

CHAPTER TWO: FAILURE OF PROTESTANT MORAL REFORM EFFORTS.

INTRODUCTION

Christians are no strangers to reform efforts. Almost from its beginnings, Christians have been attempting to reform society and themselves. The last chapter gave two examples. To have a moral society, individuals with good moral character are important and the Sunday School Movement was a part of Protestants' moral character building efforts. Good moral character building required a church to have a good moral base and the Disciples attempted to reform Protestantism based on their interpretation of a good moral church.

Protestants' involvement in moral reform was not simply to get rid of sin and vice but also to actualize their vision of a moral society. Throughout the Nineteenth Century, most Protestants could agree on what this moral society should be. God-fearing men and women would be the citizens of this new society. Exclude from this model society were certain class of individuals and groups. Individuals who failed to acknowledge their "sinfulness" and refused to repent was a part of this excluded class. Two groups that Protestants had excluded were Roman Catholics because they did not seem to have the "Word of God" while Jews were excluded for historical reasons.

The last chapter cited Alexis deTouqueville's observation that Americans habitually form associations. Alexis deTouqueville's association and this paper's voluntary society are synonymous. The voluntary society was a way for individuals--not organizations--to take collective action on a problem or to advocate a position. This chapter uses the Baptist Brotherhood as its main example of Protestant Twentieth Century use of the voluntary society. The Baptist Brotherhood was clearly what deTouqueville meant when he said when the ". . . inhabitants have taken an opinion . . . they form association."¹ The Baptist Brotherhood took an opinion and selected a course of action.

However, the Baptist Brotherhood represented a different time in American Protestantism. Their methods were suitable in the Nineteenth Century because they and Protestantism, generally, were of like-mind. A voluntary society worked well in the Nineteenth Century because the voluntary society and the general society held similar values. Protestants' vision of a moral society did not face great opposition.

In the Twentieth Century, the Baptist Brotherhood and Protestantism faced not only a new century but new social

¹Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, pp 380.

conditions. American Protestants' moral vision of society faced opposition not only from society but also from other Protestants. As the result of the 1920s fundamentalism-modernist debates, Protestants divided into two broad camps.²

Before these debates, one could detect the fissures that became a chasm between the fundamentalism and mainstream Protestantism. This paper uses the moral reform efforts to illustrate one "fissure" that became a chasm. Within the moral reform efforts, the question of method was important. All Protestants could generally agree that a moral society was important and necessary. The question was how does one build a moral society? Some argued the reform of the social order was more important than individual conversion. Their reasoning was a moral person could not remain moral in an intemperate society. For others, individual conversion was the key to reforming society.

²The fundamentalist-modernist debates are the subject of several historians' works. For a general survey of the debates see 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. As a part of the fundamentalist's movement see Stewart G. Cole, The History of Fundamentalism, New York: Richard R. Smith Inc., 1931. For women's role: Janette Hassey, No Time for Silence. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Academie Books, 1986. For the Presbyterians see Bradley J. Longfield, The Presbyterian Controversy: Fundamentalists, Modernists and Moderates, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

This chapter has three sections and begins with Cleveland Protestants' response to the changing neighborhoods. As noted in the last chapter, industrialization and urbanization brought mixed blessings to Protestants. Many Protestant church members benefited from industrialization. They built fine homes and contributed generously to building of new churches. However, in building these new churches, Protestants abandoned Cleveland older neighborhoods for the new suburbs. Thus, in the new neighborhoods, the Protestants' presence was strong while in the old neighbor few if any Protestant churches remained.

The urbanization of Cleveland brought new people and new ideas into Cleveland. One new--yet old--idea was recreation. In the Nineteenth Century, recreation did not present a major problem because the opportunities for recreation were limited. The types of recreation were also limited. However, in the Twentieth Century, the opportunities and types of recreation increased. Protestants had to develop a response to recreation but did not develop a strong response. Instead, Protestants, like other issues, settled on the course of accommodation, i.e., not to oppose most forms of recreation but to accept in a limited way the presence of it. This section is using recreation as a symbol of changing social values.

Protestants' failure to adequately appreciate the changing values hindered their moral reform efforts. Within their battle against recreation, one sees the differences between the general society and Protestants' values.

The last section begins with a short history of Cleveland Protestants' temperance efforts. The temperance movement began in the Nineteenth Century with its focus on converting the individual. In the post-Civil War years, the temperance movement shifted its focus from the individual to the society. The rationale was a moral and sober individual could not remain so if he/she lived in an intemperate society.

The history of the Baptist Brotherhood concludes this chapter. The Baptist Brotherhood was a good symbol of all the Protestants' problems in the city. The Brotherhood was a Nineteenth Century voluntary society attempting to use Nineteenth Century methods to effect change. Their lack of success reflected the difficulties of a religious voluntary society in an expanding pluralistic and secular society.

Thus, this chapter is arguing the temperance movement is a way to show the limitation of the Nineteenth Century religious voluntary society. This organizational model requires not only like-minded individuals to support it but also a society that supports its efforts. Urbanization, industrialization and immigration changed American society

so that the societal values and religious voluntary society values were, often, opposed to each other. Failure of the voluntary society to bring the desired change forced Protestants to look for other methods.

Part I Urbanization

The Twentieth Century opened with a new America. Industrialization and urbanization had transformed America from an agrarian society into an urban society. Industrialization and urbanization also challenged Protestants to arrive at suitable solutions for the problems and issues caused by it. However, the Protestants had ambivalent feelings about the city. Arthur M. Schlesinger captured these ambivalent feelings when he wrote:

"The city had come and it was clear to all, it had come to stay. Was its mission to be that of a new Jerusalem or of ancient Babylon? The answer to this question was the chief unfinished business of the departing generation."³

Cleveland's new Jerusalem meant Cleveland Protestants enjoyed prosperity. Some of Cleveland's finest church buildings resulted from this prosperity. Between 1900 and 1910, Protestants built some of Cleveland's finest church

³Arthur M. Schlesinger. The Rise of the City 1878-1898, New York, 1933, pp 436.

buildings because church members gave generously to the building fund. For example, Episcopalians built the Gothic style Trinity Cathedral (dedicated 1907).⁴ Methodists moved First Methodist church from its Ninth Street location to E. Thirtieth Street and built an equally impressive building (dedicated 1905).⁵ Joining the exodus to the suburbs, members moved the Euclid Avenue Church from its downtown location and built a new building in the midst of a booming new suburb (dedicated 1909).⁶ In 1912 alone, Cleveland churches spent 1.5 million dollars for new church buildings with the Presbyterians and Methodists being the largest among Protestants.⁷

⁴"Trinity Cathedral" in ECH, pp 981-982 and Roderic Hall: Pierce, Trinity Cathedral Parish, The First 150 Years, Cleveland: The Vestry of Trinity Cathedral, 1967.

⁵"First United Methodist Church of Cleveland", ECH, pp 404.

⁶"Church of the Covenant" in the ECH, pp 183-184.

⁷P.D., December 29, 1912, Section D pp 9 section D. The denominations and amounts spent were:

Catholics.	\$308,000	Jews	\$287,000
Methodists	\$223,000	Gospel	\$ 25,000
Presbyterians	\$140,000	Episcopal	\$ 28,500
Congregational	\$ 55,000	Baptists	\$ 70,000
Universalists	\$ 30,000	Friends	\$ 17,000
United Presby.	\$ 16,500	Lutherans.	\$ 15,000
Reformed in U.S	\$ 9,000	Disciples	\$ 70,000
Free Baptist	\$ 6,000		

The above totals \$1.3 million, there were also .2 million by 'smaller' denominations. There were 20 new churches either finished or started or under construction. There were also a number of other building projects planned for the 1913: the Catholics had planned to build St. James, Detroit Ave, Lakewood @ \$50,000. Jews had planned to build Talmud Tora School, E. 55 at

Industrialization also changed Cleveland's neighborhoods and redefined the idea of community. Cleveland was no longer a "walking city." Before 1880s, Clevelanders lived close to their work. After the electric trolleys started service in 1887, work and home became separated.⁸ Streetcar service extended outward from Public Square to the new neighborhoods and cities. Native Clevelanders fled the older neighborhoods for the newly developed suburbs of East Cleveland, Lakewood and Cleveland Heights.⁹ Immigrants and migrants from rural areas moved into the old neighborhoods. Neighborhoods were now divided into residential, industrial and commercial sections with the poor living closest to factories.¹⁰

The rapid changing neighborhoods challenged Protestants and Roman Catholics to devise a solution.

projected minimum cost of \$50,000. The total seating capacity for all the churches was 15,000. Unlike the 1830s, all the building fund were raised in Cleveland. By comparison, *The Leader*, November 28, 1909, Magazine section Page 3, reported over half million dollars for new churches was spent in the East End alone for 1909.

⁸"Transportation", ECH, pp 978.

⁹See the respective articles on these cities in the ECH.

¹⁰The influence of mass transit upon suburban growth was studied by Sam Bass Warner, Jr. in his book Streetcar Suburbs. The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1962, Reprinted 1972, New York, Atheneum. Warner argues that one consequence of suburban growth was work became separated from community i.e. one worked in a separate place from his/her community.

Roman Catholics continued with the pattern that started with the German and Irish immigrants. Roman Catholics stayed in the neighborhoods. If the ethnic group of the neighborhood changed, the church also changed its staff and programs to meet the needs of the new ethnic group.

Protestant churches took another direction. When Protestants church members moved into the new neighborhood, they built a new building and closed the old building.¹¹ This direction had some major consequences for Protestants. In the old neighborhoods, Protestants had no church or a financially weak church. In the new neighborhoods, Protestants had a surplus of churches.¹² This imbalance eventually led some Protestants to urge for a better method of church extension. Thus, an initial task of the Federated Churches of Cleveland was to devise an orderly and efficient method of church extension.

¹¹See, as an example, Leader November 28, 1909, Magazine Section, pp 3 for details of other church construction projects.

¹²The lack of neighborhood churches was not a problem limited exclusively to Cleveland. See Schlesinger. The Rise of the City 1878-1898, Chapter X, "The Changing Church". For a Cleveland's example see Leader February 8, 1910, page 3 where the Reverend Charles F. Laughlin, East Glenville Church, President, Methodist Union wanted an interdenominational body to be form to decide where churches should be built; and argued for a new downtown church in which an 'union' institutional ministry would be sited.

Part II Recreation

The Reverend Millard Briesford, in his sermon, stated Cleveland was no longer a "homogeneous Puritan city" but a "cosmopolitan city."¹³ Briesford's observation was about changes in social attitudes and values. When Cleveland was a "Puritan City" (and the exact dates when Cleveland was a Puritan City can be debated) Protestants dominated the religious and social orders. Thus, social attitudes did not conflict with Protestants' attitudes and values.

However, industrialization and urbanization created new economic opportunities that attracted immigrants and rural Americans into Cleveland. The immigrants brought in new ideas and new values. They affected not only the Roman Catholic Church and Jewish community but also influenced certain Protestant denominations. (In particular those denominations who had high number of German members.) Thus, Cleveland, the cosmopolitan city, embraced many conflicting attitudes and values. Protestants' values and attitudes were not only conflicting with the general society but also with themselves.

Industrialization produced not only economic opportunities but also increased the potential for

¹³Leader, October 10, 1910, page 5. Briesford was the pastor of East Cleveland Baptist Church. See also the Rev. Nathaniel Pratt commenting on the "Puritan Ideal" (Leader December 20, 1909, page 5).

recreational activities by reducing the work hours. Clevelanders, in the early 1900s, attended a variety of recreational activities. These activities include professional baseball, motion pictures, amusement parks (especially Euclid Beach Park) and going dancing at a municipal dance hall.

However, recreation is a very loosely defined activity. "One person's recreation is another's work", is a cliché that sums up the problem of defining recreation. Protestants, generally, had difficulties in defining what is "wholesome" recreation and what is not. One Protestant's difficulty was that recreation appeared to be "idle time". "Idle hands is the Devil's workshop", is an adage that some Protestants believed wholeheartedly.

