the years following the first world war when Cleveland, along with the rest of the country, was in the grip of a Red scare, and a super-patriotic hysteria, when the City Club proceeded to organize open forums in various parts of the city and on the Public Square to give expression to free speech and to defend our civil liberties." He concluded that "the City Club has been, through the years, a force for social and political candor and sanity, for good citizenship, for fairness and freedom in our community."

H. WALTER STEWART

H. Walter Stewart was born in Delta, Pennsylvania, in 1895. The son of a Presbyterian minister, he graduated from Wooster College in 1916 and served as a lieutenant in the United States Infantry during the first world war. When he returned to Cleveland, he attended the Law

School of Western Reserve University and was admitted to the Ohio Bar in 1922. Shortly thereafter he joined the law firm of Thompson, Hine, and Flory, of which he was a member for thirty-five years.

Walter Stewart developed a deep respect for his chosen profession and sought to maintain its high standards. He was an active member of the Cleveland, Ohio, and American Bar Associations, and at the time of his death in 1962 was serving as an Executive Committee member for the Ohio Bar Association. He served as President of the Cleveland Bar Association in 1953 and was particularly effective in seeing that the Bar Association undertook the task of policing its own members. The *Cleveland Press* noted at the time of his death that he "was devoted both to the law and to the profession of law. He knew that without law there can be no order, and that without order there can be no free society."

An elder in the Calvary Presbyterian Church, he also took his community responsibility seriously. He was interested in the youth program of the YMCA and was an active participant in the Central "Y" for which he was trustee prior to serving as President of the Cleveland Heights YMCA. In 1951 his work in the community and as a lawyer was recognized publicly by the Cleveland Heights Chamber of Commerce which bestowed on him the title "Cleveland Heights Man of the Year."

Walter Stewart's interest in his community and in maintaining a free society made his long-time membership in the City Club very understandable. Its platform of free speech and public discussion of civic affairs was attractive to men such as he who thought these opportunities essential for the preservation of a democratic society. Stewart was elected a director in 1933 and was

appointed Treasurer in 1936. In the latter position he helped put the Club on the road to financial recovery during the difficult Depression years. Walter Stewart was known around the City Club as the best recruiter of new members the Club ever had. His efforts reflected the contribution he felt the Club had to give to the community, and the pleasure he himself had received from membership and from his circle of friends at the Sandhedrin Table.

PETER WITT

Peter Witt was born in Cleveland in 1869, the son of German immigrant parents and the tenth of eleven children. The Witt family's struggle for existence was a hard one. Peter left school at thirteen and worked successively as a factory hand, a printer's devil, an iron molder, and a foundryman. He grew to hate the prevailing industrial system that threw him and his fellow workers out of work for long periods while the iron laws of supply and demand made their impersonal adjustments. He became a member of the Knights of Labor at the age of seventeen and all his life remained a strong supporter of organized labor. His trade union militancy earned him the dubious distinction of being placed on most employers' blacklists. His bitterness at such discrimination was re-

flected in the language of his protests. If it was crude and sarcastic, it mirrored the intolerable conditions under which workers labored at the turn of the century.

Comprehensive reading gave him the education that he failed to get as a child, and his interest in social conditions brought him into contact with a kindly humanitarian, Dr. L. B. Tuckerman. After the latter introduced him to the writings and philosophy of Henry George, he became a strong supporter of the single tax. In the early 1890s Witt, an active Populist, had several public clashes with the millionaire traction owner Tom L. Johnson but, instead of becoming enemies, the two became fast friends. After Witt operated a successful "tax school" for Johnson, the mayor appointed him city clerk, a position he held from 1903 to 1909. For the first time in his life Witt knew the security of a steady income and had the opportunity to serve the people by making Cleveland a better place to live. He was in his element supporting Johnson's battles to provide the city with cheaper transportation. When Newton D. Baker became mayor, he appointed Witt the city's street railroad commissioner, and he did such a fine job that other cities hired him as a consultant. In 1915 he was the logical successor to Baker, but he lost the mayoralty election to Harry L. Davis. He became a member of city council under the city manager plan he had supported, but he declined to run again in 1927, saying the council was too full of yes men. That same year he tried unsuccessfully to capture the Democratic nomination for governor but lost to Martin L. Davey. In the mayoralty primary of 1931 he was defeated by the machine politicians in what was to be his last bid for public office.

In 1925 Witt started his famous town meetings that

lasted until 1945. Thousands of Clevelanders came to hear him "skin the skunks" in characteristic Witt language. Despite his enjoyment of the audience's appreciative roars when he put forth a sally at one of the city's bigwigs, he did not do this for personal notoriety, but rather because he felt that the public needed to be informed on the manipulations of municipal affairs by self-seeking interests.

