## CHAPTER V: TOWARD A NEW FUTURE.

## INTRODUCTION

Protestants faced the 'social crisis' that Rauschenbush had described. However, the 'social crisis' of 1907 continued past 1911 and into today. Between 1911 and 1920, while the Federated Churches was organizing itself, America underwent a transformation. Henry F. May called these nine years the time that America lost her 'innocence'. Robert Wiebe argued in these nine years a new social order emerged. In these nine years, the Social Gospel Movement ended.

During these nine years, the religious federation movement experienced some difficulties. Nationally, the Federal Churches developed and grew in influence. Other state and local religious federations struggled and some simply stopped working. In Cleveland, the Federated Churches, also, developed but not in influence. There were

The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Times: 1912-1917, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.,1959.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The Search for Order, 1877-1920, New York: Hill & Wang, 1967.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The Search for Order, 1877-1920, New York: Hill & Wang, 1967. For an example of dating the Progressive Era see Donald K. Gorrell, The Age of Social Responsibility. The Social Gospel in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Douglass, H. Paul, <u>Protestant Cooperation in American Cities</u>, New York: Institute and Religious Research, 1930, Introduction.

many Protestants that did not believe in the federation approach to social reforms.

This chapter describes the Federated Churches of Cleveland's activities and organizational structure from 1911 to 1940. This chapter argues that the original organizational structure was inadequate to meet the challenges of pluralism and secularization. World War One produced a feeling of solidarity among Cleveland Protestants but in the postwar era, this solidarity did not last. One reason was the Fundamentalists and Modernists debates divided Protestants into two general camps.

An expanding pluralistic society challenged the Federated Churches. Before 1920, the Federated Churches' membership was, generally, male and white. After 1920, the Federated Churches struggled to incorporate African-Americans into its organizational structure. The original structure was unable to adequately meet the problems and issues concerning the African-American community. Thus, the Federated Churches started a reorganization plan to incorporate African-Americans into its programs and to address their concerns and needs.

Women have been dominating in Protestants' churches since the 1870s. However, women's role in the Protestant's churches was using through an auxiliary or their own group. However, the women's organization in the Federated

Churches was not an auxiliary. They had their own organization complete with staff and officers. This organization foreshadowed 'departments' in the Federated Churches. A department differs from a committee in that the department allowed for continual participation in a given issue.

PART I "The Great Crusade" and Protestants in the 1920s.

No other Twentieth Century war, except the Vietnam War of the 1960s and 1970s, has had more profound influence upon Protestants than World War I. The Vietnam War divided Protestantism along denominational lines and divided denominations internally. World War One united the Protestant denominations (with the exceptions of Friends and some smaller Protestants' denominations) into the 'Great Crusade'

World War I, from a Protestant point of view, was an extension of efforts made in the Spanish American War (April 19 to August 12, 1898). During this short war, American churches turned the war into a crusade and made imperialism into 'a missionary obligation'. The Reverend H.C. Hayden, pastor of Old Stone Church, argued "God threw

Ahlstrom, pp 880-894.

Ahlstrom, pp 879.

the Philippines at our feet. What were we to do?" $^{7}$ 

Before their involvement in World War I, Cleveland Protestants, like many American Protestants, participated in the peace movement. Cleveland Peace Society, organized in 1910, had some notable members who also were active in the Federated Churches of Cleveland.

After the United States entered World War I, Protestants discarded the peace movement for active involvement in the home front war efforts. The Federated Churches proved it could coordinate and lead groups. The Federated Churches led bond rallies and conducted prayer services. The FCC urged clergy to give patriotic sermons. The FCC, also, participated in the move to prohibit the manufacturing of liquor because liquor used

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$ <u>Leader</u>, Dec. 1, 1899. Rev. Haydn's sermon was called "a masterpiece of patriotic utterance" by the reporter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>See <u>Leader</u>, December 6, 1910, pp 10. The Cleveland Peace society was associated with the International Peace Society; and some of its members included the Rev. Thomas S. McWilliams, Calvary Presbyterian Church, Dr. Charles Thwing, President Western Reserve University and organizer of the FCC's educational committee; and the Rev. William W. Bustard, pastor of Euclid Avenue Baptist Church.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Minutes of the Executive Committee", May 28 and June 2, 1916, Folder 1, Container 4, CCF, MSS 3406, WRHS.

Democracy". "Church in Time of War, Plans and Activities of the Committees of the Federated Churches of Cleveland", Seventh Annual Meeting, April 30, 1918, Folder 2, Container 2, CCF, MSS 3406, WRHS.

grains that could 'feed seven million for a year'. "

For the Federated Churches, World War I was the great moral crusade. The war effort depended upon the churches because "Winning of the War depends on no small measure upon the maintenance of a high spiritual and moral tone at home." Federated Churches adopted an eight-district plan, where an 'institutional church' would be the 'anchor'. The institutional church would have smaller units headed by 'foreign-speaking' pastors who would assist to "Americanize the foreign-born population."

The Federated Churches of Cleveland participated with vigor in the war effort but simultaneously also recognized the nature of its constituency. From the beginning of the Ohio Canal in 1825, Cleveland Protestants denominations, whose membership and origins were German, most notably the Lutherans and Evangelical Church. In 1918, the Chamber of Commerce sent a letter that requested the FCC's full support of President Wilson's actions. However, as it had noted, one-third of its member churches were pro-German so the FCC remained neutral and forwarded

The 7th Annual Meeting of the FCC, April 30, 1918. CCF MSS 3406 Container 2, Folder 2.

Executive Committee's Sub-committee on Evangelism, May 31, 1918, Container 4 Folder 2, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

i3 Executive Committee's Sub-committee on Evangelism, May 31,
1918, Container 4 Folder 2, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

the letter to its member churches without comment. The FCC requested each church to take individual action on this matter. This concern for the German denomination's constituency continued throughout World War I.