In antebellum Cleveland, Protestants approved only a few "wholesome" recreational activities like a community sing-a-long, prayer meetings and listening to the Word of God. A disapproved Protestant's recreational activity was called "amusement". According to some, amusement was harmful to a well ordered and sober society or as the Reverend Samuel Aiken declared: "God has made it the duty of the minister at the altar, who is set for the defence of the Gospel, to speak fully and openly against those established indulgences that are injurious to morals and

religion."¹⁴ In 1839, Old Stone Church condemned members who ". . . attend theaters, balls or cotillion parties, whether public or private, is a breach of covenant, contrary to the spirit of the Gospel and deserving the censure and discipline of the church."¹⁵

After the 1880s, Cleveland economic and industrial growth helped to create a popular demand for more recreational opportunities.¹⁶ Protestant clergy objected to this demand for more recreational opportunities. In 1902, the Rev. F.E.J. Lloyd, St. Mark's Episcopal, denounced ping-pong as an activity that encouraged a "kill-time expedient" mentality. He further recommended baseball for men and boys, croquet for women and girls, and whist at home for family fun.¹⁷

Government was not unresponsive to this popular demand for recreational opportunities. The City of Cleveland, during the administration of Mayor Tom Johnson, opened playgrounds, constructed athletic fields and provided other

¹⁴Quoted by the Reverend Hiram Haydn in Annals pp 77. The Reverend Samuel Aikens was the pastor of Old Stone Presbyterian Church from 1835 to 1860.

¹⁵Annals, pp 78.

¹⁶See Arthur M Schlesinger, The Rise of the City 1878-1898. The Macmillian Company: New York, 1933, Chapter IX.

¹⁷Leader, May 12, 1902, pp 5.

recreational opportunities.¹³ Protestants did not protest these recreational opportunities but did oppose the opening of municipal dance halls.¹⁴ Clergy and church members led a vigorous but losing battle to prevent the openings. However, they failed to stop the openings but continued to insist upon strict supervision of the dance halls.¹⁵

The Reverend F.E.J. Lloyd's recommendation of baseball has a bit of irony in it. One of the Protestants' many losing battles over recreation centered on Sunday playing of professional baseball. In 1901, the American League was organized and Cleveland had a team. By 1903, baseball had

¹³"Parks" in ECH, pp 752-754 esp. pp 753.

¹⁴Some Protestant churches took advantage of people going to the park on Sunday by holding outdoor afternoon services in the park. (For example see, Leader, July 5, 1909, Part II page 5) After it was organized, the Federated Churches' Religious Work Committee took over this work. (See "Religious Work Committee, 1912-1928", Folder 3, Container 9, Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406, WRHS) Clevelanders' demand for different types of recreation led the Federated Churches to start a "Wednesday Night" church only movement. (See Leader, January 12, 1912 Page 4) However, this effort failed.

¹⁵For dance halls see the article in ECH pp 330-332. For churches reaction to dance halls see: Leader, May 2, 1910 ("Epworth League request to halt dance hall"); Leader, April 3, 1911 (Dr. R.R. Biggar, Westminster Presbyterian Church, "3 cardinal evils", i.e., dance halls, saloons and flagrant law violations). After it was organized, the Federated Churches' Social Betterment Committee monitored Cleveland recreation scene. The Federated Churches opposed professional boxing and pool halls. (see the "Minutes of the Social Betterment Committee", May 21, 1917, Folder 6, Container 9, Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406, WRHS.

captured the hearts of many Clevelanders.¹¹ However, due to strict 'Blue Laws' Sunday playing of professional baseball was prohibited. Protestant churches waged a determined fight to maintain this law and in 1902 actually had won the battle to prevent the playing of eleven Sunday games.¹² However, in 1911, with the passage of the Greeves bill, Sunday professional baseball became a part of Clevelanders' Sabbath activities.¹³ As a peace offering or for good public relations or for both reasons, in 1912, the Cleveland Naps gave free tickets to Protestant clergy.¹⁴

Baseball, dance halls, ping-pong, the Case-Western Reserve Thanksgiving Day football game, and motion pictures were a few of the recreational activities that Protestants waged a battle over and lost.¹⁵ The significance of these battles was not the fact that Protestants' seemed to be out of step with the popular culture. These battles were signs

¹¹"Cleveland Indians" in ECH, pp 242. In comparing the 1901 newspapers' baseball coverage with 1903 and the years following, one can see the growth of baseball popularity.

¹²Leader, May 11, 1902.

¹³See Leader or P.D. May 7, 1911, pp 1. In fact the first Sunday game drew 13,000 persons which was more than the average weekday attendance. Number among the crowd was the Mayor and the Chief of Police (see P.D. May 14, 1911, Page 4 Section A. and May 15, 1911, Page 3).

¹⁴Leader, April 11, 1912, pp 6.

¹⁵For Protestants' opposition to football see Leader April 1 1910, pp 1.

that the cultural and religious orders had values that conflicted with each other. The cultural and religious orders were not the only groups in conflict. Some Protestants supported certain recreational activities. Thus, unlike the Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century Protestants had some dissension within their own ranks and could no longer claim that there was a unified Protestant voice.

For example, the Ohio Legislature held a hearing on the Greeves Bill. The Lutheran League of Baseball appeared before the Legislature and argued in favor of the Greeves Bill, citing the need for "wholesome" recreation.¹⁶ The Cleveland Pastors Union, the largest interdenominational Protestant group before the establishment of the Federated Churches of Cleveland, could not take an unequivocal stand but referred the matter to a committee for further study.¹⁷

Recreation was one example of Protestants and society at odds with each other. Protestants did not choose a unified and coordinated approach to address their concerns with recreation. Each denomination took their own approach to this problem. The lack of a unified and coordinated

¹⁶ P.D. March 14, 1911, pp 4. Lutherans based their support on the need for wholesome exercises as a necessity for modern living.

¹⁷ Leader, April 11, 1911, pp 6.

approach was another reason that led some Protestants to demand for a coordinated approach to social problems and issues. This demand was another reason for the establishment of the Federated Churches of Cleveland.

Part III Temperance

The temperance movement was one means that Protestants used to effect their vision of a moral society. Temperance and prohibition movements were not two sides of a single movement. Protestants had participated and supported both movements. However, the temperance movement attempted to create a moral society by removing intemperance. The rationale was the greater good was served only by moral and sober citizens. Prohibition aimed not at creating a moral society but at the suppression of alcoholic beverages by legal means.

The Baptist Brotherhood was a part of the temperance movement and not of the prohibition movement. The differences between the two movements must be maintained. Baptist Brotherhood's failure was partly due to their lack of understanding of the changing social vision. No where in the Baptist Brotherhood's materials does one find support for a prohibition of alcoholic beverages. Their materials suggest a vision of a moral and sober society. Their opposition to alcoholic beverages stems from their

perception of it being a catalyst of other immoral activities. Before looking at the Baptist Brotherhood, a review of the temperance movement in Cleveland will be given.

In the years between 1800 and 1865, temperance was not a major Protestant's issue. Protestant churches were preoccupied with other issues such as getting themselves organized as a denomination, slavery, evangelizing American frontiers, overcoming financial difficulties, and the Civil War.

Before the opening of the entire Ohio Canal in 1832, the difficulty of transporting grain to the Eastern markets led to the establishment of distilleries throughout the Western Reserve.²⁸ Grain processed as alcohol shipped easily and brought a better price.²⁹

In antebellum Cleveland, there were two religious temperance organizations. The Protestants organized the Cleveland City Temperance Society on March 15, 1836.³⁰ The Roman Catholics had an organization called "The Catholic

²⁸Rose, Cleveland--The Making of a City, pp 44.

²⁹Christopher G. Crary, "Frontier Living in Kirtland", Harry F. Lupod and Gladys Haddad, eds. Ohio's Western Reserve, A Regional Reader. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1988, pp 71-75 esp pp 72-73.

³⁰Rose, Cleveland--The Making of a City, pp 118. A year later the society claimed to have 260 members.

Total Abstinence Society" with a reported membership of 400.³¹

Protestant churches considered intemperance as a matter that threatened church discipline. Thus, on occasion, local churches took action against intemperate members. Disciplinary action was a matter for the local church and not a denominational concern with the only exception being if the offender was an ordained minister. The local churches could impose punishment that ranged from a simple rebuke to removal from the membership roll. For example, the First Baptist Church took action against Thomas Criswick in 1837 for " . . . being intoxicated despite repeated admonitions." They also warned Pesley Abbee and Mr. Hatch to cease any participation in the selling of 'ardent spirits'.³²

Sometimes, denominations called for temperance in society. In 1852, the North Ohio Conference of the Methodist Church noted the need for temperance in society

³¹ Michael J. Hynes, History of the Diocese of Cleveland, Origin and Growth (1847-1952), (Cleveland, 1953), pp 47. The Catholic temperance movement was under the direction of the Reverend Peter McLaughlin. Hynes also refers to "The Protestant Temperance Society". Rose did not mention this organization but the Cleveland City Temperance and this organization could be the same as both have a claimed starting date of 1836.

³² 1st Baptist Church, March 4, 1837 and March 31, 1837. In Benjamin Rouse's journal, entitled "Of Miscellaneous Matters...", Hughes, Container 9.

at its annual meeting.³³

However, antebellum temperance activities were small in comparison to post Civil War activities.³⁴ Also, antebellum temperance activities were directed at the individual. After the Civil War, temperance activities began to be directed at society. The reason for this change was that a temperate individual could not endure an intemperate society because the temptations to 'backslide' would be too great. The drop in local church disciplinary action against intemperate members suggest this shift to a societal focus.³⁵

The Protestant Nineteenth Century pattern of organizing voluntary societies to address social issue held true in the temperance movement. The leading Protestant

³³ Minutes of North Ohio Conference, August 25, 1852, pp 34.

³⁴ See Marian J. Morton "Temperance Reform in the "Providential Environment," Cleveland, 1830-1934, in David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds, Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform, Kent, Ohio, 1986, pps 29-49.

³⁵ Ernest Noe Bigelow, "Presbyterian Church Discipline in Ohio 1865-1965", Ph'D dissertation, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, January, 1967, pp 64. Bigelow's study was of Northwestern Ohio (counties immediately south of Toledo) and limited only to the Presbyterians. However, I believe, after reading selected Cleveland churches' minutes he may be correct. Bigelow argued that the shift to reforming society was caused by the churches' determination that the cause of intemperance rested outside of the individual i.e. too many saloons and merchants of liquor; and the realization that too strident a position would cause a loss of membership. Thus to punish an individual would be ineffective because the source of his drinking still would be there and most importantly the church would be losing a member.

temperance voluntary agency was, perhaps, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The WCTU also reflected the growing trend of women organizing to address social concerns and issues. Six hundred women gathered at the First Baptist Church, Cleveland on March 13, 1874 and organized the WCTU.³⁶

The Oberlin Temperance Alliance organized the Anti-Saloon League (ASL) in 1893.³⁷ The WCTU and ASL were at the forefront of the Protestants' temperance efforts. As with all Protestant voluntary agencies, denominational affiliations were through the individuals and support for their activities were done on voluntary basis. Individuals and churches chose their level of participation (i.e., very

³⁶See Rose, Cleveland--The Making of a City, pp 396; article. "WCTU, Non Partisan of Cleveland" in ECH pp 1060; and WCTU's Records at WRHS MSS 3247, Container 1; Marian J. Morton, "Temperance, Benevolence, and the City: The Cleveland Non-Partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1900", (Ohio History, Volume 91/Annual 1982), pps 58-73. Also see Mary Ingham, Women of Cleveland... Cleveland, 1893, pp 99 and passim in regards to antebellum temperance activities by women. This group differ from the National WCTU which was started as a result of a convention held on Nov. 20, 1874 at Second Presbyterian Church. The Non-Partisan WCTU, and WCTU had similar goals and operated the same, but parted ways over the WCTU endorsement of the Prohibition Party. The Non-Partisan wanted to remain out of the political process. The Non-Partisan was affiliated with the National WCTU from 1880-85. (See the article on "WCTU Convention" in ECH pp 1060, Morton's work and WCTU's Records WRHS.)

³⁷Lloyd Sponholtz, "The Politics of Temperance in Ohio, 1880-1912", Ohio History, Vol. 85 No. 1, Winter 1976, pps 4-27. Sponholtz notes that the most active members were from the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists (p. 8)

active to the giving of moral support only) with these two groups.