Peter Witt did not join the City Club until 1917, but thereafter, until his death in 1946, he became an institution within the Club. Tom L. Johnson once said of him that "Peter Witt [could] only be bought through love and justice." No finer tribute could be paid to any public man, and no man deserved it more.

BEN D. ZEVIN

Ben Zevin is a native New Yorker who, before he came to Cleveland, was in advertising heading his own agency and then for a number of years was business manager of the New York *Food News*. In 1935 he came to Cleveland as advertising director of The World Publishing Company, of which he became a director and later president. Since 1962 he has been chairman of the board.

Zevin, like many of those who have played an important role in the City Club, has never been content to be

just a successful businessman. He has found time for active participation in the life of his community, where his activities have ranged from wartime service on the War Labor Board to a peacetime position as trustee of the Cleveland Council of World Affairs. For many years Zevin has maintained active membership in the Citizens League, whose members recognized his qualities of leadership by electing him President in 1960 and 1961. Probably no position was more satisfying to the liberal-minded Zevin than his appointment by Mayor Celebrezze to Cleveland's Community Relations Board. In the delicate and tangled area of race relations in rapidly changing urban areas one must move swiftly to prevent minor incidents from escalating into major catastrophes. Zevin is not a stranger to dealing with the problems of minorities, for in 1938 he began a program of integration within his own company which has proven a model.

When Zevin joined the City Club in 1936, he found the argumentative political types of the Soviet Table much to his liking. In 1946 he was elected a member of the Board of Directors, and the following year he enjoyed the uncommon distinction of being selected Vice President after serving only one year as a director. Increased business activity around the country prevents him from playing so active a role in the Club today, but when Zevin is in town on a Saturday he frequently joins his friends for lunch at the City Club and provides a penetrating question for the speaker of the day.

OFFICERS OF THE CITY CLUB OF CLEVELAND

from the date of its organization, October, 1912

Year	President	Vice President	Treasurer
1912-1913	Daniel E. Morgan	Edward M. Baker	Amasa S. Mather
1913-1914	Edward M. Baker	Eric C. Hopwood	George A. Welch
1914-1915	Eric C. Hopwood	Augustus R. Hatton	George A. Welch
1915-1916	Augustus R. Hatton	George W. York	George A. Welch
1916-1917	George W. York	Carl D. Friebolin	Allard Smith
1917-1918	Carl D. Friebolin	Allard Smith	Howard D. Messick
1918-1919	Allard Smith	John D. Fackler	Howard D. Messick
1919-1920	John D. Fackler	Wallace M. Pattison	Howard D. Messick
1920-1921	Wallace M. Pattison	Winfred G. Leutner	George F. Hart
1921-1922	Winfred G. Leutner	Karl Lemmerman	Ralph A. Hayes
1922-1923	Frank C. Cain	Robert J. Bulkley	Alfred C. Vaughan
1923-1924	Robert J. Bulkley	William Feather	Glenn M. Cummings
1924-1925	Joel B. Hayden	Philip R. Mather	Glenn M. Cummings
1925-1926	Archibald H. Throckmorton	William G. Vorpe	Glenn M. Cummings
1926-1927	Charles H. Lake	William A. Stinchcomb	Walter H. Belding
1927-1928	William A. Stinchcomb	Edward W. Doty	Walter H. Belding

<i>Year</i>	<i>President</i>	<i>Vice President</i>	<i>Treasurer</i>
1928-1929	Edward W. Doty	Dr. John J. Thomas	Walter H. Belding
1929-1930	Dr. John J. Thomas	Charles W. Sellers	Gerard A. Gesell
1930-1931	Charles W. Sellers	Ted Robinson	Gerard A. Gesell
1931-1932	Ted Robinson	Carl Brandt	Gerard A. Gesell
1932-1933	Russell Weisman	William A. Cahill	David Warshawsky
1933-1934	Marcellus DeVaughn	Charles C. White	David Warshawsky
1934-1935	John W. Barkley	David Warshawsky	David Warshawsky
1935-1936	Paul Bellamy	Charles R. Couch	H. Walter Stewart
1936-1937	Henry M. Busch	Paul Feiss	Edgar E. Adams
1937-1938	George B. Harris	Lockwood Thompson	Fred P. Stashower
1938-1939	Marc J. Grossman	Angelus T. Burch	Fred P. Stashower
1939-1940	Philip W. Porter	Marvin C. Harrison	Michael L. Wach
1940-1941	Nathaniel R. Howard	Hugh Wells	Frank M. Baker
1941-1942	Albert I. Cornsweet	Louis B. Seltzer	James E. Cutler
1942-1943	Richard T. F. Harding	Karl O. Thompson	Clarence Metcalf
1943-1944	Edward Blythin	Carl George	Clarence Metcalf
1944-1945	Wilbur W. White	Benjamin D. Nicola	Clarence Metcalf
1945-1946	Wendell A. Falsgraf	Milton Widder	William C. Way
1946-1947	Spencer D. Irwin	William C. Way	Edward J. Schweid
1947-1948	Mark C. Schinnerer	Earl R. Hoover	Wayne Mack

