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Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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City manager government, 1927.

City Manager
+ Cleveland Charter

2: 3 weeks ago I stepped into the pol. arena of Cleveland, to champion the cause of our city-manager form of govt - and I have had a very interesting time of it ever since. It was a radical departure for me - for while in my ^{3 weeks ago} pulpit I have frequently discussed pol. problems, I had never until ~~the week~~ ^{3 weeks ago} appeared on a pol. platform, or participated actively in a pol. campaign - The reaction upon the com. mass, as you well may imagine, varied and ^{diverse} ~~cathartic~~. Some greeted my maiden pol. effort with pleasure. Others were not so pleased. Some were furious - particularly those who were on the other side. ~~But~~ Mr. Davis was offended, because he asserted, I had called him a scoundrel - of course he was mistaken. I could not have called him any such name, for I did not know him well enough - ^{for that} A colleague of mine, ^{in the ministry} also made it ^{to be understood} ~~known~~ that the title applied to him too - and that he too, disavowed it. ~~And the fellow~~ ^{for that} ~~gave~~ what I said, and what was accurately reported in at least 2 gas dailies was - that 'all the loose and incoherent talk which we have heard in this campaign about demerol, cyanide, the flag, the boys in the trenches, and similar provocative p.s.-bits, may excite the nation, but will not mislead the 'thot-ful' I made no particular application to any man or to any group - but who-ever wishes to insert himself with this category - is welcome to it -

Perhaps the most interesting and visible reaction came from a Jew. officer of a Jew. labor org. - In the course of my address I had referred to the attitude of the Jew. labor in this camp. I pride myself upon having some friends among the anti-semites of our city - I suggested that their denatification with this or that act of a given city manager, might not to mean them to seek the vote of the city manager.

2). - 360 cities - found it satisfactory. Can't say
Under it excellent admin. - good sort - (faithful,
econ. money - ^{after 10 years} - high integrity

3). It is now prepared to scrap it? ① why
② ~~by whom~~ ③ In what better scheme

① no logical reason - how talk abt democracy
② In a system which was kind of the whole

11 votes
30 years
Ming's

would be to have a good admin. as possible

4). To defeat City Economy. would be blow - to
prepare. just - It is possible - Chicago -
I have great confidence in Cleveland -

I had to think that the masses act. prefer a
loose, free easy, gov. town admin - which
with crime, vice, + corruption -

It is not my purpose this evening to vindicate Mr. H's record of management of the city's business in the last 5 years. The issue ^{which has been presented to us} is not whether H. shall be continued in office but whether the council-manager plan of govt shall be continued. It is our present form of city govt which is being challenged - not the present incumbent of the office of city manager who happens at present to hold office under this system. Were we persuaded that the present city manager has not lived up to the full possibilities of his office, is ~~in fact~~ ^{in fact} incompetent and inefficient, it would still not follow, as a matter of logic, that the city manager plan is a failure and should be supplanted. The plan is sufficiently flexible to permit a fruit's removal from office if the city manager, as soon by the Council as soon as the Council is convinced that the manager does not function properly. Those ^{within the Council or acting} who are persuaded that Mr. H. has not given our city a satisfactory administration during the last 5 years should demand his removal and the selection of a new Mayor manager. It is the height of folly to seek to get rid of an individual in office by the overthrowing the whole system of govt.

But many of us are not at all persuaded that Mr. H. has not given us efficient & progressive city management during his tenure of office. He has ~~worked~~ ^{worked} under tremendous difficulties. The first years of any ^{new} administration set up are as a matter of course formative & experimental. Mistakes are ^{bound to be} made. Only the oil of experience can reach a new

~~The selection of the~~
~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ manager may have been an curious choice. The
plan may be excellent. The plan anticipated such a
possibility by making provision for



[illegible]

In so far as the citizens of Cl. failed to elect to the Council
representatives, that the Council is the very best thing, the whole system
representing the character of the city - they failed the
very plan which they voted in - ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~handcapped~~ the
city managers. We ~~failed~~ ^{did not} to place behind the new gov't
the city managers a large, well-organized & alert organization
of friends, the City Managers Plan, who ^{counted on} ~~would be~~ ^{to} ~~strengthen~~
strengthen the hands, those charged with the administration of
the new gov't, and ^{to} ~~such~~ those who attempt to
interfere with it - ^{an} ~~no~~ ^{one} ~~who~~ ^{rep.} ~~who~~ ⁱⁿ ~~would~~ ^{at} ~~any~~ ^{election} ~~see~~
to it that only those ^{men} ~~men~~ Councilmen are elected to ~~the~~
who are friendly to the plan and ⁹ ~~unquestioning~~ ^{unsubstantiated} ~~at last~~