The WCTU and ASL's strength was clearly in the rural area of Ohio because temperance was widely accepted in the social order. However, in the urban areas, temperance was not as widely accepted socially but the financial support for these agencies came from individuals and churches located in the urban areas.³⁸ The urban-rural difference can be explained in terms of pluralism, i.e., urban pluralism had more layers. The urban population had a mixture of immigrants and native born (either native to the area or those who had migrated from other regions). In the urban area, there was also a range of social and moral values.³⁹

The temperance forces' difficulties in the urban

³⁸ Lloyd Sponholtz, "The Politics of Temperance in Ohio, 1880-1912", (Ohio History, Volume 85 Number 1, Winter 1976, pps 4-27) pp 10. He notes that a "rough index of comparative 'rural-ness' or 'urban-ness' results" if one classified Ohio counties according to the population of their largest community. Most of the wet areas were in Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo, Cleveland and Canton along with the German counties of northwest and west-central Ohio who were the exception to the rural-ness of the dry strongholds.

³⁹ A small glance into the difference between the immigrant group and the native born population was provided in the debate over Sunday baseball (noted above). One of the arguments against was that Sunday baseball would destroy the 'American Sabbath' i.e. a more stricter observance as opposed to the immigrants 'Continental' Sabbath (the intention was to illustrate immigrants' lack of proper moral value--see Chapter 3 for more). See Leader, March 10, 1902, pp 1.

environment were seen clearly in the 1908 election. Ohio had a local option law that permitted a ward to prohibit the establishment of saloons within its boundaries if the ward voters agree. In 1908, all twenty-six Cleveland wards voted separately on whether to ban saloons from operating within their boundaries.⁴⁰ The ASL directed the fight and urged Protestant churches to join in the battle. ASL's difficulties in this fight related to the fact that it would have to wage a separate battle in each ward because election day varied from ward to ward. Also, the number of Protestant churches varied with each ward because many had left certain neighborhoods for the suburbs. Thus, in some wards there were no Protestant churches or the Protestant churches were outnumbered. In the end, the ASL won only a partial victory as one-fourth of Cleveland wards voted the saloons out.⁴¹

The ASL campaign against the saloons was based on a moral principle, i.e., the saloons by selling of alcohol beverages were breeders of moral corruption but its failure in nineteen wards suggests that many Clevelanders did not agree (despite the ASL's charge that the breweries had bought the vote). A reality that the ASL and other

⁴⁰The figure of 26 wards is taken from the ECH's article on "City Council" pp 210.

⁴¹P.D. January, 3, 1908, page 1.

Protestant temperance forces did not recognize was the saloon was a part of Cleveland social, political and economic life. The Reverend Charles Stelzle noted that the "foreigners" and working class needed a social life and they used the saloons for this purpose.⁴² The Cleveland Press noted that Cleveland had "9 miles of bars and only 5 miles of churches."⁴³ The saloons were also an important source of tax revenue which in 1907 generated \$683,424 for Cleveland municipal coffers.⁴⁴

In 1911, the Baptist Brotherhood joined the battle for a temperate society. However, Baptists did not expressly organize the Baptist Brotherhood for their participation in the temperance movement. Baptists established the Brotherhood as a means to get men (and in particular businessmen) more actively involved in church activities. Women from about mid-Nineteenth Century had become the

⁴² P.D. March 20, 1908, pp 8.

⁴³ July 28, 1910, pp 9.

⁴⁴ Plain Dealer, January 3, 1908. The reported figure was \$1,014,268 for 1907 which was an increase of \$80,725 over the previous year (1906). As a rough comparison, the approximate 250 Protestant churches had an aggregated budget total for 1907 of \$1 million dollars (\$4,000 average budget times 250 churches) (Average budget calculated on various churches reports gathered from various denominational and secular sources) The fact that people were spending more on 'luxuries', alcohol and amusements and less on churches were the fodder for many a preachers' sermons in this era.

dominant and most active church members.⁴⁵ In the 1890s, churches began to organize men's clubs to increasing male's participation. For example, the Episcopalians in 1898 organized the Cleveland Church Club.⁴⁶

The Baptists in 1907 held a mass meeting at the East End Baptist Church to discuss how Baptists could effectively respond to the problems of urban life.

The Baptists held another meeting on October 27, 1908 and organized the "Baptist Brotherhood of Cleveland and Vicinity" with Charles F. Long as its first President.⁴⁷

In keeping with traditional Baptist polity, each Brotherhood chapter was independent and responsibility for the chapter rest with the church that organized it. The Baptist Brotherhood could only take collective action at the citywide level if each chapter willingly agreed to the action.

Between 1908 and 1911, the Baptist Brotherhood was

⁴⁵ Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture, New York, 1977.

⁴⁶ George Franklin Smythe, A History of the Diocese of Ohio, Cleveland: Diocese of Ohio, 1931, pp 448. The Church Club sponsored dinners and engaged in fund raising in behalf of the Diocese of Ohio. Its members included the Mather family and other prominent business leaders. For an example of their activities see CHURCH CLUB OF CLEVELAND, Year Book 1905-06 found at WRHS.

⁴⁷ Cleveland Baptist, November, 1908, pp 10. This organization should not be confused with the famous "Brotherhood of the Kingdom"; of which Walter Rauschenbush was the most prominent member.

quiet at the city level. However, on August 12, 1911, the Baptist Brotherhood received public attention when they announced the results of their Cleveland's vice situation study.⁴⁸ The Brotherhood reported prostitution was rampant throughout the city with certain districts having higher incidents than others. They cited dance halls because it generated lewd behavior. They argued that movie theaters showed only base entertainment and urged for more wholesome entertainment. Finally, they criticized billiard/pool halls because they attracted the 'base' individual. The Brotherhood also criticized Police Chief Kohler's 'Golden Rule' policy that allowed an officer on patrol wide discretionary powers in the disposition of misdemeanor cases. They argued that this policy encouraged disrespect for the law because it encouraged officers to ignore certain laws. They further argued that judges were the only legal authority charged to adjudicate laws. The study argued that the root cause of these vices and major law enforcement problems was alcohol.

The Brotherhood decided to battle the saloons because it was the main social dispenser of alcohol. However, the

⁴⁸Report of the Vice Commission of Cleveland Baptist Brotherhood, Baptist Brotherhood, Cleveland 1911. The author and chief investigator of this study was the Reverend H. William Pilot, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church who conducted studies into other areas of concern for the Baptists. For a popular opinion/view of this report see the Leader, August 12, 1911, pp 4.

Brotherhood took note of the ASL's failure in the 1908 ward elections and decided on a new course of action. They would not attempt to close the saloons through the ballot box but through legal means. The Brotherhood called for the strict enforcement of a well known but rarely enforced section of Cleveland's Blue Laws called the 'Sunday Saloon Closing Law'.

In 1911, the only problem facing a person wanting an alcoholic beverage on Sunday was how far did he or she wish to travel? Many, if not all, saloons were open and business was doing quite well. Under Chief Kohler's Golden Rule policy, enforcement of the Blue Laws, to the irritation of many clergy, was a low priority. The City Attorney Newton Baker and Mayor Herman C. Baehr both agreed with this policy. Despite the lack of political support, the Baptist Brotherhood chose to do battle with the saloon owners and patrons. On September 25, 1911, the Brotherhood publicly announced the opening of its campaign and another round in Cleveland temperance fight had begun.⁴³

The year 1911 was a municipal election year and the Brotherhood asked each of the mayoral candidates for their position on Sunday saloon closing.⁵⁰ Newton Baker refused

⁴³P.D., September 25, 1911, pp 1.

⁵⁰P.D., October 31, 1911, pp 1.

to endorse Sunday saloon closing. The Brotherhood recommended his defeat based not only on his stand on this issue but also to eliminate 'machine politics' in Cleveland.⁵¹ The Reverend William Bustard, Euclid Avenue Baptist Church and one of Cleveland socially influential pastors, charged that Baker was a part of the liquor interest.⁵² Newton Baker easily won the election and his reelection in 1913 despite the Brotherhood's efforts.

In December 1911, the Brotherhood launched an investigation into how widespread the problem of Sunday saloon openings was. Brotherhood members visited some 1,630 saloons, of which 1,534 were opened and doing quite well. The atmosphere of the saloons disturbed the Brotherhood more because men and women were drinking together and children were coming in to pick up the liquor ordered by their families.⁵³

It was clear to the Brotherhood that Sunday saloon closing was not being enforced. With the election of

⁵¹Leader, Nov. 1, 1911, pp 5. The article also stated the Methodists supported the Baptists.

⁵²Leader, November 6, 1911 page 1. In his reelection bid of 1913, Newton probably gave some credence to this charge in the minds of many Brotherhood members when he spoke to the Cuyahoga County Retail Liquor Dealers and stated the Brotherhood was 'officious' in their efforts. (See Leader, June 25, 1913, pp 2)

⁵³Leader, December 18, 1911, pp 1.

Newton Baker as mayor, there was also no hope in getting the political leadership behind their efforts. A new antisaloon strategy was needed. This strategy would have to include a method that would bypass the political leadership. The Brotherhood decided that their new course of action would be directed at the saloon owners.⁵⁴ W.E. Penney was the first person arrested under the new Brotherhood's direction. However, Mayor Baker refused to prosecute him citing more pressing law enforcement demands.⁵⁵

The uncontrolled growth of saloons did stop in 1913 but not through the Brotherhood's efforts. The Ohio voters in 1912 passed an amendment to Ohio Constitution that established a ratio of saloons to the general population.⁵⁶ The enabling ordinance was enacted in early 1913 with the effective date being November 1913. The enabling

⁵⁴Leader, January 22, 1912, pp 1.

⁵⁵Leader, March 7, 1912, pp 3. The Brotherhood was not stopped. They proceed to enlist the support of East Cleveland Mayor McQuigg who did fined any violators brought to him under the Ohio statues which permitted any mayor within the county where the violations had occurred to have jurisdiction over the matter. (see P.D. Sept. 13, 1913, pp 18)

⁵⁶ See the Press, News, Leader and P.D. coverage on the September 3, 1912 special election. The special election was called to vote on 42 different proposed amendments to the constitution. 36 amendments were ratified by the voters; and of the 6 that failed 3 of them affected women (suffrage, ability to hold certain elective office) and African-Americans.

ordinance listed qualifications for saloon owners. The saloon owner had to be an American citizen with a good moral character. Practically, a good moral character meant no arrest for misdemeanors or felonies, and one of these was a good moral character. On March 2, 1913, the saloon owners announced they would close on Sunday because of the fear that the Brotherhood would bring charges against the owner. This meant upon conviction, the saloon owner would have been disqualified from ownership under the new law.⁵⁷

The battle with the saloon owners was the Baptist Brotherhood's first and last effort in moral reform. Although, the Baptist Brotherhood could have gone on to participate in another reform effort, they did not because, in 1914, World War I began. Protestants and Americans lost interest in moral reform efforts because they turned their attention to the events unfolding in Europe. The Brotherhood gradually disappeared from Cleveland religious scene. The exact reasons for the Brotherhood's withdrawal from social action are not known.

Alexis de Tocqueville made this observation: "... moreover almost all the sects comprised within the great unity of Christianity and Christianity morality is

⁵⁷ Rose, pp 714. Lloyd Sponholtz, "The Politics of Temperance in Ohio, 1880-1912". Ohio History, Volume 85 Number 1, Winter 1976, pps 4-27.

everywhere the same."⁵⁸ The Brotherhood's difficulties in getting wide spread Protestants support for their efforts shows the lack of unity. Alexis de Tocqueville's comments no longer applied to Twentieth Century Cleveland's Protestants.

For example, one of many groups opposing the Brotherhood was Protestant denomination whose membership included Germans, Bohemians, Hungarians and Poles. The Brotherhood's main Protestant support came from traditional evangelical allies like the Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Congregationalist who offered words of encouragement but little else.

Also, the Brotherhood and society values conflicted with each other. No longer could the Brotherhood and Protestants argue that they and the society held the same attitudes and values. Actually, within the developing pluralistic cultural order, they were only a part of it.⁵⁹

For example, one of the Brotherhood's opponents was the Liberty League. The Liberty League was a group made up of Germans, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Poles. They argued that closing of saloons infringed on their personal liberties. Furthermore, closure of saloons would

⁵⁸ de Tocqueville, pp 232.

