

Urban Reform and the Musser Coalition in the City of Lancaster, 1921-1930.

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P R E F A C E

This study is primarily an attempt to analyze the nature and difficulties as well as the results of the movement for urban reform in the city of Lancaster from 1921 to 1930. This reform movement was both directly and indirectly connected to the political "Coalition movement" of that time. This coalition consisted of prominent business and professional people of the community. Many of its leaders and supporters were Republicans who saw a definite need for breaking the political control of the Republican machine in order for the community to modernize and to progress.

These dissatisfied citizens joined the Democrats to form a party known as the "coalition." At different times the political organization was entitled or referred to as the Lancaster party, the Citizens party, or the Coalition Party, but for uniformity and clarification will be referred to in this work only by Coalition Party.

An analysis of the nature of this reform movement will show the similarities in Lancaster to urban reform throughout the nation

during the period 1900-1916. The crucial role of the women voters, under the 19th amendment, in the record turnout at the polls and the coalition victories will be examined.

This work was undertaken with the realization the local newspapers, the records of City Hall, and personal interviews with the few knowledgeable people still alive would be the major primary sources available. The *Lancaster Intelligencer* was the main newspaper used because of its support of the coalition, and because it consistently responded to allegations of the opposition made in the Republican newspaper, the *Lancaster New Era*.

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Chapter I

THE GRIEST ERA 1896-1920

Lancaster County has been a Republican stronghold since the election of Lincoln in 1860. Following the Civil War, Lancaster County voted for a Democratic Presidential candidate only once, Lyndon B. Johnson over Barry Goldwater in 1964 in one of the greatest landslide elections in history. Even Franklin Roosevelt, elected President four times, whose organization tried hard, could not carry Lancaster County.

To understand the atmosphere which encouraged a political coalition movement one must look closely at the events of the turn of the century, when Lancaster became so Republican that the Democratic party found it difficult to recruit candidates for local or county offices. The Democratic party practically disappeared; it held meetings in obscure, out of the way places such as small farmhouses and country taverns.

The strength of the Republican party accumulated. In Presidential elections from 1876-1896 the Democrats in Lancaster County regularly gained around one-third of the total vote. In 1896 they received 24.3 percent of the vote.¹

On the surface this would indicate the strongest period of Republican control in Lancaster was from 1896 to 1932, and on further study extensive evidence exists to support that generalization. William Walton Griest was the central figure in Lancaster County politics during this time. He was born in Christiana, Lancaster County on September 22, 1852. His father, Major Elwood Griest, was the founder of the Republican party in southern Lancaster County and

an anti-slavery politician who twice ran and lost for the United States House of Representatives. This left a lasting impression on his son who wanted to prove his family name capable and worthy of representing Lancaster.

The elder Griest owned and edited the county newspaper, the **Lancaster Inquirer**. As a collector for this paper, his son William met many people in the southern end of the county. Griest attended the public school system in Lancaster County and graduated from Millersville State Normal School. He obtained his first political job in 1887 through the influence of his father when he substituted for his brother as chief clerk in the County Commissioner's office and held this office until his appointment by Governor William A. Stoner as Secretary of State of Pennsylvania in 1899.²

It was while he served as chief clerk that he became the leader of the Lancaster County Republican party. Through his private and business affairs, he had become quite friendly with many of the state's most prominent Republican leaders. Because of his hard work during the campaign for the election of Governor Daniel Hastings in 1894, he was given complete control of the patronage for Lancaster County. Hastings ran opposed by the state machine and was not likely to hand the patronage over to a machine lieutenant in Lancaster, Lewis Hartman. In the next two years Griest became the right-hand man of Hartman, the county chairman and leader of the Republican Party. When Hartman died in 1896, Griest was generally acknowledged as the county's new Republican chief.³

At this time, men such as Matthew Quay and Boies Penrose controlled a strong, state-wide political machine. The support and backing of the leaders at the county level of the Republican party were essential to their success. W. W. Griest was considered a lieutenant to Boies Penrose.⁴ While Penrose was U.S. Senator, Griest was elected to the House of Representatives from the 10th Congressional District. He served in Congress from 1909-1929 when he died. For some years he served as Pennsylvania's member of the powerful Committee On Committees which determined the make-up of all House committees. He also served as a member of the patronage committee, which supervised the selections and employment of personnel for the House. Griest, with his great political influence, also had considerable business interests. He was President of the Conestoga Traction Company, the Edison Electric Company, and the Lancaster Gas and Light Company.⁵ From these positions Griest built a strong political machine.

The techniques which follow were considered normal political practice at that time. Some examples of how this political machine operated will clarify its power and effects on the local community. Griest gained political influence in Washington D.C. and Harrisburg as well as maintaining control of political jobs in Lancaster city and county. Republican domination of the polls at the local level alone presented him with jobs to dispense to loyal workers in the police, fire, streets, and water departments. He also had jobs on the

local level in public utilities which could be opened to loyal Republicans. It can be readily seen that from this position Griest was able to control many developments in Lancaster County. Local government, especially with the support of the state machine and the utilities companies, could give almost any opposition difficulties through its tax assessment and rate regulation powers.

An example of how the machine was able to retain loyal supporters was a practice of Republican committeemen. At this time a poll tax was required throughout Pennsylvania in order to be eligible to vote. The cost in Lancaster was twenty-five cents for a married person and fifty cents for a single voter. A tax receipt from within the last two years was required in order to register on one of the three registration days held in September of the election year.⁶ The Republican voter did not have to be troubled with traveling to register. The party committeemen would come around door to door and handle the matter.

It was thought that a more subtle means of getting voter support was used. Many times a young man would go to a local bank, the Lancaster Trust Company, and ask for a loan to build a home. The bank would regretfully refuse him with an excuse such as lack of collateral. It was not long however, until the committeeman was knocking at the door and talking over this recent misfortune. Quite often the young potential voter would be told he could be helped in getting that loan, and sure enough, he soon did. When election time arrived this same Republican party worker would explain the squeeze he was in, and how this citizen could really help if he could swing a few votes the right way.⁷

Another less subtle way the organization got support was by hiring the unemployed shortly before election time to work for the public utilities with everyone realizing there would be a layoff of these men after the election. Probably the most commonly known way of getting voter support among the less upstanding citizens, though, was by vote buying. Sometimes this would be for actual cash, but more often it consisted of a half-ton of coal, a turkey, or a bottle of liquor.⁸

Besides the traditional Republican vote helpfully drawn out by national party issues such as tariff, the local Republican machine maintained voter support because of its low tax record. The Griest machine was not about to make large improvements in the city because it would cost the public utilities additional tax revenues.⁹

The political situation in most cities at the turn of the century was one in which one man often used the patronage power to run the city. In many cities, such as Philadelphia, the boss stayed behind the scenes and was a contractor, a friend or associate of one. He would order improvements to be made in the city and this contractor would receive the bulk of the work. One reason citizens did not complain often was because they saw improvements take place.¹⁰



William Walton Griest

In Lancaster the reverse was true. The man in power was head of the local public utilities corporations. Improvements as he saw it would not make money, but cost him money. The paving of the streets would be expensive for the Conestoga Traction Company because the charter with the city required the company to pay for work eighteen inches to each side of its tracks. There were numerous overhead wires in the downtown area, many belonging to the traction company. Although such wires were being put under-

ground in most cities, it would be very costly to the public utilities and therefore any steps toward such a move were opposed.¹¹

A better understanding of the Republican organization and the community's feelings toward Griest can be shown by a closer examination of the man himself. He was a Quaker by birth, since both of his parents were members of the Society of Friends. When he was a child the family attended meetings between Quarryville and Christiana and his mother was a minister. Griest always gave more than the church required in tithes. He was a quiet man who was a good listener. He had a good memory for faces and names, always a valuable political asset. In appearance he was a man of medium stature; he was reported to be a good speaker although he did not enjoy public addresses and gave few of them. A solid party man, Griest's slogan was "Vote Republican! Prosperity rests on the Republican party."¹²

He was convinced that anyone who made an investment was entitled to a fair return on his money. This position blended well with his control of county politics which enabled him to secure his business interests. Shortly after the turn of the century Griest built a faltering young trolley system into a paying investment.¹³ The electric street car line, the Conestoga Traction Company, ran throughout the county, and with the help of the toll roads became a successful enterprise. These roads had existed since 1745 in Lancaster County and had been financed by private capital. One could leave the city without paying a toll only if he were going to a funeral or church. After the turn of the century the state had started to end toll roads by buying them as state maintained properties. In Lancaster County, where local officials controlled the toll roads, the Republican organization did not want to give up this control since the quickly growing automobile industry would offer stiff competition to the trolley system without the toll charge.

The procedure at the political boss's office brings another insight into his relations with the community. A very efficient secretary, Paul Baker, would greet any visitor outside Griest's office on the fourth floor of the old Woolworth building. Baker would find out the name and wishes of the visitor, passing this information on to his boss before the visitor entered. When the Congressman met this individual it would be with a warm handshake and a hearty "what can I do for you today." After listening and getting the facts, Griest smoothly told his visitor that he would attempt to help. Requests for help included everything from cures for rheumatism to war pensions. It is understood he delivered on his promises often. In the words of one of his congressional colleagues, this political boss knew his people well:

Mr. Griest knew his people as individuals and groups. He knew the soldier of the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and the World War. He knew their widows and dependents and gave them all the aid that was in his power. He knew the farmer and upheld his interests. . . He knew the so-called plain sects and their beliefs. And he gave a sympathetic ear to their troubles. . .¹⁴

Griest was a decisive man and he did not believe in unnecessary meetings. Quite often he would call someone into his office and announce to his surprise that he was running for a certain office. His political protege, G. Graybill Diehm, is an excellent example of the political boss working from behind the scenes. In 1917 Diehm's name was filed for burgess of Lititz without his knowledge or consent. Diehm withdrew his name only to have it refiled. He won this office and Griest observed Diehm's actions with pleasure. As the time for the next election arrived the two men still had not met and Diehm was surprised when he received a letter from Griest requesting he come to see him. Diehm was then reluctantly persuaded by the Republican party boss to run for the State House of Representatives.¹⁵

Griest was at one time considered for nomination for Governor and at another time for the U.S. Senate but rejected both possibilities. One of the reasons for his refusal was an outstanding local election record explained by a fellow congressman:

The political success he achieved is unique, for, be it known, that he was never defeated at any election when he was a candidate; that the ticket he supported was never defeated in Lancaster County; that he never lost a candidate in the primaries; and that in Lancaster city he lost a local election but twice in his career of leadership.¹⁶

This practical businessman and politician was remembered by another congressman as a respectable and powerful politician:

His high sense of honor, his integrity and loyalty, were a trilogy of qualities gracing his noble, kindly nature like stars in the blue. He was a real statesman and bore a conspicuous part in the political history of his native State. He was a power in the political world, of which he was an important part. His wide knowledge of public affairs and his sagacity and sound judgment made his advice sought for and relied upon.¹⁷

Other Congressmen and Lancastrians have referred to him as "both morally and intellectually honest" and as "discreet, tactful and sincere."¹⁸

In 1920 the Griest machine was at the height of its power. It had seldom faced a serious challenge in Lancaster City or County.¹⁹ A man of such qualities and an organization of such power as Griest's would not be lightly challenged or easily overcome.

Chapter II

THE NATURE OF THE COALITION

With the machine in tight control of the city, Austin E. McCollough, a newspaperman from York, came to Lancaster. He was the managing editor of the *Lancaster Intelligencer*,¹ an afternoon newspaper at that time; McCollough sensed at once he needed a topic

to arouse the community. It soon became obvious to McCollough that his crusade was to fight the toll roads, the public utilities, and the Republican Party, the sources of most things which had been irritating to the community for more than a quarter century. Through his newspaper he proclaimed the lack of progress in Lancaster County and laid the blame on the Republican organization and the power companies. He could not get the gears of his battling press to mesh well enough to arouse the public by itself.

In the summer of 1921 after a Kiwanis's meeting, several members discussed the condition of Lancaster's streets and decided that something must be done. As a result several days later, William S. Raub, Dr. H. M. J. Klein, A. C. Darmstaetter, Austin E. McCollough, William Heidelbaugh, John Bair, and William Neuhauser with several others attended a meeting at the Stevens House Hotel. After a lengthy discussion, they decided to organize a campaign for the election of a "progressive" mayor who would modernize the city.² Some of the streets were paved with cobblestone, known as Belgian blocks, while many others were still dirt. Manor Street, a major thoroughfare, was referred to as a "cowpath."³ The water and sewage system was declared illegal in 1906 according to a state ordinance. There was no meat or milk inspection set up in the community. The police and fire departments were dominated by political appointments. It was reported that the policeman's main function was to get out the right vote on election day. Both of the departments' equipment were considered antiquated.⁴ There was a great need for civic improvement.

Many of the businessmen and professional people lived on the outskirts of the city or even outside of the city but were disturbed with conditions in the city because it was their place of business.⁵ Most of these men were members of the Republican Party, a family heritage in many cases, and were not willing to change to the Democratic Party, especially with that party's weakened organization and lack of popular support. The only way to oppose the established Republican organization was to form a coalition of Independent Republicans and Democrats behind the banner of civic pride.⁶ The conversations concerning growth of the business community among a few of the middle class businessmen and professional people gathered momentum until the fight for reform emerged.

