

CHAPTER IV FEDERATED CHURCHES OF CLEVELAND

INTRODUCTION

In 1911, Protestants organized the Federated Churches of Cleveland (hereafter FCC). The Federated Churches of Cleveland was a significant departure from previous Protestants' attempts in urban ministry. First, the FCC's membership was not individualistic but based on the local church.¹ Secondly, the FCC marked a Protestant's early attempt at accommodating to the social order. As stated in the Preamble to its Constitution, the FCC was to create an "effective union of the churches."² What the FCC's organizers meant by the word 'effective' was to be efficient in addressing social problems and issues.

The Protestants were not the only social organization attempting to be more efficient. In the benevolent order, the Chamber of Commerce led the movement to federate the charitable and philanthropic organizations for a more efficient service. However, the Jewish community led the

¹"Federated Churches of Cleveland", author and date unknown found in Folder 1, Container 1, Cleveland Area Church Federated (hereafter CCF), MSS 3406, WRHS. The rationale was to generate more local support for the FCC (pp 3).

²"Constitution", Folder 1, Container 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

way in organizing community groups into a federation.³ The Roman Catholics would not federate but they also organized their own charitable organization.

Thus, the organizing of the FCC was a part of a larger social movement to organize all aspects of society into efficient and orderly units. However, historians have not viewed the religious federation movement in this context. For them, the religious federation movement was the institutionalization of the Social Gospel.⁴ One difficulty of this view is the federation movement's history is incomplete. Also, advocates of this position fail to explain how the Social Gospel Movement manifest itself externally and internally within the organization. For example, the FCC took a strong position on comity but the Social Gospel Movement did not have a position on comity.⁵

This chapter argues local conditions and local factors are better explanation of why the organizers

³The number of clubs women participated can be found in an article in the P.D., June 13, 1909, 'PD Magazine' pp 4. Women participation in clubs led some to complain that club activities were taking away from their participation in church. (see Leader, Aug. 3, 1910, pp 5)

⁴See for example, Charles H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1940.

⁵FCC's Constitution, Article I which states in part: "Purpose of Comity: For United and aggressive action upon religious and social questions." Container 1, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

established the Federated Churches of Cleveland. The Protestants' failures in social reform and immigrants were two factors cited so far. This chapter will also cite other factors.

In reading about the Social Gospel movement, one finds no references to the role of revivals in promulgating it. Yet, 1911 was the third year of a six-year period of revivals. Thus, was there a connection between the revivals and the establishment of the Federated Churches? This chapter argues there were connections. The first was, these revivals helped the creation of the FCC by, as in most revivals, generating a general sense of immediacy, i.e., a call for immediate action. The second was, businessmen who participated in the revivals also were organizers of the FCC.

Thus, this chapter will show businessmen as the connective factor in the religious and benevolent orders' federation movement. These businessmen were very active in the religious and benevolent orders. They included such men as Frank Arter, Charles F. Laughlin, John L. Severance, J.G. Jennings, John G.W. Cowles, Samuel Mather, and Edwin C. Higbee, to name just a few. Their purpose was to actualize a vision of a moral and orderly society in which the economic, social, religious and political sectors were effectively organized for the greater social good.

Part I Federal Council of Churches

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (hereafter Federal Council) marked a significant departure from Nineteenth Century Protestants' approach to social issues.⁶ In the Nineteenth Century, Protestants used single-issue voluntary societies as its major means to influence and participate in social issues. These voluntary societies allowed individuals to take collective action on issues. Organizers of the Federal Council rejected the individual collective approach in favor of an approach, which required denominations to take collective action on social problems and issues.⁷

Between 1865 and 1900, America became an urban and more diverse society. Urbanization and industrialization caused a myriad of complex social problems and issues. However, Protestants did not immediately response to these social problems and issues. Critics charged Protestants embraced the 'Gospel of Wealth' over the 'Gospel of Jesus'.⁸ Some criticized the Protestants' gross

⁶Charles H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1940.

⁷Sydney Mead, "Denominationalism--The Shape of Protestantism in America", Church History, Vol 23, No. 1, March 1945, pp 305.

⁸Robert T. Handy, A Christian America. Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities, New York: Oxford University Press, 1971: Charles H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American

indifference to the working class' plight and their hostility toward unions.⁹ However, there were individual Protestants who did work with the working class and the working class. The Reverend Washington Gladden, Congregationalist minister, was the most notable. Gladden worked, in Springfield, Massachusetts (1873-1882) and Columbus, Ohio (1882-1918), to promote harmony between labor and management.¹⁰

Between 1880 and 1900, the Social Gospel Movement grew to dominate Protestantism.¹¹ The Social Gospel Movement was not one cohesive movement but several different movements coalescing into one. For example, Christian socialism was initially a part of this movement.¹² The

Protestantism, 1865-1915 New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1940; Maurice C. Latta, "The Background for the Social Gospel in American Protestantism" Church History Vol. V No. 3 September, 1936, pp 256-270.

⁹Henry F. May Protestant Churches and Industrial America, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949, pp 91-111. May argues that the labor struggles of 1877 to 1895 shocked Protestants. He describes the labor struggles as "Three Earthquakes."

¹⁰Robert T. Handy, ed. The Social Gospel in America, 1870-1920. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966, Introduction and section on Washington Gladden.

¹¹Charles Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1940, esp "Part III: 1890-1900, The Social Gospel Comes of Age" pp 121-202.

¹²Robert Handy, "George D. Herron and The Kingdom Movement" Church History Vol. XIX No. 2 June 1950, pp 97-115 and "Christianity and Socialism in America 1900-1920", Church History

Social Gospel Movement stressed Christianity needs to be working within the world and not be aloof from it.¹³

Walter Rauschenbusch, the theologian of the Social Gospel, argued: "The social movement is the most important ethical and spiritual movement in the modern world, and the social gospel is the response of the Christian consciousness to it."¹⁴

The Federal Council had two immediate predecessors, namely, 'the Open and Institutional Church League' (established 1894) which became the 'National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers' (1901).¹⁵ Organized in 1867, the Evangelical Alliance was a prototype ecumenical organization that provided an ecumenical organizational model for Protestants. Some Federal Council's organizers

Vol XXI No 1 March 1952, pp 39-54.

¹³Walter Rauschenbusch, A Theology for the Social Gospel, New York: The MacMillian Company, 1917.

¹⁴A Theology for the Social Gospel, pp 4-5.

¹⁵Elias Sanford, Origin and History of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Hartford, Connecticut: The S.S. Scranton Company, 1916, Chp 2, pp 34-57 for the Open and Institutional League; and Chp 8, pp 146-159 for the National Federation of Churches. See also, John A Smith, "Ecclesiastical Politics and the Founding of the Federal Council of Churches" Church History Vol. 43 No. 3 September 1974, pps 353-365. The Rev. Dr. Charles L. Thompson, pastor Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, organized the Open and Institutional League on March 27, 1894. "Open" meant a church free of pew rents, i.e., seating available to all who entered the church. "Institutional" meant establishment of churches which included social services as a part of its program.

(Elias Sanford the first General Secretary was a member) participated in the Evangelical Alliance.¹⁶ In 1908. Protestants organized Federal Council at meeting held at Philadelphia.¹⁷

Martin Marty argued that the Federal Council was the result of the Protestants' 'public' party efforts.¹⁸ The public party argued that social conditions prevented a

¹⁶The Evangelical Alliance began in England in 1846 but due to the slavery issue the first American branch was not created until 1867. The two most noted leaders of the Alliance were Philip Schaff and Josiah Strong. Alliance in America, Dom Herbert Yoder. "Christian Unity in Nineteenth-Century America", Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill eds, A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948, 2nd ed, Philadelphia, 1967, pp 255-56. English origins, Ruth Rouse "Voluntary Movements and the Changing Ecumenical Climate" Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill eds, A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948, pp 318-323. Alliance and Fundamentalism, George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, The Shaping of 20th Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925, NY, 1980.

¹⁷ For the origins of the Federal Council see Elias B. Sanford, Origin and History of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Hartford, Connecticut: 1916 or Ahlstrom A Religious History.... pp 802-804. For the significance of the Federal Council in Protestantism see Martin Marty, Righteous Empire The Protestant Experiences in America, New York: Dial, 1970, pp 182-183. For another 'insider' view of the creation of the Federal Council see Charles S. MacFarland, The Progress of Church Federation, New York 1917, pp 26-42. MacFarland was the second General Secretary of the Federal Council.

¹⁸Righteous Empire, The Protestant Experiences in America, New York: Dial, 1970. The first party was individualistic or the 'private' party. (Chapter 17, pp 177-187). The first party was the more 'traditional' American Protestant's experience thus individual conversions and personal expression were important. Marty's student Jean Miller Schmidt has traced the two-party system in her book Chicago Studies in the History of American Religion: Souls or the Social Order. The Two-Party System in American Protestantism. Brooklyn, New York, 1991.

person from being moral thus social reform was necessary. Nineteenth Century voluntary societies were means for individuals to take collective action. The Federal Council's organizers rejected this individual collective action in favor of organizations taking collective action on social issues.¹³ Thus, Federal Council's membership was open, initially, to denominations and later to state and local church federations. The organizers recognized theological differences may prevent denominations from taking collective action. They, also, acknowledged others feared that the Federal Council was the first step toward a force union. Therefore, the Federal Council's actions were ". . . limited to the expression of its counsel and the recommending of a course of action in matters of common interest to the churches, local councils and individual Christians."¹⁴

The Federal Council also differs from the narrow focused Protestant voluntary agency because of its expansive mandate. The Federal Council's organizers

¹³Dom Herbert Yoder, "Christian Unity in Nineteenth-Century America" Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill eds, A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948, 2nd ed, Philadelphia, 1967, pp 256-258. John A. Smith, "Ecclesiastical Politics and the Founding of the Federal Council of Churches" (Church History, Vol 43, No. 3, Sept. 1973) pp 350-365.