But never-the-less Mr. H. carried on - and in less than 5 yrs. of
Q. has enjoyed a period of civic progress greater than that
of any similar period in the past. ~~any~~ ^{who} one reading
with ~~unimpaired eyes~~ ^{unimpaired eyes} the ~~unimpaired eyes~~ ^{unimpaired eyes} account of his stewardship which
appeared in the press a few weeks ago can fail
to ~~be~~ ^{be} carried of this fact - it is a catalogue
of achievement which is a complete vindication of
Mr. H's competence, vision and integrity.

Our city, under the Council-manager plan, ~~is~~ ^{has} developed
in ~~expanding~~ in a wholesome & satisfactory manner.
Public improvement has been carried on on a
large scale than ever before. Our departments are
growing well and extending their facilities to keep
pace with our growing needs. Our city managers
expect an aged, see in better condition than they
have ever been. What need is there, a change in
govt. who want such a change? Who is likely

to prevent from such a change?

And what change is being offered to us in the proposed new charter? A change for the better? ^{Perhaps,} a new system which has not yet been tried, but which, on the basis of its inherent logical reasoning, offers promises, better results than those yielded by the present system? O, no! Absolutely, no! No change recommended (by the 31 boys) is a change back to the May system which we discarded ~~for~~ as disrupt 6 years ago - the system which we tried for years & found wanting. Has any one discarded any ^{new} system in the old Mayor-council system which we did not know of 5 years ago & when we then it over-board? Is it likely to serve us better now than it did 5 or 10 years ago?

I have heard it said by some well-meaning citizens that if the old system ^{was} restored and if a certain well-known & popular-spirited citizen were elected mayor that all would be well. This is another sad illusion of popular govt. The system is always stronger than the man. An improved and system will ~~in~~ wear down the most efficient and honest man. A modern bus. org. is not content with obtaining the service of an efficient & honest executive. It ^{will} reorganize it ^{structurally} along the most scientific and efficient lines, ~~and~~ bus. management & administration, thereby enabling its executives to function effectively. The best air-pilot in the world cannot get very far with an antiquated motor. As a democrat we can not desire a system & put with an eye to a given person as the only ^{guarantee} ~~guarantee~~ ^{that} person may take even ^{of} being elected.

Cl. has prided itself on being a progressive city. What
is the progressive thought of America on the subject of
municipal govt? The Nat. Municipal League has been
studying the revenue of city govt for over 1/4 of a
century. In 1915 it drafted for the first time, and cities
a Model Municipal Charter. This charter embodied
the city-manager idea. 10 years later - in 1925 - it
appointed a Commission to revise the Model Charter
in ~~accord~~ ^{the} light of the experience, 10 years.
After a thorough survey of the city a Revised Model Charter
was drafted - and, with a few minor changes, it
again embodied the Council-Manager plan. ^{P.R.}
The plan has ^{been} ~~been~~ ^{the best} ~~the best~~ ^{and} ~~has~~ ^{been} ~~revised~~ ^{it as a part of the} ~~it~~ ^{has} ~~been~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the}
last 4 years at least 4 important surveys of city-
manager cities - of which there are to-day 400 - have
been made, the most important by the Univ. of Chicago,
under Prof. Samuel D. White, of the Pol. Sc. Dept.
Each one of these surveys rendered a favorable
dict. Progressive cities are turning to our
plan as the most effective and the most democratic.
Shall we abandon it?

of false and unreal issues - such as
demer. popular front the Constitution, the
U. S. - and ~~the~~ (Old glory) the Bunker Hill
Monument.

(2) The degree of Cl. pol. evolution will
be determined next week at the polls.
If the rejected regime of 4 years ago again
comes into power it will simply mean
that C. is not ready for a sustaining
and intelligent experiment in better
municipal govt. It will indicate
that the vote of 1924 which scrapped
the Mayor. system govt. was a vote of
protest at the vote then, the conclusion
which existed and not a vote of
conviction and pol. judgment.
It will mean that we shall have
to be subjected to another regime
of shakiness and humiliation
before the honor of our city may
will be cleared again. Perhaps
then their indignation will be
less evanescent - more permanent
& constructive.