The poor urban conditions had existed for some time, yet the voter turnout was under 10,000 in each of the mayoralty elections of the second decade of the twentieth century.⁷ The statistics for these elections show the hard fight ahead, as the Eighth Ward was the only Democratic one out of nine wards. The 1911 results provided encouragement for a "coalition" movement. In this election the Democrats and the Keystone Party, a Republican reform party, lost only by 440 votes, and carried the Seventh and Eighth Wards, both of which provided about 1,500 votes out of the 9,000 total. It was felt that this coalition was not well organized; the newspaper

pointed out, for instance, that many Democrats were suspected of voting for the Republican machine candidate or staying home.⁸

A closer look at a few of the individuals gives a better picture of the leadership of this movement. Austin McCollough, considered a political realist, made the Democratic newspaper under his management, the **Lancaster Intelligencer**, the spokesman of the coalition movement.⁹ The goals and ideals of the movement came from men like Dr. H. M. J. Klein, a respected history professor at Franklin and Marshall College, an institution of high standing in Lancaster. Klein pushed for civic improvement throughout the coalition years from his position as associate editor of the **Lancaster Intelligencer** as well as by his speeches at rallies and before organizations. He continued his efforts for civic improvement in Lancaster until his death in 1965.¹⁰ Adolph C. Darmstaetter provided crucial ideas and leadership to spur the movement forward.

Darmstaetter came to Lancaster with his mother and brother from York after their gift shop brought little reward in that locality and his father, a minister, died. They had started out in a small store on Orange Street and after a few years moved around the corner onto the first block of North Queen Street to a new store. The local newspaper reported that Darmstaetter was active in twenty-five separate organizations in the community including the Chamber of Commerce and Kiwanis Club, as well as running his store.¹¹ This man would provide the thrust for many coalition actions for urban reform.

Behind these men marched most of the prominent businessmen and professional people of the community. In the **Lancaster Intelligencer** on November 2, 1925 a list of three-hundred and sixty-two business and professional people of the community who supported the coalition was printed on the front page.¹² Keeping in mind the size of Lancaster City, the coalition endorsement included practically all the prominent leaders of the community except those in the traditional Republican organization or attached to it by family.

There are several possible reasons for the support of community leaders behind the coalition. Many were sincerely interested in urban reform and the need had been made clear. There was a long standing fear of the incumbent political party because of its power to raise or lower tax assessments to punish enemies or reward friends.¹³ Time showed that this fear of the coalition was unfounded but it could have moved real estate holders to be afraid of being on the other side of the fence in the early years of the movement. To find out what the coalition was planning it would be advantageous to be a supporter since this new party was a small, spontaneous group from which there would be few leaks as to their intent. Darmstaetter cites an experience with the Armstrong Cork Company executives regarding the coalition:

Early in the campaign, I received a call from the President, Mr. Evans, of the Armstrong Cork Company, to come to his office. Upon

arriving there, I found Messers Evans, Suter, and George awaiting me. They asked me to explain this coalition movement. After our conversation they said, "We shall support the movement and if we can be of any service, call upon us!"¹⁴

The coalition leadership and prominent supporters could not hope to succeed without an acceptable, respectable man for the mayoralty candidacy who could capture the public's imagination. A meeting was held at the local Elk's Club to select such a man. When the meeting started there was not a clear-cut agreement on a possible candidate for mayor.¹⁵ Just a few months before, May, 1921, an incident had taken place near the center of the North Duke Street bridge, which went over the old railroad tracks in the city when an automobile and a trolley car came to a stop facing each other. Each driver claimed the right of way and both refused to back up their machines; therefore traffic was soon congested and a crowd gathered and the police could not convince either driver that he was wrong. After more than an hour the motorman finally ended the confrontation by backing up. This was followed by the automobile proceeding triumphantly on its way.¹⁶ The driver was an immediate local hero for having defeated, at least symbolically, the boss of the traction company.

The man driving the car was Frank C. Musser, reported to be the leading cattle dealer at the Union Stockyards outside of Lancaster.¹⁷ As a boy Musser had a tragic accident involving the traction company in which he lost an arm. Musser was driving a wagon up the Bridgeport Hill along the old Conestoga Park trolley line when a cable snapped and recoiled, causing the loss of his arm.¹⁸ These two incidents with the Conestoga Traction Company were a splendid background for a political crusade against the political boss and his public utilities.

Musser was a self-made businessman. He was born near New Holland, Pennsylvania, on October 9, 1873. He attended the public schools in Lancaster until he was sixteen when he joined his father in the cattle business. Later he was placed in charge of shipments of cattle from Buffalo to the local market, and for many years he was president of the Lancaster Livestock Exchange. Musser also supported many civic and charitable organizations as well as belonging to many clubs, and was a member of the First Methodist Episcopal Church.¹⁹

The Coalition Party announced that Musser was its candidate on September 1. The following is an impression left by Musser on community leaders:

His engaging personality endeared him to all classes of his fellow citizens, and commanded the esteem of prominent men throughout the country. . . . The distinguishing traits of his noble manhood were his charitable disposition, his well-chosen philanthropies, his willingness at all times to lend a helping hand in civic and public affairs. . . . I found him honest, courageous, and with the best interests of the city uppermost in his mind at all times. . . . I came to have a wholesome respect for Mr. Musser's sound judgment and business views.²⁰



Frank C. Musser

The coalition was now set to enter into battle against a powerful political organization which was not about to sit back quietly while it was challenged by some part-time politicians. The next decade of Lancaster city politics would certainly not be a matter of "ceremonious ratification" as the previous decade was characterized.

THE YEARS OF STRUGGLE 1921-1923

An old friend of W. W. Griest, Harry Trout, who owned a cigar store on the second block of North Queen Street, was elected mayor of the city of Lancaster in 1919. Trout died the day he was to be inaugurated and Horace Kennedy was appointed by city council as the interim mayor until the next election. Kennedy was editor of a small Republican newspaper, the **Morning News**. When it failed, he held minor political jobs until Trout's death.¹ In November 1921, Mayor Horace Kennedy was up for re-election.

During his years as appointed mayor, the Chamber of Commerce desired to add the name of Mayor Kennedy to its membership. A middle-aged bachelor who lived on King Street with his mother, Kennedy declined the offer to join. He was hardly a progressive; he was content with the status quo and he distrusted anyone who wanted to change it. The Chamber of Commerce decided to award the mayor an honorary membership and present him with a certificate. The appointed committee of delivery was brusquely received at City Hall. The mayor refused to discuss or reconsider his decision or to receive the tendered certificate of membership. The three members of the committee, two Republicans and one Democrat, were distraught. One of them reportedly said "If that man ever runs for mayor we will beat him whether the organization supports him or not."²

The Republican organization seemed as strong as ever. The Chamber of Commerce incident was the outgrowth of the general complacency of the Republican organization described below:

It [the political organization] asked nothing except to be let alone. It obtained funds from contributions, ostensibly voluntary, by those upon whom it conferred public office. It was sparing in dispensing the public funds which were committed to its care. It made no public improvements, and in justification pointed to the lowest tax rate in the state.³

A weakness beneath the public view proved extremely important to Congressman Griest. Although Griest's organization enjoyed a quiet era, changes in his own affairs in Washington would help to bring an end to his iron rule of the Lancaster community. Congressman Griest found that each year he spent more and more of his time in Washington. He complained to G. Graybill Diehm, his closest political lieutenant:

It took me many years to build my fences, and I have always tried to keep them in good repair. But now, being a Congressman is becoming a full time job, and when I'm away my fences get torn down.⁴

Under these circumstances the **Lancaster Intelligencer**, supporter of the urban reform movement, said "Frank C. Musser and his associ-

ates are pledged to pull Lancaster from the hole that the present political gang has the city in."⁵

The two major reasons for opposing Griest's political machine which came out in the campaigns were his primary interest in protecting the local public utilities and the city's machine had done little to improve downtown and, in fact, had let conditions deteriorate extensively. The Coalition Party strongly emphasized that Griest's machine had done nothing to modernize and develop Lancaster, and was not about to turn progressive now.

Although the machine did put forth some effort, its complacency and the absentee leadership of Griest probably hurt the machine the most on the three separate registration days during September, 1921. On the first of September, the city had its largest first registration day tally for an off-year election in history, 4,510.⁶ The Coalition announced on September 3, that an information bureau would be set up to aid the taxpayers in registering.⁷ Yet getting the final high registration figures was not easy. For example, the Democratic paper accused machine members at the county tax office of blocking city voters from registering. Some citizens who had lived in their precincts from two to twenty years and voted regularly were not assessed during 1921 and were not given the tax receipt necessary for voting under the poll tax law. The **Lancaster Intelligencer** charged that county tax books were in bad shape, and felt that those not assessed were those the officeholders could not control. The immediate result was a decline in registration. The Coalition responded by listing two telephone numbers, one for the Democrats and one for the Independent Republicans to call for aid in getting a tax receipt.⁸ The newspaper supporting the Coalition appealed to the voters and warned the public "a light registration means victory for the bosses. That is because the controllable vote is always registered."⁹

Democratic County Chairman, J. Hale Steinman, who with his brother John Frederick [Jack] owned the **Lancaster Intelligencer**, stated that "taxpayers are particularly incensed that tax collector [John] Stumpf and his backers should hold that he [Stumpf] has no right to be inconvenienced because taxpayers want to pay their taxes."¹⁰ On September 16 Republican County Commissioner Sam Diller was reported to have blamed the voters for lack of tax receipts and refused the offer of the Coalition to give tax collector Stumpf aid. The following day the citizens received a taste of machine politics when Stumpf was not at his office and only two new men were on duty while people waited outside in the rain. It was reported that a riot nearly broke out, and only then was an attempt made to accommodate those wanting to register. The Democratic paper estimated that 1,000 voters were disenfranchised by this action and the issue was taken to court.¹¹

This was followed by two peaceful but busy days of registration. In the end more than 18,300 voters in the city were registered for the coming election. thousands more than ever were registered

before for such an election in this city.¹² Some of these registered after the allotted days under the provisions of an act of the Assembly of June 16, 1911, which said any man who has not been able to pay his poll tax until after the last day of registration or within thirty days of the election may state his inability to secure such receipts to the county commissioners and be placed on the voting list.¹³ This factor helps to account for the variation between the registration count from the last registration day and the election statistics.

Another significant event of the campaign was the primary election on September 19, 1921. The Coalition had been formed too late to enter the primaries so its supporters were urged to vote the Democratic ticket which consisted of the same candidates as the Coalition Party.¹⁴ The Republican organization attempted to elect some "Griest Democrats" but failed by a wide margin. On primary day it was reported that jobholders were "thick as flies" at the polls and ranged from "high state officials to streetsweepers."¹⁵ Policemen were reported to be especially active. Pollsters refused to give those registered as independents, Coalition, or not giving party preference, a ballot for congressman or convention, despite the Governor's proclamation that it was a general state election day.

The Coalition ran its October and November campaign largely through the **Lancaster Intelligencer**, just as in its drive for registration and the primary fight. Street corner rallies, torch light parades with bands, and fireworks and speeches before organizations, especially women's groups, were supplementary campaign methods.¹⁶ Through all of these tactics the Coalition worked hard to get the women's vote. They expressed to the ladies that this was not a national election, but one in which the best candidate, with no vested interests, should be selected by intelligent and judicious consideration.¹⁷ They were told to be independent of the Republican machine. Musser spoke before many women's groups trying to enlist their support.¹⁸ Several women were speakers at rallies. Mrs. T. Wallace Reilly headed the Democratic League of Women Voters to support Musser. Unlike the Republicans, the Coalition ticket included two women for school directors in an attempt to induce the women's support. In the view of the **Lancaster Intelligencer** the "women's vote was good because they would bring their active citizenship [their vote] to the polls."¹⁹ The small black vote was also solicited by the urban reformers. Two black men, Abraham Polite and Edward Mellon, spoke out at rallies in the Seventh Ward saying that "Mr. Musser has been a friend of the colored folks for a lifetime."²⁰ The Seventh Ward contained a significant part of Lancaster's lower socio-economic class and purchasable votes, although it also included citizens which more closely reflected the largely native-born working class of the city.

The Coalition tried to solicit support with the following platform of Musser:

1. If I am elected I will pledge myself to remain, as now, absolutely

uncontrolled in politics.

2. I will not favor a raise in the tax rate of the City of Lancaster, but hope to lower the same by making our public utilities pay a just rate on the valuable franchises they now enjoy by practicing economy and by eliminating all unnecessary City Officials and hope in this way to save the City of Lancaster thousands of dollars which can be used in improvements.
3. I will appoint competent officials on a non-partisan basis for all City jobs and shall see that they work full time and give the City the benefit of their ability.
4. I shall see to it that all men who handle money for the City of Lancaster shall be bonded.
5. I will have made a regular audit of City accounts, by a certified public accountant, as frequently as deemed advisable.
6. I shall do my utmost to keep both police and firemen out of politics.
7. I pledge myself to give the City of Lancaster a clean, progressive, efficient, businesslike administration.²¹

These pledges reflect the accumulation of progressive ideas which developed out of a spontaneous movement which only announced its existence September 1, 1921. From the general discontent of the business community the Coalition Party now represented a group of ideas for positive action in Lancaster, just as these types of reform had captivated the scene in many other communities throughout the nation a decade before. The Coalitionists campaign for an honest, responsive, and efficient government now had a declared format to use as a base towards accomplishing their goals, and now made it more clearly known what their goals were. The platform certainly did not provide the specific answers to the problems of running a modern and efficient city government, but it did clearly state what the problems were and the attitude under which the task would be undertaken.

Many of the political charges by the Coalition meshed well with the campaign platform. The Republican machine was attacked at the beginning of the campaign because many office holders were leaving public posts to conduct a registration campaign. The **Lancaster Intelligencer** stated that "one thousand dollars in taxpayers money was spent for public posts at the polls trying to make jobs secure."²²

Another assault by the Coalition paper reported that the record books showed the Conestoga Traction Company and the Edison Light Company were paying only \$4,030 in taxes to the city, where in Harrisburg similar utilities paid \$47,750 in taxes to the city, and in York local utilities paid \$27,678.01. Lancaster was reported to stand between these two cities in the amount of business done. The **Lancaster Intelligencer** stated that "these funds could be used to pave miles and miles of city streets."²³ The traction company had secured its franchise almost tax free, but it was the practice in other cities at this time for public utilities to pay taxes for the use of public streets.

