

appeared as the relations between that management and the PRT were made clear. Evidence was brought before Judge Harry S. McDevitt that the management had ignored the city's right to representation on its board of directors, had failed to supply annual reports or an audit of its accounts, and had rigged the fees charged the PRT annually, raising them from \$158,000 to \$2.4 million. The city had not received its share of profits, and PRT funds had been manipulated and mismanaged by improper use of stockholders' proxies. Thomas Mitten drowned at about the time that Hadley started a suit to secure the money owed to the city, and eventually almost all of his estate was transferred to the PRT to replace that company's misappropriated funds.¹¹⁵

I X

Mitten's career was illustrative of the economic and administrative climate of Philadelphia about 1928. Money appeared to be readily available for the alert, with few questions asked. Profits were handsome and apparently endless. George W. Norris, president of the Third District Federal Reserve Bank in Philadelphia, compared the wild speculation he saw everywhere to the Mississippi and South Sea Bubbles, but those caught by the fever claimed that the world had entered a "New Era," with such an abundance of capital that equities could not fail to hold up.¹¹⁶ With bigness looked upon as the key to success, bank mergers were frequent. Among the most important were those joining the Fidelity and Philadelphia Trusts; the Provident and Commonwealth Consolidated; the Philadelphia National, Girard National, and Franklin Fourth Street National; and the Bank of North America and Trust Company with the Pennsylvania Company, making this the largest trust company in the city. Banks merged to expand their services or to acquire enough capital to finance the needs of Philadelphia's utility and industrial companies, and sometimes to save a weaker institution from collapse.¹¹⁷

Norris was not the only banker alarmed by what the newspapers called the "Orgy of Speculation," a fever that infected all classes from stenographers and waiters to professional men and business executives. The Philadelphia National Bank in the spring of 1929 began to reduce loans to brokers and to individuals borrowing to buy stocks. In October securities prices began to come down. A "technical readjustment," the sophisticated called the decline, but by the end of the month a "selling stampede" was in full swing. Although the shock of the stock market crash was enormous to the banks, only one Philadelphia bank, the United Strength Bank and Trust Company, was forced to close that year, and for many of the city's banks 1930 turned out to be a profitable twelve months. The next year, 1931, was not so profitable, as the winds of economic depression strengthened nationwide.¹¹⁸

Depression and War 1929-1946

by Margaret B. Tinkcom

[Philadelphia's] voice is the voice of a city of contrasts—a city of wealth and poverty, of turmoil and tranquillity, of stern laws often mitigated by mild enforcement; a city proud of its world-molding past and sometimes slow to heed the promptings of modern thought.

— Federal Writers' Project guide to Philadelphia

Brother Alexander, I been thinking that my people has got to get two things. They got to get theyselves homes where the roof don't leak, and they got to get hospitals. God has given me a concern for my people. Now you take that sweepstakes money and build some homes.

— PEARL MASON, winner of the Grand National Steeplechase Sweepstakes¹

Philadelphia Faces the New Year Confident of Brighter Future" proclaimed the headline over the principal essay on the *Inquirer's* financial page, January 3, 1930. The optimism of the writer was not altogether without solid support: there had been an 82 percent gain in real estate valuation in the city since 1920; both the Philadelphia Electric Company and the United Gas Improvement Company had announced plans for expansion, and U.G.I. had declared an increase in its annual dividend rate; the proposal to develop an air, marine, and rail terminal at Hog Island was "virtually assured"; Mayor Harry A. Mackey was expected to ask for an engineering study for a parkway between Race and Vine Streets from Broad Street to the Delaware River Bridge; while an *Inquirer* editorial suggested the demolition of City Hall, except for the tower, and the building of a new municipal office building on Reyburn Plaza just to the northwest, in order to relieve traffic congestion on both Broad and Market Streets.² Philadelphians had responded to the Christmas season splendidly, sending out a record seventy carloads of mail, and filling the stores to purchase a variety of gifts, possibly even including such frivolities as J. E. Caldwell's "diamond necklace suitable for almost every occasion."³

On New Year's Day 1930 the Mummers paraded, with the Funston, Ferko,

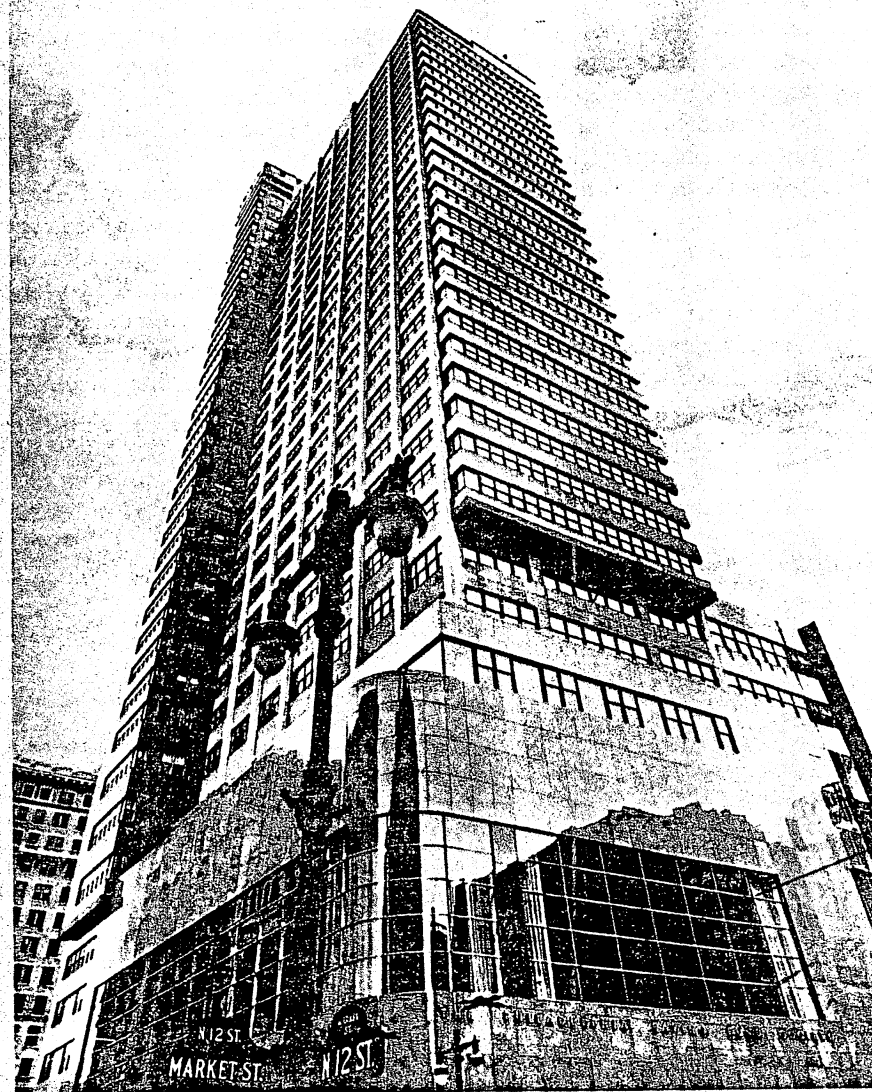
and League Island clubs the prize winners, and if one may trust news reports, crime and the woes of Prohibition weighed more heavily on the city than did the uncertain future of jobs, banks, real estate investments, and the stock market. There were signs, however, that the coming year would bring difficulties: the United Strength Bank and Trust Company at Fourth and Market Streets had closed on Christmas Eve because of "frozen assets"; both local and New York bond and stock markets were clearly under pressure; and an *Inquirer* editorial writer noted, a bit too casually, that semiskilled and unskilled laborers might have to expect "a certain amount of unemployment."⁴

I

In 1930 Philadelphia, with a population of 1,950,961, up 7 percent since the 1920 census, was the third-largest city in the United States. The overwhelming majority of her citizens, 1,359,833, were native-born whites; 219,599 were blacks; and 368,624 were foreign-born.⁵ Although the census figures show that the city was still growing, they also indicate that metropolitan Philadelphia, the city plus its surrounding suburbs, was growing at an even faster rate, with an increase of 42.1 percent during the same decade.⁶ Nevertheless real property in the city, assessed at \$1.80 per \$100 of valuation, was listed at \$3,451,528,364, cash receipts from taxes were reported to be \$105,540,334, and the Council, fixing the city's budget for 1930 at \$88,973,300, was thought to have provided for a comfortable surplus.⁷

Philadelphia's downtown in 1930 did not reflect on its surface the troubled financial picture worrying the directors of insurance companies, banks, brokerage houses, and building and loan associations. A number of important buildings had just been erected, were in progress, or were on the architects' drawing boards. The Aldine Trust Building (Twentieth and Chestnut), the Lewis Tower (Fifteenth and Locust), the Fire Association office (Fourth and Walnut), and three apartment houses—the Drake (Fifteenth and Spruce), the Rittenhouse Plaza (Nineteenth and Walnut), and the Chateau Crillon (Nineteenth and Locust)—had been completed in 1929. The Pennsylvania Railroad's Suburban Station Building (Sixteenth and Pennsylvania Avenue), the Sun Oil Company's office (1616 Walnut Street), the Market Street National Bank (Market at Juniper), a twenty-story addition to the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company's building (Sixth and Walnut), and the Architects' Building (Seventeenth and Sansom) were opened in 1930. Work was in progress on the Pennsylvania Railroad's Thirtieth Street Station, on an addition to the Strawbridge & Clothier store at Eighth and Market, and on the Lincoln-Liberty Building (now the Philadelphia National Bank) at Broad and Chestnut, where Wanamaker's intended to establish a store catering to the "Philadelphia gentleman." Workmen were also completing a thirty-story addition to the Girard Trust (Broad Street at South Penn Square); the PSFS Building (Twelfth and Market), a technological and architectural landmark; the Medical Tower (Seventeenth and Latimer); and the Reading company's Terminal Commerce Building (401 North Broad Street), standing on stilts over the

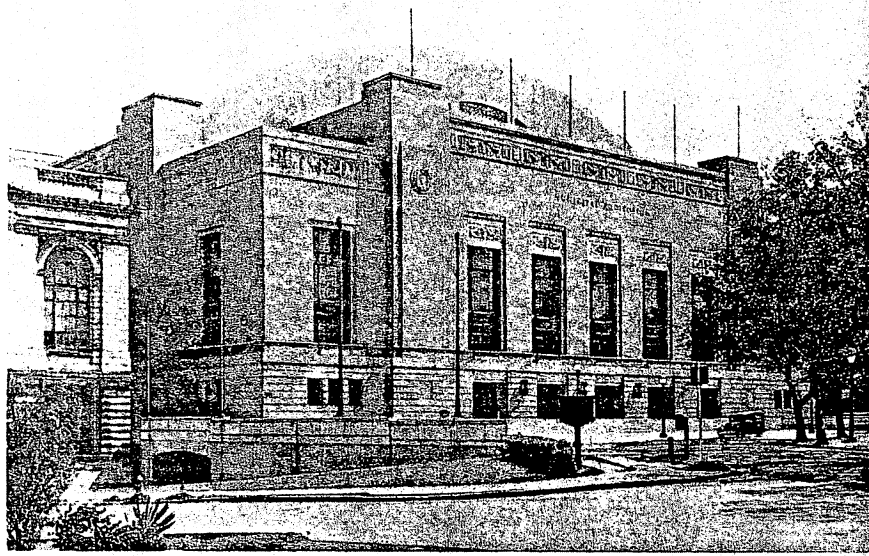
Reading tracks; and at the time the only air-right property in existence with a public freight station beneath it as well as having the city's first underground parking garage. The Convention Hall, at Thirty-fourth Street and Civic Center Boulevard, and the Benjamin Franklin Institute on the Parkway were going up. Four new federal buildings were in planning stages: a new Federal



Philadelphia Saving Fund Society Building, built 1930–1932 (photograph c. 1932), designed by George Howe (1886–1955) and William E. Lescaze (1896–1969).

Reserve Bank at Tenth and Chestnut; a courthouse at Ninth and Chestnut; the Customs House at Second and Chestnut; and the central post office, at Thirtieth and Market Streets. Not until the 1950s was Philadelphia to enjoy a similar architectural explosion. All these buildings except the post office, Thirtieth Street Station, the Federal Reserve Bank, and the Convention Hall were skyscrapers, the twentieth century's mark of a city's coming of age. It is probable that Henry James, who had found Philadelphia comfortably scaled for humans when he visited the city in 1903, would have been saddened by her somewhat belated succumbing to the "New York, the Chicago note" of the "perpetual perpendicular."⁸

The Philadelphia Planning Commission, established by ordinance on April 13, 1929, was preparing to submit to the Council a Fifty Year Plan for the city's immediate development with the coordinated expansion of a variety of municipal projects, including a proposal for a "memorial court of honor providing an ornate approach" to Independence Square, to be created in the block between Chestnut and Market, Fifth and Sixth Streets.⁹ The City Beautiful concept for which Paul Cret received the Philadelphia Award in 1930 was to be furthered by the Schuylkill River Development Project, a proposal calling for two new bridges, University Bridge and one to connect



Convention Hall, Thirty-fourth and Civic Center Boulevard, opened 1931 (photograph c. 1932), designed by Philip H. Johnson (1868–1933). The 1936 Democratic National Convention which nominated Franklin Roosevelt for his second term was held in Convention Hall, as were the 1940 Republican convention which nominated Wendell Willkie and the 1948 conventions of both parties.

PHILADELPHIA DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS, ARCHIVES DIVISION

Pennsylvania Boulevard with Thirtieth Street Station; the extension of the "west embankment drive" both north and south from Market Street; and a new station for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad with the realignment of its tracks so that the city could bring the East River Drive south from Fairmount Plaza to Walnut Street. Of vital importance to the success of the whole were plans to upgrade the system of sewage disposal in the area to relieve the Schuylkill of "its present offensive dumpage."¹⁰ The Philadelphia Board of Trade proposed that consideration be given to improving the approaches to the Delaware River Bridge and the building of a crosstown, high-speed, elevated traffic boulevard to connect the city's two riverfronts. Meanwhile the mayor's office, with the intention of presenting Philadelphia in the role of international city, had issued a pamphlet in both English and Spanish entitled "Philadelphia, Historic in the Past, Inviting in the Present, Superb in the Future."¹¹ The foreword to this publication outlined a ten-year program for the city's beautification, and the text was interspersed with pictures of Philadelphia's parks, fountains, Parkway, old residential streets, and new apartment houses, and perspective drawings of its proposed airport.

There were solid accomplishments as well as "showy" proposals to which the Mackey administration could point as that mayor's term of office closed. Following the passage of a zoning enabling act, the draft of a zoning ordinance and zoning maps of the city were prepared. Major improvements in mass transportation had been carried through as Philadelphia chose to add to and improve existing rail, subway, and trolley lines rather than join Los Angeles and Detroit in highway building. The fact that 80 percent of the traffic into Philadelphia was carried by public transport doubtless influenced the city's decision. In any event both the Pennsylvania and the Reading Railroads were in the midst of an electrification program for their suburban lines. The Pennsylvania's was 70 percent complete, and the Reading expected to finish its by 1933. The Broad Street Subway had been extended to South Street. The tube to take the Frankford–Market Street El under the Schuylkill was being completed, and plans to continue the el underground west to Forty-second or Forty-sixth Streets were under discussion. The underground pedestrian concourse around City Hall was well along. The excavation for the Locust Street Subway had begun.¹²

As usual there was a negative side to municipal development. Those owning property in developing areas and the contractors specializing in municipal jobs could be expected to act as behind-the-scenes proponents of all purported improvements. Council aid, and in accordance with Philadelphia custom, Council profit had to be arranged, possibly by Charles Hall, leader of the Seventh Ward, whose ties with W. W. Atterbury, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and with Jerome H. Louchheim, whose Keystone State Corporation regularly won municipal contracts, were well known. At any rate Hall was accused by William S. Vare of promoting the "City Beautiful" to ease access to the Thirtieth Street Station, while "Mackey the Menace and Greenfield the Octopus" were charged with using political machinery to

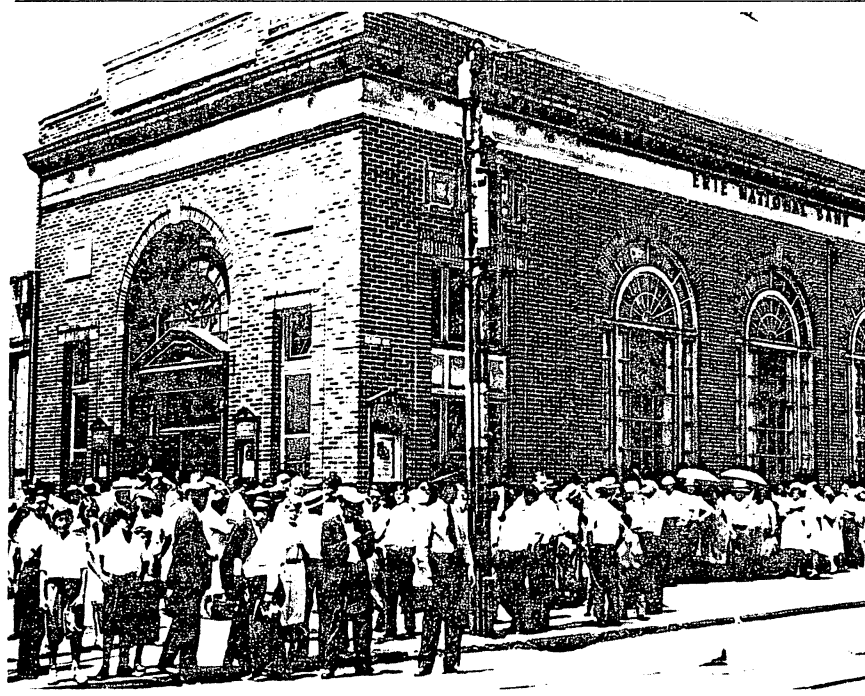
chieve power and financial gain. Although these were the agonized cries of the outsiders, there was doubtless more than a little truth behind the rhetoric.