The Protestant war effort produced a sense of unity and a spirit of cooperation among Protestants. After World War I Protestants believed the time was right to push for the conversion of all unbelievers within a generation. To accomplish this conversion required money, which would be an easy task if Protestants continued their sense of unity and cooperative spirit.

Protestants began a massive campaign drive, eventually, had the lofty aim of raising a billion dollars for "money, men and spiritual revival." <sup>16</sup> This campaign, which became known as the 'Interchurch World Movement', began in 1918 and ceased in 1920. Between 1919 and 1920, there was a series of labor disputes, which the United States Steel's strike of 1919 was among the largest. The Interchurch World Movement studied the situation and

<sup>14</sup>Minutes of the Executive Committee, March 8, 1917, Container
4, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

Ahlstrom, pp 897.

Ahlstrom, pp 897.

Ahlstrom, pp 897.

reported in favor of the strikers. The Interchurch World Movement's report caused a furor, which led to donors withdrawing their pledges. Also, the rise of denominationalism and changes in American society doomed the Interchurch World Movement.

Secularly, the 1920s was the era of the flappers and probably was a "roaring" decade. For the Protestant churches, this decade was a 'depression'. Between 1880 and 1910, individuals offered themselves for service in the foreign and domestic missions. In the 1920s, the number of individuals volunteering for service decreased markedly. Churches were not growing as fast as the early 1900s and attendance figures were down. Some local federations closed because interest in the federation movement waned.

The Federated Churches of Cleveland did not formally

Donald Meyer, The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919-1941, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1960, pp 58. Meyers' study focus upon the three centers of power: labor, capital and church in which certain ministers focused their attention upon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Ahlstrom, pp 898.

Ahlstrom, pp 898. Donald Meyer, The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919-1941, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1960. pp 58.

Robert T. Handy, "The American Religious Depression 1925-35" Church History Vol. XXIX no. 1 March 1960. pp 2-16.

H. Paul Douglass, <u>Protestant Cooperation in American Cities</u>.

New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930.

endorse the Interchurch World Movement and search of its records did not show any particular feelings toward this movement. The 1920s was not a 'depression' for the FCC. The FCC moved from an active leadership to supporting churches' activities. For example, the FCC produced several surveys which local churches used to focus on social problems and issues.

Shortly after it was established, the Federated Churches of Cleveland attempted to "harmonizing evangelism with social services because an "evangelistic church can more effectively preach a social gospel than one unduly dominated by the social spirit." World War I had halted this effort. In the postwar era, the FCC attempted to continue its effort in harmonization. However, the FCC did succeed because in the 1920s, the Fundamentalists' controversy divided Protestantism into two camps. The Fundamentalists argued that social reform began with individual conversion but the Modernists argued social

<sup>23</sup> Some survey titles included: "Protestantism the Growth of Cleveland" (1929); "Facts about the Colored Population, Feb. 1924". These study were done by John Prucha. (Folder 3, Container 32, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS) There were other studies done on vice, church planning and immigrants. The FCC continued beyond the 1920s to produce a number of studies especially under the supervision of Howard Whipple Green.

 $<sup>^{24}\</sup>mbox{Religious Work Committee's notes, Container 1, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406 WRHS.$ 

reform was necessary to save the individual.<sup>25</sup> The FCC experienced this controversy through the refusal of certain churches and denominations to join.<sup>26</sup> By 1930, there were several groups within Protestantism, of which the FCC was in the "liberal" camp.<sup>27</sup>

PART II African-Americans, 1915-1930

A Protestant voluntary agency's members usually shared

The Fundamentalists' argument had been 'simmering' for decades and World War I produced a temporary truce. This argument affected Protestant denominations in different ways. For further information: For Presbyterians: Bradley J. Longfield, The Presbyterian Controversy, Fundamentalists, Modernists and Moderates, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. For background: 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. For Women: Janette Hassey, No Time for Silence. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Academie Books, 1986.

Church (now a part of The Evangelical Friends Church, Eastern Region) which is largest in Cleveland of a Protestant denomination commonly called Quakers. These Friends are more evangelical (Ninetieth Century sense of the word) than those from Philadelphia which means a strong conversion experience plus a covenant agreement must be sign prior to joining; and these Friends normally do not have formal relationships with those Protestants not in agreement with their covenantal agreement (like the FCC which had no formal theological doctrine). The Friends also joined the National Association of Evangelicals when it was organized. (For the Friends see Faith and Practice—the Book of Discipline,

The rise of liberalism in Protestantism is discussed in Paul A Carter. The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1954.

similar economic and social background. The abolitionist societies, particularly those church related, had African-Americans as members but, generally, the membership was white and upper class. The African-Americans' entry into the Federated Churches was not without delay. Twenty years passed until African-Americans became an integral part of the Federated Churches.

Between 1910s and 1920s, African-Americans moved into the Northern cities from the South. However, African-Americans, almost from the beginning, lived in Cleveland. George Peake arrived in 1809 and established a mill. John Malvin was one of First Baptist Church's founders. While Cleveland African-American community grew, some became a part of the social elites like Charles W. Chesnutt.

Louise Venable Kennedy, <u>The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward</u>, New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Reprinted by AMS Edition, NY 1968.

Russell H Davis, <u>Black Americans in Cleveland</u>, Washington D.C., 1972, is valuable for the period between 1796 to 1870.

<sup>30</sup>ECH pp 654 and "Journal of Benjamin Rouse, 1801-37" ADELLA PRENTISS HUGHES, MSS 2980, Container 9, WRHS.