The Democratic newspaper also pointed out that the electric company charged the highest rate of any city its size in the state,

and \$25,000 more than a sister city of more acres and lights.²⁴ Other factors regarding the public utilities income for the last year were brought to the public's attention by the **Intelligencer**. The Conestoga Traction Company, for example, was stated to have made a gross profit of \$499,002.68. The Edison Company was reported to have had a gross income of \$500,000 and the gas company over \$100,000 gross income. Every bondholder and stockholder of the public utilities got a letter urging them to vote the G.O.P. ticket.²⁵ These announcements were followed by the utilities claiming that \$20,601 in taxes were paid to the city, but the **Intelligencer** found no evidence of any payment in the city's annual report. The \$4,000 figure was taken on the city treasurer's word. He claimed its identity was lost in the license fees fund turned in by the mayor.²⁶ The newspaper offered no explanation for this statement although the mayor should not be handling license fees. Next the water works were reported being operated at more than \$20,000 loss per year. Despite outside expert opinion to use steam power, the Edison Company, the local electric company, got the business.²⁷ A summary of other charges against the public utilities stated that the per-mile charge of the local trolley company was the highest in the state, the quality of gas was miserable, the light rates were the highest in the state, and thousands of dollars drained out of the local traction company to bolster weak companies elsewhere. The Republican paper denied these charges and, in fact, claimed that the public utilities of Lancaster charged the lowest gas, electric, and street car rates in the state.²⁸ No further explanation was given but it seems likely that Griest was interested in keeping up the quality of trolley service in an effort to retard the growth of the automobile industry in the area.

Other assaults by the Coalition Party included reports of city hall embezzlements which dated back to at least 1918. The Democratic newspaper reported money was taken by more than one person and books were doctored for years. Thousands of dollars were reported unaccountable in one unnamed department and it was said the amount of city bonding would not nearly pay the deficit. The thefts, which were never proven to be extensive, were only partially restored.²⁹

The Democratic paper estimated that fifty-one cents of the direct tax dollar went for political jobholders, twenty cents to Griest's lighting company, and twenty-nine cents for interest and reduction of the city debt.³⁰ Mayor Kennedy was accused of costing the taxpayers \$366,000 in taxes with no real gain. Taxes were raised under Kennedy's administration from eight to eleven mills, and the school tax increased from seven to ten mills.³¹ Kennedy was dubbed "Silent Horace" during this campaign because he refused to speak out until near election day when he appeared at an old guard Republican rally. The **Lancaster Intelligencer** reported Kennedy's words brought the crowd to its feet last night when he said "we will now sing the Star Spangled Banner."³²

The assaults were occasionally carried directly to Griest. The school directors were referred to as "nine picked men." The strong anti-union feelings of the political boss were noted in the remainder of the firing of eighty-two school teachers who joined the A.F.L. Included among those fired teachers was a Coalition candidate for school director, Mrs. Dorothy Kell. It was also reported that twenty workers for the Conestoga Traction Company were immediately fired when they attempted to join a union.

Griest was showing his name for the first time in this campaign by openly seeking votes for Kennedy through letters sent to ex-servicemen. Also it was reported that wages for workers of the local trolley would be cut in November. The wage cut was reported to be originally scheduled for September but was being delayed by "unusual circumstances," the campaign.³³ The day before the election a picture entitled "the Spider's Web" and a caption saying "who owns Penn Square" with Griest's picture in the center was on the front page of the newspaper. The web referred not only to his control of political affairs but the fact that the square looked like a web because it had so many wires hanging from the buildings, many belonging to the traction company. The newspaper also reported that "friends of the utilities dump \$100,000 in the city and the bosses tell ward leaders to go all out."³⁴

The Republican machine was surprised by the strength of this spontaneous urban reform movement. As expected the machine awoke from its complacency and gathered its resources for the struggle:

Though the general policy of the organization was both conciliatory and economical, it brooked no opposition. On the few occasions on which its authority had been seriously challenged it spent money lavishly in order to maintain its supremacy.³⁵

The organization in the past had either gained the support of the opposition party, in which case these men often became known as "Griest Democrats," or discredited the opposition by repeated defeats. The Democrat's previous elections had been no more than "ceremonious ratifications" of the decrees of the "invisible powers."³⁶

Now that it had been challenged, the organization fought back. In an attempt to discourage traditional Republicans from supporting the Coalition Party the organization called the Independent Republicans ambitious, greedy people. In order to disgrace the opposition they referred to them as "Republicrats" and stated in speeches that "the Democrats are rats and the citizens ticket no better. [sic]"³⁷ Other attacks by the Republicans included a letter mailed out charging that an increased tax assessment was planned if the Coalition Party won. This was the zenith of constant machine attacks on the Chamber of Commerce and the Coalition Party for planning increased property assessment values. The Coalition response quickly pointed out that ward assessors, who determined tax assessment and were voted in by a county-wide basis, were not up

for election.³⁸ Musser declared that he would lower the tax rate as fast as the County Commissioner, Diller, raised assessment values.³⁹

There also were personal charges made a few days before the election. The most significant example was when the Women's Christian Temperance Union, of which Mrs. Griest was an officer, sent out a letter calling Musser "not a fit person for the friends of temperance to vote for." The letter called Musser's Green Tree Hotel, located below Strasburg, a despicable roadhouse for accommodating autoparties and mentioned his part ownership of the Columbia Brewing Company from 1912 to 1919. Robert S. McClure, President of the Strasburg Bank, responded in Musser's defense. He declared, as the closest neighbor of Musser's summer home at Green Tree, that Musser was above reproach and that "any rascal who stated otherwise ought to be drummed out of the community."⁴⁰ Musser was prepared for this attack from the time he decided to run for office. Lieutenant Governor Frank McClain, a business partner of Musser's, warned the well-known and highly respected cattle dealer that Griest would ruin Musser's reputation if he opposed the Republican machine. It is understood that Musser felt his reputation for honesty would withstand any attacks. McClain's remarks are believed to have been a deciding factor in the independent, stubborn Lancastrian's decision to enter the mayoralty race.⁴¹

On election day there was said to be an unusually liberal use of money at the polls. There was some squabbling among the Coalitionist leaders over reports of buying votes. Some leaders felt they must fight fire with fire, while others vigorously objected to the old machine technique of securing votes.⁴² The Republican view on vote buying was clear:

Congressman Griest, being in command of regular troops instead of volunteers, was confronted with no such difficulty, the issues raised by his adversaries were brushed aside as no more than vain imaginings of inexperienced amateurs and pushing outsiders whose policies would plunge the city into a welter of extravagance. His workers in every precinct were disciplined and experienced. The contributors to his campaign fund asked no questions and expected no explanations. He could count, moreover, on the votes of employees of the city and of the public utility companies and on the influence and assistance of the members of the police force.⁴³

When the polls closed on election day, November 8, little was known except that the Coalition cause was vigorously represented at various polling places, and that the purchasable vote had not gone altogether one way.

The first news reported that Kennedy had carried the Third Ward, a Republican stronghold by thirty-five votes. In close elections this ward usually reported last. It was later reported that the correct majority in this ward was three hundred and thirty-five votes. But the rest of the messages were different.⁴⁴ Musser won by over 3,000 votes and the three Coalition candidate school directors won by a similar margin. The Coalitionists elected 24 of the 27 common councilmen, losing only the three in the Third Ward by

a very small vote. The Third Ward loss was attributed to ". . . last minute registration by the machine. Hotels and rooming houses turned out voters by the dozen whom no one knew. . . . A big feature of the vote in the Seventh Ward was the way the colored vote, usually solid machine, split on the issue."⁴⁶

Another factor in the election result was the women's votes. They were well-organized and solidly behind the Coalition Party. One estimate stated that 80 percent of the women's vote was Coalitionist. It was reported that one of the Republican poll workers said, "I am going home; the women are lined up in the streets and they are solid Coalition."⁴⁷ The women had been prominent supporters at the parades and rallies, and this was the first mayoralty election for the feminist voters of Lancaster.⁴⁸ In 1920 the registry assessor's returns reported 16,069 women in the city and county of Lancaster eligible to vote. Of this number 3,445 women registered and it is believed every one of them voted. This far exceeded the male percentage of those registered and voted. In 1920, 83 percent of the registered males voted.⁴⁹ But on election day November 8, 1921, 97 percent of the registered voters cast ballots in Lancaster.⁵⁰

The result of all this was that "the businessman for mayor," "the man of character," and "the principle of self-government versus the machine" would have an opportunity to institute a program of major urban reform for the city of Lancaster.⁵¹

As soon as Musser took office in January he began his reform efforts. In his Inaugural Address he stated his intent to take the police force out of politics immediately by instituting a civil service test. He announced that "merit and competency are rightful demands by citizens of those who seek public employment."⁵² He saw the need for application of the highest business principles in running public affairs and proceeded to reorganize every city department. Realizing that it would take time to fulfill his plans, he stated his goals for Lancaster city: "Lancaster shall be clean, physically and morally, progressive and absolutely uncontrolled by any interest other than the interest of all citizens."⁵³

In the months that followed the status of each department was carefully studied and reported to the council meetings. In every department waste, inefficiency, theft or chaos was uncovered.⁵⁴ There were numerous examples of conflicts of interest:

One of the first evils encountered by the Finance Committee when it took office was the very general violation of the law, which forbids councilmen, agents, or employees of the city or any department thereof from purchasing materials for or contracting with the city for its needs. Under the act of May 23, 1889 as set forth in the City Digest on page 121, it is clearly stated that such action is misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment or either. A casual glance at Mayor Kennedy's annual message for the period of May 1, 1921, wherein is set forth the expenditures of the various departments, shows there were more than twenty infractions of this law.⁵⁵

One of the important undertakings of the city finance committee

was to order the audit of the books and accounts of the city by outside accountants for the four year period extending from 1918 to 1922. The audit uncovered a number of interesting irregularities. Books, accounts, and records were kept in a very unsatisfactory way, showing errors of commission and omission. Poor controlling accounts were kept, and the system lacked coordination and made cooperation almost impossible between departments. Tax assessment accounts revealed city property assessed lower than property in the county. This complete reversal of the normal situation kept the city government poor, while giving an increase in funds to the county officials. The ward assessors were still under the influence of the Republican county organization and their instructions came from the county commissioners. Assessment values were not equal. Exemptions were granted to property occupied by the Conestoga Traction Company. Although the county assessors for the city wards could be penalized, it would in no way compensate for the actual loss suffered.⁵⁶ Water meter records gave no account for the shortages in funds from water rents. There was a discrepancy between the records of cash received by the former controller and assumed to be transferred to the former treasurer. Other inefficiencies included an absence of important records, such as cancelled checks, original purchase invoices, paid bond coupons, and original account books. The disorderly condition of city finances caused the new administration to reorganize management of city finances.⁵⁷

In the fire department conditions were found antiquated and inferior to meet the needs of the city. The fire alarm system was reported to be in very bad shape and the poor condition of the wires constantly jeopardized the entire system.⁵⁸ One resident recalls, "Anyone walking through the streets of Lancaster could see the numerous broken fire alarm boxes."⁵⁹ The police department patrol system was reported just as antiquated and worn out. However, the lack of funds was a major problem for the new administration in attempting to modernize and develop the city and to carry out needed improvements. This was particularly true for correction of the terrible conditions of the streets and water and sewer lines.⁶⁰

The lack of funds and reorganization of the city departments were only part of the problem faced by the urban reformers. The select council, which operated much like the state Senate, had not been up for election in November, 1921 and was therefore still machine-controlled and largely uncooperative.⁶¹ The Coalition pushed very hard in the 1923 campaign to gain control of Council, the last bulwark of the machine's power.

The city also had other problems with which to deal. There was an apparent lack of proper meat and milk inspection ordinances and an unsatisfactory garbage disposal system.⁶² One of the most noticeable improvements was the paving of some of the downtown streets and the removal of the poles from Penn Square.⁶³ This project was only possible because of the efforts of A. C. Darmstaetter. Darmstaetter, by chance, had heard of the "per front-foot

method" of street paving. At a meeting of the Merchants Association held at the Hotel Brunswick he introduced a plan for improving the city's streets. He was appointed chairman of a committee to see what could be done and personally solicited every merchant on the first block of North Queen Street, showing them an estimate from the Portland Cement Association, and each store agreed to pay its share. Under the current city charter it was illegal to assess street benefits against abutting property owners.⁶⁴ Harry Knight, manager of the Imperial Drug Store at the corner of North Queen and Chestnut Streets, talked with the merchants in the second block of North Queen Street and they, too, agreed to each pay his own way on the per-front basis. The street paving was paid for by the abutting property owners. Mayor Musser agreed to "help all he could."