¹⁴From the Constitution of the Federal Council, cited in Elias Sanford, Origin and History of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, pp 466.

believed that urbanization, industrialization and other social problems required a coordinated approach to solve. Therefore, the Federal Council was free to investigate and to recommend for coordinated Protestant action on any given social issue or problem. The Federal Council's organizers also chose 'unity of efforts' over 'organic unity', i.e., it was more important to work together than to be one denomination.²¹

The organizers envisioned the Federal Council to become the national Protestant leader in social reform efforts. Traditional Protestant missionary work remained the responsibility of the denominations. However, denominational missionary work also required a national interdenominational coordinating body. Therefore, Protestant leaders organized the Home Mission Council of North America in 1908 for domestic missions and Foreign Missions Conference of North America in 1907.²² Thus, by 1910, Protestants had organized themselves into three national agencies, each having responsibility in three

²¹John A Smith, "Ecclesiastical Politics and the Founding of the Federal Council of Churches", Church History, Vol 43, No. 3, Sept. 1973, pp 350-365.

²²Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, pp 802. Samuel McCrea Cavert, Church Cooperation and Unity in America. A Historical Review, 1900-1970, New York: Association Press, 1970. Chp 1. In 1950, these two organizations along with nine other Protestant interdenominational agencies merged with the Federal Council to form the 'National Council of Churches'.

important aspects of church life.

The Federal Council leadership was aware of the criticisms of Protestants' indifference toward certain groups.²³ Thus, at its first meeting in 1908, the Federal Council adopted the 'Methodist Social Creed' as its position statement on the working class and child labor.²⁴ The Social Creed urged child labor be outlawed and the rights of labor to organize.

The Federal Council was a major accomplishment of the Social Gospel Movement and the highlight of the religious federation movement. However, the federation efforts met with limited success at the state and local levels.²⁵ The Federal Council and other church federations were considered the Social Gospel Movement manifested in a practical form. Thus, the weakness of the state and local federation movement suggests the Social Gospel Movement had a limited impact upon the daily lives of Protestants. This

²³Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel.... Chp 18.

²⁴Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, pp 803.

²⁵ H. P. Douglass conducted two studies on church federation efforts. For a general overview of the federation efforts see: Church Unity Movements in the United States, New York: Institute of Social And Religious Research, 1934. For a study on the federation and other cooperative efforts at a city level see: Protestant Cooperation in American Cities, New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930.. In both books, Douglass argued that the federative efforts at the state and local level were inconsistent in efforts, organizational structure and effectiveness.

weakness, also, suggests the strongest advocates and participants were to be found among the various Protestant elites than among the average church members.²⁶

Not all Protestants approved of the Federal Council. These Protestants argued that the Federal Council's policy of social reform abandoned traditional Protestants' insistence on individual conversion and individual action. Between 1880 and 1920, these Protestants gradually organized themselves into a group, which later received the name 'Fundamentalists'.²⁷ The disagreement was over whether true reform began with the individual or with society.²⁸ The conservatives and Fundamentalists favored individual conversion while liberals favored social reforms.

The Federal Council, wanting to avoid a split in Protestantism, established the 'Commission on Evangelism' in 1912 to address the concerns of the conservatives for a traditional approach. However, this Commission did not pacify the conservatives and it institutionalized the split

²⁶ Schmidt, Souls or the Social Order...., pp 153.

²⁷ Schmidt, Souls or the Social Order..., pp 127. See also. Sandeen, Ernest R. The Roots of Fundamentalism, British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930, Chicago, 1970, Chp 8.

²⁸ Schmidt, Souls or the Social Order..., pp 151.

between the liberals and conservatives.²⁹ In the 1920s, the Fundamentalists and Modernists' debates caused further division between the two groups.³⁰

However, even before the 1920s, Protestants' opinions on social reform and social action began to change.³¹ World War I began in 1914. Protestants shifted their attention away from the domestic scene to the events in Europe. Interest in social reform gradually decrease until the support for the Federal Council could only be found in progressive clergy's circle. In 1915 Billy Sunday, who urged personal conversions as a solution to social problems, reflected many American Protestants' attitude when he said: "We've had enough of this godless social

²⁹Schmidt, Souls or the Social Order..., Chp 6.

³⁰ For a more detail information on the history of Fundamentalism and the controversy in 1920s: Stewart G. Cole, The History of Fundamentalism, New York: Richard R. Smith Inc., 1931; George M. Marsden Fundamentalism and American Culture, The Shaping of 20th Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925, Oxford University Press: NY, 1980; Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930, The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1970. The Presbyterians were particularly affected by this controversy and for more information see Bradley J. Longfield, The Presbyterian Controversy, Fundamentalists, Modernists and Moderates, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

³¹Donald Meyer, The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919-1941, 2nd ed, Middletown, Connecticut 1988; Paul A Carter, The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940, Cornell University Press, 1954.

service nonsense."³² There were many Clevelanders who agreed wholeheartedly with this statement.³³

Part II First Step Toward Coordination

As noted elsewhere, Protestants had viewed poverty as an individual flaw. In 1890, Superintendent Millin, Cleveland Infirmary Department, reflected this view when he stated: " . . . (the) problem is how to be liberal in charity and not to increase pauperism."³⁴ At Cleveland Centennial Celebration (1896), the Committee on Charities gave this evaluation of Cleveland's poor relief programs: ". . . poor well cared for as in Cleveland."³⁵ A possible reason for this glowing review was that the private benevolent agencies grew in numbers between 1865

³²Quoted in William G. McLoughlin, Chicago History of American Religion: Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform. An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977. Chicago, 1978, pp 148.

³³Leader, January 6, 1913, pp. 6.

³⁴P.D. February 6, 1890, pp 6 "Cleveland Poor". Superintendent Millin was giving the annual report on state of charitable efforts towards the poor. Millin's greatest complaint was the number of 'grass widows' on the relief rolls. Men would leave their family in the fall to find work and return some time in the spring. After the men departed the family would then apply for relief. Millin reported 385 grass widow's cases in 1889 which was an increase of 15 over 1888. In addition Millin also reported 3 cases of grass widowers which was unchanged from 1888.

³⁵Centennial Commission on Philanthropy. History of the Charities of Cleveland. City of Cleveland, 1896 (?). Hereafter cited as "Charities".

and 1896. Instead of the antebellum ad hoc system, a patchwork quilt system of municipal and private benevolent agencies delivered poor relief and performed other charitable works.³⁶

In 1899, a family in need of food or other social services could have submitted their application to the City of Cleveland or to a private agency. The type of assistance offered was either 'indoor relief' (i.e., institutional) or 'outdoor relief'. The City of Cleveland offered both types of relief and private agencies generally offered 'outdoor relief'.³⁷ Between 1904 and 1912, municipal outdoor relief took a new direction. The City of Cleveland purchased and developed lands in rural Warrensville Township for a new infirmary (or poorhouse).

³⁶The exact number of agencies that came into existence during the period between 1865-1895 can not be determined. However, in looking at the City Directory for the years between 1890-1915 one can see the increasing number of benevolent and charitable societies.

³⁷If the person was not physically able to care for him or herself then the individual would be assigned to City Infirmary (the term 'poorhouse' was changed to 'infirmary' in 1852) which was indoor relief. For those able to care for themselves they would be assigned outdoor relief which meant some minimal assistance in the form of food and during the winter coal and sometimes assistance in clothes and medical needs. See "Charities" pp 9 and ECH "Welfare/Relief" pp 1036. Also see Clara Anne Kaiser, "Organized Social Work in Cleveland, its History and Setting", Ph.D Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1936, especially Chapter 3. pp 78-137.

housing for elderly couples and a farm for delinquent boys.³⁸ The rationale was that the rural area would offer the poor a chance to develop good work skills and habits.

If a family decided to apply to a private agency, they had many agencies that they could use. These agencies included various immigrant mutual aid societies, churches and synagogues, settlement houses, and private benevolent agencies like Bethel Associated Charities.³⁹

The agency gave the family a limited amount of aid. Benevolent agencies considered the family to be the best provider of poor relief. Before giving aid, the private agency made an investigation into the availability of immediate relatives. The agency gave aid to the family only if no other family member was available. Indoor relief (institutionalization) was not normally a choice if the father and boys (those over twelve years old) could work. The amount of aid was limited to food and some necessities (e.g., coal). The agency, normally, did not give cash but, occasionally, paid the rent. However, the fear of increasing pauperism, if 'too much' assistance was

³⁸ECH, pp 281.

³⁹See Florence T. Waite, A Warm Friend for The Spirit. Cleveland: Family Service Association of Cleveland, 1960, pp 59.

given, restricted the amount and availability of aid.⁴⁰ This fear combined with the belief that poverty was a personal character flaw led to the provision, when possible, of a person working for his/her relief with.⁴¹

Since the amount of aid was small, some individuals and families applied to several agencies so they could meet their needs. In 1896, Bethel Associated Charities called for the establishment of a central registration bureau because they feared this 'problem' was widespread. All of Cleveland's social agencies would send to the bureau the names of relief applicants. The bureau would then check the lists for persons appearing on two or more lists. If an individual was on two agencies' list, the bureau would inform the appropriate agencies. The agencies would then stop giving aid to the person. The purpose was to insure that the deserving poor got 'proper' assistance and to prevent duplication of services. Most important, each applicant would have only one agency as his/her primary

⁴⁰See Waite, Warm Friend for the Spirit..., pp 57 for an example of family ration in 1886. Although the ration is for 1886, a family living in 1900 would also be receiving roughly the same aid.