By the time many of the development proposals and the formal report of the Regional Planning Federation were ready for publication, Philadelphia had a conservative mayor, and the region and the nation were of necessity more concerned with surviving an unprecedented depression than they were with planning future expenditures to safeguard the physical environment. Although much that was then proposed or partially executed died on the drawing boards, silent victims of the Depression, the plans and the unfinished public works of the Mackey era were ready at hand when a new Planning Commission and a reform government took charge of the city twenty years later.¹³

II

Philadelphia's Christmas cheer and New Year's euphoria were short-lived. As 1930 moved on from month to month the critical weakness of the nation's economy made itself felt in Philadelphia's boardrooms. The lack of liquid assets and the attendant problems facing the city's banks, indicated by the closing of the United Strength Bank and Trust Company, were prophetic of trouble to come. During the next three years fifty Philadelphia banks that had overextended their resources, granting credit on insufficient security or on property with unrealistically inflated valuations, closed their doors. Of the fifty, only two were big banks: Albert M. Greenfield's Bankers' Trust Company, with over 100,000 depositors and \$35 million in deposits; and the Franklin Trust Company, with deposits of some \$37 million.¹⁴

In July of 1930 Greenfield, head of the largest real estate firm in Pennsylvania as well as a banker, had taken over the Bank of Philadelphia and Trust Company, with \$15 million on deposit and a large share of its funds in builders' construction and mortgage loans, and at the time in a shaky state. Before doing so, Greenfield had received the assurance of C. Stevenson Newhall, president of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities, and Joseph Wayne, president of the Philadelphia National Bank, the two principal commercial bankers in the city, that the banking community would support the Bankers' Trust should need arise and "good and sufficient collateral" be available. Newhall and Wayne did extend \$7 million in loans to the Bankers' Trust in November, but at a conference on December 21, to which Greenfield was not invited, the heads of Philadelphia's principal banks agreed to allow the Bankers' Trust to close. The next day, December 22, 1930, the Great Depression became a reality for thousands of Philadelphians, moving from newspaper headlines about others' problems into their own kitchens. Some contemporary accounts imply that had Greenfield been a Proper Philadelphian rather than a Jew the rescue operations would not have been halted so quickly, citing in contrast the more extensive efforts made in behalf of the Integrity Trust Company, which survived until 1940 when its liquidation was announced by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the state Banking Department.¹⁵



Run on the Erie National Bank, Sixth and Erie Avenue (1931).

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Greenfield, who had kept his own funds in the Bankers' Trust throughout, now had to start afresh. This he did so energetically and so effectively that half a dozen years later he had virtual control over the \$15-million Bankers' Securities Corporation, an investment banking house, and over the recently reorganized City Stores, an umbrella corporation operating Lits, Bonwit Teller of Philadelphia, other department stores, and the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, and doing a \$35-million business annually. Greenfield had also completed his switch of party allegiance. By 1932 he was working with John B. Kelly, Matthew McCloskey, and others to build up a real Democratic party in Philadelphia.¹⁶

In 1930 and at least through the succeeding decade, men listed in the *Social Register* and for the most part living on the Main Line dominated the boardrooms of Philadelphia's major banks and other institutions of equal prestige, such as the Insurance Company of North America and the Pennsylvania Railroad. In consequence a relatively small and interrelated group of socially prominent families exerted "more active control" over finance and industry in Philadelphia than did those of any other town.¹⁷ An interesting exception to this Blue Book domination of Philadelphia's financial world was the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company, with 11,000 depositors and



John B. Kelly (1889–1960) and Matthew B. McCloskey (1893–1973), photograph 1936.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

about \$2.5 million in deposits. Founded in 1921 by Richard Robert Wright with the help of a national Negro Teachers Association, it survived the turmoil of these years and was one of the first of the city's banks allowed to reopen at the end of the moratorium on all banking operations ordered by President Roosevelt immediately upon his inauguration in 1933.¹⁸

After the worst was over and the solvent banks were again in operation with individual deposits guaranteed by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Philadelphia was left with sixteen national banks and thirty-eight others, that is, state banks and trust companies, along with four mutual savings banks, to supply the capital for running the city and its industries.¹⁹ As head of the Third District of the Federal Reserve system, Philadelphia also enjoyed the prestige of a Federal Reserve Bank whose new building at Tenth and Chestnut Streets was just being completed.

Philadelphia's building and loan associations, in most cases with smaller resources than the city's banks, had been similarly decimated. The large number of Philadelphians owning their own homes—more than in Boston and New York combined—reflected both the low cost of houses in the city

(a two-story, six-room-and-bath house cost about \$7000 in 1930), and the popularity of the building and loan association, a Philadelphia invention. A million and a quarter Philadelphians owned shares in 3400 building and loan associations in 1930. If times were good and work plentiful, everyone prospered; but with jobs hard to come by and many homes carrying 80 percent mortgages, both lenders and borrowers were in trouble. Citywide, mortgages on 19,000 properties were foreclosed in 1932. In just one block of North Van Pelt Street, thirty-six out of sixty houses were repossessed for debt between 1928 and 1938, twenty-three of them between 1932 and 1934. The real estate market was glutted, with an inevitably disastrous effect on the smaller and weaker associations, and by 1934, 1600 of the 3400 had been wiped out.²⁰

The progressive collapse of a large number of the city's financial institutions (though not many of the major ones), with the loss to investors of some \$5 billion, created havoc in Philadelphia's business community and in the lives of the citizens whose money and jobs, whose very ability to survive, were threatened by the growing chaos. More than 10 percent of the city's wage earners were unemployed even before the stock market crashed in the fall of 1929, reflecting the decline of local industries. By April 1930 the count of persons out of work stood at 15 percent, and by the end of the year it was clear that extraordinary measures had to be taken at once to cope with what had become a major emergency.²¹

III

In November 1930 the Committee on Unemployment Relief, headed by Horatio Gates Lloyd, was organized by concerned citizens and a drive to raise \$5 million to aid Philadelphia's jobless and their families begun. The committee collected and distributed \$3,840,000, most of which was used to purchase food and to provide make-work jobs for the heads of 14,000 destitute families, each man working three days a week and earning four dollars a day. The committee also supervised a shelter for homeless men in the eight-story loft of the Baldwin Locomotive Works at Eighteenth and Hamilton Streets. Between November 28, 1930, when it opened, and July 1, 1931, when lack of funds closed it down, the shelter cared for some 12,000 men. Half a dozen years later, in 1937, George W. Wilkins, superintendent of this shelter, was given the Philadelphia Award for his work there. All in all some 40,000 families received the committee's aid, and even the professional social workers, who generally opposed private charity as being more beneficial to the egos of the givers than responsive to the real needs of the recipients, commended Lloyd and his committee, noting that slim resources had been well handled and all without political entanglement.²²

This original *ad hoc* group was replaced in June 1931 by the Bureau of Unemployment Relief, working by ordinance of the city Council within the city's Department of Public Welfare. The bureau, again with Lloyd at its head, and with \$3 million of municipal funds, gathered a staff of interviewers and clerical assistants from among the unemployed, opened a headquarters at

112 North Broad Street, and set up five regional offices—in Germantown, Kensington, and North, South, and West Philadelphia. An applicant, his need verified, usually received aid—food, shoes, fuel—in two or three days, but by December 1931 the city's funds were exhausted and the bureau's official existence ended.²³ In the meantime a Community Chest Campaign, combining efforts of the Welfare Federation and the Federation of Jewish Charities, had raised \$10 million. Even the notoriously tight-fisted Edward T. Stotesbury gave \$100,000, and so did the always-generous Cyrus H. K. Curtis. Of this sum, \$5 million was assigned to Lloyd, working as a dollar-a-year deputy to Clinton Rogers Woodruff, director of the city's Department of Welfare. Although the state added \$2 million to the fund, by June all this too had been distributed. The Lloyd committee was disbanded and organized relief in Philadelphia stopped. From November 1930 to June 1932, \$14 million had been gathered to help 80,000 families and 30,000 homeless men.²⁴ Philadelphians had contributed magnificently, but the problems the city faced were too big for private charity to handle, even with city and state aid.

With money for relief exhausted, unemployed workers and their families depended for survival principally on the help that relatives and neighbors could give, on community soup kitchens and breadlines set up by churches or other social organizations, and on fruit and vegetables scavenged at the docks and market stalls. The Unemployed Citizens League, sponsored by the hosiery and carpet workers unions, was organized in May 1932 to stop evictions wherever possible and prevent the cutting off of gas and electricity from the homes of the jobless. The league also managed to feed between 800 and 1000 families weekly thanks to donations from local merchants.²⁵ For most of the jobless credit had long since been exhausted. A survey of 400 families by the Community Council found that two-thirds owed for gas, electricity, or both; three-fourths were in debt to the milkman, grocer, and coal dealer. The surveyors added that the contributions to relief made by some landlords in the form of uncollected rents were "substantial."²⁶

Unofficial aid came from other sources as well. Leopold Stokowski assembled a group of unemployed professional musicians for a concert in Reyburn Plaza and later directed the same ensemble in a benefit performance at Convention Hall to assist their fellows who were in need.²⁷ The American Institute of Architects' Philadelphia chapter proposed to map the city's landmarks and file the data on Philadelphia's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings with the Free Library and the Library of Congress. Fifty-seven draftsmen, working with a committee headed by Sydney E. Martin and earning a weekly wage of fifteen dollars, began the task in February 1931. By October they had produced a notable archive of measured drawings and photographs, later documented by a map drawn by William M. Campbell and an essay on Philadelphia's architecture and architects by Horace Wells Sellers. When the Historic American Buildings Survey began operation in December 1933 under the United States Department of the Interior as part of the National Recovery Act, architects with experience in Philadelphia's earlier program were at hand to assist in organizing the new project.²⁸

In addition to these programs, all of somewhat limited scope, a little extra help for the jobless living in the old townships of Philadelphia County—Germantown, Roxborough, Bristol, Oxford, Lower Dublin, Moreland, and Byberry—came from the local Poor Boards, relics of a system in force since the eighteenth century, and still assessing and collecting a poor tax in each of these districts.²⁹ Goodwill there was in all of this, but means were woefully inadequate to the situation, and soon Philadelphia hospitals began to report "definite cases of starvation" among their patients. By January 1932 the Community Council was speaking of the "slow starvation" facing those out of work and noted the "progressive disruption of family life" that seemed the inevitable result of prolonged joblessness.³⁰

In the face of all the evidence to the contrary, J. Hampton Moore, mayor for the second time upon succeeding Harry A. Mackey in January 1932, decried all talk of a depression, claiming that people in trouble were so because they were thriftless and lazy. "I toured the lower section of South Philadelphia," Moore said, "I went into the small streets, and saw little of poverty. . . . I have counted automobiles and watched them pass a given point. Rich and poor, white and colored, alien and native born, all riding by. . . . There is no starvation in Philadelphia."³¹

He then proceeded to make matters worse by firing 3500 city workers, thus saving Philadelphia \$12 million in salaries. Moore also instituted pay cuts; required police and firemen to take two weeks' vacation without pay; and by drastically reducing the number of contracts awarded during the first quarter of his first year, saved another \$4.5 million. All work on the subways was ordered suspended upon the completion of the contracts then in force. This allowed the Ridge Avenue extension of the Broad Street Subway to be finished, as well as the el tunnel under the Schuylkill, but disallowed any funds for installing signal systems in both the Locust Street and Broad Street Subways.³² Moore's procedures kept the city from defaulting on its bonded indebtedness and subsequently enabled it to borrow money at 5 percent when New York could not find any at 6 percent.³³ These tactics appealed to the business interests but hardly endeared Moore to the jobless for whom the welfare of their families was of more immediate concern than the health of the city's Sinking Fund.

Ironically enough, as the mayor was taking what he considered to be appropriate steps to meet the city's critical financial situation, a University of Pennsylvania study, "Municipal Planning to Prevent Unemployment," was published and among other points urged the value of public works projects in depression years, when they could absorb 10 percent of the unemployed and when the city's dollars could be expected to accomplish more, since materials and wages would then cost less. It is debatable whether in the long run all of Moore's economies were wise. For example, his refusal to seek a federal loan to continue work on the municipal airport at Hog Island not only deprived Philadelphians of jobs, but delayed for years the city's direct communication by air with other parts of the country.³⁴

In spite of the evident need and in spite of some outspoken disapproval

of his actions, Mayor Moore continued to find it impossible to consider any increase in city jobs or to accept federal funds for this purpose. In 1934, for example, Philadelphia might have had \$1.5 million to pay the wages of men working on public projects if the city had agreed to use funds received from the Delaware River Joint Commission for the purchase of the necessary materials and supplies. Moore's insistence on adding this sum to the Sinking Fund for the redemption of city bonds caused David Stern, owner of the *Record*, to advise him to "take off the dunce cap," and even the conservative *Inquirer* thought the mayor's decision "too complacent."³⁵ Although Moore's position seemed astonishingly wrongheaded to many, in the comfortable climate of the Manufacturers' Club and the Union League it was applauded roundly.

Fortunately for Philadelphia's and Pennsylvania's jobless, both Gifford Pinchot, then serving his second term as governor, and his Democratic successor, George H. Earle III, were deeply concerned about the effects of the Depression on the state. Not long after Mayor Moore had precipitated the "Battle of Reyburn Plaza" by sending the police to meet representatives of the Unemployed Councils when they marched to City Hall on August 25, 1932, in a vain attempt to awaken the mayor to their plight,³⁶ Pinchot appointed the Philadelphia County Relief Board and designated Philip C. Staples chairman, with H. Gates Lloyd, experienced in Philadelphia's problems, and two highly regarded professionals, Karl de Schweinitz and Dorothy Kahn, among its members. From its inception until November 1934 the board issued orders for food and milk, and provided coal, gas, clothing, and medicine for those needing aid. Thereafter help was given in cash "sufficient to maintain minimum living standards."³⁷

By the summer of 1936, however, the state's relief funds on which Philadelphia depended had run out. The situation of those without work again appeared to be desperate, while in Harrisburg a conservative Republican Senate feuded with Governor Earle and the necessary legislation to increase appropriations for relief languished. A demonstration in May persuaded the Assembly to transfer \$3,630,000 from the Motor Fund to carry relief payments through the balance of that month. A second "hunger march" in July was more effective and resulted in an appropriation of \$45 million to be used for relief payments statewide. This sum lasted through January 1937, when a new legislature, fortunately with more humanitarian views, took over.³⁸

For five years, from 1932 to 1937, Philadelphia's city government had contributed nothing to direct relief, leaving it to the state to fund unemployment relief, outdoor poor relief, aid for dependent children, old-age assistance, and pensions for the blind, a considerable outlay when the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance had 60,000 cases covering 157,700 persons on its rolls, as it did by October 1937. The worst year for Philadelphia had been 1933, however, when 11.5 percent of whites were out of work, 16.2 percent of blacks, and 19.1 percent of foreign-born whites, who fared worst of all. Women, probably because they could be hired for less money, found work more easily than did

men. (More than half of the women working in the sweatshops of the garment trade earned less than \$6.58 a week.)³⁹

In spite of these appalling statistics Philadelphia, because of the diversity of its manufacturing, including chemicals, steel, leather goods, and textiles, weathered the Depression rather better than did the one-industry cities like Detroit or Pittsburgh. Even so, neither private charity nor public welfare nor jobs created by public works projects could accomplish the mammoth task of restoring financial independence to out-of-work Philadelphians. Only a world war with its monstrous need for men and weapons did that.

Moore's successor, elected in November 1935, was S. Davis Wilson, nominally a Republican who had made the New Deal a campaign issue, declaring that it must be "utterly repudiated." Once in office, however, Wilson quickly showed that he had no qualms about setting up programs that could be financed with Works Progress Administration money. Thereafter Fairmount Park roads, bridle paths, and park areas, the Zoo and League Island Park benefited from the attention it was now possible to give them. City streets and the runways for the airport at Hog Island Road and Tinicum Avenue—renamed the S. Davis Wilson Airport—were graded. Improvements were made in more than 900 public buildings, money was secured for public housing, the city's water plant was overhauled, and construction projects at the Frankford and Schuylkill Arsenals, the Navy Yard, and the Naval Home were undertaken. Under the wing of the WPA's Division of Community Service, educational and recreational projects were started, nursery schools and tot playlots set up. The number of guides at the Museum of Art was increased and twenty-seven period rooms were installed there. The Federal Writers' Project produced *Philadelphia: A Guide to the Nation's Birthplace*, still considered a standard work of reference forty years later. At the peak in June 1936, 40,000 Philadelphians were working at WPA-financed jobs,⁴⁰ although not always within a friendly climate. At one venerable library, for example, the clerks sorting a hitherto unexplored and very dusty collection of manuscripts were firmly admonished, "WPA workers must not sneeze." Work, and probably sneezes, continued.