The state required that all properties must have a dual sewer system, one for storm, the other system for sanitary. Because of the tremendous cost involved, nothing could be done with street improvements until this order was either complied with or rescinded. Darmstaetter went to Harrisburg and visited the Health Department where he made an appointment with the Commissioner on behalf of Lancaster city officials. At the ensuing meeting Darmstaetter pointed out "it would be impossible to install a dual sewer system in many of our [Lancaster's] old buildings." The argument used was that Lancaster had the same problem as Philadelphia, old buildings, and Darmstaetter had John Wickersham, an engineer, draft an ordinance which stated why it would be impossible to comply with the present order. Darmstaetter was successful in getting the order rescinded.⁶⁵

The next step was to have the overhead wires removed from the downtown area. The problem was made more difficult because a year earlier, under the Republican administration, Western Union had promised to spend \$100,000 on local work which included putting the wires underground which had been refused by the city officials. By a trip to New York Darmstaetter was able to convince the headquarters of Western Union that "conditions were now different" in Lancaster and the Coalition government would be happy to cooperate. Mayor Musser was called and an agreement was reached to put the wires underground.⁶⁶

The repaving of downtown Lancaster was begun. Darmstaetter, with the support of the Chamber of Commerce, appointed "block committees" to work with him in signing up other streets, East and West King, South Queen and Duke. On Duke Street one old line Republican refused to cooperate, hoping to stop the project. Darmstaetter recalls, "I told him if he would not cooperate, I would pave around his property. He looked me straight in the eye and said 'You would not dare pave around me.' However, I did, and for several years it remained a hole in the street. . . ."⁶⁷ One other Republican, who owned a business on South Queen Street on the Square, refused to sign until it could be proven that horses would

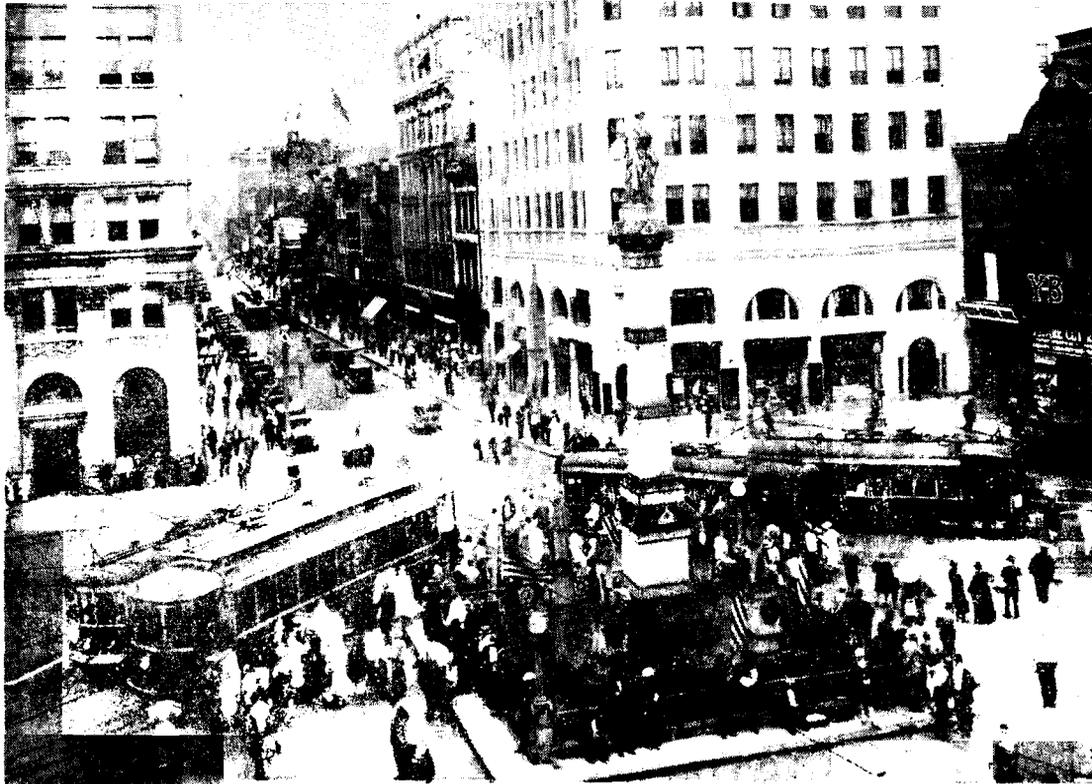


Penn Square from the southwest corner looking into North Queen Street, about 1912, showing numerous utility poles bearing hundreds of wires. Streets and the Square were paved with Belgian blocks and street paving bricks.

not slip coming up Queen Street to the Square. William Shand, a downtown department store owner, drove him to Elizabethtown where there was a paved hill. "Seeing this, he joined the rest of us," Darmstaetter recalled, "and signed the agreement."⁶⁸

With all difficulties removed, the urban reformers had to decide what materials to use for paving the streets; it was concluded that concrete would be too noisy. After a meeting in Washington with the District of Columbia street department, Darmstaetter sold the idea of a cement base covered by asphalt. Contracts were made with property owners and bids were solicited.⁶⁹ An agreement was made by the Chamber of Commerce to pay the city for having North Queen Street paved at no more than \$8.00 per front foot from Penn Square to Chestnut Street except for the area under care by the Conestoga Traction Company under its franchise with the city.⁷⁰ Swanger-Fackler Company was low bidder at \$4.07 per square yard.⁷¹ City ordinances allowing the laying of underground conduits in the city were granted to both Western Union Telegraph and Bell Telephone.⁷²

When this job was completed there was a strong push for the removal of the poles in Penn Square which were being used for the overhead trolley wires. Darmstaetter recalls that he " had



Penn Square from the southwest corner looking into North Queen Street, in 1930, with streets clear of poles and wires other than those supporting the power supply to the streetcar system. Macadam and bitumen paving materials laid over a concrete base or, in some instances, the old blocks and bricks, now provided a smooth surface.

the Traction Company draw up an agreement whereby they would be allowed to fasten the trolley support wires onto the buildings. They would not take these agreements to the property owners to be signed, so I did."⁷³ This plan for paving the streets of Lancaster city spread throughout the community and was responsible for most of the streets being modernized by the end of the decade. While this street plan was being drawn up the city was spending its limited funds to make wide-spread repairs with oil, chips, and "kold patch."⁷⁴ Detailed plans for improvements in all departments were reported in council meetings and action taken where funds permitted. Other action taken included the installation of a mechanical system of traffic regulations, completion of a water pipe extension on East Mifflin Street and the aqualizing pipes at the East End Reservoir, improvements at the pumping station, the purchase of a street flusher, two new pumpers for the fire department, a firemen's pension plan, a comfort station, and arc lights for city streets replacing old gas lamps. These improvements were all recorded in the *Journal of Select and Common Council* at their various times during 1922 and 1923.

The first two blocks of North Queen were completely rebuilt.⁷⁵ The street committee announced that the department was now pre-

pared for winter weather after the purchase of two snow-plows which could be attached to trucks to keep the streets open. The street department announced that in 1922 two hundred eighty-seven blocks were treated with oil and chips, at the taxpayers' expense, while the preceding administration treated five blocks; and a year later the city took over payment for this treatment of the streets. Also, many other repairs of gutters and bridges largely neglected by the preceding administration were carried out.⁷⁶

The Coalition attempted to overcome the machine on a county wide basis in 1922 but Griest's entire slate of candidates was elected, including his own victory for Congressional office over his opponent, Mayor Musser.⁷⁷ Musser, supported by the same people and running with a platform that Lancaster city could not rid itself of the machine unless it broke its backbone, county control, lost by 1,000 votes in a heated battle. Musser is said to have stated in a speech in Strasburg during the campaign that Griest would even murder to retain his power. Almost every downtown merchant had a picture of the Congressional candidate they supported in their window. Money was spent lavishly in the campaign, including elephants for one of the many parades shortly before election day. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. was one of the prominent state or national Republicans brought to Lancaster to support Griest.⁷⁸ The Coalition continued to oppose Griest's organization on a county-wide basis throughout the decade but lost by much larger margins. Yet the constant presence of the Coalition forces had its effects on the county. Griest displayed his awareness of the situation when he told one of his lieutenants after the 1921 election: "We will get it [complete control of Lancaster city] all back but it will take ten years."⁷⁹ He was very nearly right.

The campaign in 1923 reiterated in words and tactics the one of 1921. Again, the **Lancaster Intelligencer**, rallies and torch light parades, with bands and speeches, brought excitement to the citizens of Lancaster. The parades were bigger and better than ever before; for example, the night before the election the Coalition Party employed 25 bands playing in different sections of the city.⁸⁰ The Coalition had to outdo the G.O.P. by enthusiasm because the machine always had, and spent, more money than the reformers. It was reported that the Griest organization received new aid from the Republican state party organization.⁸¹

A new aspect was added in this campaign when Dr. Clifford J. Twombly, rector of St. James Episcopal Church, called for "an end to bossism."⁸² Dr. Twombly was the moving spirit of the Law and Order Society in Lancaster. He and his organization worked hard for the new city officials, the Coalition, whom he endorsed. The important factor in the last election, a successful registration, was urged time and again by the Mayor and others in speeches as well as in the Democratic newspaper.⁸³

In the November election of 1923 the Coalition fought hard to gain full control of city council. Mayor Musser stated there "isn't

any limit to what can be done if we had the support of the Select as well as Common Council.”⁸⁴ The Coalition ran its campaign largely on its record of improvements compared to the situation under the last administration. This is exemplified in the following statement by the **Lancaster Intelligencer**, “. . . the Coalition Administration has paved Manor Street; has almost completed a Comfort Station; has improved the water works with a duplicate system; has oiled the streets of the city without cost; and most of all has turned Lancaster from a boss ridden city into a progressive municipality.”⁸⁵ It was reported that the water department laid almost ten times as much water pipe in two years as the previous administration did in its last three years, as well as installing a new heating system which saved 60 percent in fuel costs. New water meters were installed, as well as replacing the many inoperative ones, and the water department reported a rise in water pressure in the troublesome northwest end of the city and the installation of a thirty-inch hydraulically operated valve for control of the water supply from the reservoirs.⁸⁶

Much of the support for the Coalition seems to have been directly associated with their mayoralty candidate, Musser. Under the charter the mayor was elected for a four year term. In 1923 the Coalition attempted to register and file a petition for Musser's re-election for mayor on the grounds that ex-mayor Kennedy had served only two years. The county commissioners refused to file the petition since the mayor had only been elected in 1921. The matter was taken to court. It must be remembered that judges were appointed and therefore they had received their positions from the Republican organization. The local court decision was no surprise.⁸⁷ The issue of the mayor's term was referred to the State Supreme Court by the Coalition where it was decided that he had two years to serve before the next mayoralty election.⁸⁸ The publicity of this case helped in getting the voters to register while the matter was in the courts and was used primarily as a political technique.

During the primary the “Griest Democrats” again failed by a wide margin to secure nominations.⁸⁹ This event promoted more attacks on the Republican organization and Griest, and the Democratic paper claimed that the “Griest Democrats” were well financed by the “machine.”⁹⁰ The newspaper also charged that the public utilities have “no business in politics.”⁹¹ It was pointed out that the law provides the candidates' names shall be drawn for positioning on the ballot and that “interestingly the ‘Griest Democrats’ all won first place.”⁹²

Notice was given that a reward would be offered for information of any violation of the election law concerning vote-buying.⁹³ The **Lancaster Intelligencer** stated that “the machine in Lancaster spent money like drunken sailors.”⁹⁴ The city's Republican newspaper, the **Lancaster New Era**, stated that the vote-buying had increased in the last two years; the **Lancaster Intelligencer** counter-attacked that this statement was not true of the Coalition but charged “the machine needs more vote buying to stay in power.”⁹⁵

The mayor soon followed this campaign exchange with a statement that he would use the police force to keep the election clean.⁹⁶ Many citizens believed Mayor Musser had successfully taken the police out of politics, but surely others questioned whether the police would actually be enforcing or interfering with the law at the polls on election day.

As in the last campaign Musser called on Congressman Griest "to quit politics or the public utilities" and Griest was compared to Diaz, the ex-dictator of Mexico.⁹⁷ The women were again well-organized under the chairmanship of Mrs. T. Wallace Reilly and Mayor Musser spoke before women's groups and thanked them for their loyalty.⁹⁸

The Republican organization followed the same lines of attack as in 1921 with the added reproach that nothing had really been accomplished. The machine attacked the Coalition ranks when the Republican sheriff arrested eight Coalition candidates, one a woman, and reportedly charged them with perjury and fraud for unlawful procedures in making out nomination papers.⁹⁹ The **Lancaster Intelligencer** responded that "the machine went too far when it picked on a woman for perjury charges."¹⁰⁰ The incident reflected unfavorably on old guard Republicans when it was reported in the **Lancaster Intelligencer** that the New York owner of the **Lancaster New Era** pushed for the charges to be made. The case was quickly dropped.¹⁰¹ Another campaign trick blamed on the Republican organization was the circulation of a false rumor that if people voted Coalition or Democrat they could not vote in the primaries in the Spring for national Republican delegates.¹⁰²

The tension grew stronger in Lancaster as election day came closer. The registration in 1921 had been 18,300; in 1923 registration was 20,154.¹⁰³ The Coalition movement held the attention of Lancastrians and election day saw a heavy turnout. About 19,000 votes were cast for each school directorship battle. The three Coalition candidates for school director won, giving the Coalition a majority on the board. The major victory was the Coalition majority won in the Select Council which gave the Coalition Party control of city council as well as the mayor's office. The Coalition lost all county positions. The Coalition not only had made the previous improvements without any tax increase but had paid in two years \$104,000 towards the city debt incurred by the old machine between 1903 and 1917.¹⁰⁴ Yet the Coalition administration was extremely dissatisfied.

The Coalition plans for the future included extension of city boundaries, improvement of education facilities, equalization of assessment values as well as continued improvement of the streets, water, sewers, and the police and fire departments.¹⁰⁵ Under the old bicameral system of government the law-making bodies were the Select and Common Council which were unwieldy and inefficient in the eyes of the Coalition.¹⁰⁶ If the Coalition were to fulfill its plans for modernization and development of Lancaster there must be a change in the city's governmental structure and powers.