⁴¹Thus the recipient was expected to contribute by his or her labor prior to obtaining relief. See Waite, pp 57-60. Employment agencies were an important part of social agencies like Hiram House or the Salvation Army. The Bethel Associated Charities had established a wood yard in 1885 where men could obtain rations for cutting wood. Also, Kaiser, "Organized Social Work in Cleveland....", pp 83.

source of assistance. However, Bethel Charities did not start the bureau. The potential member agencies had questions about how the bureau would use the information received. Also, the social agencies were generally indifferent to this idea.⁴²

Associated Charities' (the successor to Bethel Associated Charities) director James Jackson resurrected the idea of a central registration bureau in 1904. Jackson rejected the 1896 freestanding agency idea. Instead, Jackson established the bureau and made it a part of Associated Charities. Three volunteer workers staffed this registration bureau.⁴³ In 1918, the registration bureau became a part of the Welfare Council and became the Social Service Clearing House.⁴⁴

The central registration bureau was the first step toward the full coordination of social services within Cleveland. However, the private benevolent agencies did

⁴²See Waite, pp 64-66. She argued that the cumbersome reporting system and the expectation that all forms of relief would be reported led many agencies to refuse to cooperate and thus doomed this initial attempt at centralizing relief applicants.

⁴³See Waite, pp 82 and "Casework through the Years", September 23, 1952, Federation for Community Planning, WRHS, MSS 3788. Microfilm Reel 21.

⁴⁴The Clearing House was disbanded in the late 1940s because of concerns over the difficulties of maintaining clients' confidentiality. Federation for Community Planning, WRHS, MSS 3788, Microfilm Reel 15.

not take any further steps toward the goal of full coordination of services. There were too many agencies and no mutual agreement over what services an agency could offer.⁴⁵ For example, if an immigrant family went to social service agency "A" for assistance and only partial assistance could be offered, what does the agency do? Does the agency refer the family another agency? Does the agency attempt to obtain the service and then give it to the family? Other problems include where does the money come from to run this bureau? What type of information should be reported?⁴⁶ These questions remained unanswered.

Part III Chamber of Commerce and Charity

In any medium size American city or larger, there is a group that promotes the business and economic development of the community. The most common name of this group is the 'Chamber of Commerce'. In 1848, the Cleveland Chamber

⁴⁵The scope of this problem can be seen in this example. The Chamber of Commerce began in 1900 (see below) to register benevolent agencies. In 1911, the Reverend William Pilot, Calvary Baptist Church, began to do a series of surveys on city problems. In doing work for survey on crime, he found only 55 charitable organizations had reported to the Chamber of Commerce out of 81 which had reported to him; and on his own he found 66 more agencies. (Leader, November 16, 1911, pp 4)

⁴⁶ All these points can be found in Federation for Community Planning, WRHS, MSS 3788, Microfilm Reel 15. The conclusions are mine. Despite these problems the registration bureau continued until the late 1940s.

of Commerce was organized as the 'Board of Trade' and reorganized in 1893 as the Chamber of Commerce.⁴⁷ From its Public Square building, the Chamber of Commerce led efforts in housing reforms, smoke abatement, weights and measures and municipal sanitation besides its promotion of business and industries, e.g., its "Make it in Cleveland" movement.⁴⁸ The Chamber of Commerce was also active in community affairs by allowing community groups to use its auditorium for banquets, community fund raising efforts and meetings.⁴⁹ The Chamber of Commerce's permission also carried implicit endorsement of the group and its activities.⁵⁰ Also, the Cleveland Methodists had their headquarters at the Chamber of Commerce's building.⁵¹

The Chamber of Commerce vigorously led social reform movements. As a part of its involvement in social reform,

⁴⁷"Greater Cleveland Growth Association", ECH pp 469 and P.D. January 22, 1911, Magazine Page 4.

⁴⁸See P.D. January 22, 1911, Magazine Page 4.

⁴⁹Particular examples of the Chamber of Commerce being used by religious groups were: "Church Club Banquet" (Leader, May 17, 1910, pp 5); "Methodist Commission on Country Church meeting" (Leader Aug. 29, 1911, pp 4); "Presbyterian Home Mission Exhibition" (Leader, Nov. 9 1912 pp 6).

⁵⁰"The Minutes of Committee on Benevolent", January to March 1910, The Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Container 14, MSS 3474. Each meeting in this period recorded the committee's decisions on community groups not permitted to use the Chamber's facilities.

⁵¹Leader April 20, 1911, pp 4.

the Chamber of Commerce led and organized a federation of charitable and philanthropic agencies. In 1900, Chamber of Commerce Vice President Williams stated there was a need for a "... system of supervision of solicitation of money for charitable and benevolent objects."⁵² In 1914, the Chamber's Committee on Benevolent Associations added an important reason for federation of charitable and philanthropic agencies when they stated: "...to protect the giving public against solicitations for unworthy purpose and then to assist worthy and efficient institutions."⁵³ Thus, the federation's purpose was to separate the 'worthy' organizations from the 'unworthy' organizations for the sake of efficiency.

On October 22, 1900, the Chamber of Commerce began to identify 'worthy' organizations. On this date, the Chamber of Commerce started its charity registration program.⁵⁴ To receive the Chamber of Commerce's 'blessing', an agency had

⁵²May 15, 1900 Minutes, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Minutes of 1900-1901. Greater Cleveland Growth Association, MSS 3474. WRHS. Also see Waite, Warm Friend for the Spirit... pp 79-80. Waite makes the point the Chamber of Commerce was responding to a request from Bethel Associated Charities. Information below based on the Chamber of Commerce's records will be cited without the collection name and MSS number.

⁵³"Notes for Historical Features on Welfare Federation" pp 3 (booklet) found in Federation for Community Planning, MSS 3789, Container 9, Folder 204.

⁵⁴Chamber of Commerce's Minutes, October 22, 1900.

to pass a review. This review included inspection of the organization's annual budget, its pattern of spending, its Board of Directors and its staff's qualifications.⁵⁵ After passing the review, the agency received a certificate. The agency had to renew the certificate and pass the review process annually. The certificate also carried an implied endorsement by the Chamber of Commerce.

However, churches and church-affiliated organizations did not have to register and usually did not. Those organizations, whose funding came from an individual or group, did not register. Donors were still free to give to any charity they wish. Finally, there was no legal requirement that a charitable organization had to register with the Chamber of Commerce. However, most of the larger charitable organizations did register.⁵⁶ Failure to register did not necessarily doom an organization's fund

⁵⁵The review process was under the supervision of the Committee on Benevolent Associations. This Committee was organized when the Chamber of Commerce began registering benevolent associations. The requirements that each organization had to pass in order to receive an endorsement is to be found in the Committee on Benevolent Association's reports which in turn is found in either its annual reports/minutes or summarized in the Chamber of Commerce's annual reports. For greater detail on requirements that a registered agency had to met see "Notes for Historical Features, Welfare Federation", pp 3-4, Federation for Community Planning, Container 9, Folder 204.

⁵⁶The organizations included Associated Charities, the settlement houses (e.g. Hiram House, Goodrich) and others. See the list included within the Committee on Benevolent Associations' minutes/annual report 1901-1913.

raising efforts or its programs. The Chamber of Commerce used publicity and its members to encourage organizations to register. The Chamber of Commerce urged its members and nonmember businessmen to reject any solicitation for funds if the solicitor did not show a registration card.⁵⁷

In 1907, the Chamber of Commerce conducted a study, which gives an insight to nature of Cleveland charitable giving. The Chamber of Commerce used sixty-one local charitable organizations' donor list to conduct a survey of charitable donations. Their study reported thirteen persons made one-third of all the contributions (.002% of all donors).⁵⁸ The Chamber of Commerce concluded

⁵⁷See H. McKeehan, Attorney to the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, "Fraudulent Solicitations Schemes---A Report to the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce", October 1, 1903. A booklet to be found as a part of the collection: "Addresses before the Chamber of Commerce, Noon Day Meeting, Cleveland, 1894-1944" in the WRHS. The Chamber had no designated staff for the Committee on Benevolent Associations. After 1907 and to the formation of the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy in 1911, the Chamber had a designated staff person for this committee whose main job was to keep track of the registered charities. McKeehan's speech noted that the Chamber had distributed a memo in 1903 to all its members urging them not to donate anything without asking first for the Chamber's charity registration card; and if no card was produced to notify the Chamber's secretary immediately.

⁵⁸ Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Committee on Benevolent Associations, "The Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy" (1913) pp 6. The figures from this report were: Total contributions: \$994,491. Of which \$442,811 was from direct contributions; and of this total \$39,596 was from direct giving of \$5 or less. The remainder of \$512,084 was from endowments, legacies or other sources. There was a total of 5,733 donors: of which 2,153 gave \$10 or less and these donors accounted for only 2.46% of the total contributions. 74 donors accounted for 50% of

Cleveland charitable and philanthropic agencies tend to be very protective of its donor list and competed among themselves to keep a major donor. The Chamber of Commerce considered this competition to be a problem since monies collected under this system benefitted agencies and did not address social problems. Also, the Chamber of Commerce feared, in the battle for donations, donors would overlook some worthy causes. The Chamber of Commerce believed the solution, to this intense competition for funds, rested in the expansion of the donor base. To expand the donor base, public confidence, in the private benevolent charities' abilities to efficiently conduct their jobs, needed to be developed.⁵³

In 1912, the Chamber of Commerce began the drive for establishment of a central clearing house for charitable giving. The clearing house's purpose was to assure the public that its gifts would go to legitimate charitable purposes. The number of donors would increase because they

the total contributions and 411 donors accounted for 75% of the total contributions. The Chamber of Commerce asked the 411 donors about their thoughts on a clearinghouse for charitable giving; and 136 responded of which 119 gave their unqualified yes to such a project; 4 gave a qualified yes, 8 gave qualified yes with some objections, 2 gave qualified nos and only 3 rejected the idea. (See also Leader, January 3, 1913, pp 5)

⁵³ Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Committee on Benevolent Associations, "The Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy" (1913).

would be assured that their gifts would to legitimate organizations. Then, the system of charitable giving would become more efficient and funds for worthy causes would be available.⁶⁰

Between 1900 and 1910 the Chamber of Commerce's registration system went beyond the identification of 'worthy' agencies to include the idea of acceptable social services.⁶¹ The Chamber of Commerce was concern about the duplication of social services because this would not be an efficient use of donations. Thus, any agency applying for registration had to prove fiscal integrity and their services did not duplicate an established agency's services, i.e., ". . . to fill need not already well filled."⁶² Even if an agency did not duplicate another's services, there also had to be a community need for the agency's services, i.e., ". . . relative need warrant

⁶⁰ Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Committee on Benevolent Associations, "The Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy" (1913). See also the Chamber of Commerce's Minutes for May 15, 1900.