⁵⁹ Martin Marty, The Modern Schism. Three Paths to the Secular. New York: Harper & Row, 1969, pp 96.

threatened the livelihoods of saloon keepers. Number among the saloon keepers were members of these ethnic groups. The Liberty League further charged that the Brotherhood opposed the saloons because its members hated the immigrants who were the main patrons of the saloons.⁶⁰

Protestants' historical basis against Roman Catholics may have prevented them from establishing an alliance with them. Roman Catholics had come a long way toward social acceptability. By 1911, one could argue that the Roman Catholics were socially acceptable. Cleveland newspapers gave news coverages on level equal to Protestants. In 1909, all four Cleveland newspapers reported extensively on the Diocese of Cleveland's fourth Bishop, John Farrelly.⁶¹ Roman Catholic's clergy were not unmindful of the dangers of an intemperate society. For example, the Reverend

⁶⁰P.D., March 30, 1908, pp 1. The Rev. N.E. Stroup, Windermere Methodist Church, charged that the Liberty League was a 'front' for the saloon keepers (P.D. July 20, 1908). The Liberty League responded by arguing they were made up of concerned individuals and defended their beer drinking on the basis of cultural traditions. In addition, the Germans were divided along denominational lines. The Methodists and Methodist-type groups (like the Evangelical Church or United Brethren) were strong supporters of the temperance movement. German Lutherans and Catholic were less likely to be staunch supporters of the temperance movement.

⁶¹From the death of Bishop Ignatius Horstmann (May 13, 1908), Cleveland four newspapers ran occasional articles on potential candidates for the next Bishop of Cleveland. The newspaper coverage of Bishop Farrelly rivaled any other coverage on any person except for political figures. Each newspaper vied for exclusive stories on Bishop Farrelly. Even Edwin Cowles' Leader ran some very positive articles on Bishop Farrelly.

Thomas Mahon, pastor of St. Thomas Aquinas Roman Catholic Church, East End, led the fight and won against saloons encroaching into his neighborhood.⁶² Yet, the Baptist Brotherhood and its antisaloon allies did not attempt to forge a link with the Roman Catholic Church nor with Cleveland's other rapidly growing religious group, the Jewish community.

Another reason, for the Brotherhood failure, was the growing secularity of Cleveland society.⁶³ Thus Mayor Baker's refusal to close the saloons on Sunday was his accommodation to the reality that Protestants were not THE group in Cleveland but one of many. Thus, Cleveland Protestants' difficulties, like those of their national counterparts, centered on the growing secularity that meant that Protestants were no longer the sole authority in the social, economic, political and religious orders.⁶⁴

⁶²Leader, October 23, 1911, pp 10. The last straw for the Rev. Mahon was when a saloon opened across the street from his church. Needless to say, some of his parishioners were opposed to his stand.

⁶³See Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America. New York, 1949, Part III, pps 91-148; Thomas L. Haskell, The Emergence of Professional Social Science, The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority. Urbana, Illinois, 1977 and Schlesinger, The Rise of the City... esp Chapter 6-8, 10.

⁶⁴ This concept of secularity or 'controlled secularity is taken from Martin Marty's The Modern Schism. Three Paths to the Secular, New York, 1969, Chapter 3. Marty argues that there are two other types of secularity: the first is total or 'utter

The Brotherhood's failure to shut down the saloons was one more indication that the voluntary society was ineffective in the Twentieth Century. Within the temperance movement, there were many different voluntary societies. The WCTU, ASL and the Baptist Brotherhood were just three societies among others. Each Protestant denomination had a temperance society and many churches had their own temperance group. However, the Protestants' temperance groups faced some stiff opposition. The Liberty League was one such group. Other groups include Cuyahoga County Retail Liquor Dealers and the various breweries. The Protestant temperance movement needed a coordinated effort but there was no one or no organization that could fulfill this role.

Thus, the Baptist Brotherhood's failure was one more factor that caused some Protestants to question the effectiveness of Protestants' reform efforts. In the growing pluralistic and secular society, one voluntary society could not adequately solve the complex social issue. Several voluntary societies working together may have some impact upon the social issue. Some Protestant leaders recognized the need for a more coordinated

secularity' as the type found in France (Chp 2); the second is 'mere secularity' which the church plays a greater role in society which the type to be found in England (Chp. 3).

Protestant effort in social issues. This recognition led them to organize the Federated Churches of Cleveland. The Federated Churches of Cleveland recognized the need for a more coordinated Protestant effort by writing into its Constitution Preamble these words: ". . . to create and maintain an effective union of churches of Cleveland United and aggressive action upon religious and social questions."⁶⁵

Part IV Conclusions

After the Baptist Brotherhood, the Federated Churches of Cleveland, took up the challenge.⁶⁶ Other Protestant temperance societies, WCTU and ASL continued with their work. The Federated Churches attempted to coordinate the various Protestant temperance activities. However, the continuing growth of secularity and pluralism in society

⁶⁵Folder 1, Container 1, Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406, WRHS.

⁶⁶See Leader, July, 11, 1913, pp 2 and P.D. Sept. 9, 1913, pp 18. Temperance as a major concern of the Federated Churches of Cleveland continued until World War II. In years between 1911 and 1941, the Federated Churches of Cleveland continued the battle against intemperance. The Federated Churches supported Prohibition and opposed the ending of it. From the 1940s to the present the Federated Churches of Cleveland have continued the Protestants interest in temperance but not in the vision of an immediate temperate society. The Federated Churches of Cleveland shifted its focus from adults to children via an educational program with the hope that beginning with the young a temperate society would develop. See also Container 22, Folder 1, Cleveland Area Federated Churches, MSS 3406, WRHS.

limited the effectiveness of the Protestant temperance efforts. The Protestant temperance effort did win a partial victory with the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment (1919).

The Protestants' efforts in recreation and temperance show a pattern of action. Protestants had believed that good and moral individuals banded together could effect change in society. The method of joining individuals together was through the voluntary society. However, the voluntary society had a narrow focus, i.e., it was concern only with one issue. The issues of recreation and temperance, outwardly, appear to be a "simple" issue. However, these issues are very complex. For example, when a person chooses his or her recreation there is also a choice of how much time to allot to the activity. Protestant churches' Wednesday evening services suffered because members chose to go to the movies. Pastors had to devise ways to attract members to their Wednesday service. Also, recreation involves many different types of activities. Thus, a voluntary society that focus on recreation would be overwhelmed with details such as what activities are 'morally correct'? Or is Wednesday night service more important than recreation in an individual who had only Wednesday as his/her day off?

The temperance movement showed the Protestants'

insistence, on individual conversion as the base for social reform, was still present in the Twentieth Century. Protestants, also, used individual conversion as their cornerstone in their immigrant mission work. However, as in their moral reform efforts, Protestants failed in to convert many immigrants to their position. The pattern of using voluntary societies also held true in their immigrant work. It is to show how this repetitive pattern manifested itself that we now turn to the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: Immigration and Protestants.

Introduction

The Southern and Eastern Europeans who came between 1880 and 1915 arrived in an America that was in transition from an agrarian society to an urban society. These immigrants arrived upon American shores for reasons not so dissimilar than those who had preceded them. However, these immigrants, unlike those in past, were destined for the urban areas that developed around these factories. These immigrants did not become the yeoman farmers of the past. Instead, they became steel workers, garment workers, refinery workers, automobile factory workers etc. of a new urban America.

As in the past, these newcomers had to be incorporated into all aspects of society but the new urban America was far more complex than the old agrarian America. In the past, neighbors and churches may have offered assistance to the immigrant. However, this new wave of immigrants arrived in an urban and industrial America. Urbanization and industrialization caused a variety of social problems that combined to overwhelm the resources of the ad hoc method. Mutual societies created by immigrants who had arrived earlier helped some but social settlement houses were the major Cleveland's religious response to the needs of the immigrants.

These new immigrants also challenged the existing religious order to minister to their spiritual needs. The Roman Catholic Church responded by expanding the parochial system that focused upon a particular neighborhood with the parish church as its 'heart'. Thus, Roman Catholic churches reflected the neighborhood. One could tell where a particular ethnic group neighborhood was if one also knew the name of the church. The parochial system allowed the Roman Catholics to change and adapt as the neighborhoods changed. In 1908, out of the fifty-seven Cleveland Roman Catholic churches, Slavs built twenty-seven churches.¹

Throughout the early and mid-Nineteenth Century, Cleveland Jewish community had been small and came mainly from Germany. However, with the arrival of Eastern European Jews, the community grew not only in numbers but also in influence within the social and religious orders.² The Jewish community expanded old organizations and created new organizations to help the immigrants.³

¹Cleveland News, December 23, 1908.

²ECH, "Jews & Judaism" pp 572-575; and Michael J. McTighe, "Babel and Babylon on the Cuyahoga", Thomas F. Campbell, and Edward M. Miggins eds. The Birth of Modern Cleveland, 1865-1930. Cleveland: Associated University Presses, 1988, (pp 231-269) pp 250-254. See also Lloyd P. Gartner, History of the Jews of Cleveland, 2nd ed., Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1987.

³Lloyd P. Gartner, History of the Jews of Cleveland, pp 216-241.

The Orthodox Churches', (practically every branch was represented in Cleveland, e.g., Greek, Russian, Serbs etc.), initial task was to establish themselves, i.e., find worship spaces, arrange for resident clergy and raise funds for its mission activities.⁴ The Eastern European immigrants were responsible for the Orthodox Churches' growth.

This chapter's focus is on the Protestants' immigrant work and strategies. Initially, Protestants ignored them. However, by 1910, some Protestant leaders demanded for a new direction in denominational immigrant work. Other Protestant leaders demanded certain churches to work exclusively with immigrants. Still other Protestants helped to establish social settlement houses. Denominational leaders, also, reorganized their church extension societies for immigrant work.

This chapter argues the Protestants' pattern of using voluntary societies failed to meet the challenges of the immigrants. These societies depended upon two factors for their effectiveness. The first was individual participation in the society. The second was the society

⁴See "Greeks" in ECH, pp 472-474 for the Greek Orthodox Church. "Russians" in ECH, pp 848 for the Russian Orthodox. "Serbs" in ECH, pp 880-881 for the Serbian Orthodox. "Ukrainians", in ECH, pp 987-988 for the Ukrainian Orthodox. For the Syrian Orthodox see "Arab-Americans" in ECH, pp 37-40 esp pp 38. There were other Orthodox Churches which met in members' homes.

members and the group receiving the assistance shared similar values and attitudes. There were limited individual interest and Protestants and the immigrant's groups shared few common values therefore the voluntary societies met with limited success. In this chapter, denominations are also considered voluntary societies. Although not considered one, the local church is also a variant of the voluntary society. Organizationally, all three organizations were similar. Like-minded individuals established and supported these organizations. This chapter will discuss each organization. Voluntary societies' failure in immigrant work was one more reason and a major impetus for the creation of the Federated Churches of Cleveland.

Part I Protestants' Attitudes

Before 1880, Protestant denominations paid scant attention to immigration because immigrants came from Protestant countries of Northern and Central Europe. Roman Catholics were not large enough to threaten the Protestants' hold on American religion. Immigrants had familiar denominations to join or could establish new Protestant denominations. (E.g., the Evangelical Church. It was established in Pennsylvania.) The Eastern and Southern European immigration began in the 1880s. These immigrants

were different from previous immigrants (The Irish were a major exception.) because they were, generally, Roman Catholic, Orthodox or Jewish. They also arrived in an America that had a strong nativism that treated immigrants, Roman Catholics and Jews with great hostile or suspicion.⁵

The Protestants' attitudes reflected these nativistic attitudes.⁶ Josiah Strong, a prominent Social Gospel advocate, called these immigrants a 'problem'.⁷ Strong argued these immigrants were from the lower class thus their moral standards were low and their religious life nonexistent. He further argued, among these immigrants were criminal and paupers who were forced to immigrate. He also argued these immigrants were an intemperate lot and became the city machine politicians willing workers.⁸

After ignoring these immigrants for several years, Protestants started to examine the "immigrant problem".

⁵John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University, Press 1955.