YEARS OF ACHIEVEMENT AND DEFEAT 1924-1930

With the beginning of the year, 1924, the Coalition had control of the government in Lancaster city. Because these aggressive, high-minded civic reformers were far from satisfied, they urged a friendly legislator from Erie County to introduce a bill in the state legislature to amend the 1874 law regarding the governing of third class cities.¹ This amendment was necessary because Lancaster had refused to surrender its special charter granted in 1818, and in 1874 the legislature passed a law making Lancaster a fifth class city, one which could not add any Amendments to its own charter. The Clark Act of 1924 allowed Lancaster to surrender its special charter and become a third class city governed by the commission form of government as other cities had as early as 1874.²

The **Lancaster Intelligencer** described the change in governmental systems in the following way: “. . . a business system of administration instead of poor old borough administration . . . end of scores of councilmen, end of red tape, end of myriad committees, and the end of heavy impediments of clerical forces and cross-wired dependent matters. With five commissioners it will be obvious where responsibility lies.”³ Each commissioner was to be elected at large, not by wards, with well-defined responsibilities.

The adoption of the city commission charter revised the procedures of urban decision-making for Lancaster. Henceforth three members constituted a quorum and a smaller number could compel the presence of absent members; this was not possible under the old system. The new charter eliminated the excessive number of committees in which little work had been accomplished and authorized well-defined and clearly prescribed committees and their responsibilities in each department. The treasurer and city controller were elected, not appointed, and there was a city assessor elected in the city, not ward assessors under county control as before. The city was authorized to have its own health board which was previously a county authority, and the new system of government granted the right to have a city planning commission. The five departments under this form of government were the Department of Public Affairs, this to be an additional duty of the mayor; the Department of Accounts and Finance; the Department of Public Safety; the Department of Streets and Public Improvements; and the Department of Parks and Public Properties.⁴ The Coalition administration's sentiments toward the commission form of government were that it would “open the door of progress to our city and facilitate mightily the many progressive measures we all have in mind for our community.”⁵ In April the city council approved the Clark Act and reorganization of the government was started, but those in office held their positions until the next election.⁶ This

victory prompted Mayor Musser to state that "with the acceptance of the Clark Act equalization of assessments will be assured, in which case Lancaster will be in a position to take care of its urgent needs."⁷

Throughout the year the city made plans for improvements although the remnants of the old city government deterred progress. For example, during 1924 the administration asked for tax assessments to be conservatively increased and equalized; but the assessment power was still under the county ward assessors, and few of the assessors carried out the city's wishes. The result was continued gross inequalities, especially in the second and sixth wards.⁸

In order to overcome the remnants of the old city charter new Street Improvement Associations were approved for street paving. In this area the Coalition still had trouble with the Conestoga Traction Company which consistently refused to move its tracks from the side of the street to the center for "lack of funds."⁹ The administration needed funds to carry out this and other improvements yet it had no power to tax directly property for improvements or to correct the unequal tax assessment value. The administration did not want to raise the tax rate, always an unpopular political move. The alternative was:

an ordinance to increase the bonded indebtedness by \$250,000 for the purpose of improving and repairing the streets, sewers, and parks, lying of pipes and erection of a standpipe, for the purchase of a garage for municipal purposes, for certain improvements by the city planning commission, for the more effective enforcement of certain city ordinances, for certain improvements to the Police Department.¹⁰

With the money raised by bonds as well as the normal funds of the city, the administration was able to make progress in these areas before the end of 1925. Another move for improvement was the purchase of the filter plant previously subscribed to by the city. This saved the city \$30,000 a year formerly paid to a private company and enabled the city to make the changes it desired in this system but again meant indebtedness, this time for the \$150,000 selling price.¹¹ Along with this step to improve the city water system was the erection of a standpipe at Buchanan Park to improve the current poor water pressure in the west end of the city.¹² The city officials also reported that the water department pumped 10,000,000 gallons of water a day, laid a sixteen inch water main in the west end to equalize water pressure, bought a portable air compressor, laid 25,000 feet of new water mains at a cost of \$100,000, and purchased three gasoline emergency engines for water works (something the city had never had.)¹³

Another of the plans for urban reform was the "Greater Lancaster idea" which was pushed by the Chamber of Commerce and supported by the Coalition. It would have extended city limits to include 5,197 persons, 6,298 square miles, and property value of \$6,088,650.¹⁴ The city extension plan was passed by a three to one vote in the city but was rejected by a two to one margin in the

townships under consideration.¹⁵ The courts, too, ruled against the legality of the annexation scheme after the November 1924 vote. The Republican organization opposed annexation for fear of losing control of the city forever. Some of the businessmen who supported the Coalition lived outside the city, but within the proposed territory.¹⁶ The result was that the two hundred year old city boundaries were retained.

One of the most notable achievements was the paving of city streets. The first two blocks of North Queen Street were completed and plans made for the rest of this street; this was shortly followed by Manor Street.¹⁷ Improvement of the natural traffic lanes to drain main thoroughfares moved along quickly after their completion. The city oiled the sections most heavily used by traffic, while at the same time building up a series of secondary streets. There surfacing was done with waterbound macadam.

Among the most notable street improvements were Franklin Street from the New Holland Pike to King Street, opening to traffic for the first time in years (formerly traffic had to pass through the center city to reach the east end), Strawberry Street from King Street to Water Street, a natural traffic drain from West King to the south, and Andrew and North Streets between Prince and Duke Streets, both narrow but heavily used. Plans for Church Street from King Street to Queen Street, a drain of traffic from East King Street to the south were to be completed before the end of 1925. By this time improvements were also completed on Dauphin Street, Charlotte Street, High Street, and Vine Street among others. Holes were filled on approximately three hundred blocks of city streets.¹⁸ The city bought a "kold patch" plant for street work. The street department laid 41,000 feet of vitrified gutters of cement at a cost of \$30,750 and saved \$36,000 a year to the people by oiling streets out of city funds.¹⁹

The **Lancaster Intelligencer** reported that the police and fire departments were revamped and modernized as well as taken out of politics.²⁰ The Police Department was expanded to include some young policemen, motorcycle police, modern electric traffic controls, safety zones for pedestrians, and a social service branch. The department installed facilities for women prisoners, renovated the police station, and placed the department on a civil service basis.

The fire department installed new fire alarm boxes and renovated the entire fire alarm system, increased firemen's pension funds and raised firemen's pay, purchased two new fire engines, installed heating plants in long neglected fire houses, and installed twenty-eight new fire hydrants.

Desperately needed improvements in the school system were part of the Coalition program. The city purchased the East End Junior High School site for \$26,000. The Coalition press reported that the Republicans had planned to pay \$135,000 for another building site two squares away. The Coalition erected two junior high

schools, the second one in the west end, with the money that a former school board was reported by the **Lancaster Intelligencer** to have proposed for one school. Besides the two junior high schools, a few new elementary school buildings were constructed under the Coalition administration by the end of 1925.²¹

Also under school progress the Coalition claimed the child now became the center of the program. The new school board plan allowed the superintendent to hire all teachers who in turn were given a voice in the selection of textbooks and preparation of courses. Besides the transfer of students from car-barns and market houses to modern school structures, the Coalition school authorities developed the libraries, made playgrounds more attractive, removed unsanitary conditions and decreased fire hazards, and introduced a modern bookkeeping system.²²

The city paid off an old "machine" bond issue of \$124,000, reduced the city debt incurred by former administrations at the rate of \$41,000 a year as contrasted to \$22,000 a year reduction by the men who made the debt. The Coalition government in 1925 reduced the city tax rate from eleven to ten mills and received added revenue sources by increasing the franchise rights, the Sixth Ward trolley belt, to the Conestoga Traction Company at a cost up from \$5 to \$50 per car for each year.²³ Under mass improvements the city had reclaimed an old garbage plant, purchased a city garage to save rent, built a comfort station in Penn Square and a comfort station at Reservoir Park, and planted thousands of trees along the Conestoga Creek. The Coalition administration made city parks available for children's recreation, constructed wading pools in Buchanan and Rodney Parks, beautified Reservoir Park, removed all old gas street lamps, installed hundreds of electric lamps throughout the city including seventy lamp standards for the downtown section, and built the Lime Street bridge and reinforced the old Shippen Street bridge. At City Hall the Coalition officials installed time saving systems in conducting city business and book-keeping systems approved by the State Department of Municipalities.²⁴

The Coalition used the improvements as the main thrust of its campaign in 1925. On different days the Democratic paper elaborated on these accomplishments, and promised more improvements if the people would support the civic-minded reformers on election day. The Coalition attacked the machine-controlled school boards of the past for giving contracts to a select few and leaving a large debt and a poor system of schools. Through the **Lancaster Intelligencer** the urban reformers announced that now contracts were open to all and that the contracts would be awarded to the lowest bidder. The machine was condemned for attempting to leave the Coalition with a \$540,000 bill on one junior high which would have robbed the east end of a junior high school. The Coalition newspaper also made a statement sweet to the ears of citizens in any locality at any time; the outlook for a still lower tax rate in Lancaster was said to be good if the Coalition won. The plans to increase

tax revenue from the public utilities were indicated as a reason why the tax rate might be lowered in the future.²⁵

The 1925 campaign contained many of the elements of the two past battles but the emphasis was on the Coalition record of the last four years. The Coalitionists claimed that "Musser will win because he had made 'good'."²⁶ Later the Coalitionists emphasized this slogan against the following background:

The past four years have been an exceedingly difficult period for all municipal government. The rapid development of the traffic problems, the growing crime wave throughout the country, the complex problem of law enforcement, have made the work of municipal government more difficult and more trying than it has ever been.²⁷

Mayor Musser was referred to as "a man of integrity and force of character, possessing a wide knowledge of men and affairs, able to act with promptness and decision when confronted with emergencies."²⁸

The Republican organization charged that the finances of the city were improperly handled by the treasurer and controller, Mayor Musser had broken his promises, the schools of Lancaster were in fact in poor shape, the water department, the police department, the fire department, and the street department had not performed satisfactorily. The Coalition's response was "these are simply blundering attempts to manufacture issues that are not issues at all."²⁹

The machine nominated a respected member of the city for mayor, Dr. Theodore B. Appel. The Coalition reacted to this by saying "talk of eminent respectability of the machine is a figment of the imagination. Dr. Theodore Appel and Ira Bare, Republican council candidate, are helpless 'as babes in the woods' in a machine controlled commission."³⁰ The Coalition Party went on to say that Dr. Appel was deceiving himself if "he thinks he will not fall before the wiles of bossism."³¹ It was reported that Congressman Griest made his first public appearance since the last election year to "put his O.K. on T. B. Appel and colleagues."³²

The urban reformers again conducted popular rallies to arouse public interest. The Eighth Ward, a large ward as well as one with a strong Democratic tradition, prepared a barbecue rally at Rodney Park for thousands and it was reported that 15,000 people attended the Eighth Ward barbecue.³³ At all the rallies, as well as at organization meetings, and through the **Lancaster Intelligencer** the people were offered the choice of "progress or stagnation."³⁴

The Republican organization was under constant attack. For example, the machine was reported to have called the Coalition an "Unholy Alliance" to which the response came that the machine was very similar to the historic "Holy Alliance."³⁵ Again the machine was reported to be trying to "steal the election" by various means including the limit on watchers at various polling places, not accepting tax receipts, county law enforcement officials unduly interfering with voters, as well as aid from the state political

machine.³⁶

The Coalitionist supporters constantly worked at refuting machine attacks by presenting the oppressive image of the Republican organization. For instance, a machine speaker was widely quoted as characterizing the Independent Republicans as "dogs howling without knowing why."³⁷ The machine was criticized for constant ridicule of Coalition achievements, while offering no specific improvements and only generalities as the citizen's alternative.³⁸ The machine was attacked for the attempt to embarrass the Coalition by the arrest of several policemen by the sheriff for either fornication or adultery with a woman recently released from a Reading hospital for treatment of venereal disease.³⁹ This attempt to discredit the police ended when policemen were acquitted⁴⁰ after witnesses testified that Mrs. Kegel said she was offered "big money," \$1,000, to sue the police. The Coalitionists pointed out that this "smudge attack" was a regular machine tactic which had been attempted before on Mayor Musser in 1921 and on Coalitionist candidates in 1923.⁴¹

In an attempt to find a popular issue, the lack of pure city water was often attacked by the Republican organization. The Coalition press counter-attacked that "the machine attacks city water and drinks it at the same time."⁴² The newspaper story explained that the speaker at the Republican rally the night before paused long enough to drink and react with satisfaction in the middle of his attack on city water. The city chemist retained from the old Republican administration and a Philadelphia firm stated that the content of bacteria met the standards of normal city health authorities.⁴³ Over 300 business and professional men signed their support for Mayor Musser and condemned the attack on city water as well as the lack of sincerity in the attack on Musser's administration record.⁴⁴

The campaign of 1925 brought out a record registration to that time in the city.⁴⁵ The women were well-organized down to the precinct level as they formed their own party in support of the Coalition.⁴⁶ The registration in 1925 was 23,896 during the three registration days.⁴⁷ The vote for Mayor was 12,573 for Musser, 11,353 for Appel, a truly remarkable turnout.⁴⁸ The official count was 12,592 for Musser, 11,253 for Appel. The council was carried by the Coalition Party as Charles Howell and John Bair were each elected for a four year term, and H. Clay Miller and Fred Ritchey were elected to two year terms. The construction of a bridge over the Susquehanna River, a Coalition issue, was supported by a 27,000 vote majority.⁴⁹ To celebrate a large victory parade was held in the Eighth Ward. The future could not have looked brighter, at least on the surface. The next few years would bring more achievements to be sure, but not what the Coalition dreamed of, and the city needed, for its future growth.