I V

The sad state into which many of Philadelphia's older houses had fallen accounted indirectly for a large share of jobs financed with federal funds. Before he had been in office a month Wilson commented that twenty-five miles of blighted areas in the city needed rehabilitation. A survey of Philadelphia housing undertaken in 1934 at the direction of the United States Department of Commerce, but carried out by the state's Emergency Relief Board as a make-work project, had reported on 433,796 dwellings of which 83 percent were row houses, about the same percentage occupied by a single family, and more than half of these owner-occupied. The survey showed that although hot and cold water were generally available (in 98 percent of the homes), eight in every thousand homes had no water at all, the occupants depending either

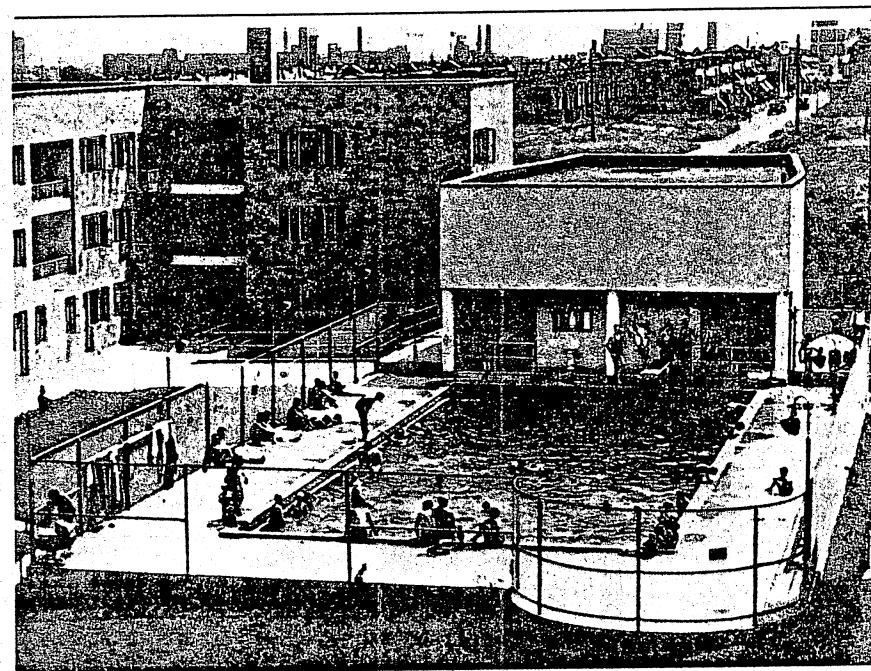
on a hydrant in the yard or on wells or on their neighbors for their supply. Coal was the fuel used for heating, but again about 3000 homes had no way at all to heat their rooms. There was a 10 percent vacancy rate, and about 7000 houses were considered unfit for occupancy. Not surprisingly, houses available to blacks were generally older and in poorer condition than those for whites.⁴¹

When a WPA survey was made for the Philadelphia Housing Authority in 1939, conditions had improved somewhat. There were now more houses in the city (515,527), and more families to live in them. There were fewer vacant dwellings, only 3.5 percent, and a slightly smaller percentage of all needed major repairs to make them habitable. Nevertheless 17.5 percent were classed as substandard, and conditions for nonwhite tenants had not improved by much.⁴²

Until the era of the New Deal even public interest agencies like the Philadelphia Housing Association had opposed government subsidies for low-cost housing, defined as dwellings priced from \$3900 to \$6200, believing that better results could be obtained by showing businessmen the possibilities of building for the largest market and selling their product through building and loan associations.⁴³ The Depression upset this theory by virtually eliminating the entrepreneur, the would-be purchaser, and the building and loan associations from the scene. Subsequently three nongovernmental housing projects, each of which made an important statement about a different segment of the Philadelphia community, were built, and each received the national recognition it merited.

The most orthodox of these, and the only one likely to appeal to the business world, was the salvage program devised by a real estate dealer, Arthur W. Binns. In 1939 Binns, believing in the profitability of using private capital "with a sense of service," undertook to rehabilitate 500 houses in the Thirty-fourth and Forty-fourth Wards of West Philadelphia at a cost of \$1500 each. Rents were fixed at about twenty dollars a month, plus an award for tenants' good housekeeping of a once-yearly rent refund. Binns claimed about 10 percent profit after taxes, the result, he said, of good, on-the-spot management.⁴⁴ Binns was of course operating in a comparatively stable area of Philadelphia, in a rising market and an economy beginning to respond to impending war.

The second project, still seen as an architectural and social landmark, was the Carl Mackley Apartments at Castor and Juniata Park. Commissioned by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, one of the largest and most progressively led of all Philadelphia's locals, and named for a young worker killed in 1930 in a strike-related incident, the apartments were designed by Oskar Stonorov, a European-trained architect, and financed by a loan from the Public Works Administration. Construction began in January 1934 and the first tenants, all hosiery workers, moved in a year later. The way the three-story buildings of the Carl Mackley Apartments were arranged in the open space on which they sat, with their gardens, lawns, play areas, and



Carl Mackley Houses, M and East Bristol Streets, Juniata Park, built in 1933 (photograph for the Philadelphia Record, 1940), designed by Oskar Stonorov (1905-1970) and Alfred Kastner (1900-1975). The accompanying article states that the model worker residences with underground garages and rooftop nursery schools rented for \$22.50 to \$45 a month. They are now privately owned, middle-income apartments.

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underground access to garages, and the invitation given to sculptors and painters to enliven the buildings with works of art, were new and highly sophisticated architectural ideas. The organization of life within the complex, around the credit union, the co-op market, and the tenants' committees, had roots in the labor-related utopian communities of the nineteenth century, old ideas being used to help twentieth-century workers counter the effects of the Depression.⁴⁵

The third project, also an apartment complex, was a gift to Philadelphia's black community by Benjamin and Pearl Mason. The Masons had been on relief for five years when they won \$150,000 in the Grand National Steeplechase Sweepstakes in 1940. Shortly thereafter the most heartwarming proposal of all was under way. Having paid the debts they owed, the Masons invested some \$80,000 of their winnings in building the Frances Plaza Apartments at Nineteenth and Lombard Streets. Twenty-eight tenements were bought around that corner with the aid of Raymond Pace Alexander, a well-known black attorney. Frank V. Nickels, architect, designed a three-story, cream-

colored brick apartment house, with court, play space, and gymnasium so arranged that about 40 percent of the land remained open, carrying out Mrs. Mason's wishes as she had expressed them to Alexander:

Brother Alexander, I been thinking that my people has got to get two things. They got to get theyselves homes where the roof don't leak, and they got to get hospitals. God has given me a concern for my people. Now you take that sweepstakes money and build some homes. The rain water been pouring through the roof all my life. I never had a inside toilet. My kids have to play in the alley and get theyselves cool in summer under a fireplug. I want green grass and flowers, too. I never did have no flowers. They's got to be a fountain where the kids can fuss around and play and not be getting hit by no automobiles.

The apartments were completed, using black contractors, and with loans from the Federal Housing Administration, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Citizens and Southern Bank.⁴⁶ Through this undertaking the Masons not only benefited some of their fellowmen for whom decent housing had seemed unattainable, but upset the almost ineradicable notion that all those on relief were out to take all they could gather in without making any return. They also probably shook up the sober souls who would have found it unsettling to discover that the use of welfare money for so frivolous an object as a sweepstakes ticket could produce such generous fruit.

The Frances Plaza Apartments are now called Rittenhouse Village and the play space is a parking area. The surrounding district, once characterized by shabby houses, sometimes empty, by garages, service stations, yards for scrap iron, rags, and paper storage, is now a semifashionable residential neighborhood, its physical improvement almost certainly begun with the construction of the Frances Plaza Apartments.

In October 1935, in spite of Republican misgivings, federal money for low-cost housing in the amount of \$1.8 million was made available through the PWA working with the United States Housing Authority for the purchase of twenty-four acres of land at Adams and Rising Sun Avenues. Three months later, in January 1936, ground was broken for the Hill Creek Housing Project, the first such in the city.⁴⁷ The Hill Creek Homes were initially under the care of the United States Housing Authority, but after the state enabling act established the Philadelphia Housing Authority in the fall of 1937, the Hill Creek project was turned over to the new agency to manage. Four years later it was possible for the Philadelphia Housing Authority, using 90 percent federal funds, to build the James Weldon Johnson Homes at Twenty-fifth and Ridge on the site of the old Glenwood Cemetery, and between 1939 and 1940 to add two other projects, the Tasker Homes, on vacant ground at Thirtieth and Tasker, and the Richard Allen Homes, on a slum-clearance site at Ninth and Poplar. These three provided the city with 2859 new dwellings varying in size from three to six rooms each and renting from fourteen to twenty-six dollars a month. The greater number of the dwellings in these projects represented additional housing for the city and were the more welcome for that. Only the Richard Allen Homes had required the relocation of any families—900 families had occupied the 450 buildings demolished there.⁴⁸

The Housing Authority offered the families that came to live in these projects new, sanitary dwellings that met the standards of the building code then in force. They also attracted attention nationally through efforts to show renters that a new house did not require a major expenditure for new furniture. To this end the authority furnished and decorated a model house, using reconditioned furniture from the Salvation Army shops. The idea proved popular. Tenants asked for and got a home-furnishing workshop where they could work on their own furniture, and one of the city schools set up a new program to provide practical experience for its students in this kind of work. Later the school board expanded the program, adding visiting homemaking consultants to the staffs of all the public schools near housing projects. These consultants worked with parents to help them improve nutrition, to learn how to keep cleaner, safer homes, and to see that both landlord and tenant assumed responsibility for repairs within their appropriate spheres.⁴⁹ Alas, the glow was not permanent; Tasker and Allen have become high-crime areas.

Unfortunately, after Mayor Wilson's resignation on August 11, 1939, and his death eight days later, a change in administration brought a conservative philosophy back to the city government, and when the United States Housing Authority allotted \$19 million to Philadelphia for additional houses in 1940, oilman Joseph N. Pew, Jr., and Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association leader Joseph R. Grundy, Philadelphia's powerful Republican bosses, advised the city Council to refuse the offer. The Council obeyed, over labor's protest, and gave Philadelphia the distinction of being the only city to prefer the status quo to the possible pain of again grasping Washington's helping hand.⁵⁰

A year later, when it was clear that the United States would soon become involved in World War II, the Philadelphia Housing Authority, working with the federal Defense Housing coordinator, turned to the task of finding shelter for the hundreds of newcomers to the city, men and women here to work at defense jobs. The Passyunk Homes, at Penrose Avenue and Magazine Lane, with 1000 houses for Navy Yard personnel, were begun in April 1941. In September work started on the Abbotsford Homes, at Henry Avenue and Abbotsford Road, which with Bartram's Village, at Elmwood and Fifty-fourth Streets, and Oxford Village, at Oxford and Comly Streets, added 1400 more. At the end of the war the Housing Authority found itself in charge of four low-cost housing developments, the Johnson, Tasker, Allen, and Hill Creek Homes; and of eight war-housing projects, the four just mentioned and four others built to provide temporary homes only for persons engaged in war-related occupations: the Ship Yard Homes (Twentieth and Packer), the League Island Homes (Thirty-sixth and Morris), Tacony Homes (Lewis and Tacony), and Oxford Village II (Comly and Langdon). After 1946 these last four were used as a part of a temporary housing program for veterans.⁵¹

v

The Depression was of incalculable importance for Philadelphia's workers. It brought Roosevelt's New Deal program and the enactment in 1937 of Pennsylvania's "Little New Deal" encouraging the formation of labor unions.

Government encouragement to unionization and the inception of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the CIO, in 1936, sparked a burst of union activity in Philadelphia.

Labor's dissatisfaction with its condition had produced a rash of strikes during Mayor Mackey's term of office as Philadelphia's open shops began to yield to union pressure. In this context the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, with the object of unionizing Philadelphia's clothing industry, and the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers made notable gains. As the result of a strike by the hosiery union the management of many of the Philadelphia mills agreed to the organization of their mills, while the union, accepting wage cuts, helped to keep union mills solvent and make them more profitable than nonunion plants. In consequence Philadelphia remained for the time being Pennsylvania's biggest production center for hosiery, in spite of the "yellow dog" tactics of the Reading and southern mills. But it was only for the time being; eventually the hosiery unions were to drive the hosiery factories out of Philadelphia, once the hosiery center of the country, to the nonunion South.⁵²

After the organization of the CIO, union benefits were sought by workers in many additional trades, and by January 1937 union activity and worker unrest had reached such a peak that the *Inquirer* reported the current situation in a column headed "Along the City's Strike Front Yesterday." Listed in the column were a walkout by 700 men at Crown Cork and Seal Company, striking in protest of the dismissal of 100 of their fellows; the failure of the



Strike violence at the Apex Hosiery Mill, Fifth and Luzerne Streets (1937).

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mayor's labor representative and the Exide workers who had staged Philadelphia's first sitdown strike to come to an agreement; the continuation of another sitdown strike, this one by 450 workers at the Brownhill and Kramer Knitting Company who were demanding union recognition and the check-off system; and a smaller strike at the Marshall Field Company plant. On a more cheerful note the reporter indicated that the striking seamen were moving toward settlement, but added that 8000 garment workers from 150 local plants were likely to walk out in pursuit of a thirty-five-hour week, a 20 percent wage rise, union recognition, and "establishment of union conditions in the shops."⁵³

Other strikes made headlines subsequently, among them one by the Workers' Alliance, an organization of jobless WPA workers; several by the city ash and garbage collectors; another by employees at the J. G. Brill Company; and an oddity reported on the *Inquirer's* financial pages, the action against the numbers "bankers" by 200 "pick-up men," the "minor racketeering gentry." Truckers struck in support of both the bakery drivers, at odds with the A & P, and the drivers having trouble with the Supplee, Wills, Jones milk company. Strikes were called for a variety of reasons: because of dissatisfaction with wages, hours, working conditions; and as the result of jurisdictional conflicts between the conservative, craft-oriented American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the more democratic, industrially oriented CIO. Some of the strikes were long, bitter, and violent, and by August 1937 the city's labor problems were acute. Mayor Wilson created his own labor board, and later claimed that he himself had taken a hand in settling some 200 disputes, spending as much as twenty-four hours at a time trying to bring opposing forces together. Wilson believed, with some justification, that he should receive credit for having saved the city from a kind of anarchy.⁵⁴

With expert leadership from their own well-established textile unions, headed by David Dubinsky and Sidney Hillman, Philadelphians meanwhile turned a town with old craft unions but thousands of unorganized industrial workers into a city where a high proportion of all wage earners were also union members. It must have seemed an appropriate star for the top of labor's Philadelphia tree when the delegates from forty-one nations, members of the International Labor Organization, met in April 1944 at Temple University to plan programs and policies for the postwar world. Here they drafted what is sometimes called a "code of rights for the common man," or the "Philadelphia charter," a "classic" statement of the social aims of a hoped-for Allied victory.⁵⁵

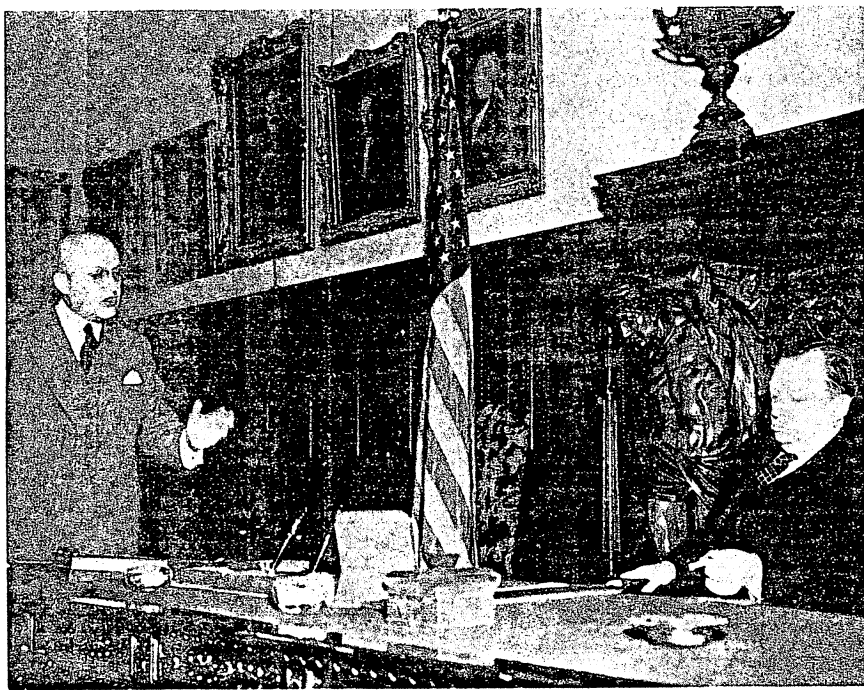
V I

The Great Depression left two marks on Philadelphia: it made the city truly a union town; and politically turned it from a Republican stronghold into one that could be counted on to give the Democratic candidate an ample majority in presidential elections, while for the time being maintaining its Republican complexion in local affairs.