(3) Finally I am glad that this
holding of a changed, new city, regardless
time, the so-called pol. machines
the city are not with us, in the
now

ought to preserve the City Managers from
of it. ~~for~~ They were an embarrassment
even if they did find numerous
strength to our cause. I was always
suspicious of their motives, and my
suspensions have been justified.
They are now sagaciously neutral.
~~for they were never interested in the~~
~~issues of the campaign, but in~~
~~what may issue. It is better so.~~

We may now learn just how
strong ^{the} ~~is~~ the will, our fellow citizens
to maintain clean & sound Govt.
and how many will rally ~~unpromptly~~
to the cause.

2. I am not so confident. and yet
I do ~~not~~ ^{have hope} ~~despair~~ what will

Here a few days ago in Chicago
& Ill. evenings we ~~in the~~ ^{in the} belief
that good judgment & ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~severe~~ ^{severe} ~~disparately~~
have not completely departed from
the Am. people - The sad thing
is that cities must pass their
orgies of pol. crime & corruption
before they bestir themselves to decent
and cleansing action.

3. A city should change in something new & promising - not for something old and discredited. All that is proffered ~~to the~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~new~~ amended charter, we had ~~to~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} tried it. And under it we found it a headache to us further progress open to. We voted it out, existence. What new virtues have since been descanted on it, to warrant its re-institution upon the City of Cleveland? Change should be in the direction of progress ~~not~~ Can we permit our city, in many ways a leading & prosperous city to be dragged back with those conditions of ~~pol. ineptness~~ ~~and~~ of political ineptness from which we escaped?

4. Our large cities ~~degraded~~ ^{can no longer} be administered in the same way as the ~~old~~ small cities of decades ago where voting pop. was small, where issues were simple, administration elementary, where candidates

1. This is the first time in ^{of 12 years} my ~~career~~ ^{in the} ministry that I appear on a ~~the~~ political platform - and I rather enjoy the novelty of ~~it~~ ^{the experience}. I have refrained, heretofore, from participating in pol. campaigns not because I am not interested in politics. I am interested very much. I have always entertained the conviction, and have urged this conviction upon other men, that politics, ~~is a purely secular~~ ^{which is} - concern about the proper administration of our city and country - ought to be ^{the primary} ~~the chief~~ interest of all ^{they are} loyal citizens. Our great failing as a people is not that we think of politics too much, but that we think of it too little. We are content to leave our ~~own~~ civic and nat. politics in the hands of small groups of professional politicians who, in most instances, are in the game for what's in it. ^{we} I have, ^{therefore} refrained from taking an active part in pol. camp. heretofore because I believed politics in its larger aspect to be outside the sphere of the minister & the church. I have always maintained that everything which touches the lives of men & women vitally, ~~whether~~ which determines their codes, and their conduct and their standards, living and thinking is rightfully within the sphere of the church, and the minister's prophetic ^{mission} ~~calling~~. If our rel. to-day is less effective ^{in the world} than it might be, it is due largely to the fact that it has not aggressively enough entered the arena of life, to do battle for its sanctities and

to ideals. Men turn away from it, ^{at first} give it mere
lip reverence because they regard it as irrelevant
<sup>to the pol. and economic ~~struggles~~ ^{in which they are engaged} ~~struggles~~ ^{day}. The church
^{if it is true to its mission} should be an organized crusade for social right
consciousness - a ~~force~~ ^{power} to be invoked by all those who
earnestly labor for a better order of society, and a ~~force~~ ^{power}
to be feared by all the dark and reactionary ~~forces~~ ^{forces}
~~groups in the world~~. Wherever men struggle to
improve the conditions of life, to bring a little more
of nobleness and light, of beauty and reasonableness
into the habitations of men - there the church should
be found, in the van, leading, counseling, inspiring,
~~there~~</sup>

To be sure, the church would destroy its own usefulness
if it were to engage in every petty pol. or Econ. conflict,
while ~~may~~ ^{it} not at all involve any clear-cut
moral issues. Thus ^{many} ~~are~~ pol. campaigns e.g. when no
~~such~~ moral issues are involved, when the question is
merely one of preference for one candidate or another,
with nothing ~~at~~ ^{of ethical import} really at stake. ~~It is~~ In such
cases, it would be the height of folly for the church or the
ministers to interject themselves. They must employ
the prestige and authority of their office with only ~~at~~
~~such times~~ when a ~~great~~ real moral issue is at stake,
whose defeat would involve a defeat of civic integrity
and whose victory would contribute to the betterment
of the community. Such an issue is ^{most} decidedly

involved in this ^{Paris} campaign - and because I am profoundly
impressed with the moral seriousness of the ^{new world} problem
I have determined to speak to my fellow citizens
about it -