In 1926 the Chamber of Commerce continued to support the urban reform government by contributing \$1,000 to the City Planning Commission for a traffic survey of Lancaster. Restrictive park-

ing regulations were passed by council to alleviate the crowded conditions on the old and narrow streets of the city.⁵⁰ During the year steps for modernization and efficiency were taken under a new ordinance made possible by the commission form of government. An assessment based on per-front foot was to be levied for the laying of water mains within the city limits.⁵¹ In another attempt to improve the city's water system costs of \$99,322.23 were incurred for the erection of a sedimentation basin and repairs to the filtration plant at the Lancaster City Water Works. A bond issue of \$90,000 was required to carry out the project.⁵² The Coalition newspaper also explained that a new subsidence basin allowed a flow of 19.5 million gallons in 24 hours. It was stated that the new basin, in conjunction with the present ones, equalled a delivery of 27 million gallons from which 80 percent of the silt has been removed. The system was to be changed from a slow to a rapid sand method in the spring and the output of the filter plant was to be doubled. Another presedimentation basin also was to be constructed to remove undesirable materials more quickly.⁵³ In 1926 about 15,000 water meters were installed, which included almost every property in the city, whereas only 5,000 were in use the year before. A new schedule of water rates reduced costs to 5,000 small consumers, the "little" man. Lancaster was reported, with one possible exception, to have the lowest water rates in the state.⁵⁴

Although the Coalition was diligent, the problems it faced were many and expensive. In 1927 it was reported that the present water filter plant had been improved, but an additional new filter plant was needed. It was also reported that new reinforcement was needed for the pumping station and the distribution system. All of this required heavy additional outlays of city funds.⁵⁵ In order to improve the municipal water service an ordinance was passed stating that "all service pipes conveying water from public mains in any street shall be lead, brass, copper or cast iron and have individual corporation cocks."⁵⁶

During 1926 two other events of interest occurred in Lancaster. The curb markets which had been bothersome for some time were abolished. The other event of significance was the signing of an agreement between Mayor Musser and the Pennsylvania Railroad for a new passenger station.⁵⁷ The old railroad station located at Chestnut and Queen Streets was described as "an eyesore, with its long, dark, smoky shed, and dingy waiting rooms."⁵⁸ The railroad station was located on a cut-off branch of the main line and many trains did not stop in Lancaster. This brought about an energetic civic campaign for a new station to be located on the main line. Both the Chamber of Commerce and the City Planning Commission were active in securing the new station.⁵⁹ According to Robert Waddell, member of the Chamber of Commerce, a sign hanging from a building across the street from the old station warned in eighteen inch letters, "Don't judge our city by our Railroad Station."⁶⁰ Since the railroads were sensitive to public opinion at this time the agreement for a new station was soon arranged

In order to make the necessary and desired improvements for the police, fire, water, streets and parks departments it was necessary for the Coalition to add \$655,000 to its indebtedness.⁶¹ Even with the raised tax assessment the city found itself short of funds and costs continued to mount.

A report on the collection and treatment of sewage pointed out the difficulties of the Lancaster sewage system using the Conestoga Creek drain basin with only one operating sewage treatment plant. Deficiencies in the system included the overloading of sewers with the flooding of cellars or streets occurring in several sections of the city during heavy storms. Some of the sewers had failed and a few of the older brick sewers were of light construction and shallow depth, and therefore unsuited to withstand the heavy loads of modern traffic. Again, the estimated costs were high, \$2,500,000.⁶²

Equalization and fair tax assessment were achieved by the newly elected city assessor under the commission form of government. Tax assessment value rose to \$106,000,000 for the year of 1927.⁶³ In the first Coalition administration the assessment was about one-third of this figure. A prominent Republican lawyer stated that the assessment was regarded as fair throughout the business community even though it was costly, and there were few appeals of the new assessment values.⁶⁴

In regard to local taxation Lancaster seemed to be on sound footing. Of eleven cities studied in the state, Lancaster had the lowest per capita tax rate, \$25.16, for 1927. Its poll tax was one dollar, where other cities levied three to five dollars. Lancaster had no occupation or merchant tax while other cities did.⁶⁵

The Coalition also continued to support and aid in the street paving campaign and established a much needed milk inspection bureau which had been talked about for years.⁶⁶ Significant progress in milk inspection came in 1928-1929 as a result of this legislation. The most significant street improvements were six more blocks of concrete base and asphalt top on Pearl Street from Second to Manor Streets. This project of six inches of concrete base and two and one-half inches of asphalt top was paid for jointly by the abutting property owners and the city.⁶⁷

The school system was also part of the continued improvements. The fireproof Reservoir Street Grade School was to be completed and opened for the following school year.⁶⁸ Additions and alterations to the East End Junior High School costing \$312,000 were to be completed by the end of the year. These improvements would include a large auditorium, gymnasium, cafeteria, a new heating system throughout the school, seven classrooms, and six rooms for vocational education which would more than double the size of the school.⁶⁹

With such an ongoing program of urban reform one could expect that success would continue for the Coalition. This at least was the Coalition's attitude in the campaign of 1927. The offices open

to election were two city commissioners, three school board members, and the three county commissioners. The Coalition held all five city commissioner's posts, six of the nine school board seats, and the minority county commissioner post. The Coalition nominated H. Clay Miller and Fred Ritchey for re-election to the city commissioner posts. For school board the Coalitionists candidates were Blanche Snively, Pearl McCollough, Austin McCollough's wife; and R. Frank Witmer. In the hope of gaining two majority positions as county commissioners, for the first time, the Coalition selected Guy Bard and James Simpson.⁷⁰ The Coalition again attempted to break machine-control of the county as it ran a complete county ticket in this election.⁷¹

The Coalition would automatically retain control of the mayor office and two other commissioners, giving it a majority in council until at least 1929 since only two commissioners were up for election. The School Board, with its six-year terms, would also remain under Coalition control regardless of the election results. These factors help to explain why the campaign was late in getting under way and in gaining momentum. Although still a substantial force, the Coalition only solicited the public support in the **Lancaster Intelligencer** of 100 leaders in the community while it had gotten the approval of 352 in 1925. The popular petition of endorsement stated that the Coalition "has made good in placing city business on a up-to-date basis."⁷² Quite the opposite of previous campaign battles, the election of 1927 was lack-luster and uninspiring.

The Coalition simply ran on its record. It boasted that the public schools were never better equipped, the streets never better built or repaired, and the parks and public buildings never more thoroughly cared for. The work completed and planned on the water system was also emphasized.⁷³ The Coalition also stressed projects already approved which included the ensuing transfer of the railroad station to the northern end of the city which was to enlarge the business area, plans for some outlying streets to be paved,⁷⁴ the remodeling of the County Court House already started, new schools, a new addition to the Y.M.C.A., and the construction of a new armory.⁷⁵

In the little campaigning undertaken both men and women speakers pointed to these improvements as well as the tasks ahead.⁷⁶ The campaign slogan was "better everything"—streets, water, police, lights, fire protection, markets, parks, sanitary conditions, milk inspection, and Health Board—under the Coalition.⁷⁷ The citizens were urged to vote for efficiency in conducting city affairs, for the candidate with no personal obligations elsewhere, and for progress in government and women were urged to keep up their good voting record.⁷⁸ The mayor warned the Coalitionists of overconfidence.⁷⁹ The only major rally of the campaign took place a few days before election in the Eighth Ward.⁸⁰

While taxes were declared lower in Lancaster than in other third class cities of the state, it was admitted that taxes were up.

It was reported that "while the tax rate of Lancaster is now double that of 1918, it has not increased to the same extent as have taxes in other Pennsylvania cities, and the present tax rate is well below the average for third-class cities in the Keystone state."⁸¹ Besides property tax increases since 1918, payments for the maintenance and operation of the general departments of Lancaster for the fiscal year ending January 3 were \$18.72 per capita. In 1918 it was only \$8.72. The net indebtedness of the city at the end of the fiscal year was \$2,744,363 or \$48.06 per capita. But of the total indebtedness, \$1,747,363 was for schools. In 1925 the per capita debt was \$50.62 and in 1918 it was \$30.52. These figures suffice to tell the story of increased costs in order to carry out the program of urban reform.⁸²

Under these circumstances the machine attacked the increased costs, especially school costs. The Coalitionists's response was a reminder that under the machine 598 students attended half-time and many were housed in barns, sheds, and similar places. The Republican machine, they argued, "neither pays as it goes nor goes as it pays,"⁸³ noting that the machine had left a large school debt for the Coalition administration.

The Coalition attacked both opposition candidates for city commissioner after these men had stated they stood for improvements in sewers, water, and streets which would cost seven million dollars and then dared to accuse the Coalition Party of high costs to city government. The Coalition press went on to admit that the bonded debt of the city had increased but stated that every dollar had been honestly spent.⁸⁴

The machine was accused, as always, of vote buying. A new touch was added to this matter when an election law was passed forbidding assistance to voters, unless they file a written affidavit they cannot read, write or otherwise mark their ballot. A fine of up to \$1,000 and/or one month in jail was attached to conviction of violating this law.⁸⁵ The machine was accused of attempting to get around this law by assisting the voter because of nervousness.⁸⁶

Late in the campaign the **Lancaster Intelligencer** mentioned the growing fear in the city that one of the two Democratic County Commissioners candidates, James Simpson, was a "Griest Democrat." Before election day the Coalition press was referring to this matter as a deplorable fact.⁸⁷

The light campaigning brought out a lighter registration than in the record-breaking year of 1925. For the registration period the figures showed 20,248 voters on the roll, but it was expected because of the odd year election that 21,000 voters would be registered by the October 7 petition deadline.⁸⁸

Under these circumstances one could easily assume the proud record of the Coalition administration would bring continued victory. Yet some factors mentioned about the campaign, such as the raised tax assessment, new projects of continued high costs, and the light registration, lend some understanding of the Coalition de-

feat. The election headlines reading "Machine sweeps city and county" require deeper investigation.⁸⁹

The Democratic newspaper which supported the Coalition stated that the raise in city assessment, the fact that the Democratic County Commissioner fight was tainted by Simpson's reported siding with the Griest organization, and the raid on the mammoth still at 218 Seymour Street by federal agents which made the city police look bad were responsible for the defeat.

Upon investigation these reasons for a devastating defeat of each candidate by over 4,000 votes seem questionable. The raise in city assessment was considered fair, but still it could have turned some voters against the Coalition. By 1925 the cost of urban reform had risen and the Coalition Party victory was noticeably reduced that year. The raid on the still is a poor excuse for the loss of the election. It was widely believed that although the city police were under civil service that some were "on the take" regarding prohibition. It was also common knowledge the County Prison was the pick-up and delivery point for the illegal brewing activity. In simple words the county Republican machine was making the money off the illegal beer activity. The following statement assesses the situation:

During the first years of Prohibition very few persons regarded it as a serious matter. Lancaster was not an exception. Despite the efforts of a political reform group which was swept into power in Lancaster City in 1923 [1922] the production of beer went on merrily. When asked how this violation of the laws could be carried on openly and without much danger a former brewery employee replied "all that was necessary was to pay the right people, particularly the police and the politicians."⁹⁰

Lancaster never did submit to prohibition, although raids continued by federal agents from 1927 to its end in 1933. One resident recalled when the sewer lines were used to distribute the beer from the brewery on West King and Mary Streets down to Water Street then to a building on Arch Street where it was put in barrels and shipped out.⁹¹

It should be made clear here that politics and personal beliefs sometimes made strange combinations. The following point will illustrate this: "The Seventh Ward received its usual allotment of whiskey on Election day—a thoughtful gesture which guaranteed Republican victories in those halcyon times."⁹² Yet despite the previous remarks G. Graybill Diehm, Griest's leading political lieutenant, said ". . . W. W. Griest was a Quaker, and he was an ardent supporter of Prohibition."⁹³

There seems little doubt that the high costs of modernization had cost the Coalition votes. Possibly a stronger reason was the weakening of enthusiasm among the leaders and supporters of the Coalition. Mr. Darmstaetter relates that "we were businessmen and professional people who had these things to take care of. Politics takes much time and we had succeeded in changing the political atmosphere in Lancaster."⁹⁴ The Coalitionists were not satisfied

that they had done enough, but felt that Lancaster had been turned in a progressive direction now. As has been true with many reform movements elsewhere, the people involved grew tired of the struggle and returned to their normal pursuits and patterns. In Lancaster this meant the majority of voters would return to the Republican Party. A last factor offered to support this reasoning is that the campaign effort was meager and does not really compare with previous efforts.

The Coalition movement, however, was not over; in fact, the Coalition still controlled city council and the school board for two more years. It was during this period that A. C. Darmstaetter managed one of the few victories over the county machine. Almost all other counties in Pennsylvania had freed themselves from toll roads. The public utilities in Lancaster County had secured a ninety-nine years' lease on the toll roads leading out of the city, in order to control the trolley routes on these turnpikes and collect the toll. Pressure was mounting here to have the toll roads removed. One paid the toll charge the moment he left the city limits of Lancaster, except when attending church or funerals. As the toll roads had served their usefulness, the State began to buy them and place them under public control. But in Lancaster the problem of ending the toll roads was difficult:

The toll roads were all leased from the owners as they had tracks on them going to outlying villages. This made it possible to obtain revenue from both the trolleys and those who used the roads. Needless to say! [sic] they were very reluctant to lose this revenue. Because of this, Lancaster County residents suffered for a long time after all other counties had their toll roads freed.⁹⁵

Mr. Darmstaetter and another prominent citizen, Mr. C. A. B. Zook organized a committee to rid the community of this situation. Shortly thereafter Mr. Zook, who had a nice large front lawn on the New Holland Pike, was notified that the Traction Company was going to put in a siding which would require part of his front lawn. Mr. Zook avoided the fight when he acquired some interests in Florida and moved down there while the matter was being decided by the courts. As Mr. Darmstaetter put it, "Nothing more was heard of the siding."⁹⁶

At the County Fair in early Autumn Mr. Darmstaetter and Mr. John Bair solicited signatures and addresses for this project. Thousands of signatures from Lancaster County residents were recorded. When the list was completed, it was presented to Mr. Sam Diller, Chairman of the County Commissioners. Mr. Darmstaetter recalls "He took it from us and, with a gesture, placed it under the counter. Mr. Diller was informed of a duplicate copy whereupon he retrieved the list and placed it on the counter." Eventually the Harrisburg toll road was freed, followed in due course by all the rest. The last one, the New Holland Pike, was freed in 1929.⁹⁷

Continuing its urban reform the Coalition administration early in 1928 secured a bond of \$305,000 for repairing the city's streets, making improvements in the water distribution system and sewage

system, providing new equipment for the Department of Public Safety, and improving the Parks.⁹⁸ Minor improvements included an ordinance which required removal and forbid the erection of all gasoline pumps along curbs and sidewalks along with legislation restricting signs, awnings, and marquees in Lancaster city.⁹⁹

The Milk Inspection Bureau of the city reported raw milk plants greatly improved, and 680 herds of cattle given the tuberculin test according to a recent ordinance.¹⁰⁰ The **Journal of City Council** for 1929 shows that the city continued to improve milk inspection, passed a meat inspection ordinance, and completed the paving of several more streets as well as the opening of the new railroad station in April, 1929.