⁶For Protestants' reaction to immigration see Martin Marty, Pilgrims in Their Own Land--500 Years of Religion in America. Chapter 13-14, and Arthur Schlesinger, The Rise of the City 1878-1898, Chapter X. For the churches role in nativism see John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1955.

⁷Our Country, Its possible future and its present crisis, N.Y. 1885, Chp 4.

⁸See the chapters on "Intemperance" and "City".

The Social Gospel Movement, which helped to awaken Protestants to industrialization and urbanization social issues, also helped to awaken them to these immigrants' problems and concerns. As in the temperance movement, Protestants first sought ways to convert these immigrants to Protestantism. Hermon F. Swartz, superintendent of the Cleveland Congregational City Missionary Society, stated the Protestant's case when he said: "It is simply that if we do not lead these people to our ways they will drive us into theirs."⁹ For Protestants, the individual experiences his/ her conversion through the local church. Thus, the local church was an important part of Protestants' immigrant work. The Reverend William F. Rothenberger, Franklin Circle Disciples Church pastor and an active supporter of the Federated Churches of Cleveland, clearly stated this idea when he said: "The problem of the foreigner in 1911 must be solved through a firmly established institutional church working on a broadly religious basis. And the sooner this is carried out the quicker will come the evangelization of the foreigners in America."¹⁰

⁹The Congregational City Missionary Society, Cleveland Ohio. 11th Annual Report, 1903.

¹⁰P.D. January 2, 1911 Page 2. Rothenberger was very active in the City Pastor's union and in work of the Federated Churches of Cleveland. He was elected president of the City Pastors Union in

Part II Protestants and the Settlement House Movement

The antebellum ad hoc arrangement of neighbors and churches could not effectively address the problems and issues of the 1880s Eastern and Southern European immigrants. The close relationship between the churches and benevolent works disappeared in the post-Civil War era. Churches focused more on religious matter while private benevolent agencies took over charity work. The growth of private benevolent agencies was clear evidence of this separation. Also, local government became involved in poor relief. Thus, a piecemeal system of private benevolent agencies and local government met the social service needs of these immigrants. Private benevolent agencies ranged from mutual aid societies that immigrants organized themselves to church-based relief agencies to private voluntary agencies started by individuals concerned about the immigrant 'problem'.^{..}

The social settlement house was the Cleveland Protestant's major response to the immigrant's problems and was an innovation in social service delivery. The social settlement house delivered its social services from a building located within the neighborhood of its target

1917.

^{..}See "Many Nations", Cleveland News, July 5, 1909, pp 1, which list the various ethnic group's mutual aid societies.

group and the range of social services was extensive. The social settlement house identified with its neighborhood and its staff usually lived in the same neighborhood. For many settlement house workers, settlement work was not only work but also a 'call' (in the religious sense of the word). Social settlement house also participated in reform movements to change the conditions that created the social problems.

Cleveland social settlement houses were located in the immigrant neighborhoods and for many immigrants were the only social agency that they used for solving their social problems. John J. Grabowski argued: "The most important and effective manifestation of the social gospel movements in the United States and in Cleveland was the social settlement."¹² Without the social settlement houses and their generally nominal connections to them, Cleveland Protestants' efforts would be barely noticeable among these immigrants.

The institutional church was the Cleveland Protestants' other major immigrant work agency. The institutional church will be discussed further in the next section. However, for this section, a brief explanation is

¹²John J. Grabowski, "Social Reform and Philanthropic Order", David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds, Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform, Kent, Ohio, 1986, pp 32.

necessary because the differences reflected the gap between the benevolent order and Protestants. A definition of the institutional church is vague and the problem of defining is reserved for the next section. However, for this section, the institutional church is loosely defined as a church adapted for use in a poor or immigrant neighborhood.

The institutional church and the social settlement house shared common elements. Both organizations offered a wide range of social services. The building or church was located within an immigrant or poor neighborhood. The Social Gospel Movement helped to create both organizations.

The differences between these two organizations were significant. The social settlement house participated actively in social reform movements. Cleveland settlement houses participated in child welfare reform efforts, better housing efforts, sanitation efforts and other social reform movements.¹³ The social settlement house's freedom to advocate and participate in reform efforts was not as restricted.¹⁴

¹³John J. Grabowski, "Social Reform and Philanthropic Order", David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, eds, Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform, Kent, Ohio, 1986.

¹⁴See John J. Grabowski's article, "From Progressive to Patrician: George Bellamy and Hiram House Social Settlement, 1896-1914", Ohio History, Volume 87, No. 1, Winter, 1978, pps 37-52. Grabowski noted how funding sources limited a particular social settlement house's activities and changed a settlement worker.

An institutional church was a local church adapted for use in an immigrant or poor neighborhood. Thus, denominational concerns were important factors in its activities. The institutional church had to obey the denominational polity. Denominational urban strategy and policy decided the range of activities. The institutional church offered social services in response to the Gospel and not out of humanitarian reasons.

The social settlement house and the institutional church had also another important difference. The social settlement house was not a voluntary society while the institutional church was a particular form of it. The social settlement house was a part of the benevolent order and not the religious order. The institutional church directed its efforts at individual conversion while the social settlement house's success rested partly on rejecting the Protestant's insistence on individual conversion. In the social settlement house, the talk was of people served while in the institutional church, the talk was of 'souls saved'.¹³

In the period between 1896 and 1910, five social settlement houses were established beginning with Hiram

¹³Allen F. Davis, Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914, New York, 1967, pp 15.

House in 1896.¹⁶ Following Hiram House was Goodrich House (1897), Council Educational Alliance (1899), Alta House (1900), and East End Settlement House (1907).¹⁷ Of the five, Council Education Alliance was the only non-Protestant associated social settlement house and it owed its establishment to the efforts of the Jewish community.¹⁸

Students from the Disciples' Hiram College established Hiram House as an outgrowth of a class project.¹⁹ The

¹⁶See Judith A. Laughlin, "History of Hiram House from 1896-1934; a Descriptive Study of the Stages in the Development of the Program, Physical Structure and Personnel of Hiram House, Cleveland, Ohio, 1896-1934", (M.A. thesis, Western Reserve University, 1935) and John J Grabowski, "A Social Settlement in a Neighborhood in Transition: Hiram House, Cleveland, Ohio, 1896-1926", (Ph.D Diss, Case Western Reserve University, 1977) and the article on Hiram House in ECH, pp 508. For a contemporary view of Hiram House: Leader, July 4, 1909 Worker's Magazine, page 4.

¹⁷For Goodrich House, see the article in ECH, pp 459, Grabowski "Social Reform...", pp 37-40. For a contemporary account: Leader, July 25, 1909 Worker's Magazine. Council Educational Alliance, Grabowski, "Social Reform..." pps 42-45, and for contemporary account: Leader, September 5, 1909, Section H Page 8. Alta House, Grabowski, "Social Reform..." pps 40-42, article in ECH pp 19-20, and for contemporary account: Leader, September 26, 1909 Part E page 7. For East End Neighborhood House see the article in ECH, pp 356 and for a reference to its beginnings: P.D. April 15, 1910, Page 3.

¹⁸Grabowski, "Social Reform and Philanthropic Order", Cleveland A Tradition of Reform, pps 42-44. Lloyd R. Gartner, History of the Jews of Cleveland, 2nd ed., pp 222.

¹⁹Judith A. Laughlin, "History of Hiram House from 1896-1934; a Descriptive Study of the Stages in the Development of the Program, Physical Structure and Personnel of Hiram House, Cleveland, Ohio, 1896-1934", (M.A. thesis, Western Reserve University, 1935). John J Grabowski, "A Social Settlement in a Neighborhood in Transition: Hiram House, Cleveland, Ohio, 1896-

relationship between Hiram College and Hiram House was described in this manner: "Hiram College provided its good wishes and continuous flow of student volunteers, but no financial support."²⁰ Disciples' denominational support--financial or materially--was not a major source of support for Hiram House. Search of denominational records produced resolutions of support and commendation of moral support but little else.

Members of First Presbyterian Church (Old Stone) established Goodrich House but Flora Mather was the chief financial benefactor.²¹ John D. Rockefeller supported Alta House.²² Emmanuel Episcopal Church, occasionally, supported East End Settlement House but Samuel Mather was its main financial supporter.²³

1926", (Ph.D Diss, Case Western Reserve University, 1977). "Hiram House" in ECH, pp 508.

²⁰Grabowski, "Social Reform and Philanthropic Order", Cleveland A Tradition of Reform, pp 34. Hiram College was established in 1850.

²¹Grabowski, "Social Reform and Philanthropic Order", Cleveland A Tradition of Reform, pp 38 and ECH, "Flora Stone Mather", pps 665-66.

²²Grabowski, "Social Reform and Philanthropic Order", Cleveland A Tradition of Reform, pps 40-42; ECH, "John D. Rockefeller", pp 837; Grace Goulder, John D. Rockefeller, The Cleveland Years, pps 185-86.

²³ECH, pp 356, P.D. April 15, 1910, Page 3. Leader, Jan. 14, 1910. Search of the Emmanuel Church's file showed only passing references to East End Neighborhood House but no references to regular giving to East End Neighborhood House.

The Protestants' connections to a particular Protestant denomination were individual and not organizational. Good wishes and good intentions abound but none of the four settlement houses was a major part of Cleveland Protestants' immigrant mission strategy or efforts. There were very little efforts made to expand their focus to embrace a religious outlook. Infrequently, some Protestants would suggest that Alta, Goodrich and Hiram Houses hold regular religious services but this idea was not taken very seriously.²⁴

Part. III Institutional Church

Charles M Hopkins called the institutional church the Social Gospel Movement's "most concrete organized product."²⁵ Protestants used the institutional church to

²⁴For example see Leader, September 10, 1911, Page 2. In an article called "Movements in Religious World". The Reverend Edward Richard Wright (then Religious Editor and shortly thereafter [April, 1912] the first Executive Secretary of the Federated Churches of Cleveland) wrote about how 1911 was shaping up to be a great year of church work (chiefly due to the formation of the FCC and Baptist Brotherhood's activities) and that there needed to be more religious services in the various city institutions especially in Goodrich, Hiram and Alta. This concern for religious life in the various city social institutions simmered over the years and finally led the FCC to ask its Religious Work committee to investigate this matter. The Religious Work committee, in 1943, did investigate this matter but, ruefully, noted that the Catholics were doing a better job than the Protestants. (CCF, Bin 22 folder 5)

²⁵The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism. 1865-1915. New Haven, 1940, pp 319.

meet the needs of urban America.²⁶ The institutional church was an adaption of the local church. In any local church, the pastor does some social services. When a member has a problem, the pastor attempts to correct the problem with an appropriate intervention. The difference between the local church and the institutional church was of scale and purpose. The institutional church offered more social services than the local church. The institutional church tended to emphasis social services more than religion.

However, the definition of an institutional church remains vague. Robert Cross called the institutional church a 'reintegrated church' which he defined to mean a church attempting to identify with the whole community.²⁷ However, this definition is not totally satisfactory

²⁶Aaron Ignatius Abell. The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900. Harvard University Press: Cambridge. 1943. Abell discussed the institutional church as a movement in Chapters 6 and 7. Abell does not consider the institutional church as an adaption of the local church but this author does.

²⁷ Cross Robert D. ed., The Church and the City, New York. 1967. See the Introduction pp xi-xlii. Cross defined four types of city churches: 1-"transformation", established churches in a town which became "downtown" churches when the town became a city. 2-"transplantations" which are attempts to create in the midst of a city churches identical to warmly remembered ones in town or country. 3-"adaptations," the largest category of urban churches, which are attempts to cope with some specific challenge of the city. 4-"reintegrations." For a more 'exhaustive' classification of city churches see H. Paul Douglass, 1000 City Churches, Phases of Adaptation to Urban Environment. New York, 1926.

because, ideally, any local church attempts to identify with the whole community.

The range of services, also, is not a useful criterion. Cleveland larger and financially able Protestant churches also offered a range of social services. Epworth Memorial Methodist Church (now Epworth-Euclid United Methodist Church) was the most notable example. Epworth Memorial Methodist Church was at E. 55th Street and Prospect. In 1910 the neighborhoods to the east of it were residential and to the west was downtown Cleveland. North and south of Epworth were industrial areas mixed in with lower class neighborhoods. Epworth identified itself with its neighborhoods and offered a range of social services coordinated by a charity council.²³

This study used H. Paul Douglass' idea of self-identification as means to differentiate between groups to select the following three churches.²³ Pilgrim Congregational was the only church to deliberately develop

²³For a description of its programs see 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; and the Epworth Outlook (the parish newspaper) 1907-1914 for occasional stories on its activities.