Willard B. Gatewood, <u>Aristocrats of Color</u>, <u>The Black Elite</u>, <u>1880-1920</u>, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990. Gatewood studies Cleveland as a part of his larger study on African-American elites. Russell, <u>Black Americans in Cleveland</u>, also mentions the cordiality between races until the growth of the African-American community and changes in social attitudes altered this relationship.

African-Americans worshiped with whites or, beginning with St. John African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, in African-American churches. On August 6, 1912 in his newspaper column, the Reverend Edward R. Wright, FCC first Executive Secretary, took note of the African-American community growth and its growing religious needs. Also, Wright recorded an accusation which charged Protestants were favoring immigrant work and neglecting the African-Americans' needs. 33

At its organizing meeting, the Federated Churches of Cleveland had no African-Americans' participation. The FCC's first major interaction with the growing African-American community was through its Comity Committee. On July 2, 1918, the Reverend J.S. Jackson, pastor of St. John AME, reported to this Committee that the "colored district" was most congested. Jackson, also, reported the need for housing and the need to plan for new churches. Jackson argued for new churches so that the already established

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>For more information see Russell H. Davis, <u>Black Americans</u> in <u>Cleveland</u>; ECH, pp 855. St. John AME also shared the same difficulties as Trinity Episcopal and Old Stone Presbyterians in establishing itself. The difference between the three was St. John's difficulties continued well into the Twentieth Century.

<sup>33</sup> Leader August 6, 1912, pp 6. The Reverend H.C. Bailey.
Antioch Baptist Church made the charge.

churches would not be 'seriously embarrassed'. However, World War I related activities preoccupied the Federated Churches' time. Thus, the FCC took no formal action on the question of establishing new churches until after World War I.

The Comity Committee investigated the African-American community and released its findings on May 19, 1921. 33 This investigation noted the rapid growth of population and churches. (from fifteen churches before 1918 to thirty-seven plus in 1920 with twenty-two organized just in 1919 alone) The Committee recommended that certain churches be consolidated. Also, they recommended that denominational city mission societies develop appropriate programs and that no solicitation for funds be honored unless endorsed by the FCC. 36 The rapid growth of the African-American community caused the Comity Committee to revise its recommendations and study. A new report was announced in

<sup>34</sup>Folder 2, Container 7, CCF MSS 3406.

<sup>35</sup>The report, "Investigation in Negro Situation for Comity Committee" is to be found in Container 21, Folder 3; and the publication date is to be found in Container 7, Folder 2 (Minutes of the Comity Committee), CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

<sup>36&</sup>quot;Investigation in Negro Situation for Comity Committee", Container 21. Folder 3, 12th paragraph. CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

February 1924.<sup>37</sup> This new report noted that sixty-nine African-Americans' churches (of which thirty-six were labeled 'storefront') were now in Cleveland and that most of these were either Baptists or Methodists.

Between 1924 and 1925, the Federated Churches took formal measures to incorporate African-Americans into its activities. The FCC organized an "Interracial Committee" in 1924. The Committee's mandate was to maintain contact with conditions affecting the African-American community; to "promote high standards of law enforcement" and to promote friendly relationships through pulpit exchange and church visitations. Also, the Committee was to encourage "colored pastors" and sponsor occasional conferences on some aspect of the interracial problem. However, the Interracial Committee was not very active in the FCC and became dormant during the 1930s.

<sup>37&</sup>quot;Facts about the Colored Population, Feb. 1924" Container 32, Folder 3, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS. The author of the study was John Prucha who would do a number of studies for the FCC (e.g. on vice conditions, Protestants of Cleveland). Many of his studies are to be found in this container.

<sup>38</sup> See the "Reports of the Annual Meeting for 1924 and 1925, Container 2, Folder 3, CCF 3406, WRHS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Minutes of the Executive Committee Oct. 8, 1924. Container 4 Folder 3, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS. Also the Minutes for May 1, 1924, December 10, 1924.

<sup>\*</sup>See the Minutes of the InterRacial Committee, Container 8 Folder 7, CCF MSS 3406. There were no references to any actions by this committee after 1930; and a check of the Comity and Social

lack of committee activity on interracial The questions suggests that the Federated Churches abandoned African-Americans' concerns. One plausible explanation, for this lack of activity, is that the events of the day simply overwhelmed the abilities of the FCC to respond. In the pre-Depression era, the FCC had limited staffing. The Executive Secretary and some office staff (secretary, clerk) did the daily work. Volunteers conducted the investigations into issues and did the various committee Like many other private social agencies, the FCC work. struggled financially during the Depression. However, the FCC, by 1934, recovered sufficiently to increase the 1935 budget by \$2,600. The FCC also came through the Depression in better financial condition.

However plausible the above explanation may seem, the difficulties rested in the limitation of the traditional Protestant voluntary agency. The one issue approach could not adequately address the concerns of the growing African-American community. The FCC began its relationship with the Protestant traditional method of upholding the local

Action Committees' minutes also shows no activity by either of these three committees in area of interracial relations.

Minutes of the Executive Committee, December 17, 1934, CCF, MSS 3406, Container 4, Folder 5. The Committee requested (it was approved by the Annual Meeting) a 1935 budget of \$14,600 which included \$3,000 reserved for Religious Education Staff Director's salary.

congregation, i.e., the local congregation as the locus of social action. Therefore, the Comity Committee had 'jurisdiction' because it was responsible for effective church extension. However, as its two reports on the African-American communities showed, the Comity Committee and the FCC grew to realize the need for direct social action. The FCC acknowledged this reality when it transferred the Interracial Committee to the Social Betterment Committee in 1926.