⁶¹ "Notes for Historical Features on Welfare Federation" pp 3. Folder 204, Container 9, Folder, 204, Federation Community Planning. MSS 3788, WRHS.

⁶² Requirement 1, "Notes for Historical Features on Welfare Federation" pp 3, Folder 204, Container 9, Folder, 204, Federation Community Planning, MSS 3788, WRHS.

it."⁶³

For example, the Committee on Benevolent Association established a subcommittee to investigate Floating Bethel Mission because they did not request a renewal but continued to offer social services. The Chamber of Commerce reported Floating Bethel was engaged in fund raising activities and doing benevolent works without registering. Floating Bethel, also, continually failed to coordinate its efforts with other established social agencies. The Chamber of Commerce justified its actions by arguing ". . . (the) time is past when an organization could afford to carry out relief work without consulting others . . . cooperation is necessary to prevent duplication of efforts and demoralizing effect upon families."⁶⁴ The subcommittee did not recommend sanctions against Floating Bethel but working through its Board of

⁶³Requirement 2, "Notes for Historical Features on Welfare Federation" pp 3, Folder 204, Container 9, Folder, 204, Federation Community Planning, MSS 3788, WRHS.

⁶⁴Committee on Benevolent, "Special Memorandum" January 31, 1910, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Container 14, MSS 3474 WRHS. Floating Bethel violated Requirement 3 of the Chamber's requirement for registration which stated registered agencies would cooperate with each other. "Notes for Historical Features on Welfare Federation" pp 3, Federation Community Planning, Container 9, Folder, 204 MSS 3478.

Directors quietly resolved this issue.⁶⁵

Floating Bethel had registered with the Chamber of Commerce. However, what would happen if an unregistered benevolent agency begins to deliver social services? Religious organizations and their affiliated agencies normally did not register with the Chamber of Commerce. (Although there were exceptions like Floating Bethel and Salvation Army.) The Chamber of Commerce did not want to decide what was religious organization.⁶⁶ Yet, churches have always offered some social services.

The Chamber of Commerce made its position clear when Euclid Avenue Baptist Church attempted to expand its social services. Euclid Avenue Baptist Church was the church home of John D. Rockefeller. Euclid Avenue Baptist was also very active in immigrant work and actively participated in

⁶⁵Committee on Benevolent, "Special Memorandum" January 31, 1910, Container 14, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, MSS 3474, WRHS. Resolution of this issue was done through its Board of Directors and not with Chaplain Jones. Jones expressed a "dislike for the Chamber of Commerce and Associated Charities". Floating Bethel had registered with the Chamber of Commerce in 1906 (there was an implication in the memo that Chaplain Jones was forced into making the request) but for unknown reasons application for 1910 was not made.

⁶⁶During the Depression, the Chamber of Commerce did participate in making the determination whether an agency was a legitimate religious organization. The Chamber of Commerce and the Federated Churches cooperated to investigate the numerous 'storefront' missions that purported to offer social services to the poor and unemployed. ("United Committee on Mission", Folder 6, Container 21, Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406, WRHS)

social reform efforts.(It sponsored Josephine Mission to Italians and had an active Baptist Brotherhood chapter.) Euclid Avenue Baptist wanted to be the downtown institutional church and planned to expand its pastoral ministry by offering free medical and legal services.⁶⁷ After receiving information about these activities, the Chamber of Commerce became concern because Euclid Avenue Baptist was apparently violating its requirement that a clear community need must be present before starting an agency.⁶⁸ The Chamber of Commerce's Committee on Benevolent Associations investigated and reported there was no need for more medical and legal services.⁶⁹ The Chamber of Commerce then sent a subcommittee to urge Euclid Avenue Baptist to reconsider its actions. Also, they were to impress upon them the need for cooperation and coordination.⁷⁰

⁶⁷For Euclid Avenue Baptist Church's intention to become a downtown institutional church see Leader August 23, 1911, pp 4. Euclid Avenue Baptist did not become an institutional church.

⁶⁸Requirement 2, "Notes for Historical Features on Welfare Federation" pp 3, Federation Community Planning, Container 9. Folder, 204 MSS 3478.

⁶⁹ Minutes of the Committee on Benevolent Associations, Feb. 2, 1911, The Greater Cleveland Growth Association, MSS 3474. Container 14.

⁷⁰ Minutes of the Committee on Benevolent Associations, Feb. 2, 1911, The Greater Cleveland Growth Association, MSS 3474. Container 14.

In the post-Civil War years, the separation of benevolent works from the religious order began. The Euclid Avenue Baptist Church and Floating Bethel's incidents show clearly the separation of benevolent works from the religious order. This separation meant a church could raise money for social services only after facing some opposition. Floating Bethel illustrated this point.²² Euclid Avenue Baptist Church suggests that pastoral services and social services were two different areas. If the intent of the service was for the spiritual well-being then it was pastoral services. However, if the services aim for the physical well-being then coordination with other social services agencies was necessary.

In 1913, the Chamber of Commerce organized the Federation of Charities and Philanthropy, which merged with the Welfare Council, in 1916, to become the Welfare Federation of Cleveland. Also, during these years, the separation between the churches and benevolent works became complete. Churches moved from being the primary welfare providers to supporters of the various specialized private

²²The Salvation Army also was a clear example of this point. Between 1907 and 1913, the Salvation Army engaged in a number of fund events for its activities. Since the Army was considered by Christians and the Chamber of Commerce to be a social service, they had to assure the Chamber that their efforts did not duplicate any existing social services. Minutes of the Committee on Benevolent. (January 1907 to January 1913), Container 14, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, MSS 3474, WRHS.

and public benevolent agencies. Although still influential, Protestants became one of many special interest groups with interests in social welfare policies. At the beginning of the Federation for Charities and Philanthropy, a committee on "Morals of Constitutive Agencies" sent a letter, which urged Cleveland clergy to support this new agency. Two leading Cleveland clergymen signed this letter.⁷² This committee was the first of many similar supportive committees in the benevolent order that clergy participate.

Part IV Revivals

Revivals were an important Nineteenth Century Protestant's church expansion method. It has been noted elsewhere that revivals were a form of community building. However, historians and sociologists have not totally appreciated the role of revivals has in forming culture and in social change.⁷³ Revivals are not necessarily a part of particular social movements. However, this study

⁷²The letter was dated July 8, 1913 and signed by Worth M. Tippy and J.E. Cutler. Federation for Community Planning, MSS 3788, Container 8, Folder 190. Worth M. Tippy, pastor Epworth Methodist Church, was the second president of the FCC and one of the most foremost Social Gospel advocate in Cleveland.

⁷³ William G. McLoughlin, Chicago History of American Religion: Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform. An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978, Introduction.

focused on revivals that were those connected to social movements called 'Great Awakenings'. The First and Second Awakenings (Chapter One) helped to revitalize American religious life and was an important community building force. The revivals described and discussed below were parts of the Third Awakening that began either in 1875 or 1890 and ended either in 1915 or 1920.⁷⁴ One purpose of a "Great Awakening" is to revitalize society: "Great awakenings are not periods of social neurosis (though they begin in times of cultural confusion). They are times of revitalization."⁷⁵ Revivals assist in the revitalization in three particular ways. First, they mobilize individuals for action. Second, they direct the participants toward a particular direction. Third, they assist in creating a

⁷⁴The idea of the Third Awakening comes from William G. McLoughlin's two books. In his first book Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney To Billy Graham (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1959), he dated the third awakening as occurring between the years 1875-1915 but in his second book, Chicago History of American Religion: Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform. An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) he revised the starting and ending dates to 1890-1920. The difference in the dating comes from his redefinition of awakening from a religious (as noted in his first book pp 7) to a more sociological and anthropological (his second book pp 7-11). McLoughlin also postulates that America was in the midst of a Fourth Awakening (1960s-1970s). (see his second book) If he is correct then the Fifth Awakening should occur in the latter part of the 1990s to early 2000s.

⁷⁵ William G. McLoughlin, Chicago History of American Religion: Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform. An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977. Chicago, 1978, pp 2.

group identity.

From the early 1800s, Cleveland Protestants have held revivals, ranging from local churches' revivals to community-wide revivals, e.g., revival of 1857 and the Moody-Sankey campaigns of 1877 and 1879.⁷⁶ Participation in these revivals was good and public reception was favorable. However, the years between 1900 and 1907, there was a general apathy toward revivals.⁷⁷ For example, Clevelanders, generally, ignored Reuben Torrey's 1906 campaign but warmly received his 1911 campaign.⁷⁸ Some argued the public apathy toward their immediate surrounding and lack of Christian unity caused Torrey's 1906 campaign to fail.⁷⁹

The community-wide revivals, held between 1908 and 1913, had three distinct characteristics. The sponsorship of these revivals was interdenominational. The main target group was generally men with a special emphasis on

⁷⁶Rose, Cleveland--The Making of a City. pp 283, 415 & 425.