²⁹1000 City Churches, Phases of Adaptation to Urban Environment, New York 1926, pp x.

itself into an institutional church.³⁰ The Methodists and Presbyterians developed two churches (Broadway Methodist and Woodland Presbyterian) into institutional church as a part of their urban mission strategy.³¹

In 1859, Congregationalist organized Pilgrim Congregational Church in an area, later called 'Tremont', just southwest of Public Square and above the Cuyahoga River.³² At first, New Englanders were the main residents. Later, Germans and Irish moved into this area. Gradually over the years, Tremont developed into a solid 'middle class' neighborhood. Pilgrim Church's neighborhood began to change in the 1880s. Streetcar service, once limited to

³⁰See "Plymouth Church" in CENTENNIAL COMMISSION ON PHILANTHROPY, History of the Charities of Cleveland, Cleveland, 1896. Also, Michael J. McTighe ("Babel and Babylon. . ." pp 236). Pilgrim was the only church to self-identified itself an institutional church. For a history of Pilgrim Church see Our First One Hundred Years. Cleveland: Pilgrim Congregational Church, 1959; Jeanette M. Hart, "A History of Pilgrim Church", Forty Years in Pilgrim Church, Cleveland, Ohio, 1859-1899. Cleveland: Pilgrim Congregational Church, 1900.

³¹Michael J. McTighe ("Babel and Babylon. . .") wrote: "Two of the leading institutional churches, Pilgrim Congregational and Broadway Methodist . . ." (pp 236) Victor Fugia, an Oberlin Graduate School of Theology student wrote a brief outline/ history of the Cleveland Church Federation, entitled: "The Cleveland Church Federation" no date. (Found in Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406, WRHS, Container 1, Folder 2). In his outline, Fugia added Woodland Presbyterian Church to the above two. For Broadway Methodist see also H. Paul Douglass, The Church in the Changing City: Case Studies Illustrating Adaption, New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927, pp 370.

³²The church is located at W. 14th and Starkweather which is the heart of the Tremont District.

area around Pilgrim Church, was extended westward. The village of Lakewood and surrounding areas grew as people moved away from downtown and the industrial areas into it. People then used the street cars to commute between their work and home.³³ Pilgrim Church members also made the move to the western suburbs and began to commute to church from their new homes.

As Pilgrim Church members made their move to the western suburbs, Poles, Ukrainians, Slavs and Russians moved into their vacated homes. The newcomers could walk to their jobs located in the factories that lined both banks of the Cuyahoga River.³⁴ Other Protestant churches, faced with the same situation of changing neighborhoods and membership moves, chose to close the old church building and to build a new church building closer to the membership's homes. Pilgrim Church members refused to close their church. Instead, they decided, in the 1890s, to adapt the church to the needs of the neighborhood while commuting from their western suburb homes for Sunday services. Pilgrim Church sponsored several social service programs, which included a branch of the public library

³³Cleveland News April 17, 1911, pp 6.

³⁴See McTighe, pp 236-239, and Pilgrim Church History and Directory, 1859-1929, Pilgrim Church, 1930.

complete with reading programs for immigrant children, visiting nurses and friendly visitors, one of Cleveland's first Boy Scouts troops, Camp Fire Girls, sewing classes, various educational programs (including vocational education), orchestra and employment services.³⁵ The immigrants who used these services were encouraged to become church members but not required.

The Pilgrim Church members supported these social services by direct contributions of funds for the programs and by volunteering time and effort to operate these programs. Pilgrim Church programs operated without the benefit of a major financial contributor like a Lawrence Servance who contributed money for Woodland Presbyterian. Even after the neighborhood became the center of the Cleveland Orthodox Church community, Pilgrim Church members refused to move but continued to adapt its programs to the needs of the neighborhood.

Broadway Methodist Episcopal Church became an institutional church because of circumstances. Methodists organized Broadway Methodist Church in 1872 to meet the needs of members moving into the Broadway area that was

³⁵See McTighe, pp 238. For Boy Scouts (Troop 10) see Leader, March 16, 1909, pp 5 and Nov. 2, Metro Sec. pp 9. Pilgrim Church History and Directory, 1859-1929, Pilgrim Church, 1930. Leader, November 12, 1900, pp 5.

located some miles south of Public Square.³⁶ The heart of Broadway Methodist's district was Willson (now East 55th Street) and Broadway. There were some Czechs living in the area but most of the population was 'native born'. In the area immediately to the west of Willson and Broadway, Cleveland steel industry developed and grew. Czechs and Slavs attracted by jobs in the steel industry moved into this area and by 1914 this area was the heart of Cleveland's Czech and Slav communities. Broadway Methodist Church members had before 1900 moved away from the area and the church struggled to minister to the needs of the immigrants.³⁷

In 1913, Broadway Methodist Church took a survey of its surrounding area and found there were 30,000 persons living within its parish boundaries. Eleven churches were in the area. (Nine Protestants and two Roman Catholics that were larger than the Protestants combined). There were, also, ninety-six saloons, six dance halls, four public schools, one YMCA (Broadway branch), and a national hall

³⁶Michael J. McTighe, "Babel and Babylon. . ." in Campbell and Miggins, Birth of Modern Cleveland, 1865-1930, pp 238-239. H. Paul Douglass, The Church in the Changing City: Case Studies Illustrating Adaption, pp 370.

³⁷ECH, "Czechs" pp 326. Also see Cristy, A.B. ed, Cleveland Congregationalists, 1895: historical sketches of our twenty-five churches and missions and their work in mission..., Cleveland, 1895, entry for "Mizpah Church".

(for community and cultural life of the Czechs).³⁸

Unlike Pilgrim Church, Broadway Methodist, did not have a sizable 'native born' membership to support its programs and maintain its building therefore it depended upon outside funds and especially denominational funds. At anytime the denominational funds could have been stopped which would have closed Broadway Methodist Church. However, in the period between 1907 and 1911, the Methodists evaluated their urban ministry and chose a new direction.

Thus, the Methodists decided make Broadway Methodist into an urban model of ministry.³⁹ However, Broadway Methodist's building was too small for the size of its programs. The funds for a new church building were a part of the general Cleveland Methodist's plan for church extension. In 1910, the Reverend Norman Stroup announced he would ask 5,000 laymen for \$100,000 to make Broadway a 'working center'.⁴⁰ The Methodists did raise \$100,000 but

³⁸From a report by the Rev. Ernest W. Miller, assistant pastor of Broadway M.E. Church, quoted in an article, Leader January 2, 1913, Page 4. The ten churches (plus Broadway) were: Bethlehem Congregational, St. John Lutheran, Bethlehem Evangelist German, Slovak Catholic Church, St. Wendelin Catholic, German Lutheran Reformed, German Evangelical, Reformed Bohemian and Disciple Church.

³⁹Leader, June 4, 1913, pp 8.

⁴⁰Leader, December 20, 1910, pp 4.

it was not until 1920 that Broadway's renovations were completed.⁴¹ However, by this date, the Cleveland institutional church movement was no longer viable as Protestants turned their attention to other problems. Despite the lack of space and the length of the renovations, Broadway Methodist continued to offer social services similar to those offered by Pilgrim Congregational.⁴²

Woodland Presbyterian Church was Cleveland third institutional church. Woodland Presbyterian, on a smaller scale, illustrated the difficulties that Protestants had with adapting to the urban environment. Road improvements along Woodland Avenue and areas eastward made housing development around East 46th and Woodland possible in the 1850s. People moved into this area to get away from the congested downtown area. Presbyterians organized a Sunday School, in 1855, to meet this growing neighborhood's religious needs. The membership grew and the Sunday School became Woodland Presbyterian Church on April 18, 1872.⁴³ Woodland Presbyterian and its neighborhood became the home

⁴¹H. Paul Douglass, The Church in the Changing City. Case Studies Illustrating Adaptation, New York, 1927, pp 350.

⁴²From the Rev. Ernest W. Miller's report cited above.

⁴³Ludlows, History of Cleveland Presbyterianism..., pp 161-179.

to some of Cleveland elites.⁴⁴

By 1900, the neighborhood around Woodland Presbyterian developed into a commercial district and its members moved further east to escape this change. In 1910, a growing immigrant neighborhood surrounded Woodland Presbyterian as immigrants moved in to work in the nearby manufacturing plants. The membership, unlike Pilgrim Congregational, was not willing to commute to it for services or to support it financially. Therefore, Woodland Presbyterian leaders faced a decision on whether to focus on immigrant work or to close the church.

Woodland Presbyterian Church could have followed its neighbor Saint Mary's Episcopal Church and move eastward to be closer to its membership.⁴⁵ However, Presbyterians, like the Methodists, reexamined their urban strategy. They decided Woodland Presbyterian should become an

⁴⁴The most notable would be Louis H. Severance and Solon L. Severance.

⁴⁵See Symthe, History of the Diocese of Ohio, pp 398-99 and 523-524; Leader February 10, 1912, pp 4 (for announcement of St. Mary's last service) and pp 6 'Church News' for the report and reason for its move. Also see Leader, December 7, 1912, pp 9 (for news about St. Mary's ground breaking ceremony) and November 22, 1913 pp. 10, (for announcement regarding St. Mary's dedication service). Despite the public record claiming the building conditions as being poor as one of the reasons for moving, the parish records indicated that the neighborhood change was the major factor in the decision to move east. (from St. Mary's files. in Diocese of Ohio Archives).

institutional church.⁴⁶ Lawrence H. Severance donated \$10,000 toward the remodeling of building (to provide for a gym and social room). Other Presbyterians contributed money toward the remodeling and programs. This support allowed the Cleveland Presbytery to change Woodland Presbyterian Church into an institutional church.⁴⁷

Protestants hoped that Pilgrim Congregational, Broadway Methodist and Woodland Presbyterian would be the first of many institutional churches to be built.⁴⁸ The institutional church would then be at the forefront of Protestant immigrant mission work.⁴⁹ However, these three churches were the only institutional churches established in Cleveland. While in their active years (1890-1920 for Pilgrim, 1900-1920 for Broadway and 1911-1920 for Woodland) these churches' efforts were comparable to those of the

⁴⁶Leader, February 12, 1912, pp 4. According to this article, Woodland Presbyterian's building was still sound and needed some changes (like a gym) in order to become an 'institutional' church.

⁴⁷Leader, February 15, 1913, pp 14.

⁴⁸See for example Rothenburger's comment cited above. Also, see the Federated Churches of Cleveland Executive Committee's Minutes, May 31, 1918 where institutional churches were to be the "backbone" of the plan to Americanize the foreign born population. (Container 4, Folder 2, Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406, WRHS)

⁴⁹See Victor Fugia, "The Cleveland Church Federation", no date, pp 4. (Found in Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406, WRHS, Container 1, Folder 2).

settlement houses.

There were three factors that led to the failure of the institutional church movement in Cleveland. The first was the Protestants' inability to expand the appeal and willingness to support the institutional church movement beyond certain elites and clergy.⁵⁰ Broadway Methodist and Woodland Churches continued to receive limited denominational funds, which hampered expansion of its programs.

The second factor was the Protestants' inability to answer the question of what was the role of the institutional church in urban mission work? Some clergy argued the institutional church's main purpose was to help in Americanization of immigrants.⁵¹ Others debated whether the institutional church properly belonged to a general Protestant urban strategy or whether it should be a part of a denominational strategy.⁵²

The third factor was uncertainty as to its denominational role. Institutional churches required denominational funding and support because their members

⁵⁰Martin Marty, Righteous Empire, The Protestant Experiences in America, New York 1970, pp 164-165.

⁵¹Leader, Dec. 7, 1909 pp 4 and Leader, April 27, 1911, pp 4.