The cracks in the monolithic G.O.P., evident in 1931 as a consequence of William S. Vare's slipping control, were widened by Mayor Moore's insensitivity to human need and made disastrously visible by his lack of action in behalf of those without work or hope. At the same time the small wind stirring among the Democrats began blowing more strongly in response to the bread-and-butter issues handed to their party by Moore.

Some years earlier Vare is reported to have tried to dissuade Charles Hall from continuing his efforts to develop the banks of the Schuylkill through the Vine-South Street section of the city by saying: "Charlie, the day of the contractor combine in politics was buried with my brother Ed." Perhaps it may have been buried for the G.O.P., but it was a combination of new men in the construction business, Matthew McCloskey and John B. Kelly, joined by the real estate entrepreneur and banker Albert M. Greenfield, and aided by the forum David Stern's *Record* provided, that built a real Democratic party in Philadelphia in 1932 and 1933.

In an interview with Greg Walter in 1969 McCloskey recalled his visit to New York in 1932 to see James Farley and discuss with him the state of the Philadelphia Democrats; then led by a man dependent for his position on the Vare organization, and with the Republicans even paying the rent on his



Albert M. Greenfield (1887-1967) and Mayor S. Davis Wilson (1881-1939), photograph 1937.

office. Coming back to the city, McCloskey with Kelly organized the Independent Democratic Committee, with Kelly as chairman and McCloskey as treasurer. The new committee worked hard for the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and although the Republican ward leaders and committeemen managed to carry Philadelphia for Herbert Hoover, they discovered when the votes were tallied that Roosevelt had received an astonishing 45 percent of all votes cast, and that Hoover had won by the uncomfortably small margin of 70,000 votes.⁵⁶

The following year the Democrats registered 179,000 new adherents. As one disgruntled committeeman put it, the people "are suffering from the depression and going toward the Democratic party like an ocean." In the row-office elections that November John O'Donnell, Vare's tame Democrat, and the members of his city committee pledged as individuals and as a group "to refrain from entering into any deals, agreements or understandings" with the Philadelphia G.O.P. Plans for coordinating the ensuing campaign were made in David Stern's office, and the *Record's* coverage contributed not a little to Democratic success. All of Vare's major candidates were defeated. The Democrats, with the support of Governor Pinchot and the independent Town Meeting party, or Fusion ticket, won two important city offices, electing S. Davis Wilson controller and Will B. Hadley city treasurer, as well as filling some lesser posts. Among those running, albeit unsuccessfully, was Joseph S. Clark, Proper Philadelphian, and a member of the Warriors' Club, young Democrats with reform of their party in mind. Clark's campaign for a seat on the city Council was managed by another Warrior, Richardson Dilworth, and marked the emergence within the Democratic party of a number of socially prominent Philadelphians, among them Francis Biddle, Walter Phillips, R. Sturgis Ingersoll, William C. Bullitt, and John F. Lewis, Jr. The following year Clark managed Dilworth's losing campaign for a seat in the state Senate. Although losing that race, the Philadelphia Democrats contributed significantly to the election of George H. Earle III as governor of Pennsylvania.⁵⁷

Shaken by these events, a group of Republicans, including Henry J. Trainer, a member of the Council, Judge Charles L. Brown, and Jerome H. Louchheim, organized a successful revolt against Vare. Their action could hardly be considered a movement toward reform, but simply a recognition of an impending vacuum that allowed a shift in power from the old Vare gang to a party dominated for years to come by Joseph R. Grundy and Joseph N. Pew.⁵⁸ Hereafter, Democratic success in elections to city offices slowed down. In 1935 the G.O.P. made a clean sweep, electing a "solid" Council and a mayor, S. Davis Wilson, who had changed his party allegiance to become at least nominally a Republican. John B. Kelly was Wilson's opponent, and Wilson's victory, if indeed he did actually win—Kelly thought he had been counted out by manipulation of some of the voting machines, and the question remains unsettled to this day—was by a margin of 50,000 votes.⁵⁹

In his campaign Kelly had pledged to apply for federal money for local

work relief programs, to remove unnecessary city employees, and to leave no more abandoned subways and airports. Wilson was backed by Pew, the fanatically anti-Roosevelt head of Sun Oil; by contractor Louchheim; and by the city workers both uniformed and nonuniformed whose welfare he had cultivated as controller, always finding money to maintain payrolls and avoid increasing taxes. Wilson took the Republican candidate's obligatory stance of opposition to the New Deal, but once installed in City Hall in January 1936, he quickly accepted \$1.9 million in WPA funds, and joined with Greenfield and Stern in a determined effort to bring the Democratic National Convention to Philadelphia. Always a promoter of his own interests and of Philadelphia's, Wilson was a partisan politician only if it suited his larger purposes.⁶⁰

The Democratic convention did come to Philadelphia, the first major political gathering in town since 1900 when McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt were nominated on the Republican ticket. Businessmen and politicians now collected \$200,000 to take the palm away from San Francisco or Chicago, and McCloskey arranged a successful \$100-a-plate dinner, a fundraising device he later claimed to have invented, to aid the cause. Some of the newly acquired federal money was used to improve Convention Hall where the assembled delegates would meet, and the city suspended its famous Blue Laws against Sunday drinking to make the delegates welcome. So successfully was this done that in the opinion of one visitor the city needed only a change in local politics to be perfect. In fact the only visible hostility in this Republican city was the Union League's giant electric sign: "Landon and Knox, 1936. Love of Country Leads." For the Democrats, happy days were here again indeed, and on June 26, 1936, FDR was nominated by acclamation after a "wild" sixty-two-minute demonstration.⁶¹

This time Roosevelt carried all but seven of the city's fifty wards, winning by 209,876 votes. Democrats were elected in all of Philadelphia's congressional districts, and the Philadelphians helped their party gain control of both houses of the Pennsylvania legislature for the first time since 1845. Registered Democrats now numbered 364,259, up from 101,729 in 1928, and were only 86,000 fewer in number than those claiming Republican allegiance. Money for needed jobs, available through the WPA, and a consequent shift among ethnic and racial minorities from the G.O.P. to FDR's banner help to explain these changes. Hitherto labor had exerted little political muscle. J. Hampton Moore, for example, who had a history of antilabor votes, was nonetheless elected mayor twice, both times carrying the heavily industrial wards where the influence of the committeeman and ward leader had continued to be greater than that of the union leader. The new state of affairs was therefore shocking to the Republican ward leaders, and not only because this time their voters "couldn't be bought." As one man who had failed to deliver his district put it: "I lost by three votes. First time in twenty years. My friends double crossed me. They taken my money and voted the other way." Some of those friends perhaps were acting on the principle that determined the choice of one black woman who, given five dollars to vote for the Republican candidate and two

dollars by the Democrats to vote for their man, cast her ballot for FDR because the Democrats were "poor, too." It also came as a surprise to the G.O.P. party workers that their constituents "knew where the second [Democratic] lever was, and *pulled that one*." From that time on until after World War II Philadelphia, Janus-like, showed two faces in politics: turning in resounding victories for FDR in 1940 and 1944, but for the most part continuing to elect a Republican-dominated city government and usually supporting the Republican candidates for state office, although sometimes by slim margins.⁶²

VII

Five mayors headed the city government between 1930 and 1946. Officially all were Republican when elected, and S. Davis Wilson, controversial, overly fond of intoxicating liquors, but colorful, may have been the ablest of the lot. Wilson owed a great deal to the intelligence of his city solicitor, Joseph Sharfsin, who was a kind of gaunt dark presence behind the mayor's chair. It was Sharfsin who made the administration's contacts with bankers and lawyers and individuals weighty in the community. Wilson's successor, Robert Lamberton, was another organization man who died nineteen months after taking office without leaving much to mark his presence. The last, Bernard (Barney) Samuel, was a political hack, easy to make fun of but hard to truly dislike, who held office from Lamberton's death until a new broom swept the Democrats into power in 1951.

During these administrations the city experienced continued monetary difficulties, the usual number of scandals, grand jury investigations and prosecutions, some of which led to convictions, and frustrations when state law interfered with proposed reform of the city government. The gasworks, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, the water supply and sewage system, the courts, especially the magistrates' courts, police protection of racketeers and gamblers, and the illegal management of city elections made headlines regularly. Some of this stir led to improvements in city government, some appeared to produce more sound and fury than change.⁶³ Appropriately many of the issues came to a head shortly after Wilson, the muckraking deputy to the controller in the Mackey administration, was himself inaugurated as mayor in January 1936. Wilson's first months in office were tumultuous—whole departments suspended or their resignations requested, agency heads fired, suits begun. The first of these actions brought Wilson into conflict with the Civil Service Commission, then a haven for politicians moved more by considerations of friendship than by examination scores, and had little permanent effect. An attempt to improve the Civil Service Board was declared unconstitutional, and it was not until 1940 that a new commission was installed, after a grand jury had indicted the old one on grounds of fraudulent practices in the administration of the exams for police posts.⁶⁴

The U.G.I., the public utility holding company operating the Philadelphia gasworks, was another of Wilson's targets. Claiming mismanagement

and favoritism, the mayor asked that the company be compelled to repay the city \$12,741,457, due, in his opinion, in accordance with the terms of their lease signed February 8, 1926, by Mayor Kendrick, and now up for renewal, renegotiation, or cancellation. In 1936 the committee of the city Council in whose hands the matter rested decided to terminate the old lease on December 31, 1937. Five bids for the operation of the gasworks were subsequently received, but the Council changed its mind and on December 17 voted sixteen to five to renew the lease with the U.G.I. on the old terms. Since this would not require the company to reduce its charges to consumers in accordance with Wilson's campaign pledge, the mayor vetoed the bill, and when it was repassed by the Council, refused to sign it.⁶⁵

At that point the gasworks became entangled with the city's bleak financial position. The preceding month the Mayor's Advisory Finance Committee had reported that the city's debts exceeded the legal limit by \$35 million and recommended a flat-rate income tax, a sales tax, and a tax on unincorporated businesses as sources of new revenue. Previously the Council had enacted a variety of small taxes—an amusement tax, a parking lot tax, a mutual insurance company tax, and a documentary stamp tax, some of which were later voided by the state Supreme Court and none of which produced revenue sufficient to eliminate the deficit. In January 1938 the Council, in a further attempt to rectify the situation, passed a 2-percent sales tax which the mayor promptly vetoed only to have the bill passed over his veto to become law on March 1, 1938. In spite of this flurry of activity year's end brought the Council face to face with a deficit now grown to \$41 million, and the assignment of the gasworks rentals for a term of years in return for a loan in that amount was proposed. The state Supreme Court ruled that the Council had the right to balance the city's budget in this way, and although 60 percent of Philadelphians opposed the proposition the necessary agreements were made to borrow the money at 3½ percent for twelve and a half years from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, securing the loan by agreeing to hand over for that period of time the annual rent of \$4.2 million the city received from the U.G.I. under the lease agreements. Philadelphia's budget was balanced, but with the loss of considerable future revenue.⁶⁶

And the city needed still more money. The subways and the fire, water, and streets departments lacked up-to-date equipment. Money to service the \$400-million bonded debt, to light the city's streets, and to keep a sufficient number of policemen on patrol at any one time had to be found. The Council now proposed that a 1½ percent tax be levied on all wages and salaries and on the net profits of businesses and professions earned in Philadelphia. It was thought that this tax, to go into effect on January 1, 1940, would bring in \$18 million annually, and with this rosy prospect before it the Council passed the 1940 budget on schedule, the first time a budgetary deadline had been met in four years. Predictably the labor unions attacked the legality of the new tax, the first such to be collected in the United States. Federal workers also disputed the propriety of their wages' being taxed by Philadelphia, but the

courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States, upheld the city's position. At last Philadelphia had found a way to keep reasonably solvent, and by 1942 the city controller, Robert C. White, could even report a surplus, the first in fifteen years.⁶⁷

Another long-standing problem reached crisis proportions during Wilson's term of office, namely, the dispute of the city with the PRT and its underlying companies regarding their conflicting financial interests. In November 1935 the Council had given Mayor-elect Wilson authority to explore ways for Philadelphia to condemn the entire transit system. Suits and counter-suits between underliers, the company, and the city made headlines for the next four years. Finally Judge George A. Welsh of the U.S. District Court, the city Council, the PRT stockholders, and the Public Utility Commission were able to agree on a plan considered fair to all. On January 1, 1940, the PRT, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, ceased to exist, and the PTC, the Philadelphia Transportation Company, came into being. The underliers agreed to accept \$84 million in city bonds for their interests (a bonanza for the underliers of a shaky system); the city would collect half of the company's net annual income in excess of the amount needed to pay holders of common stock an agreed-upon sum, and would have the right to buy, on July 1 of any year, all of the company's property including bonds, common stock, and outstanding mortgages, having previously given six months' notice of its intentions. Further, the city's consent must be obtained for any increase in capital stock, funded indebtedness, or change in fares, and the PTC board of directors must include the mayor and four members elected by the city Council. In this case, unlike the U.G.I. affair, the city's position vis-à-vis an important independent agency with potential for advancing or hindering Philadelphia's growth was somewhat improved when the matters under adjudication were resolved—temporarily.⁶⁸

The magistrates' courts, reviewed in 1926 by the Philadelphia Bar Association and criticized then because of the magistrates' lack of legal training, dishonesty, casually kept records, and political subservience, had not improved during the intervening decade. Magistrates were more politicians than judges and "not permitted to forget that they could never have been judges if they had not first been successful politicians." If a party member involved in the numbers racket, for example, were arrested and his committeeman or ward leader was notified, the latter spoke to the magistrate, who "understood." Acquittal followed. The opportunities for profit were sizable. One magistrate, pleading guilty to malfeasance in office, admitted to having banked more than \$87,000 collected from defendants in just one year. A probe of this disgraceful system, demanded in 1935 by the Criminal Justice Association, led to a grand jury investigation and ultimately to the indictment of all magistrates in office except one, William H. Belcher. When Chief Magistrate John J. O'Malley was duly acquitted, the cases against the others fizzled. Enough public ire had been aroused, however, to assure the introduction and passage by the Assembly in 1937 of the Magistrates Court Act. Promptly tested

in the courts, the act was upheld on August 6, 1937, by the Court of Common Pleas, but stripped of much of its force the following January by action of the state Supreme Court.⁶⁹

In 1938 another grand jury investigated the ties between the police and other city officials and the Philadelphia gambling establishment. Thirty-nine gambling houses were said to exist "with official knowledge," and five police officers, including Inspectors James E. Clegg and Earl P. La Reau, forty-seven policemen from Eleventh and Winter Streets, and Superintendent of Police Edward Hubbs, were indicted, as were 142 operators of gaming establishments, among them Nathan Schaeffer, reputed "overlord" of the rackets.⁷⁰ Mayor Wilson was also charged on September 9, 1938, with failure to suppress gambling, especially rife in Wards Seven and Twenty; with firing city employees without regard to civil service regulations; and with interference with the attendance of witnesses before legislative committees. Two months later, on November 19, 1938, Harry S. McDevitt, president judge of the Courts of Common Pleas, quashed the charges against Wilson, and contemporary opinion generally held that they had been brought only because the G.O.P. hoped to get something on the mayor for his failure to support the regular Republican slate in the spring primaries.⁷¹ The charges against Police Superintendent Hubbs were dismissed in April 1939 by Judge Lamberton, elected mayor later that same year, and none of the other changes recommended by any of the grand juries before which these problems had come was implemented.

Complaints about election fraud, including the presence on the rolls of phantom voters, the manhandling of opposition-party poll watchers at election time, the giving of illegal assistance to voters or of money to vote the right way, were frequently heard. A bill to provide for the permanent registration of voters, enacted in March 1937, was designed to correct the first of these abuses, but a federal grand jury called in November 1940 to investigate election fraud discovered the names of 50,000 ineligible voters still on the lists. The Registration Commission, a body of five appointed by the governor for a term of four years, was charged forthwith with failure to perform its duties properly. Thomas D. Starr, the chairman, resigned in July, and on August 1 the governor appointed a new commission, retaining only one member of the old board, Mrs. Sara McNeil. A Democratic governor had appointed the old board, a Republican one the second; but since in both cases the appointments were politically inspired, improvement was not notable.⁷²

For those Philadelphians who were not in thrall to bossism the future of the city seemed uncertain. The organization, whether in Harrisburg or among the ward leaders in Philadelphia, appeared to be all but immovable and generally uninterested in the public weal. Meanwhile Philadelphia senses were offended by open garbage wagons, unpalatable water, smelly sewers, and rivers so polluted that their water took the paint off the hulls of the warships at the Navy Yard and on the hot, humid days of summer filled the air over center city with what the eighteenth century would have called "noxious vapors."