This transfer did not accomplish what the Federated Churches wanted, i.e., a more effective interracial program. The FCC committee system was ill-equipped to help a community with issues, concerns and needs that did not fall into one committee's area. This community's problems and issues ran throughout all of the Federated Churches' committees' area of responsibility. The need was for an organizational structure that could effectively coordinate the FCC's African-American programs and its response to complex social issues.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>See Minutes of the Comity Committee Nov. 9, 1926, Container 4 Folder 4, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS. Originally the Interracial Committee was the joint responsibility of the Comity and Social Betterment Committees but in reality, the Comity Committee supervised much of this committee's work. See Comity Committee May, 1, 1924, Container 4 Folder 3, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

PART III Women and the Federated Churches of Cleveland, 1910-1940

Women were not a part of the Federated Churches of Cleveland until 1920. However the lack of women's participation in the FCC did not mean they did not participate in federation-type programs or interdenominational programs.

As American Protestantism attempted to Christianize American social order and the world, women's the denominational domestic and foreign mission societies contributed time, money and efforts toward the realization of a Christianized America and the world. Some examples show these women's efforts. In 1909, the Ohio Christian Woman's Board of Mission (affiliated with the Christian Church) reported that its 200 plus societies raised over \$31,000 for various missionary projects. 43 The Twentyninth Annual Meeting of Women's Missionary Society of the Cleveland Baptist Association received a report that fund raising efforts raised \$5,000 for Baptist mission works. The women raised these funds through the 'traditional means', i.e., baked sales, bazaars and other fund raising

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup><u>Leader</u>, May 26, 1909, pp 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup><u>Leader</u>, June 2, 1909 pp 5.

efforts.45

also participated in interdenominational Women missionary societies. An example of a local interdenominational missionary society was the Women's Missionary Union of the Cleveland Churches. Despite its name, the membership was drawn mainly from the East Side churches. In 1895, Mrs. Gerould and other women of the Missionary Society of the Euclid Avenue Christian Church organized this Union whose purpose was ". . . to increase one knowledge of mission to kindle enthusiasm by the exchange of useful methods, and to stimulate the spirit of liberal giving." The Union met twice a year, usually in November and May, with the fall meeting devoted to foreign missions and the spring meeting devoted to domestic missions.  $^{48}$  The Union eventually grew to include forty-two local church missionary societies with an approximate membership of 2,000 women who represented Evangelicals,

 $<sup>^{45}</sup>$  Leader, December 3, 1909, pp 5. This article describes the various Christmas sales held by various church women groups.

 $<sup>^{\{\</sup>xi}\text{Minutes of Feb. 14, 1895, "Women's Missionary Union of the Cleveland Churches", MSS 1808, WRHS.$ 

<sup>47 &</sup>lt;u>Leader</u>, May 21, 1909, pp 5. Also see April 11, 1895, Minutes, Women's Missionary Union of the Cleveland Churches, MSS 1808, WRHS.

 $<sup>^{43} \</sup>text{Nov.}\ 14$  , 1895, Minutes, Women's Missionary Union of the Cleveland Churches, MSS 1808, WRHS.

Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalist, Christians and Presbyterians. <sup>49</sup> The Union devoted the May 1909 meeting to Cleveland Protestants' local Italian, Bohemian and Syrian missions, which reflected the Protestants' growing concerns about immigration. <sup>50</sup> In 1915, this Union voted to disband and merge with the Women's Home Mission Council of the Federated Churches. <sup>51</sup>

An example of an interdenominational missionary society was the 'Women Foreign Mission Society.. In 1861, Mrs. Thomas C. Doremus, South Reformed Church Brooklyn. founded this society. In 1910, this Society had forty-four affiliated women organizations that supported ten women colleges, 350 boarding schools, 100 high schools, 110 dispensaries, fifty kindergartens, and 200 Bible Training groups. 52

The Women Foreign Mission Society scheduled thirty national meetings to celebrate its golden jubilee with the culminating celebratory services held on March 30, 1911 at

<sup>43</sup> Leader, May 21, 1909, pp 5.

<sup>50</sup>Minutes of May 29, 1909. Women's Missionary Union of the Cleveland Churches, 1895-1910, MSS 1808 WRHS. Also see <u>Leader</u>, May 21, 1909, pp 5.

Nov. 12, 1915, Minutes, Women's Missionary Union of the Cleveland Churches, MSS 1808, WRHS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup><u>Leader</u>. January 23, 1911 pp 4.

New York City. 33 Cleveland held its celebratory services on January 22 to 24, 1911, with participants coming from cities, towns, villages etc. north of Columbus. 4 Because of participating in the celebratory services, friendships developed among groups of women who then decided to continue to work together. These women organized the 'Continuation Committee of the Golden Jubilee of Foreign Mission'. The Continuation Committee's purpose was to direct Protestant women's efforts to the foreign population of the city. 35

The Cleveland's example of an interdenominational domestic mission society was the Women's Home Mission Council of the Federated Churches. The Home Mission Council began as the women's section of the "Home Mission Week" (November 18 to 25, 1912). The Protestants before 1912 had focused on immigrants and foreign missions. However, the organizers argued Protestants must pay attention to the home front or America would be lost. Americans had forgotten that "Our Country--God's Country." The organizers further argued that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup><u>Cleveland News</u>, January 9, 1911, pp 5. <u>Leader</u>, March 31, 1911, pp 4. <u>P.D.</u> March 27, 1911, pp 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup><u>Leader</u>, December 21, 1910 pp 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup><u>Leader</u>, December 21, 1910 pp 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup><u>Leader</u>, November 18. 1912, pp 12.

heathenism was attacking 'God's Country'. Organizers defined heathenism to include Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Mormonism. During this week, two hundred speakers urged Clevelanders to rally and return to God. They also warned about the consequences of its immoral side and to battle the rising threat of heathenism. 37

The anti-Mormon sermons and speeches inspired women, on an interdenominational basis, to band together to fight Mormonism. On November 20, 1912 at a meeting held at Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, one thousand women pledged to study this 'evil' further. From November 1912 to February 1913, a committee planned and presented a six-part lecture series on Mormonism and its evil influences. The anti-Mormon lectures received a warm reception by the participants. The participants decided to continue and to examine other social issues. They organized the Women's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup><u>Leader</u>, November 18, 1912, pp 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup><u>P.D.</u> November 20, 1912, pp 16.