⁵²Leader January 9, 1911, pp 4.

were unable to contribute money or their time toward the support of the church. Denominations had to ask whether the funding of the institutional church should take priority over church extension into the new suburbs? They also had to ask was the purpose of the institutional church to make good denominational members, that is, to foster denominational loyalties?⁵³

Part IV Protestant Ethnic Missions

Traditionally, local churches were the major agencies in Protestants' efforts to address social problems. Voluntary societies did address many social issues but it was the local churches that supported the voluntary societies. For example, in the temperance movement, it was the local Baptists churches that supported the Baptist Brotherhood. Thus, it was not surprising that Protestant denominations attempted to organize ethnic mission churches. The organizing of ethnic mission churches was based partly on the Protestant's long standing practice that individual conversion was the first step in social reform. The ethnic mission, along with the institutional church, was supposed to be the cornerstones in the

⁵³Leader, August 12, 1911 pp 4.

Protestant's immigrant mission work.⁵⁴

However, ethnic mission church presented unique problems to Protestants. These immigrants came from countries where there was little Protestants' presence. Therefore, the traditional Protestant's appeal for individual repentance and conversion had no meaning for these immigrants. So other means had to be devise to attract immigrants into the church. Institutional churches offered needed social services that attracted immigrants into the church. However, institutional churches were expensive to operate. Thus, any attempt to make each ethnic mission church an institutional church would be very costly. Some Protestants recognized this fact and urged that ethnic mission churches be made a branch of a centrally located institutional church.⁵⁵

Leadership was another problem. A native born American pastor did not necessarily have the language or cultural skills to work effectively with immigrants. Lay leadership, therefore, would be an important element in an ethnic mission church. However, these immigrants came from countries with little Protestant traditions therefore

⁵⁴ See Victor Fugia, "The Cleveland Church Federation". no date, pp 4. (Found in Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406. WRHS, Container 1, Folder 2).

⁵⁵ "Minutes of the Executive Committee", May 31, 1918, Folder 2, Container 4, Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406, WRHS.

denominations had to develop lay leadership programs.⁵⁶ The development of ordained leadership from these immigrant groups was also a problem. Each denomination had its own requirements for ordination, which may include college graduation (e.g., Episcopalians) or other requirements. This meant an immigrant offering himself for ordination may have to wait for a lengthy period because of the need to fulfill these requirements. However, there were clergy from these immigrant groups but the availability was limited because there were so few.⁵⁷

Protestant customs also hindered ethnic mission work. Many Protestants' ethnic missions shared a church building with an existing congregation. Thus, ethnic mission church's programs had to compete for space with the other congregation. Many ethnic mission church pastors were assistant thus working under the direction of a senior pastor. By custom, resignation of the senior pastor meant all assistants also must resign. Carabelli Luci was in

⁵⁶The Congregationalist had the only lay leadership training school in Cleveland. The Schauffler Missionary Training School, established in 1886, trained young women for mission work among their own ethnic group. "Schauffler College of Religious and Social Workd" in ECH, pp 872 and Henry Martyn Tenney, The Schauffler Missionary Training School, Cleveland: Gardner Printing, 1915.

⁵⁷Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity: "The Great Century" AD 1800-1914, Vol IV. New York: Harper & Brothers 1941, Chapter 7, pp 224-291 esp pp 283.

charge of the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church's Italian mission when he fell victim to this custom.⁵⁸ With the resignation of Dr. Charles Easton, the senior pastor, Luci was also forced to resign which halted the Italian mission work until a new senior pastor arrived.⁵⁹

Protestants' lack of a worldwide organization also hindered their ethnic mission church work. While the Baptists struggled to find a pastor for their Hungarian Mission, the Roman Catholics used the contacts of Auxiliary Bishop Joseph Koudelka to recruit priests for its Eastern European immigrant congregations.⁶⁰ Also, as an example, a newly arrived Polish immigrant could attend St. John Cantius and be assured the service would be the same as the one in Poland. If this immigrant did not like this church, he or she had several other churches to attend. This apparent organizational advantage led one Protestant to proclaim the Roman Catholic Church as the best organized

⁵⁸Cleveland News, Jan. 8, 1909, pp 1. A unidentified Oberlin pastor brought him to a Baptist Ministerial meeting in 1908 where he was introduced to Dr. Charles Eaton, pastor of Euclid Ave. Eaton asked him to take charge of Josephine Mission.

⁵⁹Cleveland News, Jan. 30, 1909, pp 1. Luci eventually joined the Citizen Saving and Trust as head of their Italian Business Department. (Cleveland News, June 15, 1909, pp 3)

⁶⁰Leader, Oct. 7, 1912. After some difficulties, the Baptists were able to obtain the Reverend Stephen Orosz from Hungary. Also according to this article, Cleveland had the largest Hungarian Baptist Church in the U.S. For Bishop Koudelka, see Hynes, History of the Diocese of Cleveland, pps 244-45.

church.⁶ⁱ

Besides leadership and organizational problems, the pattern of Protestants leaving the old neighborhoods for the new suburbs caused problems. When a Protestant church moved to the suburbs, the members sold the old building or gave it to the denomination. When the denomination decided to use the old building for immigrant, certain minimal repairs and remodeling were necessary to put on adequate programs. However, funds for remodeling and repairs were difficult to obtain from the immigrant congregation because they did not have the money. Native-born members could provide the money but attempts to get the money from them. also, provided difficult (as seen in cases of Broadway Methodist and Woodland Presbyterian). Immigrant mission work held a limited appeal among them. Their preference was to give to their own local church instead of to the denomination.

Grace Methodist Episcopal Church is a good example of the difficulties faced by an ethnic mission church. At Quincy and E. 83rd Street, Grace Church was in the middle of Cleveland Bohemian community. There were approximately 18,000 Bohemians living in a neighborhood of 30,000. By 1911, Grace Church's native-born members, like other

⁶ⁱSheldon Park, a Presbyterian, see Leader, Jan. 26, 1910. pp 4.

Protestants, had left the neighborhood for the suburbs. Like other ethnic mission churches, the lack of space limited the range of social services. In 1911, Grace Church had 225 members and 600 Sunday School members, who were from the neighborhood. Like other immigrant congregations, they lacked the necessary financial means to rebuild the parish hall. Grace Church's future depended upon businessmen supporters to raise \$100,000 for this project.⁶² However, Grace Church was never remodeled and eventually closed. The Reverend Charles Stelze, a noted Presbyterian advocate for the working class, summed up the challenge to Protestants: "The foreign population were used to worshipping in cathedrals. Our building to them must be equal to what they came from."⁶³

The Protestants failed to meet this challenge. Protestant denominational ethnic missions usually used vacated churches or shared a building with an established congregation. The following is a synopsis of Protestant denominational ethnic mission efforts between 1890 and 1914.

The Presbyterians had a 'French language' services

⁶²The above based on the Leader's Nov. 29, 1911 article on Grace Methodist Church and some Methodist Church records where Grace was mentioned en passim.

⁶³Cleveland News, January 4, 1912, pp 6.

under the aegis of the Second Presbyterian Church. Their Italian mission was at St. John's Beckwith Memorial Chapel. (It was located in "Little Italy", which was at Mayfield and Murray Hill.) North Presbyterian Church did some mission work to the Slovaks who were living in its neighborhood.²³ By 1910, the Presbyterians started to move toward a more active role in immigrant work.²⁴

The Episcopal Church did not carry out any diocesan-wide program for the immigrants but on local church level there were some activities. The most notable effort in Cleveland was Emmanuel Church's work among the Bohemians.²⁵

The Disciples (or Christian Church) did not have any

²³Cleveland Press, February 26, 1909, page 10. For the Slovaks see Leader, December 13, 1911. See also the article on St. John's Beckwith in the ECH pp 857.

²⁴Leader, Jan. 26, 1910, pp 4. Sheldon Park, chair of the membership committee, addressing the annual meeting of the Presbyterian Union of Cleveland had noted that Cleveland Presbyterians owned property valued at \$100 million which yield an annual income of \$5 million. With all this wealth, Park urged an 'investment' into immigrant work. There was a question about who should direct the immigrant work that is shall the Union or the Presbytery. This question was important. The former was a voluntary group of Presbyterians. The latter was the official body for Cleveland Presbyterians. Therefore if the Presbytery was in charge, immigrant work would receive the official support of all Cleveland Presbyterians. On September 20, 1911, the Presbytery took official action and appointed the Rev. Charles Zorbaugh, former pastor Windermere Presbyterian Church, as the first superintendent of Presbyterian mission among foreigners. The budget was for \$3,000 annually. (See Leader September 20, 1911, pp 3)

²⁵See Symthe, A History of the Diocese of Ohio, pps 465-467. Also see Leader, February 24, 1909, np.

major local church work in the immigrant communities. Its connection with Hiram House was noted above.

The Methodist Church in Cleveland was divided into English and German churches and conferences.²⁶ Immigration mission work was done through the individual churches.²⁷

Among the Protestants, the Baptists were the most aggressive in their immigrant work. They formed eight missions and used their City Mission Society to coordinate the immigrant and general church extension work.²⁸

²⁶John M. Versteeg, ed, Methodism, Ohio Area, 1812-1962, Ohio Sesquicentennial Committee, 1962 esp Chapter 10 for German Methodists. This book not only describes the English and German Methodists of Ohio but also branches of Methodism e.g. Swedish Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant etc. Despite the division of Cleveland into North Ohio Conference (areas west of the Cuyahoga River); East Ohio Conference (areas east of the Cuyahoga River); and German Methodist Conference, Cleveland Methodists through the Methodist Union and the Methodist Pastors Union which had members from all three conferences, cooperated in city mission work. By action of the 1911 Methodist General Conference, North and East Ohio's Conferences merged into the North-East Ohio Conference. The German Methodists were affected by the anti-German feelings generated from World War I and were quietly merged with the English Methodists in 1933. In 1939, the Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, South and the Methodist Protestants merged to form the Methodist Church.

²⁷An example would be Woodland M.E. Church which ministered to the Welsh. (See Cleveland News, Feb. 13, 1909, pp 6)

²⁸Leader, April 25, 1912, pp 8. The churches were: 1-Swedish Church (White and E. 57th St) 2-Hungarian Church (Holton/ E. 79th); 3-Slovak Church (College/Tremont); 4-Bleeker St. Mission (W. 56th. mixed group but mostly Germans); 5-Greener Mission (E. 61st/Glass); 6-Italian Mission (aka Josephine or Cherry St., E. 22 and Cherry); 7-Polish Mission operating out of Trinity Baptist Church (Fullerton and Broadway); 8-Roumain Mission (W. 58th and Tillman). For Baptist's women contributions to the immigrant work see Leader May

Many considered the Congregational Church to be second only to the Baptist in immigrant work.²⁹ The Congregational Churches had four missions to Bohemians, Slovaks, Poles and Scandinavians.³⁰ Like the Baptists, the Congregationalist also used their city mission organization to coordinate immigrant work and extension work.

Besides the above traditionally English-speaking denominations were those denominations that focused upon a particular ethnic group. The largest Protestant ethnic missions were those who focused exclusively on the Germans: 1-The Evangelical Church (nine churches), 2-the United Brethren (six churches), 3-The German Reformed Church (ten churches), 4-German Baptists (five churches).³¹ The

28, 1913. All the above churches were in the heart of their mission target groups.

²⁹Leader, December 13, 1911, pp. 3.

³⁰Leader, Nov. 2, 1911 and Sept. 18, 1913, pp 9. P.D. Sept. 17, 1913, pp 13, Sept. 20, 1913 and Sept. 21, 1913, Sec. A pp 10 for the Slovaks/Bohemians/Polish missions. The missions were Emmanuel Church (E. 82/Quincy), Mitzpah (E. 59/Fleet), and Cyril Church (W. 43rd/Clark). The fourth was not identified. For the Swedish mission see Leader, May 16, 1910 pp 10. The church was at Addison and Decker.

³¹For the Evangelical Church, see Leader September 27, 1909, pp 5 and Roy B. Leedy, The Evangelical Church in Ohio, The Ohio Conference, 1959, Chapter 31, pps 657-716. The 9 churches were divided into 8 German language and 1 English language congregations. German Reformed Church see Leader Oct. 8, 1909, pp 3. For the German Baptists see Leader August 17, 1911, pp 1 and August 18, 199, pp 4. For the United Brethren see Cleveland City Directory, 1909-10, and Cleveland News, October 27, 1908 Part II, Prosperity Edition, "Churches and Lodges" pp 8.