Philadelphia's drinking water and system of sewage disposal had long been objects of public complaint and professional concern. To get around the difficulty of low legal bonded debt limits and state legislative hostility the Council introduced an ordinance creating the Philadelphia Authority (chartered by the state in September 1938) in order to fund programs, financed by authority bonds, to curb the pollution of the city's rivers; to improve the city's water supply by upgrading pumping stations, filter plants, and water mains; and to provide high-pressure fire service to West Philadelphia. Philadelphians supported the Council's action and voted in favor of an \$18-million water loan, approved by the courts as self-liquidating.⁷³ A larger expenditure, involving the sale of \$42 million of sewer bonds to be backed by real estate taxes, did not fare so well, being declared unconstitutional by the state Supreme Court.⁷⁴

Changing mayors—until Samuel's time no mayor could succeed himself, so that a new one came on the scene every four years—did relatively little to halt corruption. Furthermore, Philadelphia still had separate sets of officials, chosen in different election years, for the city and the county governments, with the patronage belonging to the county row officers sufficient to limit any reforms a mayor and his cabinet might put in motion. Proposals to merge the two governments were presented to the Assembly periodically from 1935 to 1945, always unsuccessfully. Again and again the Pennsylvania Assembly and the state Supreme Court became stumbling blocks in the way of those who wished to find a better means of managing their civic affairs.⁷⁵

For any long-term reform the city needed a new charter. In 1922 the Pennsylvania constitution was amended to give cities the right to frame and adopt their own charters, but only in accordance with whatever "restrictions, limitations and regulations" the Assembly might impose. In 1929 and 1931 bills to permit Philadelphia to establish a council-city manager form of government were defeated in Harrisburg. A Charter Commission appointed by Governor Earle in 1937 produced a report that formed the basis for the Woodward-Shapiro Bill introduced in the Assembly the following year. The principal proposals of both were the establishment of a council-city manager government, the placement of both city and county offices under civil service, and the creation of a Department of Finance, a Budget Bureau, and a City Planning Commission. The four leading Philadelphia newspapers supported the bill and, according to polls, so did 76 percent of the Philadelphia voters. The bill passed the state Senate, thirty-eight to eight, but the special subcommittee of the House Committee on Cities of the First Class, responding to pressure from Republican leaders, took no action and the bill died when the Assembly adjourned on May 30.⁷⁶

The organization of two legal-aid agencies designed to help the indigent, although independent of the attempt to reform Philadelphia's government, arose from a similar concern for the creation of a better and more responsive system of law. The old Legal Aid Society had resumed operations in November 1933 under the presidency of John Hampton Barnes, when the city elimi-

nated its Bureau of Legal Aid. Two years later the society reported that it had assisted 12,000 clients involved in civil suits. Similarly the Voluntary Defenders Association, chartered in April 1934, undertook criminal cases when those under indictment lacked funds to hire a competent attorney. Francis Fisher Kane, the founder of the latter agency, received the Philadelphia Award in 1936 largely because of his work with this organization.⁷⁷

Contrary to common belief, the Depression had not produced an increase in reported crimes in Philadelphia. Statistics on arrests in the city and a report in the *Journal of Criminal Law* for November 1936 both indicated that crimes against persons had actually diminished, and the author of the *Journal* article, A. C. Wagner, also pointed out that there was little evidence that "economic stress increases crimes against property." Some credit for the city's relatively safe streets was given to the juvenile courts, commended in an article in the *Survey* in April 1935 for cooperating with the Council of Social Agencies to provide supervision for discharged offenders and for boys picked up by the police but not held for trial, through referral to social clubs. This program continued one begun in 1932 by the Crime Prevention Association working with the police Crime Prevention Bureau, set up in the same year by Kern Dodge, the director of public safety.

In addition a variety of technological aids in the early 1930s improved police performance. These included radio connections between squad cars and police headquarters; a new city morgue with laboratories for testing for poisons and performing autopsies, and with better x-ray and photographic equipment; a medical research library; and adequate space for ballistics tests. The Bar Association, too, unhappy at the *Saturday Evening Post's* exposure of ties between some of its members and the local crime ring, did its part to clean up this link between law and the underworld. Herbert and Samuel Salus and six other attorneys were charged and disbarred for their complicity with known criminals. Eight other lawyers were disciplined for the same offense.⁷⁸

The collapse of Mayor Wilson, his resignation on August 11 and death eight days later on August 19, 1939, slowed the impetus toward reform. His successors, Lamberton and Samuel, were party stalwarts, not inclined to do anything to upset the usual flow of power and patronage. The outbreak of the war in Europe in September 1939 turned the attention of Philadelphians elsewhere for a large part of the next decade.

VIII

Philadelphians had five major newspapers to choose among when the 1930s began: the *Public Ledgers*, morning and evening; the *Inquirer*, like the *Ledgers* following the Republican line; the *Evening Bulletin*, nominally independent but very conservative; and the *Record*, which after its purchase by David Stern in 1928 offered a Democratic challenge to the political status quo. The city's neighborhoods and its demographically and religiously diverse population gathered news of special interest to themselves from periodicals like the *Philadelphia Tribune* (reporting on matters of concern to the black commu-

nity), the *Jewish Exponent*, the *Catholic Standard and Times*, *L'Opinione* (later *Il Opinione Progresso*), *Patryota* (a Polish journal), *Nord Amerika* (a German one), *Pravda*, the *Germantown Courier*, the *Kensingtonian*, the *South Philadelphian*, the *Union Labor Review*, and many others.

Official corruption and an inept city government did not provide the only news to fill their pages. Racket-associated crimes as lurid as any found in mystery novels titillated Philadelphia readers. Until the repeal of the Prohibition Amendment on December 21, 1933, the suppliers of illegal liquor with their internecine wars, trigger-happy enforcers, and all-important payoffs contributed hugely to local crime news. Thereafter the elite among the purveyors of liquor on what might be called a retail level continued their businesses, now operating their clubs or nightspots openly as did Jack Lynch on the Walton Roof at Broad and Locust or going into the restaurant and catering business as did Jimmy Duffy. The Lanzetti brothers, dealers in dope, prostitutes, numbers, and bootleg liquor, continued to be the racket kings of South Philadelphia, maintaining their dominance by whatever means were necessary. Mickey Duffy until his murder in 1931 was boss of Philadelphia's numbers game, except in Lanzetti territory. After about twenty-five other killings attributed to the struggle for control of that business, an uneasy peace was reached between Pius Lanzetti and John ("Big Nose") Avena. These two shared the spoils until August 1936 when Avena was disposed of on orders from his partner Pius. The latter met a like fate a few months afterward, being gunned down on New Year's Eve 1936. Willie Lanzetti prudently left town.



Teo Lanzetti, one of the six notorious Lanzetti brothers—Ignatius, Lucien, Willie, Pius, Teo, and Leo—three of whom (Leo, Pius, and Willie) had met violent deaths by July 3, 1939, when this picture appeared in the *Evening Bulletin*.

He came back in 1939, but gangland's memories are long, and he too was murdered on July 1, 1939.⁷⁹

Willie's demise was but one of several sensational crimes to make headlines in 1939. A coroner's inquest in February of that year turned up evidence of an arsenic insurance ring suspected of having been responsible for as many as fifty-five deaths over a period of years. By December nineteen convictions or confessions had been obtained and the heads of the ring, Herman and Paul Petrillo, were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death. The principal prosecution witness, John Jerry Cacopardo, was framed for one of the murders and served fifteen years in prison before being exonerated and released to write a book, *Show Me a Miracle*, and study for the ministry, ending his days as the Rev. John Jerry Cacopardo.⁸⁰

Willie Sutton, "Slick Willie," kept another kind of crime, bank robbery, in the news throughout the 1930s. Caught, tried, and sentenced to twenty-five to fifty years in prison after his 1934 holdup of the Corn Exchange Bank at Sixtieth and Ludlow Streets, Sutton added to his notoriety as a bank robber by engineering a series of clever escapes or attempted escapes from the Philadelphia prisons. These kept his picture in the papers and earned him a certain awe, if reluctant, admiration.⁸¹

The case that attracted the most attention nationally, however, because of its relevance to the bona fides of the Fourth Estate, swirled around Moses Annenberg, since 1936 owner of the *Inquirer*. Formerly an enforcer for Chicago's Hearst-controlled newsstands, Annenberg made sure that his employer's wares were well displayed and that those of rival publishers were banished from sight. He was also owner of the General News Bureau, a wire service to bookmakers, and of racing and gambling papers in New York, as well as assorted mystery and sex pulp magazines. Like Al Capone, in the end Annenberg was indicted not for his principal crime—running an illegal racing wire service—but for tax evasion. He pleaded guilty, was convicted, paid \$10 million to the United States in back taxes and interest, and was sentenced to three years in prison. Paroled in June 1942, he died a few months later.⁸²

Not long after Annenberg went to prison, leaving his son Walter to take over as publisher of the *Inquirer*, it became apparent that a constriction of the Philadelphia journalists' world was taking place. Depression economics affected newspapers as well as the news they printed. Both the *Public Ledger* and the *Evening Ledger* had disappeared from the newsstands by 1942. The *Record* died because of longtime labor supporter Stern's indignation at a bitterly fought strike a few years later ("How could they do it to me?"). Some of the neighborhood papers and those that appealed to a special group of readers also found profitable publication impossible to continue.⁸³

I X

Defining society in *Social Register* terms, a reader of the "society" sections of the city's papers would have noticed that during the 1930s and 1940s debutantes' parties were becoming less extravagant. Instead of individual balls

where each young woman held center stage at her very own fete, group debuts, imposed first by the Depression, later by the war, became the usual thing, the two principal ones being the Emergency Aid-sponsored June Ball and the Junior League's Christmas Presentation Ball. Other extravaganzas like the Benedicts Ball disappeared altogether.⁸⁴ The Manufacturers' and Jewish Mercantile Clubs vanished. The Assembly and the Philadelphia, Rittenhouse, and Acorn Clubs remained to show the enduring validity of Henry James's remark that Philadelphia was less a place than a "state of consanguinity."⁸⁵

Two writers, Philip Barry and Christopher Morley, described the Philadelphia society of the 1930s: Barry in the play *Philadelphia Story*, and Morley in a novel, *Kitty Foyle*. Both were published in 1939 and both subsequently appeared on film. *Philadelphia Story*, an entertaining, well-made movie with a superior cast—most notably a Bryn Mawr graduate named Katharine Hepburn—has become something of a classic; Morley's book, which looked more deeply into Philadelphia's worlds, now appears dated and is probably more often read by students of the city's bygone mores than by those hunting entertainment and a good book.

Philadelphia gentlefolk did not limit their appearances in the columns of the city's newspapers to the society pages, however. Their control of many of Philadelphia's financial institutions, their interest in the reviving Democratic party, and their activity in charitable matters during the worst of the Depression has been noted. They dominated the board of the Philadelphia Orchestra, were the principal subscribers to its concerts, and supplied its necessary operating funds. Since both board and audience were musically conservative, they were in frequent conflict with Leopold Stokowski, the musical director of an orchestra called "incomparable" and Philadelphia's "chief contribution to civilization" by the *New York Herald Tribune's* music critic Lawrence Gilman.⁸⁶ That the Philadelphia audiences usually preferred to listen to Bach and Beethoven rather than struggle to understand the new did not prevent Stokowski from trying to pull them forward into the world of contemporary musicmakers. In the spring of 1930, for example, Stokowski conducted a memorable performance of Igor Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*, rechoreographed by Leonide Massine with Martha Graham as principal dancer. The following year he offered Alban Berg's opera *Wozzeck*. This brought the cognoscenti flocking to Philadelphia, but although a resounding success with the critics, it was a financial failure because of local indifference. Disagreements like these eventually led to Stokowski's resignation and the hiring in 1937 of Eugene Ormandy, less flamboyant and more receptive to local tastes.⁸⁷

Among the orchestra's more successful innovations were remarkably well-received children's concerts and, beginning in 1933, the youth concerts. Tickets for the latter were offered to young people thirteen to twenty-five years old, and the concerts were "sold out" within hours of the opening of the box office. Regular symphonic programs were played, enlivened by "surprises," one such, a specially commissioned "Youth Song" by Jan Sibelius.⁸⁸ Stokow-



Eugene Ormandy (1899–1985) became conductor and music director of the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1936.

FREE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA

ski also inaugurated the orchestra's transcontinental tours in 1936. The first of these, underwritten by RCA for \$250,000, took the orchestra to more than twenty cities from Boston to San Francisco.⁸⁹ Stokowski had led his orchestra into radio broadcasting in 1929. In 1937 he took them to Hollywood, first for the making of a film, *The Big Broadcast of 1937*, and later to do the more notable *Fantasia*. With RCA, for whom the orchestra was then recording exclusively, Stokowski experimented with the concept of longplaying records (33⅓ rpm), and with the Bell Laboratories made the first-ever stereophonic recording of a symphony orchestra from the stage of the Academy of Music in 1932. The longplaying records did not yet catch on, but Stokowski's hiring of harpist Edna Phillips in 1930, the first woman member of a major symphony orchestra, did, and since then the orchestra has never been a wholly male ensemble.⁹⁰

Miss Phillips was not the only woman to turn the orchestra in a new direction. That same year, 1930, (Mrs.) Clara Barnes Abbott, director of the city's newly created Bureau of Music, with the help of Dr. Herbert J. Tily,

president of Strawbridge & Clothier, proposed that the orchestra present a summer series of concerts in Fairmount Park. Walter H. Thomas, city architect, built the necessary shell at Robin Hood Dell, and the first concert was played on July 8, 1930. About 12,000 persons attended, and Philadelphia's long tradition of concerts out of doors was once again in operation.⁹¹ Mrs. Abbott's Bureau of Music was, incidentally, another Philadelphia "first." Planned to expand the opportunities for musical education citywide, a sixty-five-piece symphony orchestra was organized, as were classes in sight singing, a Municipal Jubilee Choir, and programs to train playground instructors. Music therapy in hospitals was attempted, and street concerts by way of the "melody wagon" carried radio broadcasts of the Philadelphia Orchestra to the neighborhoods.⁹² This lively enterprise, like so many others, was a Depression victim, abolished as a useless frill by Mayor Moore.

Opera as produced by the Met during its Philadelphia season was high priced and, if magnificently sung, was often indifferently staged and acted. To attract an audience put off by the ticket prices and the language barrier of standard operatic productions, a new (1937) Philadelphia Opera Company began to present opera in English, with young singers, a well-trained orchestra, good sets and costumes, and tickets priced no higher than \$2.50. The company did well on its shoestring budget of about \$100,000 and in 1943 was able to take its show on tour. "Street-car opera," as *Newsweek* called it, had proved its worth.⁹³

Although she did not appear in opera at this time, the singular ability of another Philadelphia musician, Marian Anderson, was celebrated by the world at large and recognized by her hometown with the Philadelphia Award in 1940.⁹⁴

Not so well known outside of musical circles, the Free Library's Fleisher collection of about 11,000 orchestral scores must be counted as one of the city's major musical resources. These scores were made available without charge for use by recognized musical organizations. Additions were made in 1934 by WPA musicians who copied the works of about 350 contemporary American composers to fill in a great gap in the original collection. Still later, collecting trips to South America in the 1940s made Philadelphia's Fleisher collection the largest body of orchestral music in the world. With such resources for study and performance at hand it is no wonder that the city's music schools attracted students from all over.⁹⁵

Not all of the music enjoyed by Philadelphians was of a serious nature. Billy Krechmer's jam sessions made Ranstead Street a mecca for visiting musicians. The popularity of Ted Weems, Joe Venuti, and Charlie Kerr was above question, and the stage shows at the Earle Theater at Eleventh and Market brought Harry James, Gene Krupa, Lionel Hampton, Benny Goodman, Frank Sinatra, and others to town. Louis Armstrong was well known to the audiences at the Lincoln Theater, at Broad and Lombard Streets. There were also top-flight shows of black performers for the delight of black audiences at the Golden Dawn, later the Bijou, just across the street.⁹⁶

As a try-out town and one with an established association with the Theatre Guild, Philadelphia could expect a reasonable variety of plays and musicals to appear annually. Eleven houses—the Forest, the Walnut (dark much of the time), the Locust, the Erlanger, the Shubert (which flirted with burlesque to keep going), Keith's, the Lyric, the Adelphia, the Chestnut Street Opera House, the Broad Street, and the Garrick—the last five demolished or scheduled for destruction by 1940—presented plays by Noël Coward, George Kelly, Philip Barry, Clifford Odets, Maxwell Anderson, Robert Sherwood, Shaw, Shakespeare, and Aristophanes. These performances brought to town the Lunts, Tallulah Bankhead, Katherine Cornell, John Gielgud, and the perennial Walter Hampton, among other well-liked actors. *On Your Toes* with Ray Bolger, Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess*, the ILGWU's *Pins and Needles*, Gilbert and Sullivan operettas with the D'Oyly Carte company, the Piccolini (an Italian marionette theater), and the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo contributed music, color, and a certain lightness of heart—sometimes combined with social comment—to the dramatic fare. By the end of the decade a somber mood infused many of the productions (Odets's *Waiting for Lefty*, Sherwood's *There Shall be No Night*, Hemmingway's *The Fifth Column*) and reflected the social disruption of the Depression and the coming storm of World War II.