The main concern during the year was to improve the water and sewer systems. Lancaster's system for the collection and treatment of sewage was illegal under State law since 1906. An investigation commissioned by Lancaster city recommended that the new system should provide relief from the present serious problem of flooding, as well as sewage facilities to citizens in the northwest and southwest ends of the city where none existed. Plans for a "Greater Lancaster" were to be in keeping with the City Planning Commission's recommended thirteen mile area, rather than the present four miles.¹⁰¹ In April, 1929 an ordinance was passed calling for an election to secure the voters assent to a \$5,000,000 bond of indebtedness for these purposes.¹⁰² The election at first seemed lost by a mere twenty-six votes but a recount brought a six vote victory. This was followed by a protest, charged to the machine, which claimed there was no provision for a recount on a special bond election. The matter was decided by the courts which declared the recount invalid.¹⁰³ As a result the city failed to secure these improvements for a number of years.

In November, 1929, the Coalition Party tried to rally support behind William Raub for mayor. The Coalition, in its campaign, stressed its favorable record, the need for city annexation, and continued improvements such as a water and sewer loan would provide.¹⁰⁴ Although the campaign was not vigorous as in the years of Musser's election, it was better than the 1927 campaign. Yet again, the active campaign was short, lasting only about three weeks.

In the 1929 campaign a significant change occurred in the Republican platform which follows:

1. To an immediate solution of the sewerage question in order that every home in the city may have adequate sewerage facilities; and the cleaning up of the Conestoga river by proper sewage disposal.
2. To an early solution of the city's water problem so as to provide clear, pure filtered water; and to take due measures to guard against possible shortage.
3. To an impartial inquiry into property assessments, and to rectify inequalities.
4. To plan for a definite permanent street improvement program on an equitable basis to all citizens.
5. To give proper consideration to petitions presented by residents and property owners of adjacent suburban territory looking to an-

nexation to the city. We believe that the correct solution of this problem to the best interest of the people both inside and outside the city can be reached only under a safe and sane progressive Republican administration.

6. To give increased fire and police protection to residents of the outlying districts of Lancaster City.
7. To provide proper school facilities for all of our children and to keep our schools fully up to modern standards and requirements.
8. To award all city work by contract after fair and open bidding as required by law.
9. To study every department of city government with a view to the utmost efficiency and economy, and to exact a dollar's worth of value for every dollar expended.¹⁰⁵

This platform simply absorbed the Coalition Party program. The Coalition response makes the point very well: "The G.O.P. Platform is a stamp of approval upon our past two administrations."¹⁰⁶ The 1927 campaign had seen the G.O.P. talk for the first time of making specific urban improvements but now this platform turned them completely around from their 1921 stand of maintaining the status quo. Another possible reason for the marked change was Griest's failing health. The old political boss was in a hospital in Michigan where he died in December of that year. The new faces attached to the new Republican platform seem significant in the decline of the Coalition Party. Darmstaetter relates "We felt we had accomplished our aims, and let the now newer group of politicians take over, who had no obligations to the past."¹⁰⁷ Possibly as a result of this new Republican platform the registration days produced a record high of 24,918 voters.¹⁰⁸ On election day one result of the voting remained the same as in previous Coalition years; most registered voters came out to the polls. The other results were more distasteful to the Coalitionists; Warren T. Metzger was elected by over 4,000 votes, 14,434 to 10,223 for William Raub.¹⁰⁹ Metzger carried all but the large and traditional Democratic Eighth Ward which he lost by a slim margin on the final count.

In analyzing the voting statistics it should be pointed out that the Coalition in 1929 received approximately the same number votes as in 1921 when Musser won by 3,000 votes. Interestingly, the vote by wards shows that the Second, Sixth, and Eighth and Ninth Wards cast more votes for the Coalition mayoralty candidate in 1929 than in 1921. While the Coalition vote remained, in 1929, almost stationary with its vote of 1921, the Republican organization pushed its vote from 7,307 to 14,398 for those years.¹¹⁰

A closer look at the Coalition mayoralty vote lends support to the reasons already mentioned for the decline of Coalition votes. The 1921 election was by far the Coalition's greatest victory. Since their first success the Coalition Party lost votes consistently as the cost of urban reform mounted. After 1925 the costs were extremely high and the Coalition Party was no longer able to gain a majority at the polls. The diminishing effort from the business community after 1925 also correlate with the election results. As their voice of concern diminished, whether it was because of weariness or satisfaction, the basic public response to the Coalition Party call also

lessened.

A. C. Darmstaetter supplements the explanation already given for the weakening and end of the Coalition: "At first the Republican and Democratic papers were with us. As the end approached, the Democratic paper took up the role of working for the Party only; which was to be expected!"¹¹¹ It must be explained here that the **Lancaster New Era** was the largest among several Republican newspapers at that time; it was the spokesman of the Griest organization. In support of Darmstaetter's view, the 1929 election statistics show that William Raub, a Republican, barely carried the traditionally strong Democratic Eighth Ward.

After the election William Raub promised that the Coalition would be heard from again at the next election but events occurred to discourage a return to battle. After the Coalition left power several scandals made headlines regarding some "unfaithful servants" appointed by the Coalition.¹¹² These scandals never touched the men who led the Coalition, such as Frank C. Musser, A. C. Darmstaetter, Dr. H. M. J. Klein who were all above reproach. Nor did the scandals touch the fiery political realist and newspaper manager, Austin E. McCollough, or William Raub. The idea of continuing the Coalition was disrupted by reported scandals which caused at least one minor Coalition official to be arrested.

Several suicides, including prominent Coalitionists as Frank C. Musser and Harry Raub, Coalition City Solicitor, also discouraged the continuation of this reform movement.¹¹³ It is believed that Musser's financial difficulties with his cattle business pushed this proud man to his death. Mayor Musser is reported to have left political office bankrupt from his desire to help the people who came in large numbers to his office seeking aid.¹¹⁴ The death of Mr. Musser was particularly devastating to the City of Lancaster. Thousands of people from every walk of life came to pay their last respects at his home on 716 North Lime Street. Statements of high praise and sorrow were given on Musser's behalf. He was, indeed, a man who had moved the City of Lancaster by his personal charm, charity, and character.¹¹⁵

It seems that the strongest reason for the decline of the Coalition Party goes to the heart of its leadership. Mrs. Musser recalls that Mayor Musser did not even consider a third term.¹¹⁶ In support of Darmstaetter's view that politics took too much time from the reformers' businesses, Mrs. Musser stated that Musser's cattle business was severely crippled by his political activity.¹¹⁷ The three Coalition victories were all strongly tied to Frank C. Musser, and he was not a candidate in their two defeats. The Coalition received genuine support from the Democrats and the reform-minded Republicans when Musser headed the ticket. William Raub not only lost a significant portion of the Democratic support but had to struggle against a progressive Republican platform as well. The reversal of the vote was illustrated in the fact that Musser carried all but the strongest Republican ward, the Third, in 1921 and all but the

Third, Fourth, and Seventh Wards in 1925 while Raub only managed victory in the Eighth Ward.¹¹⁸

Although the Coalition had ended, its effects on Lancaster would be lasting. Besides the first real steps toward modernization, the Coalition brought Lancaster out of its doldrum and forced the Republican Party to become responsive to the city's needs. A prominent lawyer in the community wrote "It brought local politics from the Council Chamber into the marketplace."¹¹⁹ The registration and voting figures for the period more than doubled the number of citizens who took an interest in their government. It also taught the city's residents a basic lesson in economics, that you must pay for what you want and get. Certainly, one of the most significant effects of the urban reform movement was that the Republican Party had to refashion its philosophy in order to regain the power it had held so long in this community.

Chapter V

BELATED PROGRESSIVES

There is little doubt that this urban reform movement was a "Progressive" movement in the 1920s. Robert H. Wiebe's outstanding work on the Progressive period, *The Search for Order 1877-1920*, permits many comparisons of the national and Lancaster urban reform movements which verify this contention. In *The Search for Order* Wiebe offers a new thesis regarding progressivism. An older view held that the reformers were simply crusaders for clean government, while the Hofstadter-Mowry theory held that they were a displaced elite seeking to reclaim their slipping social status. In rejecting these views Wiebe offers a new theory stating that the reformers were "members of a dynamic and optimistic new middle class deliberately attempting to substitute an entirely new set of values for the traditional but outmoded American beliefs."¹

His thesis suggests that Progressivism was an initial experiment in bureaucratic order. He argues that not only were progressive ideas bureaucratic, but at the center of their discontent was the patchwork government which could no longer manage urban problems. The reformers, in his view, reached out for power to re-order the government themselves. The urban reformers wanted scientific government which would bring opportunity, progress, and order to the community. They broadened the civil service, devised sophisticated government budgets, introduced central audited purchasing and partially rationalized the structure of offices. The progressives ran campaigns for health and education as they advocated nurseries and kindergartens, better schools and stricter attendance laws, recreational facilities, and social clubs. The city reformers substituted a set of commissioners for the mayor. Quite often the

local Chamber of Commerce, or its equivalent, openly selected the important officials. Wiebe believed progressivism was largely a businessman's movement.

Newly self-conscious businessmen alone among the prominent progressive groups, he believes, had the inherent resources, including the critical positions in the local economy, the money, and the prestige, to command a response from government. He states:

Progressivism generally emanated from an influential group of citizens who were just then appreciating the advantages of modernization as an aid to their expanding interests.²

A new bureaucratic-minded middle class, largely urban professional men and women, is given credit for developing a new "continuity and regularity, functionality and rationality, administration and management . . . [fulfilling the] need for a government of continuous involvement."³ Together, the businessmen and professionals comprised the citizens whose good will and enterprise seemed essential to a community's prosperity.

The Progressives, men and women alike, were people of strong professional aspirations making an attempt to improve their particular business or profession. They had an eagerness to join others like themselves in a professional organization or trade association. The "new order" in society, Wiebe contends "usually offered them [the progressives] respectable and profitable positions as well."⁴

The progressives were outgoing and enthusiastic self-conscious urban pioneers. Identification by way of their skills gave them the deference of their neighbors while opening natural avenues to the community. These people possessed, Wiebe states, "an earnest desire to remake the world."⁵ Along this line he also states that these urban reformers believed that "God had meant man to enjoy the fruits of his own labor in his own locality."⁶ The political bosses, big businessmen, and big bankers had learned ways of growing fat off the rights of others and the reformers were out to release the community from their grip.

The progressives regularly urged the ministers of the community to join them, not as advisers but as sponsors, who would, spread that distinctive aura of righteousness about the cause.⁷ The universities played a crucial role in almost all these urban movements. Women in significant numbers entered into public affairs in teaching and social work. Organizations such as the local Chamber of Commerce, usually made up of the middle level of successful businessmen, gave much support, and sometimes leadership, to these movements.

In substance these reformers attempted to extend the scope of utility regulation and sharply limit corporate privileges. Tax assessments, often decades out of date and badly skewed in favor of large corporations, were modernized. There was an expansion of government services including particularly public health and medicine. These reformers also saw that the educational reform was not

keeping pace with the demands for greater skills at all occupational levels. They attempted to renovate the curriculum to suit a modern industrial society and professionalize the educational system.

In the Lancaster movement Wiebe's contentions that "divergent types of protest often marched side by side . . ."8 and that ". . . bosses in city after city fashioned organizations that could thrive in the midst of a progressive society"9 were significant. Regarding the first point, in Lancaster the movement incorporated a newspaper manager out to boost circulation, many civic-minded and self-interested prominent businessmen, an idealistic professor, women, and blacks. As for the second point, the platform and the subsequent actions of the Republican party in the city in 1929 shows how the organization at least paid lip-service to progressivism. Since the Coalition era the Republicans have lost to only two Democrats in the mayoralty elections. One would have to look hard to find a better case than Lancaster to exemplify so clearly Wiebe's theses.10

As Wiebe stated about the national scene, the public men in Lancaster in the 1920s exemplified the virtues of successful businessmen. The ideas and impetus for reform in Lancaster came from prospering businessmen. There was Mayor Musser, the leading cattle dealer at the then widely renowned Union Stockyards; A. C. Darmstaetter, a founder and president of the Chamber of Commerce; Austin E. McCollough, managing editor of one of the two major newspapers; and Dr. H. M. J. Klein, widely known and respected history professor at Franklin and Marshall College. The list goes on to include the many successful businessmen who supported the Coalition movement.

Progressivism across the nation stood for scientific administration and efficient city planning, civil service, and civic pride. In Lancaster Mayor Musser reorganized all departments and adopted civil service even before the commission form of government was adopted. Deep rooted civic pride and self-interest was exemplified by Lancaster's urban reformers and even today by A. C. Darmstaetter who is still actively interested in his community at the age of 86.