Eleader, November 20, 1912, pp 6.

Hallie L. Hill of New York charged Mormon missionaries were seek young girls to "seal" them and then give them to the Elders. (i.e. pandering). In years past, Mormons were accused of being bigamists, destroyers of American womanhood and other immoral conduct. (for an example see <u>Leader</u>, Dec. 18, 1912, pp 4) For accounts of the lecture series see <u>Leader</u>, December 18, 1912, pp 4. January 14, 1913, pp 6, January 18, 1913, pp 10, February 1, 1913. pp 12, February 7, 1913, pp 6 and May 17, 1913, pp 5.

Home Mission Council of the Federated Churches to help in their study of social issues.

Despite its name, there was no formal relationship between this group and the Federated Churches of Cleveland. The FCC did assist Home Mission as it would any other Protestant's group by providing facilities for its meetings. The FCC also coordinated communications between the Home Mission and the various churches and pastors. The FCC did request this group's assistance as it would any other Protestant group in addressing such social problems as vice and marriage restrictions. §;

At time of the inaugural meeting of the FCC, through his column, the Reverend Edward Wright suggested that women organize an auxiliary organization of the Federated Churches because the "Christianization/Americanization of foreigners--largely a women problem in which they can take a lead." However, women did not take up this suggestion nor would they become an auxiliary of the Federated Churches.

In 1915, the Women's Home Mission Council of the Federated Churches and the Continuation Committee of the Golden Jubilee of Foreign Mission merged to become the

<sup>51 &</sup>lt;u>Leader</u>, April 30, 1913 pp 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup><u>Leader</u>, May 12, 1911, pp 4.

'Women Council of the Federal Council, with a membership of 1,000 women, which represented twenty-one denominations. This new organization was not an auxiliary of the Federated The Women Council continued with its own programs with the only change being the elimination of the division between foreign and domestic programs. In 1920, the overlapping of organization programs and dependence upon the same sponsors led the Women Council to request a merger with the Federated Churches.  $^{54}$  In 1924, because of the fear that women's issues and concerns were not receiving adequate attention, they requested a return to their former status. Women wanted their own governing board and wanted to conduct their own programs. Federated Churches consented to the request and organized 'Women Department of the Federated Churches'. 55 In 1941, the Women Department formally affiliated with United

Mrs Elmer W. Siegling and Mrs Joseph W. Kubek, "The Widening Way--Fifty Year Journey with United Church Women of Greater Cleveland", October 18, 1962 (pamphlet) found in Container 33, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

Way--Fifty Year Journey with United Church Women of Greater Cleveland", October 18, 1962 (pamphlet) found in Container 33, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS and see the Executive Committee's Minutes for March 8, 1917 (Container 4, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS) which seems to be the beginning of the merger talks.

Mrs Elmer W. Siegling and Mrs Joseph W. Kubek, "The Widening Way--Fifty Year Journey with United Church Women of Greater Cleveland", October 18, 1962 (pamphlet) found in Container 33, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

Council of Church Women (the national organization of church women). One United Council's Vice President was Mabel Head of Cleveland.  $^{\it \acute{e}\acute{e}}$ 

The presence of a separate woman organization did not mean that women could not participate in the Federated Churches of Cleveland. Women participated in committees for example Bertha Park was the chair of the Race Relation Committee. 57 However, its presence represented a departure from the normal Federated Churches' organizational pattern. Women were the only group that was under the heading of a 'department'. All other groups were under 'committees'. A weakness of the committee system was the lack of continuity. Committee members changed annually and their interest in issues varied individually. In a department, continuity was not a problem as there was a staff that maintained the work. If the Protestants were to maintain an effective presence in the expanding pluralism and secularization of society, they needed a method that would maintain their role.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Mrs Elmer W. Siegling and Mrs Joseph W. Kubek, "The Widening Way--Fifty Year Journey with United Church Women of Greater Cleveland", October 18, 1962 (pamphlet) found in Container 33, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS. The United Council was the result of a merger of the National Council of Federated Church Women; Council of Women for Home Mission; and the Women Committee Foreign Mission Conference.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>Report of the Twenty-eight Annual Meeting (1939), Folder 3, Container 2, CCF MSS 3406. WRHS.

Federated Churches decided in the 1930s to discard its committee system for the departmental system. The FCC could then continually monitor items of interest.  $^{65}$ 

## PART IV Reorganization

As the Great Depression began to run its course, H. Paul Douglass, the great Social Gospel sociologist, reflected and reviewed the apparent lack of progress in the federation movement. He argued the federation movement was not one movement but, as befitting the American pluralistic religious nature, many local movements. This meant the church federations had different organizational styles, different theological understandings and different

Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS. The departmental structure was established after 1945 but in 1956 the FCC began another organizational study which examined how much its departments were overlapping with the various denominations with the eye towards selecting roles in which the FCC would be most helpful in supporting denominational efforts. (Container 21 Folder 10, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS)

Protestant Cooperation in American Cities, 1930 and Church Unity Movements in the United States, 1934 both published by Institute of Social And Religious Research, New York. The difference between the two books is that the first book, Protestant Cooperation, focused on the federative movement within selected cities whereas the second book examined the federative movements in the context οf the greater effort to unite Protestant denominations. This chapter focuses mainly on Cooperation. Unless otherwise cited, all further references to Protestant Douglass will be from Protestant Cooperation.

degrees of influence upon the local Protestant churches. The federation movement's 'roots' was in the large urban areas and not in the smaller cities or rural areas.