When the Philadelphia Museum of Art was opened at the head of the Parkway, its architectural style was derided and its unfinished state and stored collections sharply criticized.⁹⁷ Nonetheless the museum and its director, Fiske Kimball, managed to stage attention-getting shows, beginning in 1930 with a memorial exhibition of paintings by Thomas Eakins.⁹⁸ An exhibit of "Surrealism, Dadaism, and Fantasia," called by the *Inquirer* "the goofiest art show that this town has ever seen," opened in February of 1937. It was followed by a "lively" Daumier exhibition, a show of WPA art, a loan exhibit of international sculpture effectively presented out of doors on the museum's grounds, the first major show in America of William Blake's work in 1939, and finally, in 1941, the first full-dress showing of the John G. Johnson collection.⁹⁹

New ideas in the arrangement of exhibits as well as dynamic special shows marked the museum's program for the 1930s. Plans to hang paintings in period rooms surrounded by appropriate furniture and art objects were announced. A medieval wing was put on display in 1931; a gallery of modern art to "foster interest in contemporary art, particularly American art," followed in 1933; and in 1937 ten new galleries of French art were opened in style by the French ambassador, M. Georges Bonnet.¹⁰⁰ In view of Depression-induced financial restrictions, the museum's record overall was impressive.

Philadelphia and Philadelphians graced the sports pages of the newspapers with pleasant regularity in 1930. Behind the pitching of Robert Moses "Lefty" Grove and the defense of their "million-dollar infield," Connie Mack's Athletics won the American League pennant and the World Series for the second consecutive year. (Some connoisseurs consider this A's team the greatest baseball club of all time.) The Phillies, playing in the old Baker Bowl at Fifteenth and Huntingdon, were dismal as a team, but in newcomer Chuck

Klein fielded possibly the most exciting ballplayer in either league. Klein batted .386 and scored 158 runs that season, a National League record that still stands. Bill Tilden was once again singles champion at Wimbledon, and the Penn A.C. eight-oared crew, rowing on the Meuse River at Liège, Belgium, on August 17, 1930, won the world championship with a record time over a 2000-meter course that still stands. During the rowing seasons 1929 to 1931 this crew, now in the Helms Hall of Fame, won thirty-one consecutive races; in 1950 it was voted the greatest crew of the first half of this century by the Associated Press.¹⁰¹

After 1930–1931, however, the city's teams lost much of their luster. Shortage of funds compelled the Phillies to sell Klein to the Chicago Cubs at the end of the 1933 season; and the A's, although American League champions in 1931, also began to feel the pinch of the Depression. Within the next few years Connie Mack sold off most of his star players and the A's joined the Phillies at the bottom of their respective leagues for the balance of the decade.¹⁰² In 1938 the Phillies left the Baker Bowl to share Shibe Park with the A's, where the following year floodlights were installed and Philadelphians enjoyed their first night ballgame on May 15, 1939.¹⁰³ Philadelphia was truly a baseball town in those days, giving the fans a choice not only between two major-league teams but also among some twenty-two city teams that were organized into three minor leagues: the Philadelphia Baseball League, the Quaker City Baseball League, and the City Baseball League. The Philadelphia Stars of the Negro National League, playing at Forty-fourth and Parkside, pleased a host of loyal followers.¹⁰⁴

Professional football did not yet amount to much. The Eagles, a "shoe-string operation" with two former Temple University players, Swede Hansen and Bull Lipski, as their mainstay, were founded in 1933 and were playing in the Baker Bowl by 1938. They endured lopsided losing seasons until 1943, but with "Greasy" Neale as coach, beginning in 1941 they improved gradually until by 1944 and 1945 they held second place in their division.¹⁰⁵

Interestingly enough, Philadelphia women made the city's best showing in the world of sports after the early 1930s. In golf two women, Glenna Collett Vare and Helen Sigel Wilson, won national and state championships; and in field hockey Philadelphia frequently supplied more than half of the All-American team and particularly one of the sport's greatest players, Anne Townsend.¹⁰⁶

X

With the advent of war in Europe in September 1939 the tempo of Philadelphia living changed. Here as elsewhere in the United States a steady reorientation of business and industry began to turn a sluggish, Depression-dominated economy into a booming, war-centered one.

Two major propaganda groups emerged almost at once and began to compete for attention and popular support. One, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, was determined to secure as much help for

beleaguered Britain as possible. The other, the Philadelphia America First Committee, was isolationist and dedicated to the view that the United States must remain neutral. Both found adherents: the Committee to Defend America among the anglophiles of the Philadelphia establishment; among labor, happy with a growing number of jobs and expanding paychecks; and among the academic community, alarmed by the Nazi threat to freedom of inquiry and expression. The America First Committee discovered its supporters among the ultraconservatives and some others who because of their national origins were inclined toward a more favorable opinion of the Axis powers than Philadelphians generally held. The divergent views of these committees indicated the split in Philadelphia's emotional climate and reflected as well the growing tensions in the nation.

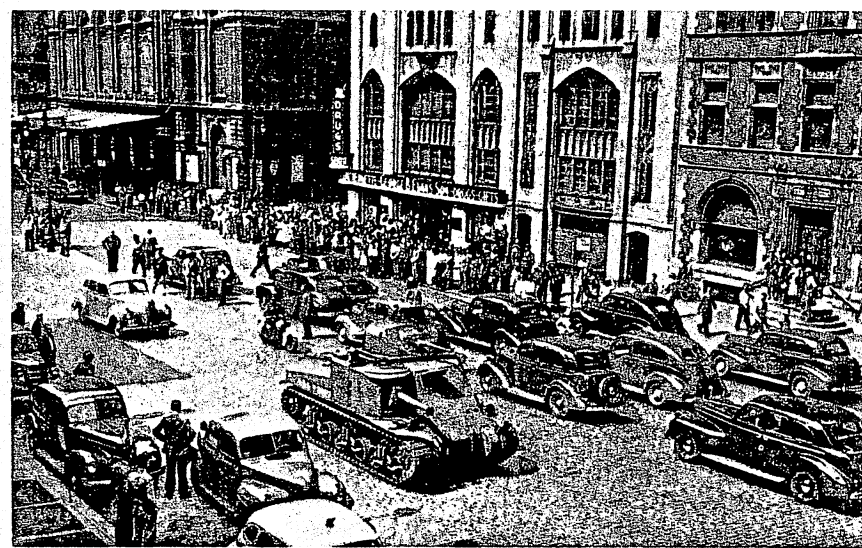
Possibly with the hope of rekindling the old Republican flame and reestablishing Philadelphia as a safe G.O.P. town, the city was chosen as the site of the Republican National Convention in 1940. The convention began with an open-air rally at Independence Hall, enjoyed a Mummers' parade and an address by elder statesman Hoover, and ended with the nomination of Wendell Willkie on the sixth ballot. The balconies' chant, "We want Willkie!" may have contributed to his success. Willkie campaigned resolutely through Philadelphia; Roosevelt, seeking an unprecedented third term, came twice to tour defense projects and to speak at Convention Hall, always producing his magical effect and causing one G.O.P. ward leader to remark: "This man Roosevelt could win against the Lord in my division." The Democrats were helped not a little by Willkie's local campaign manager Robert T. McCracken, who made the injudicious comment that "only paupers will vote for Roosevelt" and therewith gave his opponents opportunity for some effective street theater. The Democrats sent out, to the delight of many, shabbily dressed men wearing "stove-pipe" hats and sporting huge buttons with the legend, "I am a pauper for Roosevelt." On Election Day the city gave Roosevelt 532,149 votes to Willkie's 354,878.¹⁰⁷

The sense of urgency and unease abroad in the city was increased in 1939 by the decision of the Pennsylvania National Guard to double its regular drills, and by the enactment the following year of a federal law to draft young men into the armed forces, the first peacetime draft in the country's history. Almost 246,000 Philadelphians were registered for the draft, and in November 1940 the first of the city's draftees left for Fort Meade and their introduction to military life. Shortly thereafter, in February 1941, the Twenty-eighth Division of the National Guard and other units including the First City Troop were inducted into federal service.¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile Philadelphia prepared to take up once again her old role of supplier of materials of war to the nation.

The Chamber of Commerce established a committee on defense; took an inventory of facilities available for production of war-related goods; started a program, underwritten by the federal government, to train workers for defense industries using the city's vocational high schools; and discussed plans to improve transportation to the airport and to build a truck route around the

city. New jobs, particularly in the metal trades, in textiles, and in construction, brought prosperity to workers as old companies increased their payrolls and about 200 new ones set up shop in the city.¹⁰⁹ In November 1940 the chamber's Business Research Bureau could report that the production of durable goods was up 33 percent, that exports through Philadelphia's port were up 29 percent, car loadings up 20 percent, payrolls up 12 percent, and retail sales up 6 percent over those of 1939. About \$1 billion in defense contracts had been placed with Philadelphia firms. Philadelphia, whose peacetime slogan had been the "Workshop of the World," was well on her way to becoming for the second time in three decades the "Arsenal of America," producing everything from paper containers to battleships.¹¹⁰

Increased activity at the Navy Yard, the Schuylkill and Frankford Arsenals, the Quartermaster and Signal Corps Depots, and other federal agencies based in Philadelphia in 1940 and 1941 added to the profits of the PTC, to the sales of new automobiles, and to the demand for housing as military personnel and workers in industrial plants and in the newly opened offices of the War Production Board and the Office of Emergency Management descended on Philadelphia.¹¹¹ The Tasker Homes at Thirty-first and Morris, a WPA housing project, were taken over to provide shelter for navy personnel, and more than 8000 two-story dwellings were built in the area between 1940 and 1941.¹¹²



Thirty-one-ton M-3 tank, made at the Baldwin Locomotive Works, en route to Henry Disston & Sons, Inc., plant in Tacony to dedicate a new armor factory. This photograph, taken from the east side of Broad Street above Locust, was published in the Philadelphia Ledger on June 16, 1941.

After the United States entered the war in December of the latter year, federal restrictions limited construction to those projects relating to national defense and city-issued building permits were severely cut back. Eventually rent controls, freezing Philadelphia rents at their March 1, 1942, rate, provided some aid for the harassed worker.¹¹³ Problems remained, however. Maintenance costs formerly assumed by landlords now usually became the tenant's responsibility, and a prospective tenant was often expected to make under-the-table arrangements with the owner if he wished to occupy an available house or apartment.

X I

It was Defense Week in Philadelphia, December 1-6, 1941, and the newspapers mingled stories of parades and mock air-raid drills with advertisements of Christmas wares and notes of sporting events, coming-out parties, and other seasonal items. During the week, the front pages of the *Inquirer* headlined reports from Washington of the continuing negotiations with Tokyo; of the Japanese determination not to abandon their southward expansion; of the United States's demands for an explanation of Japanese troop movements into Indo-China (they claimed to be defending that land from the Chinese); and on December 6, of the personal note sent by President Roosevelt to Emperor Hirohito in a final effort to avert war. Nonetheless Congress was hopeful of peace, and many Philadelphians seem to have shared this optimistic view. Christmas spending was not notably less than usual. Toys and Christmas-tree ornaments might be made of plastic instead of metal or foil, housewives might have been advised to use economy in holiday wrapping, but Santa Claus reigned unchallenged, and the money put into Philadelphia's collective pocket by defense work flowed merrily into shopkeepers' cash registers. On Sunday, December 7, the *Inquirer's* travel editor reported a record season in prospect for resorts in both North and South America as winter vacationers made ready to enjoy their holidays away from home.¹¹⁴

Almost before the newspapers had been read and laid aside, a short, incredible report of the bombing of the United States fleet at Pearl Harbor crackled from radios tuned in for the broadcast of the New York Philharmonic concert and other Sunday diversions and brought an abrupt stop to the city's normal way of life. After weeks of play at war and of defense against war, Philadelphia was shocked into reality. Mayor Bernard Samuel and his cabinet met to plan for the protection of the city's docks, bridges, highways, and water supply. Sailors on leave were sought out by the Shore Patrol and the police and hurried back to their stations. Philadelphians, reacting to the need for the reassurance that the companionship of their fellows brings, or relying on the old notion that more news is always to be found "downtown," congregated around City Hall. Here both city officials and "the man in the street" responded to reporters' questions confidently, sure that America would ultimately win the war into which she had been thrust so unceremoniously.¹¹⁵

The next day, December 8, the United States Customs House was jammed with men trying to enlist in the armed forces. In the week following, women and those too old or too young for the army overwhelmed the Civil Defense Volunteers office seeking posts as air-raid wardens, auxiliary firemen and police, or airplane spotters, these last to work under the direction of the Civil Air Patrol. The Red Cross organized special classes in first aid and home nursing; the public schools started training programs for the new air-raid wardens; and the city Council passed an ordinance to enforce blackouts. Mayor Samuel took charge of these operations as defense coordinator for Philadelphia, aided by five field directors, Leon J. Obermayer, George W. Elliott, Philip Staples, Raymond Rosen, and Mrs. John Frederick Lewis, Jr. Ordinary citizens familiarized themselves with the regulations relating to air-raid drills and set about providing their households with the recommended firefighting and blackout equipment.¹¹⁶

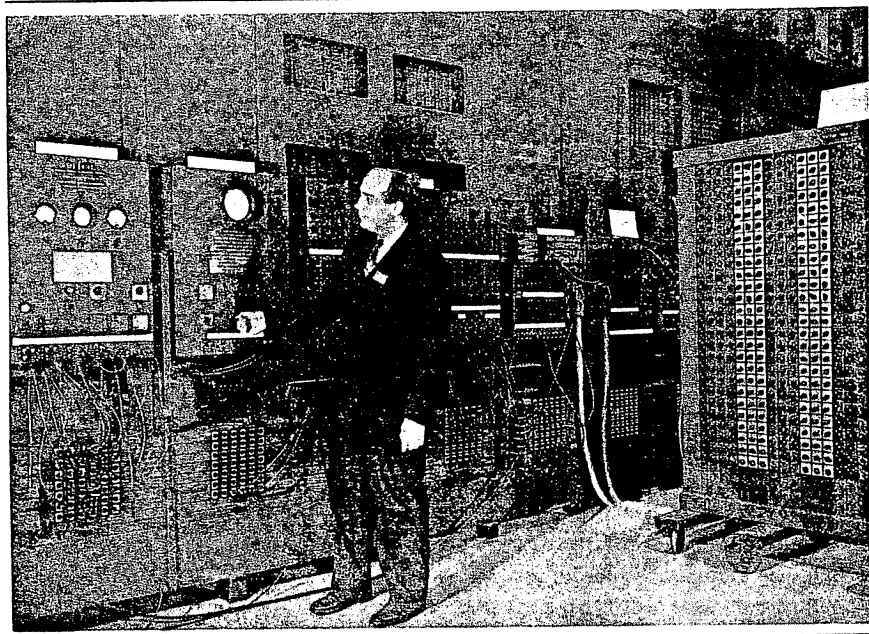
Memories of the Battle of Britain were fresh, and few believed that the Atlantic Ocean was a sure defense against Hitler's Luftwaffe. At first fear lent urgency to the implementation of the city's plans for 1000 air-raid shelters, and to the blackout tests and air-raid drills held intermittently from February 1942 to October 1943, by which time the danger was seen to be nonexistent.¹¹⁷ Public apprehension aroused by the potential threat to the city from the 91,000 Philadelphians registered in 1940 under the Alien Registration Act led many to applaud FBI raids on German and Italian social clubs, homes, and offices.¹¹⁸ These raids continued through 1942, but in retrospect it is difficult to regard them as more than grandstand plays and equally difficult not to be ashamed of the public panic that condoned them. The raids inevitably alarmed other Philadelphians of non-English stock, and it was possibly in the hope of heading off a recurrence of the World War I trials that the German-American League of Culture staged a rally on December 12, 1941, at which representatives of eleven nationalities pledged aid to the United States. The America First Committee too declared its intention to support the government unreservedly.¹¹⁹

Later, bond and Red Cross drives, with stars from the entertainment world as extra attractions; parades, rallies, and army war shows at Reyburn Plaza; and "I am an American Day" ceremonies at Independence Hall offered relief for pent-up emotions. A Philadelphia United Service Organization (USO) was formed. Hospitality centers for servicemen and a Stage Door Canteen, this under the direction of the American Theater Wing and housed in the basement of the Academy of Music, provided an outlet for the energies of volunteers as well as fun for servicemen and women on leave in Philadelphia or temporarily stationed in the city.¹²⁰ All was not parades and the half-pleasurable excitement of volunteer activity, however. The realities of rationing, most important of meat, gasoline, and fuel; of the draft, which made workaday Philadelphia often seem like a women's town; the loneliness; the arrival of one of those terrible, polite telegrams from the War Department reporting the loss of son or husband; the long hours of exhausting work,

whether in the heat and clatter of a mill or in the tense clamor of a government office, gradually took hold of all Philadelphians, shook them out of their old habits, and made them in one way or another an extension of the war machine.