⁷⁷P.D. April 4, 1911.

⁷⁸For 1906, "Cleveland's Young Men", Vol 21, # 7, November 1, 1906, pp 2. Found in YMCA, MSS 3547 WRHS. For 1911, Leader, Feb. 22, 1911, pp 6, April 21, 1911, pp 4 and April 22, 1911.

⁷⁹"Cleveland's Young Men", Vol 21, # 7, November 1, 1906. pp 2. Found in YMCA, MSS 3547, WRHS. A later view attributed the failure to inability of big city revivals to move churches to action. (Leader Feb. 22, 1911, pp 6)

businessmen. The revivals were a part of a national campaign or involved a specific Cleveland neighborhood.

The first revival was the 'Laymen Forward Movement of 1909'. This was the first of the two national revival movements that came to Cleveland during the period between 1908 and 1913. During the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, men's participation in Protestants' church life decreased. Churches tried to increase men's attendance by establishing men clubs similar to women clubs. However, this approach was not effective. Protestants' leaders decided new methods were needed to get men back into churches.⁸⁰ One method was the revival and in particular, the Laymen Forward Movement.⁸¹

Amid great publicity, the Laymen Forward Movement arrived in Cleveland on October 24, 1909.⁸² Cleveland was the second stop in the national campaign that began in Buffalo.⁸³ Coming from forty-seven towns within a hundred-mile radius of Cleveland, 1,441 men arrived to

⁸⁰Leader, Oct. 21, 1909, pp 5; Feb. 27, 1911, pp 4; March 3, 1911, pp 4. Although men, as a group, were not active in the church, they still held all the power positions in the local church. (e.g., pastor, members of the church board etc)

⁸¹Leader, July 11, 1908, pp 1; Sept. 14, 1909, pp 10; Oct. 11, 1909 pp 5; Oct. 18, 1909, pp 3.

⁸²Leader, October 25, 1909, pp 3.

⁸³Leader, October 25, 1909, pp 3.

attend the banquet and to listen to speakers who urged them to Christianize the world.³⁴ The speakers argued that it was good 'business' to give toward missionary work.³⁵ A check of the attendees showed that there were fifteen Protestant denominations represented along with the YMCA.³⁶

The 'Men and Religious Forward Movement', the second of the two national revivals, arrived in February 1912.³⁷ This movement had similar intentions to the 1909 Laymen Forward Movement. The program was similar. There was some disappointment expressed that the Federated Churches did not take a more active role in sponsoring this movement.³⁸ However, this movement had one difference from the 1909 Forward Movement. This movement marked the last time, theological conservatives, moderates and liberals "set aside their differences to promote evangelism, moral

³⁴ Leader, October 25, 1909, pp 3.

³⁵ Leader, October 21, 1909, pp 3.

³⁶ Leader, October 25, 1909, pp 3.

³⁷ Leader: June 18, 1911, Metro Section; July 22, 1911, pp 4; July 26, 1911, pp 4; August 11, 1911, pp 4; Oct. 25, 1911, pp 4; Feb. 7, 1912, pp 6.

³⁸ Leader, Oct. 25, 1911, pp 4.

reform, and social action."⁸⁹

The Chamber of Commerce was the common link between the Forward Movements, Federated Churches, and the Federation for Charities and Philanthropy. The organizers of these events and organizations were businessmen, elites and clergy who also were members of the Chamber of Commerce. An examination of the Committee on Arrangement of the 1909 Laymen Forward Movement revealed some notable Cleveland businessmen participated, for example, Frank Arter, Charles F. Laughlin, John L. Severance, and J.G. Jennings.⁹⁰ Each of these businessmen also participated in the establishment of the Federated Churches, Federation for Charities and Philanthropy and the 1913 Forward Movement.

Cleveland had a series of neighborhood-wide revivals between 1908 and 1913. The French Oliver's 1911 campaigns in the South End and East End neighborhoods of Cleveland drew the most attention. The South End of Cleveland was one of Cleveland's 'newer' neighborhood and was located between Broadway, (western border), Miles, (southern border), Union, (northern border), and E. 116th Street.

⁸⁹Gary Scott Smith "The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-12. New Perspectives on Evangelical Social Concern and the Relationship between Christianity and Progressivism", Modern American Protestantism and Its World. Volume 6. Protestantism and Social Christianity, Martin E. Marty, ed. New York, 1992, pp 192.

⁹⁰Leader, Oct. 22, 1909, pp 3.

(eastern border). Its residents were native-born and could walk to their work in the steel mills and foundries to the west. From January to March 1911, twelve churches joined to organize this revival and built a temporary 'tabernacle' in a lot at E. 93rd and Harvard. French Oliver was from Kansas City and a graduate of Moody Bible Institute.³¹ Previously, one or two churches would sponsor a revival. This revival had twelve churches from different denominations, with the Episcopalians choosing not to participate, as its sponsor. The revival's intention was to get the neighborhood totally involved in the life of the sponsoring churches. The twelve churches took a religious survey of the area and continually canvassed the area for any 'lost' soul who had not attend any of the revival sessions. Also, they canceled the Sunday evening services so that all could attend Oliver's services.³²

The East End neighborhood centered on Wade Park. This

³¹All four newspapers covered French Oliver's revivals with his South End campaign having more coverage than his East End campaign. Examples of press coverage are: Leader, Jan. 6, 1911, pp 6; P.D. Jan. 11, 1911, pp 2; Cleveland News, Feb. 10, 1911, pp 8; Cleveland Press, March 20, 1911, pp 13.

³²P.D. Jan. 3, 1911, pp 14. For an evaluation of the effectiveness of French Oliver's campaign by a participating church see "Minutes of Session, Miles Park Presbyterian Church, December 27, 1911" in Miles Park Presbyterian Church, WRHS, MSS 3642. Container 1. Miles Park was the one of the cooperating churches that sponsored the South End revival. Their conclusion about the effectiveness was "...large ingathering but few members..." (resulted).

area experienced massive growth in population and houses because of expansion of streetcar service into this area.³³ Similar to the South End revival, the East End revival took place between March and May. There were twenty-four cooperating churches as the revival sponsor. (The Lutherans and Episcopalians did not participate.) They dismantled, transferred, reconstructed and used the temporary tabernacle built for the South End revival in this revival. Also, possible for the first time, the sponsors provided parking spaces for automobiles and placed an advertisement in the local newspaper.³⁴

Like the Federal Council, community-wide revivals lost favor after 1914.³⁵ However, these revivals did cause Cleveland Protestants to take notice of urban issues and to begin to search for new solutions.³⁶ Cleveland

³³For the effect of streetcars on the development of the East Side and other areas of Cleveland see Leader, April 2, 1911, "Cosmopolitan" section pp 6.

³⁴ See Leader, March 13, 1911, pp 1, March 18, 1911, pp 4, March 24, 1911, pp 10.

³⁵Ahlstrom, pp 956-960 for the reasons behind the renewal of revivals in America during the post-World War II era. For role of Billy Graham in this renewal see William G. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney To Billy Graham, New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1959.

³⁶For example, see the comments made by the Reverend H.C. Hinds in Leader, Sept. 19, 1910 pp 5. Hinds argued that it was the 1910 Census which brought the need to federate to a critical stage. Hinds was not alone in his call. The lack of interest in revivals can also be seen in the failure of Billy Sunday to get the

Protestants decided the Federated Churches would be their solution to the social problems of the urban area.

Part V The Christian Federation of Cleveland

As noted above, one Federal Council's predecessor was the National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers, which held its inaugural meeting on February 5, 1901 at Philadelphia. Among the many participating agencies was one called 'The Federation of Christian Workers of Cleveland, Ohio'.³⁷ This organization's origins and goals are unknown but the presence of this organization suggests that an interest in federation efforts in certain areas existed in Cleveland.³⁸ After the Philadelphia meeting, advocates of the federation movement held other conferences in other cities. One location was at Columbus, Ohio where on April 9, 1901 advocates held a conference with the expressed purpose of organizing a federation of Ohio's churches. There were twenty-five delegates listed and two

Federated Churches to sponsor his campaign. Executive Committee Minutes of June 1, 1921, Container, 4, Folder 2, CCF MSS 3406.

³⁷Sanford, Origins and History...Federal Council...., pp 147.

³⁸A search of contemporary materials which included newspapers, magazine articles and denominational resources primarily conference or diocesan journals was made but no further references to this organization was found. The FCC's files mentions in passim an organization of parish workers (mainly women) but there was no direct connection between this organization and the federation.

were from Cleveland: The Reverend S. H. Bartlett, Disciples Church and The Reverend Samuel P. Spreng, Evangelical Association.⁹⁹ However, no further information was found.

The inchoate religious federation movement came to Cleveland when the work of the Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York was " . . . brought to the attention of several gentlemen of Cleveland"¹⁰⁰ In 1900 after a series of meetings, these gentlemen organized a provisional executive board. This board invited the Reverend Walter Laidlaw, Executive Secretary of the New York Federation to come and preach on the federation movement. Laidlaw accepted and arrived in Cleveland on October 1900. On October 7, he preached at Old Stone Church. On the morning of October 8, he spoke to the Cleveland Ministerial Association and Cleveland Council of Sociology. Finally, in the evening, he addressed a

⁹⁹ Sanford, Origins and History...Federal Council...., pp 153-156 & 451.