Lutherans had thirty-five churches representing seven denominations.³² There were also, single congregations like 'Magyar Reformed Church', Armenians worshiping at local Episcopal Churches and 'Jones Road Congregational Church' that ministered to the Welsh living in Newburg.³³ There were other denominations and congregations--some known and some forgotten--that also did immigrant work.³⁴

Protestant denominations were not the only Protestant's organization that did immigrant work. The YMCA, YWCA and the Salvation Army, as an extension of their urban work, also did immigrant mission work. These three organizations were more active than the denominations in

³²Leader, Jan 20, 1912, pp 6. According to the Leader, Feb. 3, 1912 pp 5, there were 4 churches associated with the General Synod, 5 associated with the General Council, 1 Augustana, 1 Iowa Synod, 3 Ohio Synod, 18 Missouri Synod and 3 Norwegian Synod. There were also 15 Evangelical Lutheran Churches plus numerous other smaller unknown churches.

³³For 1st Magyar Reformed Church see Leader, Aug. 31, 1913. Cosmopolitan Section pp 1. For the Armenians see P.D. Mar. 10. 1911, pp 7. For Jones Road see P.D. Nov. 15, 1909, pp 5 and Cleveland News, April 28, 1911, pp 4.

³⁴An Example of other Protestant groups doing immigrant work was the Welsh synod of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists and Presbyterians of Ohio (see Leader June 12, 1909, pp 2 for a brief notice of meeting). Example of other Protestant groups not doing immigrant work included the United Presbyterian Churches (there were 4 churches). An example of a 'unknown' congregation doing immigrant work but generally escaping public notice until they caused attention to be drawn to themselves was the 'Church of the Living God'. This church drew the public attention when in March, 1910, the pastor performed a baptism on a church member in the icy Lake Erie water. See Leader, March 14, 1910 pp 3.

immigrant work. The following is an outline of their efforts.

A group of young men, who worked in a London dry goods firm, organized the YMCA in 1844.³⁵ The YMCA's first American association was organized in Boston in 1851 and Cleveland YMCA was organized on February 6, 1854.³⁶ The YMCA's evangelical outlook made it easy for Cleveland churches to accept them and the relationship between them remained close over the years.³⁷ From its beginning, the YMCA was concerned with the problems that young men encountered in the city. Immigrant males, single or married traveling alone, came to Cleveland to search for work. Concerned by the lack of adequate housing, lack of employment counseling and the potential for exploitation, the YMCA developed programs to address these concerns. The YMCA stationed a worker at Ellis Island. This worker would actively search for immigrants who had listed Cleveland as

³⁵C. Howard Hopkins, History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America, New York, 1951, pps 3-5.

³⁶Hopkins, History of the YMCA..., pp 16-17 and pp 24-25; Rose, pp 265; ECH, "YMCA" pp 1077.

³⁷Cleveland followed the national trend of the YMCA working closely with local churches. See Hopkins History of the YMCA..., pp 369-375. Also, this closeness was illustrated by the numerous cooperative ventures between the YMCA and the various churches and most notably in the fund raising efforts to build a new YMCA in February, 1910 (Leader, Plain Dealer, Press and News' coverage of this fund raiser beginning with Feb. 11, 1910)

their final designation. The worker would give them an 'introduction card' which the person could show either to the YMCA railroad station worker or to a police officer. The person was then directed to the Central YMCA where he could receive temporary housing and employment placement and, if necessary, be enrolled in an educational program (subjects included English Language, vocational skills and Americanization).³⁸

The YWCA was organized originally as the 'Women's Christian Association' in 1868 and added the 'Young' in 1893.³⁹ The YWCA offered programs similar to the YMCA.⁴⁰

The Salvation Army, as part of its urban work, reached out to the immigrants. There were seven 'corps' of which two were dedicated to Germans and Swedes with plans to expand to the Italians.⁴¹ The Salvationists also operated a day-care center which immigrants living near the

³⁸See ECH, pp 1077-78.

³⁹ECH 'YWCA' pp 1077.

⁴⁰Marian J. Morton "From Saving Souls to Saving Cities: Women and Reform in Cleveland", Campbell and Miggins, The Birth of Modern Cleveland..., pps 326-27.

⁴¹For a passing reference to German and Swedish corps see the Leader's worship services directory, published Jan. 4, 1908. For the Italians see Cleveland News April 8, 1911, pp 12.

Headquarters (downtown) could used.⁴²

However, in comparison, the Protestants' immigrant mission work was not equal to the Roman Catholics' efforts. For example, the Baptist Polish Mission shared its space with Trinity Baptist, which was at Fullerton and Broadway. The Roman Catholic parish of St. John Cantius was also in the neighborhood. St. John Cantius, with 600 families, was not only larger but also had its own building with wider range of services.⁴³ Cleveland Baptists had one Polish mission compared with the Roman Catholic eight Polish parishes with the smallest being larger than the Baptists.⁴⁴

This synopsis shows the Protestant's pattern of separate action to address a social issue. Interdenominational cooperation was limited to local churches cooperating only in certain issues and events

⁴²Cleveland News, April 19, 1911, pp 3. For a general look at the Salvationist's work and philosophy see the three-part series, written by Edna K. Wooley. Cleveland News Feb. 3, 1908, pp 4, Feb. 5, 1908, pp 4 and March 10, 1908 pp 3.

⁴³St. John Cantius, Cleveland News, May 15, 1909, pp 2. The Baptist Polish mission, Leader, April 25, 1912, pp 8.

⁴⁴Hynes, History of the Diocese of Cleveland.... I simply counted the number of Polish parishes listed in his book for the period 1847-1908. The number of Roman Catholic Polish congregations was directly related to the Polish immigration. As a church outgrew its building capacity, the church was divided to form two separate churches. This pattern holds true for all of the Roman Catholic churches.

(e.g., sponsorship of revivals). There was no attempt at establishing a formal interdenominational cooperative effort at the denominational level. Like the institutional church, ethnic mission churches taxed each denomination's financial abilities and personnel resources.⁴⁵

Part V City Missions

Protestants used a fourth method in their immigrant work. The denominational city mission was not a separate organization or a new one.⁴⁶ The Protestant denominations expanded the denominational church extension society's mission to include coordination of all its urban work. After 1908, Protestant denominations gave the supervision

⁴⁵All the denominational ethnic churches experienced financial difficulties. As the neighborhood changed with immigrants also moving to better neighborhoods, the ethnic mission church usually did not survive. For example, St. John's Beckwith merged with the nearby Euclid Avenue Presbyterian Church in 1922 because of financial difficulties. ("St. John's Beckwith Memorial Church", ECH, pp 857.)

⁴⁶In the period between 1890 to 1920, there were two distinct types of city missions. The second city mission was a result of Protestants attempting to put evangelicalism to practical use. This type of city mission was developed in the early Nineteenth Century. (Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Religion and the Rise of the American City; the New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870, Ithaca, New York, 1971.) In Cleveland, there a number these city missions. For example Floating Bethel who ministered to seamen and their family and received money from John D. Rockefeller. (Leader: November 29, 1911 pp 10, Cleveland Press December 6, 1909, pp 8. Grace Goulder, John D. Rockefeller, The Cleveland Years, Cleveland, 1927, pp 100) Trotter Mission (now City Mission) was probably the best known of Cleveland city missions ("City Mission", ECH pp 186).

of its immigrant mission work to the city missions. However, after 1920, due to the decreasing denominational interest in immigrant mission work, Protestant denominations stopped using the city mission.

The Congregationalist established the Congregational City Mission Society in March 1894. The purpose was to guide the expansion of Cleveland Congregationalism.⁴⁷ From 1894 to 1910, the Congregational City Mission Society directed its efforts to the 'native-born' and paid little attention to immigrants except its work among Bohemians. The Congregationalist decided, like other Protestants, to take a more aggressive approach to immigrant work in 1911. The Reverend Luman H. Royce, former pastor of Collinwood Congregational Church, was hired as the superintendent with a mandate to guide the immigrant work.⁴⁸ Royce's efforts to strengthen the existing ethnic churches were successful. However, further attempts to expand the work ran into difficulties caused by World War I, i.e., the decrease of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europeans because of

⁴⁷A.B. Cristy, ed. Cleveland Congregationalists, 1895: Historical sketches of our Twenty-five churches and missions and their work in mission..., Cleveland, 1896, pp 25-31. The City Mission Society grew out of a need to consolidated three different Congregationalists' extension groups: Ohio Home Missionary Society (state-wide organization), Bohemian Mission Board and Church Extension Committee.

⁴⁸Leader November 2, 1911, Page 4.

the war. Potential donors' interest in domestic mission waned because of the war.

The Baptist City Mission Society, like the Congregationalist, was originally concerned with church extension within the city of Cleveland.⁴⁹ The Baptists' concern for the immigrants was seen in two specific events. The first was the 1909 Conference of City Mission Superintendents that met in Cleveland and their topic was the 'City Foreigners'.⁵⁰ The second was the hiring of the Reverend C.A. Brooks as the City Mission Society superintendent. When Brooks arrived in 1908, the City Mission Society supervised six churches with only one 'foreign-speaking' mission.⁵¹ Under Brooks' leadership, the Baptists increased their foreign missions to three in 1910 and then to fifteen missions in 1911.⁵² For the same

⁴⁹Leader February 10, 1900. This article stated that the City Mission was concerned by the rapid growth of East Cleveland and they would need to build a church there. The Cleveland City Mission Society and the Cleveland Baptist Association merged in 1920. (See 150 Years of Mission to Greater Cleveland, 1832-1982, Cleveland Baptist Association, 1982).

⁵⁰P.D. October 30, 1909 Page 14.

⁵¹Leader January 4, 1908 pp 5. The mission was Josephine aka Cherry Street Mission for the Italians.

⁵²Leader April 15, 1910 Page 5. The 3 missions were to the Italian, Hungarian, Polish and Slavs. See Leader February 2, 1911 Page 4.

reasons as the Congregationalist, World War I affected the Baptists' immigrant work and effectively ended the work.

By 1911, Presbyterians, Disciples, and Methodists had all created their own city mission societies with specific goals of working with the 'foreign-speaking' or 'working man'.⁵³ The Episcopal Church City Mission Society did not work with immigrants. Instead, it became the Protestants' leading denomination in institutional work. (E.g., hospitals, prisons, juvenile hall, etc.).⁵⁴

Part VI Conclusions

In this chapter, Protestants' four main methods in working with immigrants were discussed. The Protestant's pattern of individual action was evident in all four methods. It was individuals who organized and supported the social settlement houses. The same was true in the institutional church and ethnic mission churches. The city

⁵³Leader, April 20, 1911 Page 4.

⁵⁴Leader November 2, 1911, pp 4. See also Symthe, History of the Diocese of Ohio..., pp 448; Pierce, Trinity Cathedral Parish..., pp 157. The Federated Churches of Cleveland's files at WRHS mentions the works of the denominational city missions in various places. The Episcopal City Mission Society became the Protestants' mission society for institutional work in the Greater Cleveland Area and remained so until after World War II. The other city mission societies were re-absorbed into the various denominational structures in the period between 1920-30.

mission depended upon individuals to support its programs.

This pattern of individualistic action was a 'holdover' from Nineteenth Century's practices. In the Nineteenth Century, this individualistic action built denominations and local churches and established voluntary societies to address a range of social issues and causes. In the Twentieth Century, this individualistic action built fine churches and led individuals to volunteer for work in the social settlement houses and missions.

Protestants' efforts in immigrant work showed high levels of activities but with little results. None of the Protestant denominations could claim an increase in membership as result of their immigrant work. Nineteenth Century's methods were not effective to meet the demands of Twentieth Century's immigrant work. The need was for coordinated action but not at the individual level.

If the Protestants wanted to maintain an effective voice and their influence in social issues and problems, then, denominational or local churches' coordinated effort was necessary. Some Protestants' leaders recognized this need for coordinated efforts and created the Federated Churches of Cleveland. Their recognition of this need was written into the Constitution: ". . . to create and

maintain an effective union of the churches of
Cleveland."⁵⁵

⁵⁵Preamble of the Constitution, Folder 1, Container 1.
Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406, WRHS.