2. For what is ^{freedom} ~~is~~ ^{in this campaign} ~~is~~? Not the ^{manner} ~~question~~ of choosing this man
or that man ^{for} the chief executive; ^{This is a camp of theories}
~~but~~, not personalities. ^{I am here,} [I do not know Mr. Davis. This
is altogether my loss. I am ready to accept his best
friends' estimate of him. I do know Mr. Hopkins.
This, I regard, as a distinct privilege. But I am ready
for the sake of the argument to accept his worst enemy's
estimate of him. Still I would rely upon ^{the people} ~~myself~~ to defeat the Davis ^{new} ~~agreement~~ ^{what is involved} ~~to~~ ^{the} ~~system~~. What is
contemplated by the Davis ^{by the Davis} ~~the new system~~ ^{the new system} is the overthrow of a system of govt. which
was voted it 6 yrs ago by a decisive majority of our
people, and the restoration of the old system which
was as decisively repudiated 6 yrs ago. The old
system was repudiated by our people not hastily
or thoughtlessly. People are as a rule, ^{are} ~~as~~ ^{in their position even} conservative, and
shy. They do not hestiate themselves to change their
system of govt. unless provoked thereto by glaring
inefficiency and incompetence. The people of Cleveland
were clearly and unmistakably dissatisfied with the
old Federal system, or they would not have voted it out
of existence. ~~It is now~~ This system was not a new
experiment. It had been in operation for many years.

It ^{had been} weighed in the balance - and found wanting. It was accordingly discarded. It is now proposed in the amendments, ^{substantially} to first that discredit system again upon our people. Why?

3. There can be but 2 justifications for such a procedure. Either the old system has ^{now} been found to possess ^{certain} rare virtues hitherto unsuspected - and at the same time its repudiation unknown to the voters. Or the new system which was substituted for it - the Council-Manager system - has been found upon trial to be inefficient and incompetent. Strangely enough, neither of these 2 justifications ~~are~~ ^{are} offered by the ~~Champions~~ ^{revisors}, the amendments. It is not maintained that for its fault, it cannot be sensibly maintained that the old system has now be purged of the many inherent defects which were responsible for its break-down ^{in this city}. In these defects are due not to ^{in nature} ~~the~~ ^{organization} ~~the~~ ^{they} are due not to the person who happens to be ^{the elected} Mayor, but to the system itself. Nor is it maintained, that because ~~clearly~~ it cannot be honestly maintained that our present system has proved inefficient and incompetent. No one who has ^{with unprejudiced eyes} read the ^{record} ~~story~~ of concrete and substantial achievements, which have been registered in the last 8 1/2 years by our Council-Manager form of govt, can be left in doubt as to concerning its efficiency. In fact the trouble with it - as far as our present politicians are concerned - is not that it has not worked, but that it has worked only too well.

It has been ⁷ established ^{over a long period of years}
The accumulated ^{practical construction, ~~the~~}
experiences of Am. cities, have demonstrated that
~~the selection of chief executives by direct vote~~ that
~~yield the best material for these offices.~~ ^{make}
~~It does not make for administrative efficiency,~~
^{and} the best type of ~~the~~ municipal govt.



5. People ~~often~~ confuse democracy with voting. The more they vote the more, democrats they think they possess. In the old town-hall days, even a century and more ago, and in the villages & small towns, to day, such a primitive conception of democracy is ^{at first} operative only when the voting population is small, in places

And when you ~~do~~ remember that
~~and how~~ ^{with what} would these zealots for ^{Am.} ~~dem.~~ replace this "autocrat"
city-manager? With a ^{'Heim'} mayor who ^{would} ~~will~~ ^{newly} ~~possess~~ ^{control} ~~points~~ ^{and}
over ^{expenditures} expenditures, franchises and civil service than that
performed by any administrator chief in any Am.
city - the whole ^{dem.} ~~dem.~~ ^{decaying} ~~decaying~~ ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{exposed} ~~exposed~~ ^{thing} ~~thing~~