¹⁰⁰ Livingston Fewsmith, Christian Federation of Cleveland, November 1900, pp 13. This was prospectus which apparently was distributed prior to the initial mass organization meeting held in Jan. 1901. This prospectus was divided into two section: Part I, pages 2-12 was on the work of the New York City Federation; Part II, pages 13-19 contained arguments for organization of a similar organization, the proposed constitution and members of the provisional executive board. This prospectus was found among the papers of the Cleveland Area Church Federated Collection at Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, MSS 3406.

gathering of clergy and laymen at the Chamber of Commerce Library.¹⁰¹

At the Chamber of Commerce's meeting, the gathering asked the Provisional Executive Board to draft a constitution. The Board drafted a proposed constitution and submitted it for approval at a meeting held on October 16, 1900. The delegates, again, gathered at the Chamber of Commerce and passed the proposed constitution. Additionally, the delegates made an appeal for funds to a group of fifty-five "gentlemen who had already manifested more or less interest in 'Federation'."¹⁰² The delegates, also, hired Livingston Fewsmith to promote the work.¹⁰³

In January 1901, the Board mailed letters to the clergy of the city. The letter urged them to preach on the federation movement and to attend the meeting at the Central YMCA on the evening of January 29, 1901.¹⁰⁴ On January 29, 1901, a reported 100 clergy and lay delegates representing twenty denominations met and formally

¹⁰¹ Livingston Fewsmith, Christian Federation of Cleveland, November 1900, pp 15. Fewsmith was a Presbyterian and a member of Old Stone Church.

¹⁰² Livingston Fewsmith, Christian Federation of Cleveland, November 1900, pp 15-17.

¹⁰³ Livingston Fewsmith, Christian Federation of Cleveland, November 1900, pp 15-17.

¹⁰⁴ Leader, January 26, 1901, pp 7.

organized the 'Christian Federation of Cleveland'.¹⁰⁵ After this meeting, no further reports of activities by this group appear in the contemporary sources. The comments of the Reverend E.J. Lloyd, Saint Mark's Episcopal Church, suggested the level of public inactivity. The Reverend E.J. Lloyd, in his June 23, 1901's sermon on Christian Unity, stated: "I have given my personal approval of the well-intentioned scheme for federation of churches in this city though I hear nothing of it at the present time."¹⁰⁶

The Christian Federation of Cleveland's purpose was: "The object of the Federation is to bring organized Christian intelligence and love to bear upon the material, social, economic, civic and spiritual interests of the family life of our city, and through interdenominational conferences and cooperation to meet its every religious and moral needs."¹⁰⁷ This interdenominational intention meant

¹⁰⁵Leader, January 29, 1901, pp 10 and January 31, 1901, pp 10.

¹⁰⁶Leader, June 24, 1901, pp 3. Although the Rev. Lloyd was in favor of federation, his church's Men Club did not seem to be in favor of this idea. The members argued that there was too much federation in the country in particular between capital and labor; and federation was the curse of the country. (Leader, November 27, 1901).

¹⁰⁷Fewsmith, The Christian Federation...., pp 15. A comparison of this constitution and that of the FCC showed a marked change in Protestant's outlook on society. See below for further amplification of this point.

also involving the Roman Catholics and not only Protestants as it was in the past. Although not present, the delegates, at the January 1901 meeting, appointed Monsignor Thomas Thorpe as a member of the Administration Committee.¹⁰⁸

This organization had an important difference, which separated it from the Federated Churches. This organization was lay dominated while the Federated Churches attempted to have a balance of clergy and laymen. The Administrative Council had fifty members of which fourteen were clergy. The President of the Federation was a layman and six of the seven-member Executive Board was laymen. The Executive Secretary, Livingston Fewsmith, was also a layman. (The Federated Churches used clergy as its Executive Secretary.)

The Christian Federation and the Federated Churches did share one common element. Men that organized both organizations and participated in the decision making were among the Cleveland elites. The President was John G.W. Cowles, a prominent Cleveland financier and a member of the

¹⁰⁸Leader, January 29, 1901 pp 10. A check of Roman Catholic sources showed no evidence that Msgr Thorpe accepted this position. Msgr Thorpe seemed to be have had good relationships with various Protestant clergy as indicated in some news accounts which had him and Protestants speaking on ecumenical issues.

Congregational Church.¹⁰⁹ A member of the Provisional Board was Samuel Mather, prominent businessman and member of Trinity Cathedral vestry. Other members included Edwin C. Higbee, businessman and Frank A. Arter, a prominent realtor and a Methodist. There were educators like Charles F. Thwing, President of Western Reserve University, Henry E. Bourne, Professor of History, College of Women and Charles E. Benjamin, Professor of Engineering, Case School of Applied Science. The clergy on the Council were among the elites of Cleveland Protestants, for example: The Reverend George Morris, President of the Ministers Union and pastor of Euclid Avenue Methodist Church, the Reverend Harris R. Cooley, a Disciples minister and Director of the City Charities and Correction and The Reverend Paul F. Sutphen, pastor Second Presbyterian Church. To further the business connection, the Executive Director was Livingston Fewsmith who was an insurance agent and member of Old Stone Church and his office, in the Rose Building, was also the

¹⁰⁹ Interestingly enough, Cowles although a delegate and an influential member within the Congregational Church did not request any assistance or recognition from the Congregational Mission Society. In fact search of the various denominational records take no notice of this organization. The absence of any denominational formal recognition seemed to suggest that this organization had limited or no denominational support; was not much different than earlier Protestant voluntary societies.

headquarters of the Federation.¹¹⁰

With no noticeable impact and with no evidence of any programs started and finished, the Christian Federation faded into the past. Except the individual connections, the Christian Federation had no apparent connection to the FCC. There were tantalizing references that can found about a religious federation in Cleveland in the years before 1911, that is ". . . the city plan for ethical purposes, like New York, Hartford and Cleveland. . . ."

¹¹¹ Also, ". . . Federation of Church for common objects . . . already in existence in cities like . . . Cleveland" ¹¹² These were from the minutes of the Inter-Church Conference on Federation that met in New York on November 15 to 21, 1905.

Although there was no further information about this early religious federation effort, one can conclude that there was some incipient interest in the federation effort. However, new leadership, a different social climate and a

¹¹⁰ The above biographical information was taken from: Orth. Samuel. A History of Cleveland, Ohio, 3 Volumes, Cleveland, 1910, Volumes 2 and 3; City Directory for 1900-01; ECH and for Fewsmith see Ludlow Old Stone Church, The Story of a Hundred Years, 1820-1920, Cleveland, 1920.

¹¹¹ Sanford, Elias B. ed. Church Federation. Inter-Church Conference on Federation, New York, November 15-21, 1905. New York, 1906, pp 88.

¹¹² Sanford, Church Federation.... pp 322.

new organizational style would have to emerge before the religious federation movement could begin in Cleveland.

Part VI Cleveland Clergy

Was there much support among Cleveland clergy for a religious federation? The answer is unknowable. The clergy listed in the Christian Federation did not reflect the entire Cleveland clergy's feelings. Since social action was the reason for organizing a church federation, clergy's feelings on social action could provide a clue to how much support there was for a federation.

The Ministers' Association was the largest interdenominational group before the establishment of the Federated Churches.¹¹³ Like any professional organization, this association provided for fellowship and was a

¹¹³ "Any Minister in good standing or on special duty or retired, of any Protestant church in Cleveland and vicinity may become a member of the Union by the payment of an annual membership fee of 50 cent." Article I, Bylaws of the Cleveland Ministers' Union, found in Cleveland Area Church Federation, (hereafter CCF) MSS 3406, Container 11, Folder 2, WRHS. The materials on the Cleveland Ministers Association in the WRHS consist of two containers (10 and 11) which contains one ledger and miscellaneous information. The ledger begins with an entry dated March 11, 1907 and continues to June, 1945. The name of the organization was changed in 1915 to the Cleveland Pastors' Union. This organization was known by several names e.g. Ministers Union, Preachers Union etc. Also, this Association institutionalized the informal relationships that had been present since Cleveland had churches. The exact starting date of this organization was not discovered.

continuing forum for topical issues.¹¹⁴ Based on newspaper accounts, social action was not a major concern for Cleveland clergy until after 1909. On the second Monday of the month and from October to June, this Association would meet. A designated member or guest would read a paper on some topic of interest, which was generally theological. Then the members would discuss the paper.¹¹⁵

On November 1, 1909, the Association's Executive Committee announced the first draft of a new constitution that read in part: "The Committee is desirous of perfecting the organization of the union so that the Protestant churches of the city will be in a position to cooperate with other religious bodies in matters that concern the moral and ethical welfare of Cleveland."¹¹⁶

The Executive Committee's intention to strengthen this new direction was seen most clearly by its establishment of

¹¹⁴Activities usually included fellowship, prayer and reading of paper on some topical subject (generally theological in nature) or a guest speaker (like Washington Gladden or a visiting clergy or some person whose opinions that the clergy wanted to hear). Matters of general concerns were brought up in the business portion. This Association took stands on intemperance, Sabbath violations, Sunday baseball playing and municipal dance halls.

¹¹⁵See the Bylaws of Cleveland Ministers' Union, Article 5, CCF MSS 3406, Container 11, Folder 2. The reason for the second Monday was to avoid conflicts with denominational ministerial associations meetings which also met monthly on a Monday. Clergy's day off was usually on Monday hence its selection as a meeting day.

¹¹⁶Leader, November 2, 1909, pp. 10.

a "Social Betterment Committee" in December 1909.¹¹⁷

The task of the Social Betterment Committee was to investigate and then recommend a course of action on social issues. As in any Protestant voluntary organization, recommendation for action meant also the freedom to reject it. Membership in the Ministerial Association, like a Protestant voluntary organization, was voluntary and therefore those who disagreed with its position simply did not participate.¹¹⁸

The Ministers Association's turn toward a more social action orientation was the result of two changes within the Association. The first change was an openness to the idea

¹¹⁷Leader December 14, 1909, Section II, pp 8. The new chairman of this committee was the Reverend Nathaniel M. Pratt, pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church; and very active supporter of downtown churches changing with the times and becoming more of an institutional church. For Pratt's position on city churches see the PD December 20, 1908, PD Magazine, pp 4. Pratt had been mentioned as a possible candidate to become the FCC's first Executive Secretary.