As in all other American wars a small, quietly firm group of Philadelphians who believed that any fighting was wrong, however just the cause appeared to be, refused to take part in any military activity. A few went to prison; others participated in one of the possible alternative services, in medical research or as workers in understaffed hospitals at home, in the forestry service, or in other similar activities. Quaker-owned businesses also had to find a peaceable solution to the problem of survival in a war-dominated world. J. E. Rhoads & Sons, manufacturers of industrial leathers, for example, asked to be excused from defense contracts. This was a legitimate solution, although one fraught with problems as both workers and materials became increasingly scarce.¹²¹

Philadelphia's contribution to the war was a significant one: in money, bond quotas were met or exceeded regularly; in men and women sent to the armed forces, there were 183,850 Philadelphians in the service when the war ended in August 1945; in science and medicine, there was the development of the proto-computer ENIAC at the University of Pennsylvania under the



Dr. J. Presper Eckert, Jr., and the Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer (ENIAC), Moore School of Electrical Engineering, University of Pennsylvania, February 1946. The "world's fastest calculating machine" was developed for the Army Ordnance Department.

direction of J. Presper Eckert and John W. Mauchly, and of the seventy-five-millimeter recoilless rifle at the Frankford Arsenal, the manufacture of the radar bombsight at the Philco plant, and of plexiglass for gun turrets and bomber noses by Rohm and Haas, and the thousands of books supplied to the Medical Corps by W. B. Saunders, official publishers for the National Research Council. Before the war ended production of ordnance and other military supplies was the *raison d'être* for about 3500 Philadelphia businesses. The Baldwin Group made guns, tanks, shell forgings, armor plate, propellers, and diesel engines as well as the locomotives for which they were famous; the E. G. Budd Company, aircraft parts and ammunition components. Instead of trolleys, the J. G. Brill Company manufactured gun carriages; Henry Disston Sons, Inc., substituted light armor plate for saws. Other firms supplied blood for dried plasma, ski equipment for mountain troops, mosquito netting for the tropics, and parachute silk for the air forces.¹²²

And since Philadelphia in spite of her inland position has always been a maritime city, shipbuilding—at the United States Navy Yard, at New York Ship, at old Cramp's, at Sun Ship and about a dozen other companies with yards along the Delaware River, whose channel had been deepened—played a major role in Philadelphia's wartime economy. In fact the accomplishment of the shipbuilders of the Delaware was truly magnificent. The Navy Yard not only built warships but fitted out almost 500 vessels launched elsewhere, and repaired and serviced many ships for America's allies. Operating under the yard's aegis, the Naval Air Materiel Center produced flying boats and served as an experimental station where new ideas could be tested and developed. New York Ship, based in Camden, worked exclusively for the navy. Sun Ship, with headquarters in Philadelphia and yards in Chester, constructed 250 ships for the United States Maritime Commission between December 1941 and September 1945, and emerged from the war as the world's largest builder of tankers. Cramp's, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Philadelphia's most important yard, was closed and in financial difficulties in 1939. Formally reopened two years later with the laying of the keel of the cruiser *Wilkes-Barre*, the yard was modernized and subsequently built submarines, floating workshops, cruisers, and a variety of smaller vessels until the end of the war again emptied its ways.¹²³

With factories and mills operating at capacity, problems of manpower soon became acute. As early as August 1940 a writer in *Business Week* noted the scarcity of workers needed to man the Philadelphia shipyards and suggested that men be "imported" to fill the need.¹²⁴ The suggestion was hardly necessary, for as in World War I a flood tide of migrants, many from the rural South, flowed into the city. Since these men rarely came with the required skills, training programs were begun in the city's vocational schools, in factories, and at government installations like the Frankford Arsenal. The Free Library, through posters and book lists displayed wherever workers were found, developed a new clientele and soon was circulating more technical books, particularly elementary ones, than fiction. Industries such as the Ben-

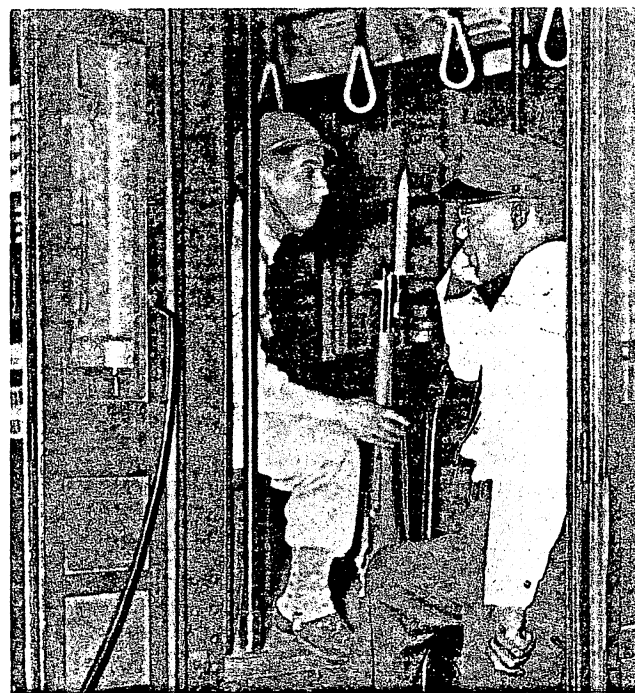
dix Aviation Company set up plant libraries, and bookstores whose stock in trade was composed solely of technical books proliferated.¹²⁵ To help to fill the need for men with more sophisticated engineering skills the University of Pennsylvania compressed its engineering course, normally a four-year program, into two and a half years. Nevertheless the supply of qualified workers failed to keep up with the demand and by the summer of 1944, with the military forces at a peak of activity in Asia and Europe, the War Manpower Commission put Philadelphia's labor market in the critical class, ordered a forty-eight-hour week for workers in certain industries, and froze almost half a million men and women in their jobs. The Selective Service System at about the same time threatened with immediate draft all men between thirty and thirty-eight years of age who left work in a defense plant for a post elsewhere. In spite of these measures the Quartermaster Corps was so short-handed at one point that German prisoners were put to work in its depot.¹²⁶

Under the circumstances a certain amount of labor unrest was inevitable. By 1945 a long war seemed on its way to a conclusion, while fatigue and boredom combined with an uncertain job future disturbed the worker's world. Labor restlessness throughout the United States and the threat it had posed to the continuous flow of war-related products had been a matter of concern since the spring of 1941; in 1943 it led Congress to pass the Smith-Connally Act and to sanction the National War Labor Board's powers, originally derived from executive order, banning jurisdictional strikes, picketing, and violence in defense industries, and making mandatory mediation of all disputed issues by the board, of which Dr. George W. Taylor, professor of economics at the University of Pennsylvania, was chairman. Another Philadelphian, William L. Batt, on leave from SKF to head the Office of Production Management (later the War Production Board), was outspoken about the problems labor disputes could create when rival unions engaged in argument, as the CIO's Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers and the AFL's Metal Trades Council had done in 1941 at Cramp's shipyard, each attempting to secure company recognition as the workers' legal bargaining agent.¹²⁷

During the first year of the war, 1942, no major strikes disturbed Philadelphia, although laundry workers, street cleaners, city mechanics, and the PTC's union members took "holidays" or struck briefly. More serious trouble came in the fall of 1943 with a one-day walkout at Cramp's, a prelude to a full-blown strike there the following January. Sun Ship and SKF also had labor problems ending in strikes; and in December 1944 the army had to be called in to unload the ships in Philadelphia's port when the longshoremen walked out.¹²⁸ On one occasion only, however, was the city seriously threatened by a major labor dispute: when PTC workers, protesting the upgrading of blacks to positions of motormen and conductors, struck in August of 1944 with potentially disastrous consequences for all offices and industries by almost immobilizing their work forces and bringing the city to a stop.

Trouble began when the transportation company's management refused to obey an order from the Fair Employment Practices Commission directing it to hire blacks to work on buses and streetcars as motormen and conductors. The company expressed readiness to comply with the order but claimed that its contract with the union, an independent one so-called, made doing so impossible. A contest that was going on simultaneously among the old company union, the AFL, and the CIO for the right to represent the workers further complicated the situation. In March 1944 the CIO was chosen as bargaining agent and declared that it would place no obstacles in the way of hiring and upgrading blacks. In July the PTC agreed, after the War Manpower Commission threatened to cut off its labor supply, to hire blacks for all kinds of jobs. On August 1, as training of black streetcar operators was to start, all trolleys, subways, and buses stopped running.

The strike, led by the "independent" union officials, was curiously unopposed by the company. When workers refused to return to their jobs in spite of CIO urging and a War Labor Board order, President Roosevelt sent a detachment of troops under Maj.-Gen. Philip Hayes to take charge. The



To ensure continued operation of Philadelphia Transportation Company vehicles, President Roosevelt ordered troops to the city in response to a union strike in August 1944 against the hiring of blacks as conductors and motormen.

soldiers arrived in Philadelphia on August 5 and General Hayes gave the workers until 12:01 A.M. on August 6 to return to their posts. Otherwise, he said, the army would run the system, and striking workers' draft deferments would end, while they would be barred from any other defense work and denied unemployment compensation. On August 6 the PTC was again in operation with soldiers riding on all vehicles as a safeguard against possible violence. A federal grand jury investigation was ordered by Attorney-General Francis Biddle, and four strike leaders were arrested and charged with violating the Smith-Connally Act. Ten days later the situation had so far returned to normal that the troops were able to leave the city and the PTC again assumed control of its transportation system.¹²⁹

The strike was over but it had interfered with production of war materials and, it was said, "disgraced the United States in the eyes of the world."¹³⁰ It showed, moreover, that neither the Fair Employment Practices Commission, the CIO, nor the federal government could eliminate racial prejudice by fiat. It showed as well a black community willing and able to maintain self-discipline in the face of great provocation, and it showed the fear of white blue-collar workers who saw in the large number of blacks attracted to Philadelphia by war-created jobs a threat to their future, and in this instance to their old, favored positions. It was a classic case, and one that could have erupted into riots of the sort that tore the city apart in the 1840s.

The war and its prosecution to a successful end were the central concerns of most Philadelphians in 1944. Should Roosevelt, already holding office for a third term, be given a fourth to finish the task? The tone of the debate was bitter, and both Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican candidate, and FDR came to Philadelphia to speak. Once again on Election Day, November 7, the Philadelphia Democrats had the satisfaction of carrying the city, giving the president 496,367 votes to Dewey's 346,380. They sent six of their party to the House of Representatives and saw Francis X. Myers defeat Republican incumbent James J. Davis to win a seat in the United States Senate.¹³¹

Three months after his inauguration for a fourth term Roosevelt died, on April 12, 1945, at the Little White House in Warm Springs, Georgia. The city heard the news about six o'clock as many workers were homeward bound. Mayor Samuel ordered a thirty-day period of mourning for Philadelphia, with flags at half staff. City and county offices closed on April 14, the day of the funeral services in Washington. Many theaters, business houses, and non-war-related industrial plants also closed. Memorial services were held in most churches, including about 150 belonging to black congregations in the metropolitan area, calling their members together "in abject and bitter mourning," and the historic old bells of Christ Church and the bell in the tower of Independence Hall tolled in tribute. That night thousands of Philadelphians jammed Thirtieth Street Station and lined the bridges over the railroad tracks from Gray's Ferry to Holmesburg to see the funeral train as it made its way north from Washington to Hyde Park, New York. Judge Harry E. Kalodner spoke for many when he said that, losing Roosevelt, "Humanity has lost its

greatest champion." A taxi driver put it more simply: "The country doesn't realize how badly they are going to miss that guy."¹³²

XII

Peace, heralded by as many harbingers as any spring, finally came on August 14, 1945. The surrender of Germany in May, cutbacks in defense contracts, continuing military success in the Pacific, and the news of the use of a new and frighteningly devastating weapon, the atomic bomb, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were clear indications of the approaching end of the war. The city waited anxiously from August 10 until, four days later, President Truman announced the Japanese surrender and the end of the fighting. The *Inquirer's* banner headline on August 15 was one word, "PEACE"—in six-inch capitals. Under a story captioned "Philadelphia Roars a Salute to Victory" a reporter tried to capture in print the wild, joyous, noisy celebration that rocked City Hall and filled the center of town with cars and people from late afternoon of August 14 to the early morning of the next day. Relief, thankfulness, good cheer, and the need to let off steam possessed Philadelphia. Street merchants selling confetti and horns appeared magically; students at the University of Pennsylvania predictably staged a spectacular rowbottom; churches and synagogues were filled. All this was in marked contrast to the mild celebration of V-E Day, May 8, the highlight of which had been a service at Independence Hall and a tap on the Liberty Bell by Mayor Samuel. Now Gov. Edward Martin declared a two-day holiday for Pennsylvania, and with shops, restaurants, courts, and offices closed, Philadelphia rested from its "peace jag."¹³³

Peace brought as an agreeable aside the collapse of the black market. Dealers began to unload hoarded items—gas rationing stamps, counterfeit or stolen; poultry and meat, particularly hams, bacon, and pork. Signs appeared in butcher shops saying "We have meat! Come in and take your pick." Scarce canned goods, once kept out of sight and reserved for favored customers, moved from beneath counters to open shelves. Motorists freed of hated restrictions went on a gas-buying spree and for a time threatened Philadelphia with a gasoline famine.¹³⁴

The end of the fighting brought difficulties as well as joy. Economic dislocations were bound to be severe. Twelve warships were under construction in the Philadelphia area when the war ended. The navy immediately ordered building stopped, and thousands of workers were suddenly jobless. Long before this Philadelphia had shown an awareness of the problems that were bound to occur as war-oriented factories were returned to civilian activity. Early in 1942 a group of the city's industrialists, bankers, labor leaders, welfare workers, and others began to discuss ways to finance reconversion programs, keep factories in operation, and maintain payrolls and workers' purchasing power after the war was over. They also worried about the quality of urban life in Philadelphia, about the appearance of the city, about slum clearance, the rehabilitation of the water and sewage systems, about the city

government and the public services it should provide, about taxes, about labor, postwar unemployment, and industrial peace. This concern was warranted. Values of Philadelphia's real estate as assessed for tax purposes had fallen from a 1932 high of \$3,454,008,026 to not quite \$2.5 billion in 1941. Similarly, assessments on personal property had declined from \$1,041,811,121 to \$732,968,980.¹³⁵

Many of these matters had been aired before. In February 1942 *Business Week* published an article, "Philadelphia's Ills: Diagnosis by a Real Estate Specialist." The author, Richard J. Seltzer of the Urban Land Institute, looked at the city's center and found it a slum area dying from the "creeping paralysis" of blight. To stop further decay he recommended that the city be surveyed and "decadent" parts condemned and cleared, then rebuilt with private capital, on the theory that the community would be better served if persons with a cash stake in the results were in charge rather than do-gooders. Seltzer also made a number of suggestions for the improvement of the town's traffic problems: among them that a three-level highway be constructed at Sansom Street with three-deck parking areas along it to keep the shopping district free of cars; that merchandise be loaded and unloaded between 5:30 P.M. and 8:30 A.M. only; that no horse-drawn vehicle be allowed on center-city streets; and that owners of high-rise buildings be required to make provision for the traffic their buildings created.¹³⁶

Seltzer's concern for the future of Philadelphia's center was shared by many. The preceding year, 1941, after a national conference of city planning met in Philadelphia, a Joint Committee on City Planning, composed of members of the Philadelphia Housing Authority, the City Policy Committee, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and the Lawyers' Council on Civic Affairs, was formed and a proposal made to Mayor Lamberton recommending the creation of a planning commission for the city. An ordinance establishing such an agency was introduced in the Council in April 1942, but it was not until December, and after considerable prodding by the Action Committee on City Planning, a group composed of members of fifty civic organizations, that the Council was persuaded to act. Subsequently Edward Hopkinson, Jr., was appointed to be chairman of the new commission and Robert W. Mitchell of Washington, a highly regarded professional planner, hired as its first director.¹³⁷ Planning appeared to be good politics, and the following autumn both Acting Mayor Samuel and his Democratic opponent, William C. Bullitt, endorsed the concept as part of their campaigns.¹³⁸

The importance of planning in the broadest terms for a peacetime economy surfaced in the summer of 1944 when two naval contracts, held by the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation and the E. G. Budd Manufacturing Company, were cancelled.¹³⁹ A Committee for Economic Development was promptly organized and by April 1945 could report that Philadelphia firms expected to spend \$98 million for postwar construction and new equipment. Simultaneously efforts were being made to keep in the city those federal agencies that had moved there because of lack of housing and office space in Washington.¹⁴⁰ The City Planning Commission proposed a \$200-million

postwar program for the city; the PTC announced a five-year improvement schedule which would include the acquisition of new buses and streamlined trolley cars; the West Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce wanted the Market Street El put underground to Sixty-third Street and reminded the authorities that the tunnel to carry the el under the Schuylkill had been completed in the 1930s when plans to make it a subway to Forty-sixth Street were drawn up. Editorials in the *Inquirer* urged the clean-up of the polluted Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers and the creation of a Redevelopment Authority to oversee the rehabilitation of rundown neighborhoods. Several airlines and the Chamber of Commerce urged the mayor and Council to expand Philadelphia's Southwest Airport by building a two-level terminal with thirty-two gates, subterminals for international flights, and cargo facilities. The *Inquirer*, in an editorial on August 15, 1945, exhorted the Council not to "muff" this chance because of sectional bickering. The Council, however, unable to decide whether to support the Southwest or the Northeast Airport, appropriated \$15 million to be divided between the two, with the not-unexpected result that nothing much happened at either.¹⁴¹

Most imaginatively and perhaps most appropriately of all, the city proposed in November 1945 that Philadelphia become the permanent home of the United Nations. Ten square miles on Belmont Plateau were offered the U.N.'s site-seeking committee, but although the committee was impressed, New York won the day.¹⁴²

One more significant proposal was offered in August 1945. At a regional meeting of the Negro Business League, Dr. J. S. Benn, executive secretary of Philadelphia's Negro Chamber of Commerce, spoke of the need for cooperation between the black and white business communities and suggested plans for a joint conference of businessmen of both races to explore ways of increasing "the effectiveness of Negro enterprise along the Eastern seaboard." The local chapter of the NAACP, thinking along similar lines, appointed Walter C. Beckett, a black civic leader, chairman of a special committee to help Philadelphia's returning black veterans and to see that they received the same kind of consideration that was accorded whites.¹⁴³ That such actions needed to be taken, such conferences called, is evidence of the frustrating experiences of Philadelphia's blacks. They had hoped for better things from Penn's city.