During the 1930s, the Social Gospel proponents turned their attention away from society to focus on the church. The various proponents grounded their thinking not in social problems but in the problems of the local

 $<sup>^{76}</sup>$  See Chapters 5-7, pp 76-126.

pp 4. Douglass notes that there were 138 cities with an estimated 1925 population of 50,000 or more; of these 43 had a federation. He further notes a regional bias. Federations were generally found in the north-central (=midwest) and west with few if any in the south and south central. New Orleans was the only city with a population over 300,000 without a federation. On pages 51-52 Douglass comments on the lapse of federations in cities with population under 200,000.

<sup>72</sup> Douglass, pp 6.

congregations. Bouglass confirmed this change in direction. He noted that social services ranked fourth in federation activities. The 'traditional' church services of evangelism and religious education ranked first and third (respectively) and comity ranked second.

What Douglass could not anticipate was the effect the Depression would have on the local religious federation movement. In Cleveland, the Federated Churches of Cleveland began a process of reorganizing itself beginning first with establishing a special committee on structure. This reorganization was not merely a change in organizational structure. This reorganization, also, recognized denominationalism was the defining element within American Protestantism. Before this reorganization, the membership unit had been the local churches because the organizers believed that they would provide greater support than

Donald Meyer, The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919-1941, pp 307. Chapter 17 (pp 307-348) focuses upon the changes which eventually led to the end of the Social Gospel movement.

Chapter VII, pp 104-126. Out of 43 urban federations, Douglass studied 19 urban federation intensively, with 5 other federations given limited attention. 6 other federations were studied by interviews with their secretaries; and remaining 13 were studied from reports and other data obtained from the Federal Council. (See pp 3-5 for further information). Cleveland was among the five given limited attention.

Tilder 3 See Structure and Function Committee, Container 9 Folder 8, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

denominations. The During the Depression, the local churches were hard pressed to maintain themselves. The FCC decided its programs needed more denominational support. Thus under the reorganization plan denominational executives would have seat, voice and vote on the newly constituted Board of Directors. The Depression, the local churches were local to maintain themselves. The FCC decided its programs needed more denominational support.

The FCC from its beginning did not develop any social services nor did its organizers ever intend to do so. organizers placed these intentions in the FCC's Constitution. 78 In benevolent work, the Federated Churches did not object to secular agencies like the Federation of Charity and Philanthropy, instead the FCC supported their The FCC focused its energies on areas that the fostering of cooperation between churches or between the churches and the social order was lacking or nonexistent. To reflect this emphasis on cooperation, the FCC, as a part of its reorganization, became the 'Cleveland Church Federation'. The new Constitution (adopted April 25, 1940) deleted "Protestant" from its membership requirement.

<sup>76</sup>Folder 1, Container 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

<sup>??</sup>See Structure and Function Committee, Container 9 Folder 8,
CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

Article I, paragraph 4. Wright, <u>The Federated Churches of Cleveland--A Ten Years' Resume</u>, Cleveland: The Premier Press, 1922, pp 16.

 $<sup>^{79}</sup>$ Container 1, Folder 4, CCF MSS 3409.

The Federated Churches' committees reflected the voluntary society's one-issue focus. However, the continuing growth of complex social issues forced a change in the committee structure. For example, the Temperance Committee moved from a singular focus to a more expansive focus on alcohol and society.

The Comity Committee offers an example of a standing committee whose tasks and responsibilities expanded under this reorganization plan. The Reverend Edward R. Wright, the FCC's first Executive Secretary, said that comity was "a direct application of the Golden Rule to the field of church extension." The need for comity arose from the Protestants' practice of moving churches as the membership moved. The Reverend Dan Bradley, Pilgrim Congregational Church and the fourth President of the Federated Churches (1914-15), suggested that there were too many churches. He further suggested a "conflagration" in certain districts would allow the churches to rebuild the appropriate numbers

 $<sup>^{3</sup>C}See$  the Minutes of the 23rd Annual Meeting (Jan. 23, 1934) Container 2, Folder 3, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

Container 9, Folder 10, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

The Federated Churches of Cleveland -- A Ten Years' Resume, Cleveland: The Premier Press, 1922, pp 28.

 $<sup>^{33}\</sup>text{Comity Committee Minutes of December 6. 1912, CCF MSS 3406, Container 7, Folder 1.$ 

of churches. §4 Other Protestants argued that the rapid growth of Cleveland would continue the problems of Protestants. They added that a solution must be found even if the solution included the merger of smaller churches into one institutional plant. §5

The Comity Committee was an original standing committee. The Committee began its work almost immediately and after two years of work, they finished the comity rules and announced the rules in 1913. The intentions of the comity rules were for the organization, unification and consolidation of the Protestants church extension work. Also the rules were to promote cooperation so to maintain and to extend Protestants' influence and power in Cleveland.

According to the comity rules, every Protestant church would be exactly one-third mile apart from each other in the newer neighborhoods. This was to avoid the situation in the older neighborhoods where Protestant churches were

Leader, Sept. 19, 1910 pp 5 and December 21, 1911, pp 4. The FCC's Executive Committee also heard a similar suggestion. Leader September 28, 1911, pp 4.

Leader June 16, 1911, pp 4 and December 27, 1911, pp 4.