the impossible and easily grasped, ~~and the candidates~~ ^{where} the
administrative machinery ^{is} quite elementary, and ^{when} the
candidates for office ^{are} intimately known ^{to} the voters. Clearly
none of these conditions prevail in our large cities to
day. ^{Our} the voting populations ^{are} vast and cosmopolitan,
~~the~~ issues are frequently highly ^{complex and} mixed and the
admin. machinery of a city of a million ^{like Cleveland} such as ~~others~~,
is vast, complicated and technical, and the candi-
dates in very many instances unknown to the voters
except by name. To attempt to run our
modern cities along the by the old ^{primitive} method of
voting ^{directly} for every one ~~every~~ thing - is not to practice
but to defeat democracy. ^{Why} ^{we} ^{have} ^{reverted} ^{to} ^{this} ^{method} ^{now}
or well as ^{the} ^{large} ^{cities} ⁱⁿ ^{country} ago the people of Cleveland determined that it was no
longer practical nor advisable nor necessary to vote
directly for its law maker, its ^{Confessing} its wealth
superior, its ^{park} ^{comm.} ^{etc.} ^{etc.} ^{for the day} - they did not surrender
an iota of democ. prin. or practice. They wisely
multiplied & clarified our municipal administration,
concentrated authority and respon. in a few
and reserved for themselves the ultimate control
over them. ^{The} ^{adapting the} ^{idea} ^{of} ^{the} ^{last} ~~the~~
logical step in this process of improving our ^{muni.}
cipal govt. ^{At} ^{gives} ^{to} ^{the} ^{city}, whatever modern
successful bus. or industrial organization ^{has} - a
responsible executive ^{head} ^{endowed} ^{with} ^{full} ^{power} ^{to} ^{it}
responsible for a ^{part} ^{elect} ^{council} ^{the} ^{all} ^{legislative}

The advanced democracies of the world are fast becoming a new democracy which employs the

#

is to-day

The Communist Manifesto plan of combining to-day is, for the time being at least, the most promising in combining local government, for aiming at the introduction of high standards of efficiency with real popular government, at running government both expertly and democratically.

From a dem. point of view it is not at all essential that the public shall pass judgment upon every issue, however intricate and technical, with the increase in the scale and scope of govt. it is becoming increasingly more difficult for the average citizen absorbed in his own work, to pass accurate and helpful judgment upon many problems of govt. And it is becoming increasingly more imperative to delegate or delegate many of these tasks to competent and trusted technicians and experts - while retaining ultimate control over them. This is not in the least a violation of dem. principles or ~~practice~~ ^{practice}. From the dem. viewpoint only 4 things are essential, all else is incidental. These 4 are

① That every citizen shall be equal to every other citizen before the law -

It removes him from the pol. arena; It frees him from
the necessity of ^{in the job}
whose qualifications, are expert knowledge and ^{executive} ability
and not political shrewdness and demagog. It
frees this public servant from the necessity of paying
pol. debts and doing the ^{unpleasant} many ^{unpleasant} but
almost unavoidable things which a publicly elected
executive must do for his friends and pol. backers.
It gives him a better chance to succeed, ^{he is}
It enables him to make appointments on the basis of merit and not on pol. expediency.
Our Government, & this country, ^{It makes for}
more efficiency. It draws in many a capable to
such capable & highly desirable man who ^{is} ^{to} ^{be} ^{used}
subject ^{himself} ^{to} the ^{exactions} and ^{often} ^{times}
the ⁱⁿ ^{burdensome} ^{work} ^{which} ^{characterizes}
the ^{conduct} ^{of} ^{pol. campaigning} in some of our
large cities. It makes possible continuity in
office for a quiet and satisfactory execution thereby
insuring the successful completion of such large-
scale civic projects which require long periods
for their ^{maturity} ^{completion}. It ^{will} ^{is} ^{slowly}
building up ^{whole} a class of professionally trained
and ^{city} ^{administrators} who will make this type of
public service a life's calling - and who will
reliant on the ^{best} ^{untrained & unqualified} ^{pol. amateurs} who
think that when ^{the} ^{chief} ^{qualifications} for the
cultural job of running a city seems to be
their ability to smile socially & to shake
hands ^{heartily} from the ^{shoulder} ^{doors}.
Sincerely,
D. H. White - Ch. M.