<i>Year</i>	<i>President</i>	<i>Vice President</i>	<i>Treasurer</i>
1948-1949	Hugh Kane	Ben D. Zevin	James W. Havighurst
1949-1950	Harold J. Glickman	Frank P. Herbert	George S. Baldwin
1950-1951	Charles W. Lawrence	Ralph M. Besse	Allen J. Lowe
1951-1952	John B. Mullaney	Warren Guthrie	Nathan A. Schwartz
1952-1953	Julian S. Griffin	William B. Levenson	G. Glenn Nuss
1953-1954	Henry W. Hopwood	Louis S. Peirce	William C. Hartman
1954-1955	Stanley P. Barnett	James B. Danaher	Lee C. Howley
1955-1956	Ralph E. Crow	George B. Mayer	John P. Witt
1956-1957	Thomas L. Boardman	Paul W. Walter	Alfred J. Hotz
1957-1958	Everest P. Dertthick	William S. Burton	Ralph G. Kennedy, Jr.
1958-1959	William S. Burton	Ralph G. Kennedy, Jr.	Howard B. Klein
1959-1960	Howard B. Klein	Allen Y. King	Don H. Ebright
1960-1961	Robert H. Rawson	Julian Krawcheck	Andrew Pangrace
1961-1962	Dr. Samuel O. Freedlander	Barton R. Clausen	Harry T. Sealy
1962-1963	Barton R. Clausen	Harry T. Sealy	Laurence H. Lang

INDEX

of Personal Names

- Adamic, Louis, 112
Adams, Edgar E., 122
Adams, George S., 39
Alburn, John, 39
- Bagley, Fred, 49
Baker, Edward M., 25, 121
Baker, Frank, 48
Baker, Frank M., 122
Baker, Newton D., 20, 21, 24, 31,
32-33, 34, 40, 77-78, 82, 88,
107
Baldwin, Arthur D., 25
Baldwin, George S., 123
Baldwin, Roger N., 22-23, 65
Banks, Newell, 41
Barkley, John W., 43-44, 122
Barnett, Stanley P., 123
Belding, Walter H., 48, 51, 78-
80, 121, 122
Bellamy, Edward, 80
Bellamy, Paul, 44, 80-81, 122
Benesch, Alfred A., 21, 82-83, 90
Besse, Ralph M., 123
Bettman, Gilbert, 60
Bevier, E. H., 48
Bishop, Dr. Robert H., 25
Black, Morris A., 22
Blossom, Dudley S., 67
Blythin, Edward, 122
Boardman, Thomas L., 123
Bolton, Chester, 44
Bolton, Frances P., 44
Borah, William, 55
Bossero, Luis, 64-65
Brandt, Carl, 122
Bulkeley, Robert J., 44, 56, 71,
121
Burch, Angelus T., 122
Burton, Harold H., 26, 44, 94
Burton, William S., 123
Busch, Henry M., 122
Byers, Edgar S., 36, 45, 46, 84-
85, 97
- Cadwallader, Starr, 22, 25, 39
Cahill, William A., 122
Cain, Frank C., 41, 48, 86-87,
121
Carr, Charles, 36
Carran, Charles A., 44
Chamberlain, Joseph, 19
Chenoweth, H. E., 45
Clarke, John H., 24
Clausen, Barton R., 123
Coolidge, Calvin, 45
Corey, Lewis, 59
Cornsweet, Albert I., 122
Costello, J. M., 48
Couch, Charles R., 122
Cox, James M., 55, 65, 90, 97
Crow, Ralph E., 45, 123
Cummings, Glenn M., 121
Cutler, James E., 122