<sup>36</sup>Comity Committee Minutes, Feb 19 to March 26, 1913, Container
7 Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

<sup>37</sup>Comity Committee Minutes, Feb 19 to March 26, 1913, Container
7 Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

literally on every corner or even in some cases next to each other. Thus, ideally, before moving, a church would inform the Comity Committee and, after approval, receive 'exclusive' rights to establish a church in the area. The Comity Committee would mediate any disputes.

Protestant denominations' willingness to abide by comity's rules was based on furthering the cause of efficiency and order. In 1913, the Comity Committee settled a Shaker Height church extension dispute. The Federated Churches proclaimed this was the start of a new era in Protestant cooperation and coordinated church planning and growth. The efficiency and orderliness of

 $<sup>^{38} \</sup>rm{The}$  1/3 mile was amended to 1/2 mile in the 1930s as a part of the reorganization of the FCC.

For more information see both of Wright's books cited above and CCF MSS 3406. Container 7.

The ability to settle a comity dispute brought the FCC its first major publicity. Leader December 13, 1912.

See the comments of Edward R. Wright in his column 'Church News' in the <u>Leader</u> for December 24, 1912, March 28, 1913.

Heights and readjusted the boundaries to satisfy Calvary.

comity had some appeal for the laity that helped the image of the FCC. In 1913, the Federated Churches cited the principles of comity as its major accomplishment for this year. In 1913, the FCC's comity plan also attracted some national attention. The FCC also argued that the new comity arrangement produced benefits that included a sense of unity, cooperation and a greater of vision of mission in the city.

This remarkable example of interdenominational cooperation had its limits. The denominations followed the comity agreement only if the area had no other Protestant churches and if the area was large enough to support another church (or churches). The agreement did not work in the older neighborhoods. A review of the Comity

<sup>13</sup> Leader, May 8, 1912, pp 6 "Church News".

Medical See Leader, January 1, 1913. Principles of Comity was also featured on a designed Sunday which clergy were urged to highlight comity as evidence of denominational cooperation. Leader April 28, 1913 and see also Leader March 6, 1913 for the FCC publicity on this subject.

Leader January 24, 1913, pp 6 "Church News". According to the article J.H. Bomberger, Editor of Christian World, noted that comity was the keynote of Church Federation in Cleveland. Bomberger also attributed past denominational competition as the reason for 421 abandoned churches in Nebraska, Iowa and South Dakota.

See <u>Leader</u>, May 8, 1912; January 28, 1913, Page 6; March 6, 1913. Also see Wright's two books cited above for further benefits that comity had given to Cleveland Protestants.

Committee's minutes, from 1911 to the 1960s, clearly showed the various denominations upholding the comity principles in the newer Cleveland neighborhoods and developments. However, in the older neighborhoods churches were being closed or moved. J. Denham concluded his study with this powerful indictment of the Protestant churches' actions: "That the Protestant churches should have moved as population moved was, in the main, inevitable; but that they should so largely have moved eastward, in the direction of prestige and advantage to themselves, shows the value of the parochial idea of the Roman Catholic church, compared with the congregational principle as it operates in Protestantism." The Comity Committee urged the Protestant's denominations to build institutional churches in the poorer and immigrant neighborhoods but there was no denominational action on this appeal.

The Comity Committee could not and did not exert any influence over nonmember churches. More important, nondenominational churches did not agree with nor follow

DENHAM, J. "Changes in the Location of Churches in Cleveland, Ohio" (MA Diss, Western Reserve University, 1926) pp 36.

The institutional churches were suppose to offer Americanization programs for immigrants. (Executive Committee Minutes, May 31, 1918, Container 4, Folder 2, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS) Also see the FCC Presidential Address May 1, 1920 in which one of the FCC's task was to make "the church of a foreign group to the church of unquestioned Americanism". (Container 2 Folder 3, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS)

comity principles because there would be no advantage either positively or negatively to subscribing to them. The Comity Committee had only moral suasion as its only tool of enforcement and could not offer any financial assistance. Certain Protestant churches refused the comity rules because they felt called by the 'Holy Spirit' to build a church in a certain neighborhood thus a 'higher authority' had already given 'permission'.

Over the years, the Comity Committee became more sophisticated in its methods. The Committee used market research methods and community surveys (particular under Howard Whipple Green's direction) in deciding comity requests. The Committee planned church extension in newer communities based on anticipated population trends. On the reorganization plan the Comity Committee became

The prime examples are the number of 'store-front' churches that were established in Cleveland throughout the Twentieth Century. See Joseph E. Beck, "The Negro Store-Front Churches and Ministers in Cleveland: Their Social and Community Significance", M.S. Thesis, Western Reserve University, 1928 for the significance of storefront churches for a particular Cleveland ethnic community.

Examples of this sophistication included the establishment of an Information and Research Department after World War II, having surveys commissioned done on certain Protestant denominations during the late 1940s to early 1950s (Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists are to be found in the CCF's collection). See Container 15, 22 Folder 4, 32 Folder 3, CCF WRHS MSS 3406 for further information.

a part of the InterChurch Relations. [6]

The reorganization also attempted to make Federated Churches into more racially inclusive organization. Under the old system the African-American's participation in the Federated Churches was either through committees or through the small numbers of member churches. However, African-Americans' ability to influence the Federated Churches' policies and programs depended upon the good will of white sympathizers. Under the reorganization plan, African-Americans received an organizational 'voice'. Allowance was made for the fact that African-American Baptists outnumbered white Baptists (at least in the number of churches). Thus, ten representative seats were reserved for them. In addition because of the emphasis on denominations, representative seats were reserved for traditional African-American denominations (e.g., African Methodist Episcopal [AME] received five seats and AME-Zion

Minutes of the Comity Committee, June 12, 1941. Container 7 Folder 4, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS. The Comity Committee disbanded in the 1960s because denominations were busy keeping up the move to the suburb. (Minutes of April 27, 1962. Church Planning Committee [the new name of the Comity Committee]. Container 14, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.)