¹¹⁸From the Cleveland Pastors' Union's ledger (CCF, Container 10, Folder 2) the number of paid members as of December, 1915 was 63 with 145 reported on Feb. 8, 1943; earlier membership figures were not available. If one compared the clergy members with the number of churches and assume one clergy per church then out of a potential 300 members (in 1915 there were approximately 300 Protestant churches [from inspection of the City Directory]) the Ministers Association had approximately 20% of potential clergy members. Judging from the various contemporary sources, the figure of 20% of potential clergy members seemed also to be valid for the period 1900-1915. However, on special occasions (for example a noted speaker like Washington Gladden) 100 or more clergy would be in attendance.

of federation efforts. In March 1908, the membership heard a brief summary of an Executive Committee's discussion on federation efforts. The membership voted to establish a special committee composed of equal numbers of clergy and lay men selected by their respective denominations to accomplish in ". . . union which we cannot do as individual."¹¹³ This committee reported no further action.

However, after this meeting and to the establishment of the FCC in 1911, the general discussion on Protestants' urban ministry included the church federation as part of the solutions. Charles F. Laughlin, President of the Methodist Union, argued that a federation was needed for an orderly establishment of churches in neighborhoods where there were no churches.¹¹⁴ The National Council of Congregational Churches, in October 1910, urged the establishment of federation for the sake of unity and efficiency.¹¹⁵ Representing the Interchurch Federation Council, L.H. Severance stated to the Ministers'

¹¹³From the Ledger of the Ministerial Association pp 37, found in the CCF, WRHS, Container 10, Folder 1.

¹¹⁴ Leader Feb. 8, 1910, pp 3. A task which the Comity Committee of the FCC would assume.

¹¹⁵ Leader Oct. 20, 1910, pp 12. A theme which is echoed in the first line of the FCC's Constitution.

Association in December 1910 that the necessity for a church federation is now.¹²² After L.H. Severance had spoken, the members ordered its Social Betterment Committee to draft a plan of federation.¹²³

Unlike 1908 that resulted in no action, the Social Betterment Committee acted with alacrity to organize an interdenominational committee of clergy and laymen. This committee continued to work until the establishment of the Federated Churches in June 1911.¹²⁴ To emphasize the need for a federation, the members elected the Reverend Nathaniel Pratt, Plymouth Congregational Church, as its President. Pratt had promised full support of the federation.¹²⁵

The second change was in the ranks of Cleveland clergy. In the Roman Catholic Church, the power to transfer clergy rests with the Diocesan Bishop or Head of a religious order. Protestant clergy's employment practice varies denominationally. Some, like Episcopal rectors, have tenure. Others, like Methodist pastors, have a fixed pastorate. Some, like the Baptists, retain their

¹²² Leader, December 31, 1910, pp 4.

¹²³ Leader, December 31, 1910, pp 4.

¹²⁴ Ledger of the Ministerial Association Jan. 9, 1911, found in the CCF, WRHS, Container 10, Folder 1

¹²⁵ Leader, January 10, 1911, pp 4.

positions provided the congregation continues their support. Thus, in an interdenominational ministerial association, changes in leadership and direction can occur within a short period. Cleveland clergy had a reputation for having short pastorates, which also caused a turnover in clergy membership.¹²⁵

In looking at the clergy leadership of the Federated Churches, one notices that newcomers had some very prominent roles. The first President of the FCC was the Very Reverend Frank DuMoulin, Dean of Trinity Cathedral, who had returned to Cleveland in 1907 to become the Dean.¹²⁷ The second President of the FCC was the Reverend Worth M. Tippy, pastor of Epworth Memorial Methodist, who arrived in 1905.¹²⁸ Also, the Ministerial Association had

¹²⁵See Leader, August 24, 1910, pp 1 and January 6, 1912, pp 4.

¹²⁷DuMoulin was born in Montreal, July 9, 1870, the rector of Emmanuel Church from 1897-99; moved to Chicago; and returned to Cleveland in 1907 to become the Dean of Trinity Cathedral. In 1914, DuMoulin became Bishop Coadjutor (a bishop with rights of succession--usually elected in anticipation of the retirement or resignation of the Diocesan Bishop) and moved to Toledo. He was active also in the organization of the FCP. See the article on him in the ECH pp 350 and Smythe, pp 458.

¹²⁸From his entry in Who Was Who in America, 1962. Tippy was one of the more nationally recognized among Cleveland clergy. He born November 8, 1866, graduated from DePauw University in 1891; came to Cleveland from Broadway Church, Indianapolis in 1905; was one of the founders of the Methodist for Social Service (1907); also helped in the organization of the FCP; and after leaving Cleveland in 1915 became executive secretary of the Commission on

social action minded clergy, for example, the Reverend Dan F. Bradley, pastor of Pilgrim Congregational Church and the Reverend Andrew B. Meldrum, pastor of Old Stone Presbyterian. It was the combination of the new with the social action minded clergy that directed the Ministers Association toward a more social action position.

Part VII Federated Churches of Cleveland

On June 12, 1911, one hundred and seven delegates, representing sixty-seven churches, gathered at downtown Old Stone Presbyterian Church and organized the Federated Churches of Cleveland.¹²³ At this meeting, Judge F. Henry proclaimed: "Never have the religious bodies of Cleveland come together with one voice with such united purpose and enthusiasm."¹³⁰ Despite all of this enthusiasm, the FCC experienced two years of growing pains. At the first meeting, the delegates gave the issue of finance to the Finance Committee. However, the organizers had hoped that member churches and laymen would immediately contribute

Church and Social Service, Federal Council. See also Donald K Gorrell, The Age of Social Responsibility. The Social Gospel in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920, Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1988. Gorrell mentions Tippy in several contexts.

¹²³Container 1, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

¹³⁰Leader, June 12, 1911, pp 1. The four Cleveland newspapers covered this event with the Leader and P.D. having the 'best' coverage.

some money.¹³¹ The FCC did not have an office space until May 1912 and did not hire an Executive Director until 1912 because of the lack of funds.¹³² Despite this lack of funds, the FCC organized itself in religious work, comity and social betterment using volunteers as its staff.

With the organization of the Federated Churches and the Federation Charities and Philanthropy in 1913, the religious and benevolent orders were now federated. The organizers had hoped the Protestants would now be organized for an effective presence in social issues. However, the Federated Churches did not meet all of Cleveland

¹³¹Wright in his two books does not detail the source of the FCC's initial funding but the financial report given at the 3rd Annual Meeting (April 30, 1914) gives us some insight into the source of the FCC's funds. The goal for 1913-14 was to raise \$6,000 of which \$4,500 would be from individual gifts and the remainder from member churches. The FCC had attained its financial goals with 401 individuals giving \$4,803.06 and 88 churches giving \$1,170.16. As in all Protestant voluntary agencies, FCC did not imposed membership dues but rather requested donations. (Container 1, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406 WRHS)

¹³² For announcement of the FCC's rental of space see Leader, Feb. 1, 1912, pp 10, Feb. 2, 1912, pp 6. For announcement of the FCC moving into the Schofield Building see Leader, April 27, 1912, pp 6. The FCC has used several office sites. After the Schofield Building, it was the Hippodrome Building, then Euclid Avenue Baptist Church and finally into its present site on Euclid and E. 22 Ave. For announcement of Wright accepting the position of Executive Secretary see Leader, April 13, 1912, pp 6. For news about FCC's struggles to get funds see Leader April 19, 1912, pp. 8. The laity were urged to contributed to the FCC because it was good 'business' sense to do so.

Protestants' expectations.¹³³

America and Cleveland of the 1900s were no longer agrarian communities. The voluntaristic small town model of churchmanship was no longer applicable to the Twentieth Century church. The Federated Churches' members were different from the voluntary society and the Federal Council. The voluntary society members were individuals gathered around a single issue. The Federal Council members were the denominations gathered for organizational action on social issues. The Federated Churches members were the local churches gathered for action on social issues, comity and the 'foreign problem'.¹³⁴

Part VIII Chamber of Commerce and Federated Churches

In a voluntary society, the organizational structure was simple. There was a Board of Directors and dedicated staff (paid or volunteers) who carried out the work.

¹³³This point was inspired by John Abernathy Smith in his study on the Federal Council. ("Ecclesiastical Politics and the Founding of the Federal Council of Churches" Church History Vol. 43 No. 3 September 1974, pps 353-365) Smith noted that the 'heyday' of denominational assemblies was in 1880s thus to argue that denominational assemblies help to create the Federal Council seemed to be illogical since in the 1900s their abilities to affect any changes had diminished.

¹³⁴"Federated Churches of Cleveland", typeset, author unknown; found in Folder 1, Container 1, CCF MSS 3406 WRHS. Also see the Constitution of the Federated Churches, Folder 1, Container 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

However, the church federation had particular organizational problems. The organizers of the church federation mandated the organization to lead Protestants' efforts in social reform movements along with other tasks. A voluntary society's organizational structure could not manage complex social issues nor could it lead a diverse group. A voluntary society normally was not concerned about denominational differences because its focus was on one issue. However, the church federation had to be aware of denominational differences because it had to advise denominations on social issues.