6. Because of these marked advantages the city manag. plan has in the short space of ^{some} 15 or 20 years established itself in more than 300 cities & towns in the U.S. It is making rapid progress throughout the ~~land~~ country. Cl. is to day the largest city to have adopted it, and the country at large is eagerly watching the progress of this experiment in new form & spirit in our city. If it succeeds here, it will give a tremendous impetus to ~~it~~ ^{the movement} throughout the land. If it fails it - it will ~~prove~~ ^{give} a serious set-back, ~~for~~ ^{but} it elsewhere. The Davis amendment, ~~if~~ ^{if} carried ~~it~~ will reform the world country at large that the C. M. Plan has failed in Cl. ~~after~~ ^{as we wanted in helping the country that it has} 24 years. But by every fair and reasonable test ~~it~~ ^{it} has not failed here! It has succeeded to a remarkable ^{degree} ~~measure~~. esp. when one considers that it has only ~~had~~ ^{had} the chance a few short years in which to establish itself. It has given us ~~govt.~~ ^{govt.} ~~econ. govt.~~ ^{econ. govt.} ~~progressive govt.~~ ^{progressive govt.} ~~better law enforcement,~~ ^{better law enforcement,} ~~better police protection,~~ ^{better police protection,} ~~better streets,~~ ^{better streets,} ~~better lighting,~~ ^{better lighting,} ~~better water,~~ ^{better water,} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~improvement,~~ ^{improvement,} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~able to~~ ^{able to} ~~pay off the debts,~~ ^{pay off the debts,} ~~previous administration,~~ ^{previous administration,} ~~kept~~ ^{kept} ~~the city within its income and~~ ^{the city within its income and} ~~showed~~ ^{showed} ~~an actual~~ ^{an actual} ~~surplus each year & operation.~~ ^{surplus each year & operation.} ~~At all it~~ ^{At all it} ~~It~~ ^{It} ~~has given us an administration which has been~~ ^{has given us an administration which has been} ~~characterized by~~ ^{characterized by} ~~high integrity.~~ ^{high integrity.} ~~Are we now to brand such a~~ ^{Are we now to brand such a} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~rest of the world~~ ^{rest of the world} ~~country?~~ ^{country?}

(2) That no opportunities shall by law be denied to
one group and granted to another

(3) That all post. customs shall be settled by popular referendum and not by force.

(4) And that all public officials shall in
the last analysis be
that any citizen shall be privileged & told
any who wish be fellow citizens with
to elect that occurred in public trials
shall in the last analysis, ^{not necessarily} be linked with

The people within this framework. all dem. progress is possible
it may be good experiment to centralize power in
one instance, or decentralize it in another. The
details of admin. machinery may be changed without
in the least hurting the dem. itself, as long as
the aims & principles are safeguarded. And none
of these 4 paragraphs is in the least compromising
by in no present, Council-manager form
of govt.

— When has been attended as wanted

govt. on the light, the ~~unlike~~ a failure? ~~by unnecessary~~
~~crackling~~ ^{crackling} it after. It would be branding ourselves
as utterly of pol. intelligence and ~~circumstances~~ ^{circumstances} ~~self-respect~~

7. I claim no abs. perfection for ^{the} current man. plan here
or elsewhere. It is an experiment here and elsewhere -
a ~~proving~~ ^{proving} and remarkably important, and necessary
and ~~proving~~ ^{proving} experiment. It is ~~it~~ ^{it} undoubtedly
has certain all new experiments are imperfect.
But they must be given ^{some time to either} a chance, to perfect themselves
When we voted in the C. M. plan - we knew that it
was to be an exper. We must ~~not~~ ^{not} give it time -
to estab. itself, to correct its mistakes, to
~~improve~~ ^{improve} by ~~the~~ ^{the} experience. It is unbecoming a great
~~city~~ ^{city} like ours to act whimsically and hastily
in such a tremendously serious matter as changing its
form of govt. ~~to great metropolitan~~ ^{to great metropolitan} when no emergency
~~exists~~ ^{exists} which would warrant such a necessary
~~provision~~ ^{provision} ~~to-day~~ ^{to-day} radically to alter our ~~present~~ ^{present} form of govt. If
there be those who believe that certain defects have
~~already~~ ^{already} appeared in it, which require correction -
let them vote for an impartial Commission to
study those subjects carefully & deliberate about
and to submit in due time ^{for public approval} such revision
~~as they find imperative~~ ^{as they find imperative}. This is contemplated
in the proposal for a Charter Com. upon which
we shall vote at the ~~next~~ ^{next} election. This is the
logical and the orderly thing to do for those
who believe that our charter needs some revision as to details.

8. A word to my friends among organized labor in
Cleveland. It is understood that the Clev.
Fed. of Labor has gone on record to defeat the
Manager from 7 fort. in Cleveland because
of certain grievances against the present in-
cumbent of that office. I cannot enter into the
merits of these grievances. But clearly if their
cause is a just one, and the City Manager has
acted wrongfully, their appeal should be
not to overthrow the present Govt, but to oust
the City Manager. Their charges should be
lodged with the ~~members~~ ^{people} of Cleveland
and the recall ~~of the~~ ^{of the} Manager demanded. We
~~are not calling for a change of Govt~~ ^{are not calling for a change of Govt}
~~but for a change of Govt~~ ^{but for a change of Govt}
A Chief Executive, does something is ~~not~~ ^{not}
guilty of an injustice. One may rightfully
demand a change of administration.