All Philadelphians were ready for a change. Those who had been in the armed services were anxious to get on with the business of living, to continue their education, return to their jobs or professions, settle down, and get reacquainted with their families. Civilians who had spent the war at home hoped to shake off the restrictions of rationing, to buy a new car, order a telephone, move into a new house. The demand for more education, now possible under the G.I. Bill, crowded Philadelphia's schools and colleges. A building boom began to fill the fields and meadows of East Germantown, West Oak Lane, and the Northeast with rows of small houses and garden apartments.¹⁴⁴ As these were built and sold or rented it became apparent that a major demographic shift was in progress. Italians moved from South Phila-

delphia to East Mount Airy. Blacks came in ever-increasing numbers into Nicetown and Germantown. Jewish families deserted North Philadelphia for Oxford Circle and the northeast generally. Many middle-class professional families left the city altogether, going to the suburbs or even farther into the country. Even the city's two major universities, Penn and Temple, flirted with the notion of moving to suburban campuses.

Philadelphia was a city on the move. The mindless adherence to the standpat politics of the Republican machine was loosening. The city had given FDR its support since 1936; now the welfare programs of the New Deal were eroding the committeeman's hold on his constituents. Bankers and businessmen interested themselves in plans for the city's future and appeared to be abandoning their indifference to everything but their own concerns as narrowly defined. Men and women unhappily surveyed a shabby city and an inept municipal government and thought about the possibility of changing an increasingly unsatisfactory situation. By 1946 Philadelphia was rather like the sea, hiding a deceptive undertow beneath an unruffled surface.

Rally and Relapse 1946-1968

by Joseph S. Clark, Jr., and Dennis J. Clark

Early planners considered the business of the city to be economic growth and, therefore, concentrated their efforts on Center City and allowed the strictly residential areas to grow haphazardly. When a new interest in planning began in the early 1940s, it also focused on Center City problems.

— RICHARD SAUL WURMAN, architect,
and JOHN ANDREW GALLERY, urban planner

The reformers have had to cast around for a new general to lead their troops. And, tardily, they realize he needs more troops to lead.

— LORIN PETERSON, commenting on Philadelphia in the 1960s¹

As the fantastically garbed Mummers strutted up Broad Street to the jingling music of their traditional tunes in the New Year's Parade of 1946, the city of Philadelphia was poised to enter one of the most exciting periods it would experience in the twentieth century. The Mummers' troupes, composed of working men from tightly knit neighborhoods throughout the city, symbolized one of the great strengths of Philadelphia, its local community cohesion and the solid reliability of its residents. It was this local neighborhood vitality that had enabled the ordinary people to withstand the abuses of the industrial revolution, the struggles and privations of the age of immigration, and the neglect of a city government whose corruption had become a national byword. In the face of their postwar problems and amid bitter winter weather, the throngs of Philadelphians along Broad Street could still celebrate in a great democratic demonstration of enjoyment as if to testify that despite prejudice and failure, despite generations of urban misfortune, they still had the hope and capacity for something better.

The city itself before 1950 still physically reflected the forms and achievements of the Victorian age. Downtown the rectangular blocks were crammed with office and retail buildings whose fronts were heavy with artifice, statuary, and crenellation. On City Hall a miscellany of many figures sat high above dingy gray porticos. The Witherspoon Building on narrow Juniper Street had brown ranks of Protestant saints and heroes standing rigidly along

105. Wainwright, *Philadelphia Electric Company*, pp. 148, 149, 150-51, 163, 173-74, 193-94, 196, 198; *Bulletin Almanac*, 1928, p. 379; *ibid.*, 1929, p. 410.
106. Wainwright, *Philadelphia Electric Company*, pp. 206, 212, 214.
107. Morgan, *City of Firsts*, p. 480; *Bulletin Almanac*, 1927, pp. 350, 351.
108. Morley, *Travels in Philadelphia*, p. 143; *Public Ledger*, Jan. 4, 1920; Blake McKelvey, *The Emergence of Metropolitan America, 1915-1966* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1968), p. 43; *Bulletin Almanac*, 1925, p. 335; *ibid.*, 1928, p. 377; Morgan, *City of Firsts*, pp. 473, 479.
109. *Bulletin Almanac*, 1926, p. 337.
110. *ibid.*, 1927, pp. 351, 352; *ibid.*, 1928, p. 377.
111. *ibid.*, 1925, pp. 332, 335, 336; *ibid.*, 1926, pp. 334, 337, 338; Morgan, *City of Firsts*, p. 323.
112. *Bulletin Almanac*, 1926, pp. 331, 335; *ibid.*, 1927, pp. 353, 354; *ibid.*, 1928, p. 377.
113. *ibid.*, 1927, p. 354; *ibid.*, 1929, pp. 410, 411; *ibid.*, 1930, pp. 95, 450, 452, 453; Walnut, "S. Davis Wilson," p. 289.
114. *The Outlook*, Mar. 30, 1927, pp. 395-96; Drayer, "J. Hampton Moore," pp. 190-95.
115. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Philadelphia National Bank*, pp. 209-10; "Managing Philadelphia's Rapid Transit," *National Municipal Review* 21 (April 1932): 252-53; *Bulletin Almanac*, 1930, p. 95.
116. George W. Norris, *Ended Episodes* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1937), p. 209.
117. Wainwright, *Philadelphia National Bank*, pp. 189, 190, 194-96, 203, 204-5.
118. *ibid.*, pp. 200, 201, 205; Norris, *Ended Episodes*, p. 209.

DEPRESSION AND WAR, 1929-1946

1. Federal Writers' Project, *Philadelphia: A Guide to the Nation's Birthplace* (Philadelphia: William Penn Associates, 1937), p. 3; R. E. S. Thompson, "Winner Gives All: Private Housing Project for Negroes," *Survey Graphic* 30 (May 1941): 274.
2. *Bulletin Almanac*, 1930, p. 259; *Inquirer*, Dec. 21, 1929, Jan. 3, 1930; Ford, Bacon & Davis, Inc., Engineers, "Report with Supplements, Location of Airport, Philadelphia, Pa., District," prepared for a Joint Committee of the Chamber of Commerce and the Regional Planning Federation on Air Terminal Survey, Philadelphia (in author's collection); a clipping, not identified by date or publication, in "City Architects' Scrapbook," 1920-c. 1939 (in City Archives and hereafter cited as "Scrapbook") proposed that Hog Island become a free port.
3. *Inquirer*, Jan. 3, 1930.
4. *ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1929, Jan. 3, 1930.
5. *Bulletin Almanac*, 1933 (Philadelphia: Bulletin, annual), p. 105.
6. *American City*, March 1931, p. 128; Robert Edward Drayer, "J. Hampton Moore: An Old Fashioned Republican" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1961), pp. 246-47.
7. *Bulletin Almanac*, 1930, pp. 88, 98, 99; *ibid.*, 1933, p. 82.
8. *ibid.*, 1930, pp. 255, 260-70, 282; *ibid.*, 1933, pp. 260, 286, 302; *ibid.*, 1936, p. 260; Russell Davenport, "Philadelphia," *Fortune* 13 (June 1936): 67, 69; clipping from *Public Ledger*, n.d., in "Scrapbook"; Blake McKelvey, *The Emergence of Metropolitan America, 1915-1966* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1968), p. 115; B. J. Newman, "Housing Research in Philadelphia," *Architectural Record* 74 (Sept. 1933): 170-74; D. Russell Connor, *Fifty Years on Chestnut Street: Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1946), pp. 15-17; Richard J. Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), pp. 141, 374, n.44; Harvey W. Corbett, "The Skyscraper and the Automobile Have Made the Modern City," *Studies in the Arts and Architecture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941), pp. 107-13; Henry James, "Philadelphia," in *American Scene* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1907), p. 265.
9. "Scrapbook," clipping, Nov. 13, 1930, no publication noted.
10. *Bulletin Almanac*, 1930, pp. 273-74, 280-81; *ibid.*, 1933, pp. 103, 317; *ibid.*, 1936, pp. 260, 293-96. The Regional Planning Federation's report (Dec. 1931) noted that about 75 percent of the region's domestic sewage was discharged untreated into the area's streams (*Regional Planning: The Region—Past, Present and Future, A Digest of the Policies, Principles, Procedure and Findings of the Regional Planning Federation of the Philadelphia Tri-State District* [Philadelphia: Regional Planning Federation, Dec. 1931], p. 27).
11. "A Proposed Plan for the Philadelphia Approaches to the Delaware River Bridge . . . May 1930" (in author's collection). There were two new bridges north of the Delaware River Bridge: the Tacony-Palmyra Bridge (opened Aug. 14, 1929) and the Burlington-Bristol Bridge (opened May 2, 1931). The Delaware River Joint Commission, evidence of continued interest in regional cooperation, was appointed on July 1, 1931 (*Bulletin Almanac*, 1933, pp. 104, 105). See also *Bulletin Almanac*, 1930, pp. 260-62; and brochure in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
12. *Bulletin Almanac*, 1930, p. 262; *ibid.*, 1933, pp. 96, 316-19; *ibid.*, 1936, p. 260; *Sunday Ledger*, Jan. 15, 1933, clipping in "Scrapbook"; C. E. Myers, "Underground Pedestrian Concourse for Philadelphia," *American City* 41 (Nov. 1929): 146-47; McKelvey, *Emergence of Metropolitan America*, p. 106.
13. On municipal ties with contractors, see Drayer, "J. Hampton Moore," pp. 180-85, 292, 320. The owners of property on the east side of the Schuylkill were rumored to be in line to gain \$5 million. There were 11,006 building permits issued in 1927, in 1933 just 4672, and not until the architectural explosion of the 1950s was the 1927 figure reached again (Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved*, p. 357, n.65). Clipping, 1933, no date or newspaper noted, in the possession of the author, stated that many permits were for work to be done on newly legalized breweries.
14. Davenport, "Philadelphia," pp. 190, 192.
15. *ibid.*, pp. 186-90; J. David Stern, *Memoirs*

- of a *Maverick Publisher* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1962), pp. 180-82; for the closing of the Integrity Trust, see *Bulletin Almanac*, 1941, p. 516.
16. Davenport, "Philadelphia," p. 192; Stern, *Memoirs*, p. 200. Note the story of Greenfield's visit to the Record office after FDR's nomination and his comment that he was "thinking over" switching his support from Hoover to Roosevelt.
17. E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 37, 39, 389; Davenport, "Philadelphia," p. 208; *Time*, Nov. 30, 1936, p. 57.
18. Some banks opened within three days, others at longer intervals, depending on the FDIC's assessment of their stability (W. Waldron, "Massa, tell em we're rising! Career of R. R. Wright, leading Negro Banker," reprint from *Progressive*, March 12, 1945, in *Readers Digest* 46 [April 1945]: 53-56).
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1. Richard Saul Wurman and John Andrew Gallery, *Man-Made Philadelphia: A Guide to Its Physical and Cultural Environment* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972), p. 81; Lorin Peterson, *The Day of the Mugwump* (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 157.
2. For an interesting portrait of Philadelphia in 1950, see John Lukacs, *Philadelphia: Patricians and Philistines, 1900-1950* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1981), pp. 278-310.
3. Eric Goldman, *The Crucial Decade—and After: America 1945-1960* (New York: Vintage, 1960), pp. 3-91.
4. Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root* (2 vols.; Dodd, Mead, 1938), 1:444.
5. The Committee of Seventy, *The Charter: A History* (Philadelphia: The Committee of Seventy, 1980), pp. 6-8.
6. James Reichley, *The Art of Government: Reform and Organization Politics in Philadelphia* (New York: Fund for the Republic, 1959), and Kirk R. Petshek, *The Challenge of Urban Reform: Policies and Programs in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), both depict the reform movement.
7. "The Philadelphia Story: Citizens Clean Up Graft," *Newsweek*, June 14, 1948, pp. 27-28.
8. James Crumlish, *A City Finds Itself* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959).
9. Nochem S. Winnet, "The Form of Government," *Shingle* (Philadelphia Bar Association) 14, no. 4 (April 1951).
10. The provisions of the city charter are explained more fully in the Committee of Seventy, *The Charter: A History*, pp. 11-70.
11. For a brief overview of these events, see Peterson, *The Day of the Mugwump*, pp. 150-57.
12. A daily record of major decisions by Mayor Clark is contained in the "Daily Log of Mayor Joseph S. Clark," William L. Rafsky Papers, Urban Archives, Paley Library, Temple University. The account of events in this chapter is based upon Mayor Clark's firsthand experience.
13. Leon Shull, director of the Americans for Democratic Action, contended that Dilworth misled him and other liberals in making a secret deal with Green which Shull took credit for exposing (Leon Shull, interview, May 4, 1976, Walter M. Phillips, Sr., Oral History Collection, Urban Archives, Paley Library, Temple University, pp. 23-25).
14. Even during the reform few experienced people viewed the city Council as a full-time job, and members retained all kinds of outside business and professional ties (*ibid.*, p. 16).
15. The differing views of many such figures about the reform are contained in the Walter M. Phillips, Sr., Oral History Collection.
16. R. Stewart Rauch, head of the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society in the 1960s, recounted that in 1968 the business community was brow-beaten into assembling a fund of \$1 million to assuage militant black leaders, and that \$250,000 of this fund was never adequately accounted for after it was funneled to ghetto groups (R. Stewart Rauch, interview, Oct. 11, 1978, Walter M. Phillips, Sr., Oral History Collection, p. 4; see also Miriam Ershkowitz and Joseph Zikmund, eds., *Black Politics in Philadelphia* [New York: Basic Books, 1973], pp. 55-145).
17. Paul D'Ortona, president of the city Council, attributed the growing problems with municipal unions to the decision of the Pennsylvania legislature to permit compulsory arbitration of labor issues for uniformed city employees. Thus Philadelphia had to live with a Harrisburg decision of enormous importance for the future (Paul D'Ortona, interview, May 17, 1977, Walter M. Phillips, Sr., Oral History Collection, p. 3).
18. Peter Binzen, *The Cop Who Would Be King* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979).
19. Reed M. Smith, *State Government in Transition, 1955-59* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961). The relation of the reform movement in Philadelphia to Pennsylvania politics is treated in Paul B. Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics: Today and Yesterday* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), pp. 193-207.
20. Collection of the Oral History of the Port of Philadelphia, Philadelphia Maritime Museum; "War on the Waterfront," *Philadelphia Magazine* 53, no. 10 (Oct. 1962): 18.
21. William W. Cutler III, "Persistent Dualism: Centralization and Decentralization in Philadelphia, 1854-1975," in William W. Cutler III and Howard Gillette, Jr., eds., *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800-1975* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), pp. 249-84.
22. Dennis Clark, *The Ghetto Game* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962), pp. 118-19, 163.
23. William L. Rafsky, in Stanley Newman, ed., "The Politics of Utopia," a report of a conference, April 28-May 23, 1975, Political Science Department, Temple University, 1975.
24. Edmund S. Bacon, executive director of the City Planning Commission in the Clark and Dilworth administrations, ruefully confessed the great toll exacted from low-income people through relocation and disruption of family and social life by the downtown and university rebuilding programs in Newman, ed., "The Politics of Utopia," Conrad Weiler, *Philadelphia: Neighborhood Authority and Urban Crisis* (New York: Praeger, 1974), is very critical of the reform administrations' programs.
25. Randolph Wise, interview, Jan. 12, 1978, Walter M. Phillips, Sr., Oral History Collection, pp. 2-23. Wise notes that even at the height of reform good personnel was superimposed on mediocre personnel without much displacement.
26. Lawrence Reddick, in Newman, ed., "The Politics of Utopia," provides background on the conditions producing the riots.
27. Binzen, *The Cop Who Would Be King*, pp. 70-110.
28. Peter O. Muller, Kenneth C. Meyer, and Roman A. Cybriwsky, *Philadelphia: A Study of Conflicts and Social Cleavages* (New York: Ballinger, 1976), pp. 11-34.
29. E. Digby Baltzell, "The Protestant Establishment Re-Visited," *The American Scholar* 45 (Autumn 1976): 499-518.
30. Weiler, *Philadelphia: Neighborhood Authority and Urban Crisis*, p. 101. Weiler sees the great weakness of the school reform to have been the failure to build a political base outside the schools to support the changes. Actually many of the reforms credited to