Therefore, there was no previous organization model for a church federation to copy. Since the organizers were familiar with the Chamber of Commerce, it was appropriate that the Federated Churches of Cleveland modeled its organizational structure after the Chamber of Commerce. The Reverend Edward R. Wright, the FCC's first Executive Secretary and Religious Editor of the Leader, then later the Cleveland Press, noted that the FCC did not have an organizational model to follow.¹³⁵

The Chamber of Commerce addressed various social issues through special committees. These committees investigate the particular issue and recommend action to

¹³⁵Edward R. Wright, The Federated Churches of Cleveland--A Five Years' Resume, Cleveland: The Premier Press, 1917, pp 5.

the appropriate committees or to the Executive Committee or to the general membership at the annual meeting. Examples of these special committees' works included charities registration, honest weights, smoke abatement and the Tenement Committee that investigated housing problems.¹³⁶

The Federated Churches followed the Chamber of Commerce's organizational structure when it established the following standing committees: Executive, Nomination, Religious Work, Social Betterment, Finance and Comity.¹³⁷

Each of these committees, except Comity, had a counterpart in the Chamber of Commerce.¹³⁸ The FCC's president, as did the president of the Chamber of Commerce, served only for one year could not serve consecutive terms.¹³⁹

The Religious Work and Social Betterment Committees' duties included the investigation of the religious and

¹³⁶The Chamber of Commerce Annual Report contained brief summaries of each committees' works; and the papers of the Chamber of Commerce contained in detail the various committees's work.

¹³⁷CCF, Container 1, Folder 1, MSS 3406, WRHS.

¹³⁸See the comments of the Social Betterment Committee, June 25, 1912's Minutes (CCF, MSS 3406, Container 9 Folder 6).

¹³⁹A list of FCC's Presidents from 1911 to 1957 can be found in Container 27, Folder 7 (duplicate list in Folder 8), CCF MSS 3406). The FCC's presidents were normally clergy (30 out of 45 presidents). In the reorganization period (1930-42), Mr. H. K. Carpenter, Church of the Savior (Methodist) served two terms (1939-41) He was only one to do so.

social problems of the day. This meant, annually, these committees would review issues that affected Cleveland and Protestants. Subcommittees would investigate these issues.¹⁴⁰ The Executive Committee, as in many organizations, supervised the daily operations between annual meetings. The purpose of these committees was "to raise its voice instantly in questions."¹⁴¹ The FCC's standing committees were completed with the establishment of the Educational Committee in 1913. The Educational Committee's original purpose was to continue the work of the Religious Education Association Conference, held in Cleveland, March 11-13, 1913.¹⁴²

There were no objections to using the Chamber of Commerce's organizational model. Some churches, on a smaller scale, had adapted it for their own use, for

¹⁴⁰For example, the Social Betterment Committee had in 1914 subcommittees on Eugenics (to look into the issue of handicapped or others so impaired from marrying), coordination with the Associated Charities, Vice, Motion Pictures and 5 others. In 1915, Relationship of City's Social Institution to Church, Vigilance (a committee to monitor the city's situation in order to report any potential problem areas) and Cleveland Welfare Council were added with employment being omitted thus making a total of 9 subcommittees. (Minutes of the Social Betterment Committee, May 14, 1914 and May 13, 1915 minutes, CCF MSS 3406, Container 9, Folder 6)

¹⁴¹Cleveland News June 13, 1911, pp 2. See also Leader, May 27, 1912, pp 6 for more comments on FCC use of committees to do its work.

¹⁴²Leader, March 28, 1913.

example Epworth Memorial Church's Men Club.¹⁴³ Although the Chamber of Commerce was ostensibly a businessmen organization, clergy were also members of this organization.¹⁴⁴ Clergy, as a member of a business organization, should be no surprise in an era that urged clergy to be good businessmen.¹⁴⁵

Judge Frederick A. Henry (the third FCC President) made the connection between the Chamber of Commerce and the Federated Churches explicit. Judge Henry addressed the organizing session on June 12, 1911 and stated: "This organization should parallel the Chamber of Commerce . . . organized to further the commercial interests of the city."¹⁴⁶ The meaning of Judge Henry's words was clear.

¹⁴³Leader May 13, 1909, pp 3.

¹⁴⁴See Leader, August 8, 1909, Worker's Magazine, pp 4 and P.D. July 15, 1908, pp 1.

¹⁴⁵For examples see P.D. March 7, 1909, PD Magazine Page 2, September 19, 1908. The article, in the Leader, Sept. 18, 1909, pp 3, reported Methodist Bishop Anderson told the North Ohio Conference that success in the ministry was related to the adoption of business methods by the pastors. Christian F. Reisner, speaking to the Cleveland District, Methodist Northeast Ohio meeting, argued that pastor should be a "general manager" as well as a preacher. (Leader June 10, 1913, pp 2)

¹⁴⁶Epworth Outlook, June 23, 1911. Epworth Outlook was the parish newspaper of Epworth Methodist Church and was the leading Social Gospel newspaper in Cleveland. Epworth Outlook was published weekly; and its contents contains some Epworth Church's news but also contains much commentary on the various social issues

He meant the FCC was the moral force of Cleveland. The Federated Churches should now eliminate the immoral forces that hinder business.¹⁴⁷ This theme of the FCC as a moral force was in the description of a 'business organization' that would help civic betterment in a practical way.¹⁴⁸

Some credited the Chamber of Commerce as the organization that led the change in social conditions. This change then made the Federated Churches possible, i.e., by its leadership in social reforms it helped to unify people, which gave the churches an example to follow.¹⁴⁹ The Chamber of Commerce's members were active in the Federated Churches as delegates or members of its committees. Charles E. Adams, the FCC's first treasurer, was the noted example of this connection and was the 1911

of the day. The parallel between the Chamber of Commerce and the FCC was also noted in P.D. June 13, 1911, pp 2.

¹⁴⁷For example, see the preamble to its report on vice conditions in Cleveland. CCF Container 2, Folder 2, MSS 3406, WRHS.

¹⁴⁸ P.D. June 5, 1911.

¹⁴⁹P.D. April 4, 1911 quoted Augustus Nash, an YMCA official, who also noted that 6 years ago the FCC would not be possible. This article also quoted the Reverend W.W. Bustard (Euclid Avenue Baptist Church) as saying Cleveland was 'spiritual barren' 6 years ago but the work of 'Moody and Torrey' (i.e. revivals) had worked to raise the spiritual life of Cleveland.

Chamber of Commerce President.¹⁵⁰

During the first year, some individuals would stress the Chamber of Commerce's efficiency and how the FCC was attempting to follow its example. The Executive Committee noted that they had hope the FCC would do its work like the Chamber of Commerce.¹⁵¹ Later, the Federated Churches announced, via Wright's newspaper column, that the FCC conducted its work through committees just like the Chamber of Commerce.¹⁵²

Part IX Conclusion

Mark A. Noll has argued that the years between 1865 and 1918 were the last years of 'Protestant America', i.e., the end of Protestantism as the dominant American

¹⁵⁰ Edward R. Wright, The Federated Churches of Cleveland: A Ten Years' Resume, Cleveland, 1922, pp 116. See the P.D. April 13, 1911 for a notice of Adams' election as President of the Chamber of Commerce. The President of the Chamber of Commerce served a year term. Another connection to the Chamber was the clergy who were members e.g. Worthy M. Tippy (The Church A Community Force, New York, 1914, pp 14.) being the most notable.

¹⁵¹ Leader, September 28, 1911, pp 4.

¹⁵² Leader, May 27, 1912, pp 6.

religion.¹⁵³ However, the Federated Churches' organizers would have disputed Noll's argument. The organizers believed that they had the organization through which Protestantism would maintain its social and cultural influential position. Martin Marty has argued the Federal Council's presence, in Protestantism, is the institutionalization of the 'public church', i.e., ". . . churches, which are especially sensitive to the *res publica*"¹⁵⁴ However, Protestants, despite differences in theology, have been sensitive to the 'res publica' or the public order. The question was: How should the Protestants engage the social order? Some Protestants felt the churches' role should be to promote the common good. These Protestants directed the Federated Churches toward this role because " . . . (churches) can accomplish more in promoting social movements." ¹⁵⁵

The organizers believed that the Federated Churches

¹⁵³A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada, Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992, pp 286-311.

¹⁵⁴The Public Church, New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1981, pp 1.

¹⁵⁵Wright, The Federated Churches of Cleveland--A Five Years' Resume, pp 28. A similar sentiment can also be found in Worth M. Tippy, The Church as Community Force. A Story of the Development of the Community Relations of Epworth Memorial Church, Cleveland, Ohio. New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1914.

represented the same efforts as the Federation of Charities and Philanthropy did for the benevolent order. The organizers further believed the Federated Churches would be one of many social organizations established in an orderly and efficient manner. The organizers wrote their belief into the Federated Churches' Constitution: "Policy: To the largest possible use consistent with efficiency to use established organizations."¹³⁶

However, the question was how efficient was the local church? The Federated Churches' membership was the local church and its success depended upon the local church. This question led the Cleveland News to run a series on the question of "Is the church efficient or inefficient?"¹³⁷ The Cleveland News printed the comments of the leading clergy and laymen. All agreed that there were some difficulties but the church was still stronger than ever.

In 1907, Walter Rauschenbusch wrote Christianity and the Social Crisis. Rauschenbusch argued the Church, one of the most potent institutions, had lost its way and was not addressing the social revolution in America. Rauschenbusch, also, argued ". . . the Christian Church in

¹³⁶Article I--Purpose. Container 1, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

¹³⁷The weekly series began with an introduction on February 8, 1911 and ended with a series of readers' letters in March, 1911.

America has not begun to arrive at any solid convictions or permanent basis of action."¹³³ In 1911, Cleveland Protestants partially answered Rauschenbusch by organizing the Federated Churches but did not arrive at any 'solid convictions'.

¹³³cited in Sydney Ahlstrom, Theology in America. The Major Voices From Puritanism to Neo-Orthodoxy, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., pp 535.