9. It is a mistake for labor to line up with
reactionary Govt, ~~subordinates~~ ^{subordinates} of any temporary
gain which may accrue to it for such an
alliance. In the long run - the same plan
is best served by ~~regression~~ ^{progress} and efficient
Govt. The ~~press~~ ^{press} & ~~labor~~ ^{the workers} have always been

It is ~~the~~ in the last analysis the working man
who bears the burden & pays the heavy
cost of waste, inefficiency & corruption in
govt —————

one does not demand an orchestra
when one does not like the conductor.
One change ~~conductor~~



[illegible]

people who vote for or against a war simply be-
cause it is Catholic or Protestant, or Jewish, or even with
intelligence nor patriotism but blind ^{dog} dogmatism —

3. Just as the Church ought not to attempt to control
the State, so must it guard itself against the attempt
of the State to control it — In fact, the Church has too
often been used as a tool of the State — to sanction its
actions & policies — The Church has too often been made
to catch in a net, sanctity was the religious purposes
of the State, or other powerful interest — The Church
has too often been the defender of papalists, things as
they are — instead of the canon, critic, & guide —
The State declares war — The Church blesses the banner,
the cause — A victory is won — the papalists — The
Church alibates its sin — Slavery held the
South in its ugly grip for 2 1/2 centuries — The Church
of the South was silent, condoned it, & even gloried
in it — In Mexico, when the ^{Mexican} ^{Revolution} broke out, the ^{reactionary} ^{dictator}
Díaz, who became the tool of politics, it
must be remembered — five — ten — but one legit

4. But what it is undoubtedly true that the Church ought not
to seek political power — a ~~attempt~~ ^{attempt} to elect any papal
party, or further the interest of a party candidate — It
would, to my mind, be wisdom to stay — if ~~when~~ it re-
mained apart or uncommitted — when a clear moral
issue is involved in a party fight — I
know that there are those who believe that the Church
ought never to become partisans & therefore in the

The church is not concerned with systems, but with
principles. ~~whether~~ whether it be cap. soc. or com. etc.
as basic princ. of social justice at stake in each. & the
church must under all ends, remain free to defend their
ideals which no system completely expresses -

2. No ought the church to involve itself in many minor
econ. disputes which occur daily & which may not at all
involve clear-cut moral issues. It ought not to fight
these away in petty wranglings. — But there do arise
serious econ. controversies in which clear-cut moral
issues are involved — wherein the very essentials of
morality ^{civilization} are involved. The church would then be
remiss in its duties to soc. if it remain silent.
Unwilling to be a bystander in these great needs —
It must speak. It must lift up its voice like a
trumpet, else it ~~is~~ is a gray vision — and it
is that a mockery —

3. Politics — There are many pol. camps — wherein
the issues are ^{involving no moral issues} technical, concerning which even
can have a big diff. of opinion. There are camps
wherein the proper ~~primary~~ question is money
or preference, for one cause or another, for one
party or another — Heights folly — There are
other camps — which involve civil liberties &
property — in which issue as at Halle where
defeat would be a defeat of civil rights — where
Victory — the issue of common betwixt — the

preaching - speak of justice, & right. in the abstract
attempt to create a mood for reflection, long thinking -
+ let the indiv. then solve just the way in a given moral
situation. This is church is? to ~~offer~~ a platform
without a message - It is to preach peace,
without anything in any spec. plan for buying peace
about - justice - clean govt. - without asking
a clean govt. when it is struggling against forces
of corruption -

1.4 disagree most thoroughly - If church is not as
effective - it is bec. we regard it as irrelevant - That
is not spirit of prophetic rel - (1) Nathan - (2) Jeremiah -

(2) The Church has preached peace for 300 yrs - + yet
in 1914 - it was sprinkling holy oil on battlefields +
cannon - or at best tragically helpless. It gave
people - abstract ideas - but no message -

(3) Church preached justice - but was content to take
care of victims of injustice - the platform of peace should
unchange -

a). To be sure the church cannot exchange itself in an
econ. dogmatism - cannot ally itself with a program for one
specific econ. system or against another. To do so would be to
suffer a severe loss of sp. prestige. It would be compelled
either to champion an existing order in spite of its needing
+ untenable plans, or an imag. order which might not
even approximate in reality the virtues it claims for it.