- Danaceau, Saul S., 35-36, 45, 47, 87-89, 92, 105
 Danaher, James B., 123
 Darrow, Clarence, 57
 Davenport, James M., 44
 Davey, Martin C., 37, 118
 Davis, Harry L., 34-35, 53, 118
 Debs, Eugene, 70-71
 Dernburg, Bernhard, 63-64
 Derthick, Everest P., 123
 De Valera, Eamon, 53-54
 DeVaughn, Marcellus, 122
 Dewey, John, 59
 Dockstader, Doris, 105
 Donahey, J. H., 55
 Doty, Edward W., 36, 45, 46, 85, 89-91, 92, 121, 122
 Downer, Edward Thornton, 36, 45, 91-93
 DuBois, W. E. B., 63
 Duncan, John A., 57
 DuPont, A. B., 39
- Eaton, Cyrus, 60
 Ebright, Don H., 123
 Excell, Matthew B., 70
- Fackler, John D., 21, 39, 54, 58, 93-95, 121
 Falsgraf, Wendell A., 122
 Feather, William, 47-48, 121
 Feiss, Paul, 122
 Fesler, Mayo, 21-22, 24, 25, 47-48, 64, 95-96, 104, 106, 107, 113
 Findley, Charles S., 40
 Flory, Walter L., 22, 25
 Fraina, Louis C., 59
 Frampton, Eleanor, 51
 Freedlander, Dr. Samuel O., 123.
See also Preface.
 Friday, David, 58
 Friebolin, Carl D., 21, 39, 44, 45, 49, 67, 78, 79, 84, 91, 97-99, 100, 108, 121
- Gandhi, Mohandas K., 54
 Garfield, James R., 71
 George, Carl, 122
- Gesell, Gerard A., 122
 Gibson, David, 48
 Glickman, Harold J., 45, 99-100, 123
 Goethals, George W., 35
 Gongwer, W. Burr, 35
 Gries, Moses J., 25
 Griffin, Julian S., 123
 Grossman, Marc J., 37-38, 44, 100-102, 122
 Guthrie, Warren, 123
- Hageman, Werner, 32
 Harding, Richard T. F., 122
 Harding, Warren G., 45
 Harris, Frank, 69-70
 Harris, George Barnes, 35, 102-104, 122
 Harrison, Marvin C., 44, 122
 Hart, George F., 121
 Hartman, William C., 123
 Hatton, Augustus R., 21-22, 24, 25, 34, 35, 92, 104-106, 121
 Havens, Munson, 22
 Havighurst, James W., 123
 Hayden, Joel B., 57, 121
 Haydn, Hiram C., 19
 Hayes, Francis T. (Pat), 40, 41, 42, 46
 Hayes, Ralph A., 11, 40, 78, 92, 106-107, 121
 Henry, Frederick A., 24
 Herbert, Frank P., 45, 123
 Herbert, Thomas J., 48
 Herskovits, Melville, 56
 Hodges, H. C., 31, 35, 40
 Holmes, John Haynes, 69
 Hoover, Earl R., 122
 Hopkins, William R., 35, 36, 111
 Hopwood, Eric C., 25, 64, 81, 121
 Hopwood, Henry W., 123
 Horthy, Nicolas, 53
 Hostetler, Joseph C., 49
 Hotz, Alfred J., 123
 Howard, Nathaniel R., 44, 122
 Howley, Lee C., 123
 Hull, Bradley, 67