See Structure and Function Committee, Container 9 Folder 8, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS. In additional, the reorganization called for representatives to be approximately divided 25% for clergy and 75% for laity of which 25% should be women. The reorganization plan became effective on April 27, 1940 when a special meeting was held to ratify the new constitution. (Container 5, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS)

received two seats). The reorganization gave the opportunity for the FCC to become more radically inclusive. 183

The reorganization plan received its first test in World War II. The 'United Ministry Committee' was the first Federated Churches' group to use an inclusive approach to social issues. Several different ethnic groups worked together on this Committee (e.g., African-Americans. Chinese-Americans, Japanese Americans) to war-related problems. These problems included housing, racial discrimination, and equal opportunity. 124 Committee brought together the FCC's work with Chinese-Americans, Japanese-Americans (who were 'paroled' from the 'relocation' camps to inland cities to find work) and African Americans. The Committee's work involved coordinating efforts in finding housing for Japanese-Americans and African-Americans. The Committee also tended to the Japanese-Americans' spiritual needs. The Committee

Judge Perry B. Jackson was an appropriate symbol of this inclusiveness. After years of service, Judge Jackson became the first African-American President of the FCC in 1956. (CCF MSS 3406, Container 27, Folder 8). For the FCC other ethnic minority work see Container 20 (Puerto Rican Intergration Project). The FCC encounter the same difficulties as their with African-Americans.

Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

<sup>105</sup>FCC's work with Japanese-Americans can be found in Container 23, Folders, 1,4-7 and Container 33 Folder 8.

performed its work by using a combination of paid staff and volunteers. Denominations supported a minimum of three paid staff members. (These were conscientious objector or individuals with special talents, e.g., Japanese-speaking clergy.) This Committee disbanded in 1946 when Japanese-Americans began to leave Cleveland for their West Coast homes.

## PART V Conclusions

With this reorganization, Federated Churches attempted to adapt to Twentieth Century's conditions. However, the difficulty of 'convictions' still haunt Protestants. With the end of the Social Gospel Movement, there has been no other movement that inspires Protestants to take up social reform. The organizers had envisioned an organization that would stress a unity of efforts and avoid denominational fights. This study has noted the

Illunited Ministry Minutes, December 12, 1944, Container 23, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS.

United Ministry Minutes, Jan. 17, 1946, Container 23, Folder 1, CCF MSS 3406, WRHS. This committee's efforts marked the first time the FCC had involved itself deeply in Equal Employment advocacy and Fair Housing struggles. The FCC continued in the post-war era its work in Equal Employment and Fair Housing.

Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1954.

organizers' intentions by quoting their thoughts as written in the Federated Churches' Constitution.

However, the problem remains. How much 'convictions' in addressing social problems do the Protestants have? As in 1911, the argument of does social reform begins with the individual or with society remain with Protestants today. This study has pointed out that the organizers had hoped the establishment of the Federated Churches answered this question.

The Reverend Wade McKinney stated in 1937: "Many of the white ministers said this was a good thing but we must treat this move with great caution. We are willing but our people will not stand for it. I told them that they were unlike Christ and very much like circus elephants in that they tested out the shakiness of the bridge before they would dare to cross it." The Reverend Wade McKinney was speaking about interracial relationship but his words also speak well to the issue of the federation movement's purpose in relation with Protestantism in the city. The Protestants had tested the 'shakiness' of this movement. Some did choose to cross this bridge and have participated

McKinney Family Papers, WRHS MSS 3549, Container 4, Folder 4. A sermon given on June 27, 1937. The Reverend Wade McKinney (July 19, 1892-Jan. 18, 1963), was the pastor of the influential African-American Antioch Baptist Church (1928-63) and gave this sermon after a meeting with the FCC Social Welfare Committee on the issue of forming an Interracial Committee.

fully in the federation movement. Others have chosen not to cross this bridge.

This study mentioned the voluntary society. The religious federation replaced, organizationally, the voluntary society. However, the religious federation has not replaced the voluntary society's ability to inspire individuals to action. The organizers of the religious federation were sober businessmen. The organizers of the voluntary society were individuals who wholeheartedly embraced the society's cause. What might be necessary now is an organization that can combine both.

Thus, it was symbolically appropriate that the National Churches of Christ came into being in Cleveland. In 1950, twelve interdenominational voluntary societies met and merged to form the National Churches of Christ. Simultaneously, voluntary societies, nationally, ceased to be a force in American Protestantism.

This study closes with a last word from Walter

America: 1900-1970, Chp I. The 12 agencies were: Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, International Council of Religious Education, Home Missions Council of North America, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, National Protestant Council on Higher Education, the United Stewardship Council, United Council of Church Women, Church World Service, Interseminary Movement, Protestant Film Commission, and Protestant Radio Commission. There is no national voluntary society with the same power as its Nineteenth Century counterpart active today.

Rauschenbusch, the greatest Social Gospel theologian. wrote that powerlessness of the old evangelism lies "in the fact that modern life has gone through immense changes and the Church has not kept pace with it in developing the latent moral and spiritual resources of the gospel which are needed by the new life." The church members that gather at the coffee hour continue to ask whether the church has kept pace with modern life. This study has suggested, the federation movement was the Protestants' attempt at keeping up with modern life. However. the 'new life' of the 1990s requires new solutions. As a start, Protestants must ask and answer: 'What is the role of religion in an urban and pluralistic society'? Does the federation movement have a role within these answers? Finally, will these answers led us to have 'convictions'?

Benjamin Elijah Mays. <u>A Gospel for the Social Awakening.</u>
Selections from the Writings of Walter Rauschenbush. New York,
1950, pp 149.

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