Evidently there is considerable confusion in the novel, even relative to this subject. I should like to clarify it a bit this morning - at least to present my views on the question, the Church in politics.

1. Clearly the Church ought not to seek pol. power - There was time when the church possessed vast pol. & temporal power - When it was the govt of the people, or directly dictated the laws & policies of govt. Such pol. power united a double iniquity - It interfered with the adv. of govt - by confusing civic with theology - It introduced the part. theol. bias, the dominant church into civil govt. - and placed both institutions in the saddle. It also corrupted the church - for temporal power is poison to the spiritual church. A pol. powerful, and rich church loses its prophetic zeal - its sp. inspiration. It becomes mundane, cautious, compromising - true-serving - It becomes a org. of vested interests - a machine concerned with its own perpetuation - not with the salvation of the world - The church should look for its strength - within - in its own undivided spirit - & eternal mission. It should needs no temporal power - It should continue as a volun. org. of like-thinking & right-thinking men & women who are concerned with the ~~reform~~ ^{spiritual improvement} of themselves & of mankind.

2. The church ought not to put a pol. party in the
field, or to attach itself to a pol. party or to
further the interest of a pol. aspirant be. ~~himself~~
~~from~~ the party. type of den. allegiance - the church
has the moral right to ask its adherent to vote for a man
just be. he belongs to that church - Qualification for office
in a den. right to be ability, character - no den. allegiance

from 5 part. One does not disrupt an orchestra because
we have not left the conductor. One changes conductor.
I suggested that it is a mistake for later to live up
with react. gov. at any time with respect to any
temporary pain which may occur but you not
an albanian. The press & the union was here
always has the cheap politicians who befriended
them when their votes are needed & betray
them after-ward — Well this Jan. you & your
labor org. — ~~that~~ set out to minimize the possible effect
of this appeal — by broadcasting thru the columns, the
press the suggestion — that a very subtle and
debeate suggestion — that perhaps M. L. had sold
himself to the capitalist class — and to the pol. bosses
— ~~because~~ ^{who I understand is part of the political camp} for is not M. L. a member of his Temple.
— and is he not ^{therefore} being influenced by him? —
Well, I wish that M. L. would be a better Temple.
I ^{think} ~~that~~ ^{that he is} could give me the chance of influencing
him. This J. you & J. labor org. may now-day claim
that to spread patently — stupid ^{standards} about a member
of his people — is not the best way ^{of securing the cause of labor} —

Other citizens wondered whether it was wise for the church
& the ministers to participate in any pol. camp. Some
of them thought that they should be above the unseemly pol.
squabbles of our day — that they ~~should~~ ^{should} not mix
in politics & party — if they took sides — Others bluntly
stated that it was wrong for the church, still others
that it was a menace to our free institutions to be
at all rel. with politics —

in camp - the church should speak - better
follow - ~~the~~ such crises as involved in the
Camp - glad that Church & Cl. have spoken

- ① Our most vulnerable part. as the local-
man. part. They ~~do~~ the record is the least
admirable. They are far more inefficient wasteful
& corrupt than State or Fed. part - Our cities
have long suffered under these conditions - a lesson
to be learned - In recent years a course of effort
has been made to clean house - to run the
moderate & moderate part - to introduce
efficiency & econ. honesty - ~~City Managers~~

② ~~to~~ take about for a system which would
centralize power & respons. in the hands of a
single person - without at same time destroying
local char. & institutions. The City
Manager Plan was evolved - A conventional local
by people. seeks a way - to clean up

③ Give city what they need with less
a resp. executive selected for ability - trust
in power & vote - getting

④ Give chief exec. power need & paying for debt.

⑤ Let give him a better chance to succeed

⑥ It wants to give - subject to independent

⑦ Confirms service

⑧ make poss. for Fraud Executive

Whiff. bet. Nat. & municipal
govt. - Policy - determining legisla-
tors are chosen by election.
Execution chosen by council.

Plan is too - diverse & effective

No m m m city has found
in last 5 yrs. under Govt
Agmt -



The National Municipal League,
which in 1915 drafted a "Model
Municipal Charter" which embodied
the City Manager Plan - In 1925
appointed a revision Com - to
revise the model charter in
light of 10 yrs. exp. - The
City Manager Plan was again
presented as having served the best
time -

Not for minor change -
Return Council - Mayor - T.P.R.



City Manager

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