- Hunter, R. M., 60
 Hyde, Donald C., 37
- Irwin, Spencer D., 122
- Johnson, Hiram, 55
 Johnson, Hugh S., 55
 Johnson, Tom, 17, 20, 34, 68, 77, 84, 88, 90, 97, 118, 119
- Kane, Hugh, 123
 Károlyi, Michael, 53
 Kelley, Florence, 32
 Kennedy, Ralph G., Jr., 123
 Keough, William C., 35
 King, Allen Y., 45, 123
 Kingsley, Sherman, 39
 Klein, Howard B., 123
 Knowlton, Donald S., 46
 Kohler, Fred, 61
 Krawcheck, Julian, 123
 Krichbaum, Norman, 43, 44, 48
- Lafferty, John J., 43, 44
 La Follette, Robert, 84
 La Guardia, Fiorello H., 58
 Lake, Charles H., 45, 121
 Lang, Laurence H., 123
 Lansbury, George, 52
 Lausche, Frank J., 44
 Lawrence, Charles W., 123
 Leathem, Barclay S., 51
 Lemmerman, Karl, 121
 Leutner, Winfred G., 121
 Levenson, William B., 45, 123
 Levine, Manuel, 39
 Lindsey, Ben B., 57
 Long, Huey P., 55
 Lowe, Allen J., 123
- Mack, Julian, 22
 Mack, Wayne, 122
 Marks, Martin A., 37
 Masaryk, Jan, 53
 Masaryk, Thomas G., 53
 Maschke, Maurice, 35, 36, 111
 Mather, Amasa S., 25, 121
 Mather, Philip R., 71, 121
- Mather, Samuel, 19-20
 Mayer, George B., 123
 McAneny, George A., 32
 McDermott, William, 51
 McKnight, William, 36
 McLaughlin, James A., 46
 Menninger, Karl, 57
 Menon, V. K. Krishna, 54
 Messick, Howard D., 121
 Metcalf, Clarence, 122
 Mills, Don, 45
 Moley, Raymond, 69
 Monnett, James G., 48
 Morgan, Daniel E., 21, 22, 25-27, 44, 72, 83, 121
 Mullaney, John B., 123
- Nearing, Scott, 65
 Newman, Joseph S., 42, 45, 51, 108-109
 Nicola, Benjamin D., 122
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, 56
 Nuss, G. Glenn, 123
 Nyerere, Julius K., 54
- Pangrace, Andrew, 123
 Pattison, Wallace M., 121
 Peirce, Louis S., 123
 Pinchot, Gifford, 63
 Pomerene, Atlee, 63
 Porter, Albert S., 37
 Porter, Philip W., 43, 44, 110-111, 122
 Powell, T. R., 60
- Raper, John W. (Jack), 45, 46, 47, 48, 61, 109, 112-113
 Rawson, Robert H., 123
 Remenyi, Joseph, 69
 Reshevsky, Sammy, 41
 Rhee, Syngman, 53
 Roberts, A. Melvin, 22
 Robins, Raymond, 68, 69
 Robinson, Ted, 61, 122
 Rogers, Will, 60-61
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 55, 80, 81

Roosevelt, Theodore, 20-21, 54-55
 Rosenbaum, Sidney B., 48
 Rusk, Dean, 60
 Russell, Bertrand, 57
 Ruthenberg, C. E., 66
 Ryan, Charles, 42
 Rzeszewski, Samuel, 41

Sanborn, William E., 44
 Sanger, Margaret, 57
 Schinnerer, Mark C., 122
 Schwartz, Nathan A., 51, 123
 Schweid, Edward J., 122
 Sealy, Harry T., 123
 Sellers, Charles W., 122
 Seltzer, Louis B., 44, 109, 122
 Siegelstein, Dr. Louis E., 48
 Silver, Abba Hillel, 67, 114-115
 Smith, Allard, 121
 Snyder, Hilda, 45
 Sprosty, Anton B., 64
 Stambaugh, A. A., 48
 Stapleton, Wilson, 36
 Stashower, Fred P., 122
 Stassen, Harold, 55
 Stewart, H. Walter, 115-117, 122
 Stinchcomb, William A., 121
 Stoddard, Lothrop, 56

Taft, Robert A., 55-56
 Taft, Seth C., 36
 Thomas, Dr. John J., 122
 Thompson, Karl O., 122
 Thompson, Lockwood, 122
 Throckmorton, Archibald H., 121
 Thurber, James, 94
 Tippy, Worth M., 25

INDEX

Tuckerman, Dr. L. B., 118
 Tuckerman, Dr. W. C., 45
 Tuckerman, Dr. W. H., 45
 Tugman, W. M., 48
 Tyler, Fred C., Jr., 45

Vaughan, Alfred C., 121
 Vorpe, William G., 121

Wach, Michael L., 122
 Walsh, Dr. J. J., 57
 Walter, Paul W., 123
 Warshawsky, David, 122
 Way, William C., 122
 Weisman, Russell, 122
 Welch, George A., 25, 121
 Welch, Robert, 73
 Wells, E. H., 30
 Wells, Hugh, 48, 122
 Wheeler, Burton K., 55, 60
 White, Charles C., 122
 White, Pierre, 39
 White, Wilbur W., 122
 Whitlock, Brand, 32
 Widder, Milton, 43, 122
 Wiggam, A. E., 56
 Wiley, Harvey, 31
 Wilkin, R. N., 71
 Williams, Whiting, 37
 Winslow, C. E. A., 30
 Witt, John P., 123
 Witt, Peter, 36-37, 44, 45, 46-47, 48, 60, 70, 84, 85, 88, 91, 92, 111, 117-119
 Wittke, Carl, 72-73

York, George W., 121

Zevin, Ben D., 119-120, 123

Cancelled

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CLEVELAND HISTORY
 HATHUR HOUSE #14
 CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
 CLEVELAND, OHIO 44106