In the campaigns of the Coalition it was necessary in order to bring victory for businessmen, as a decade before throughout the nation, to shelve their principles until the awkward moment passed. In Lancaster and the nation urban reformers formed a consensus of what was the public good.

The Coalition leaders spoke of a government structure where there was no doubt as to where the responsibility rests and pushed for the commission form of government which substantiates Samuel Hays' contention that Progressives aimed at ". . . innovations in the formal machinery of government which would concentrate political power by sharply centralizing the process of decision making . . ."11 The move in Lancaster for the commission form of government was openly supported by the Chamber of Commerce just

as Hays speaks of the same occurrence in Des Moines behind its commercial club. Quite often moves such as this were done in the name of "the people." In Lancaster, Hays's view that ". . . [Progressives] their intent that the new plan be a 'business system' of government, run by businessmen" is verified.¹²

The concerns mentioned by Wiebe such as tax assessments, educational reform, expansion of government services, ending of special privilege, and modernization of the city and its government were, in fact, the concerns with which the Lancaster Coalition dealt during its eight years in power. Lancaster is one example that Progressivism did not completely pass from the American scene by the 1920s and yet another example of what these urban reformers were able to accomplish in some cities.

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Templeton, Daniel, Interview on June 15, 1973.
Waddell, Robert, Interview on August 18, 1973.
Windolph, Lyman F., Interview on June 14, 1973.

Appendix I

LIST OF COALITION SUPPORTERS *

John J. Evans	Harry C. Gardner	John E. Snyder
William H. Hager	Paul E. Gutfliesch	Wallace L. Robinson
M. T. Garvin	R. E. Garrett	Fred G. Shirk
Alfred Jones	Tom Goodhart	Grover C. Snyder
E. J. Eshleman	Benjamin F. Gorman	Andrew H. Smith
J. G. Forney	Christ Gunzenhauser	B. F. Snavely
Christ Kunzler	William H. Hager, Jr.	James B. Stauffer
C. E. Gunzenhauser	Howard H. Herr	Christ W. Staman
William A. Harnish, Esq.	M. M. Harnish, Esq.	John Sutherland
W. W. Posey	Charles E. Howet	Carl Long
— Hupper	Horace R. Herr	Charles Falk
— Hartman	John Hetrick, Esq.	Harvey H. Williams
H. Frank Alleman	W. B. Hose	Emil J. Strosser, Sr.
Edwin N. Johnson	A. V. Hiester	J. P. Kirchner
Dr. H. M. J. Klein	Roy A. Horning	James F. Simpson
William J. Neuhauser	George J. Hambright	Charles F. Wolpert
Charles Emory Long	Thaddeus Helm	F. Lyman Windolph, Esq.
Charles S. Miller	Joseph Jacobs	G. William Birrell

* The blanks are due to the poor print on the surviving original newspaper.

LIST OF COALITION SUPPORTERS (Continued)

A. K. Raub
 William A. Brinkman
 Robert L. Gerhart
 Christ Gunzenhauser
 George K. Hoffmeier
 W. W. Heidelbaugh
 W. W. Hollinger
 Amos H. Herr
 Howard Hersh
 Leonard L. Lewis
 T. Willis Litch
 Jacob H. Mowrer
 H. K. Myers
 William S. Raub
 William J. Scheld
 Christ Stehman
 J. H. Steinman
 Herbert Taylor
 Dr. W. H. Trout
 Fred A. Wiker
 C. A. B. Zook
 W. W. Maley
 Morris Rosenthal
 Ben Main
 Charles —
 W. Ralph Sensenich
 Fred A. —
 U. Grant Herr
 J. Stanley Rose
 Frank G. Shirk
 Walter C. Zook
 Edward Knight
 W. W. Herold
 Dr. M. L. Chadman
 W. J. Dreppard
 Christ Haller
 W. M. Sullenberger
 C. V. Adams
 W. C. Bidlock
 W. W. Posey
 James J. Spotts
 C. V. Adams
 Harry W. Butts
 Dr. J. C. Bokon
 Harry Boyd
 Ralph J. Boyd
 Charles F. Bosman
 J. Richard Bemmer
 Frank C. Beckwith
 H. L. Burr
 J. P. Brenneman
 Michael Bard
 H. Clay Burkholder, Esq.
 Aaron R. Buch
 George W. —
 Harry R. Bard
 George W. Bard
 Ralph A. Barton
 John Buckwalter
 Arthur Barlow
 William C. Brecht
 Dr. A. B. Kauffman
 Peter S. Keener
 George W. Killian
 Edmund G. Knight
 Herman E. Kline
 Dr. Lewis K. Knight
 William H. Kurtz
 Ralph L. Kell
 William F. Landreth
 Howard E. LeRoy
 Grove Locher
 D. R. Long
 Nelson Landis
 John O. Liebig
 Boyd R. Maxwell
 Ernest H. Miller
 William T. Denlinger
 J. H. DeHaven
 A. C. Darmstaetter
 Arthur E. Dodge
 Walter Dunlap
 Howard Eshleman
 D. J. Eckman
 John W. Eckenrode
 H. E. Edgerly
 Oscar F. Funk
 Walter R. Fickes
 Frank Martin
 Philip F. Fellman
 A. M. George
 Edward H. Gutfliesch
 Dr. W. E. Grant
 George Goll
 N. E. Gabel
 Earl B. Grosh
 Walter E. Groff
 C. R. Hertzle
 Charles S. Hoffmeier
 Ubler H. Hambright
 Frank E. Herr
 C. F. Humphreys
 John R. Hewes
 E. H. Hartman
 Mel R. Hess
 Frank N. Herr
 Prof. P. M. Harbold
 William F. Hambright
 William Sullivan
 Harry Stover
 J. F. Steinman
 H. Persifor Smith
 L. H. Skenberger
 Harry J. Stump
 Dr. W. A. Sherwood
 W. Hayward Smith
 H. F. Schall
 S. F. Sensenig
 W. Clyde Shissler
 Simon Shissler
 James F. Simpson
 Stanley Still
 Walter E. Kauffman
 Joseph Feagley
 Henry E. Warren
 Leroy R. Whallon
 Jacob B. Wissler
 John Willis
 M. E. Weaver
 T. Scott Woods
 Charles F. Wolpert
 Calvin Wenrich
 William B. Wissler
 J. M. Yeagley
 Robert F. Zahm
 Richard G. Zeecher
 Dr. D. R. Stockton
 Dr. William H. Lowell
 Horace D. Grube
 Mervin Klevansky
 A. A. Gutfliesch
 C. P. Hoeningner
 J. Val Wise
 J. Adam Wise
 Peter Brown
 Edward J. Charles
 John B. Klos
 Julius J. Ritchey
 Leonard J. Ganse
 Dr. Homer Leh
 Joseph Gottsellg
 Charles Zech
 A. Lewitus
 John H. Horner
 Philip Burger
 Harry L. McClure
 Adam J. Danz
 M. J. McNerney
 Harry P. Kirchner
 George Fritch
 Joseph Fritch
 Charles P. Wisner
 John Ehler
 W. M. Anderson
 Allen Brinkman
 O. E. Herr
 Arthur Slegler
 Paul G. Musser
 S. D. Evans
 Robert D. Myers
 H. L. Lehman
 John Grosh
 John T. Taylor
 John Pyfer
 Frank M. Holbrook
 W. W. Maley
 J. J. Hellman
 C. Nevin Heller
 Morris Rosenthal
 Frank R. Wagner
 H. G. Martin
 C. A. Suaber
 E. T. Hager

LIST OF COALITION SUPPORTERS *(Continued)*

Earl Brimmer	G. K. Taylor	L. W. Keplinger
Henry Boettcher	Dr. W. H. Trout	J. Frank Sekinger
J. Howard Bursk	Clarence A. Troast	Earl W. Dreppard
A. K. Barnes	H. Clay Miller	Lewis D. Shenk
Fred Beppler	John H. Myers, Esq.	I. Z. Buckwalter
George K. Biemesderfer	H. K. Myers	H. M. Morton
Guy K. Bard, Esq.	R. C. Masterson	C. D. Spiegelmyer
B. Frank Bachman	Haldy Miller	Ann Brinton
William Born	William H. Manby	Dr. Wilbur D. Twitmire
J. F. Barry	James P. Martin	Herbert Hoffmyer
John F. Cresswell	D. Walter Miesse	Paul Kruschinski
D. F. Chambers	W. W. Maley	Emlen H. Zellers
Samuel E. Conybeare	Frank D. Miley	George Hetrick
J. D. Carpenter	Austin E. McCollough	Edward Knight
P. H. Coble	James J. Malone	H. S. Humphreys
William J. Coulter	Braid Marrow	Edward L. Rhodes
David Comfort	C. W. Oblender	R. F. Frey
F. L. Suter	H. W. Prentis, Jr.	W. E. Kauffman
J. N. Shaeffer	Mr. Prather	John S. Grube
D. S. Warfel	Stuart H. Raub	Allen A. Herr
B. Frank Witmer	George K. Reynolds	A. L. Leaman
S. Kurtz Zook	John C. Rebman	E. P. Carlstrom
H. Roy Eshleman	David F. Rose	S. H. Kitchey
J. W. Eshleman, Jr.	James H. Ross	G. W. Halbach
Edward G. Eby	Arthur Russell	P. Edward Clark
Melvorn R. Evans	Edward D. Ruth	Hewis Hopf
B. Franklin Futer	Jacob D. Rider	Raymond Klump
A. C. Fickes	Harry L. Raub, Jr.	James K. Steinmetz
W. H. Foose	Fred W. Ritchey	L. H. Nolt
J. J. Faltine	Edgar S. Rose	Walter Gumpf
Edward F. Guilford	Dan Rowan	

Appendix II

SELECTED SAMPLE OF COALITION PARTY SUPPORTERS

Name	City (O) or County (+)	Occupation					
		lawyer	educator	business man	engineer	banker	doctor
Austin E. McCollough	O			X			
H. M. J. Klein	+		X				
A. C. Darmstaetter	O			X			
William S. Raub	O			X			
Harry L. Raub, Jr.	O	X					
Richard M. Reilly	O			X			
M. T. Garvin	+			X			
Charles Bowman	O			X			
Charles Howell	O			X			
John Evans	+			X			
Darius J. Eckman	O			X			
F. L. Suter	+			X			
Fredric Ritchey	O			X			
John H. Wickersham	+				X		
Fred Vaux	O			X			
H. Clay Miller	O			X			
Guy Bard	+	X					
James J. Malone	O				X		
William Heidelbaugh	+			X			
William J. Neuhauser	O					X	
John Hetrick	O	X					
P. M. Harbold	O		X				
David F. Magee	O	X					
John J. Bair	O			X			
Christ Kunzler	O			X			
Walter W. Posey	+			X			
William H. Hager	+			X			
Alfred Jones	O			X			
Christ Gunzenhauser	O			X			
William Brinkman	O			X			
D. S. Warfel	O				X		
J. H. Dehaven	O			X			

Appendix II (Continued)

SELECTED SAMPLE OF COALITION PARTY SUPPORTERS

Name	City (O) or County (+)	Occupation					
		lawyer	educator	business man	engineer	banker	doctor
Arthur F. Dodge	O			X			
Walter Dunlap	O			X			
J. W. Eshleman	O			X			
William D. Harnish	+	X					
Martin M. Harnish	O	X					
H. Clay Burkholder	O	X					
John Buckwalter	O			X			
Lewis K. Knight	O						X
John H. Myers	O	X					
W. W. Maley	O			X			
C. W. Oblender	O			X			
John C. Rebman	O			X			
Stuart H. Raub	O			X			
A. K. Raub	O			X			
W. A. Sherwood	O						X
H. W. Prentis	+			X			
William H. Lowell	O						X
George K. Reynolds	O			X			
William Sullivan	O			X			
J. F. Steinman	O			X			
J. Hale Steinman	O			X			
Christ Stehman	O			X			
M. L. Chadman	O						X
J. C. Forney	+			X			
Walter E. Groff	+			X			
D. Walter Miesse	O			X			
Totals	O=79% +=21%	14%	3%	70%	5%	1%	7%

Appendix III

VOTE FOR MAYOR

	1911 Frank B. McClain Republican	Joseph S. Strickler Democrat and Keystone
First Ward	60.6%	39.4%
Second Ward	57.4	42.6
Third Ward	61.3	38.7
Fourth Ward	58.2	41.8
Fifth Ward	57.3	42.7
Sixth Ward	58.3	41.7
Seventh Ward	49.6	50.4
Eighth Ward	38.6	61.4
Ninth Ward	54.2	45.8
Totals	<hr/> 52.9	<hr/> 47.1

Appendix IV

VOTE FOR MAYOR

	1915 Dr. M. L. Chadman Democrat and Washington	Harry L. Trout Republican
First Ward	21.0%	79.0%
Second Ward	31.2	68.8
Third Ward	25.5	74.5
Fourth Ward	25.1	74.9
Fifth Ward	31.8	68.2
Sixth Ward	28.8	71.2
Seventh Ward	37.4	62.6
Eighth Ward	53.1	46.9
Ninth Ward	37.4	53.1
Totals	<hr/> 36.6	<hr/> 63.3

Appendix V

VOTE FOR MAYOR

	1919 Harry L. Trout Republican	D. W. Sheaffer Democrat	A. M. Buckwalt Socialist
First Ward	72.0%	27.7%	.3%
Second Ward	67.1	32.8	.1
Third Ward	63.6	36.4	—
Fourth Ward	72.0	28.0	—
Fifth Ward	67.2	32.8	—
Sixth Ward	67.3	32.2	.5
Seventh Ward	58.4	40.9	.7
Eighth Ward	47.4	52.5	.1
Ninth Ward	55.5	43.6	.9
Totals	<hr/> 67.5	<hr/> 32.1	<hr/> .4

Appendix VI

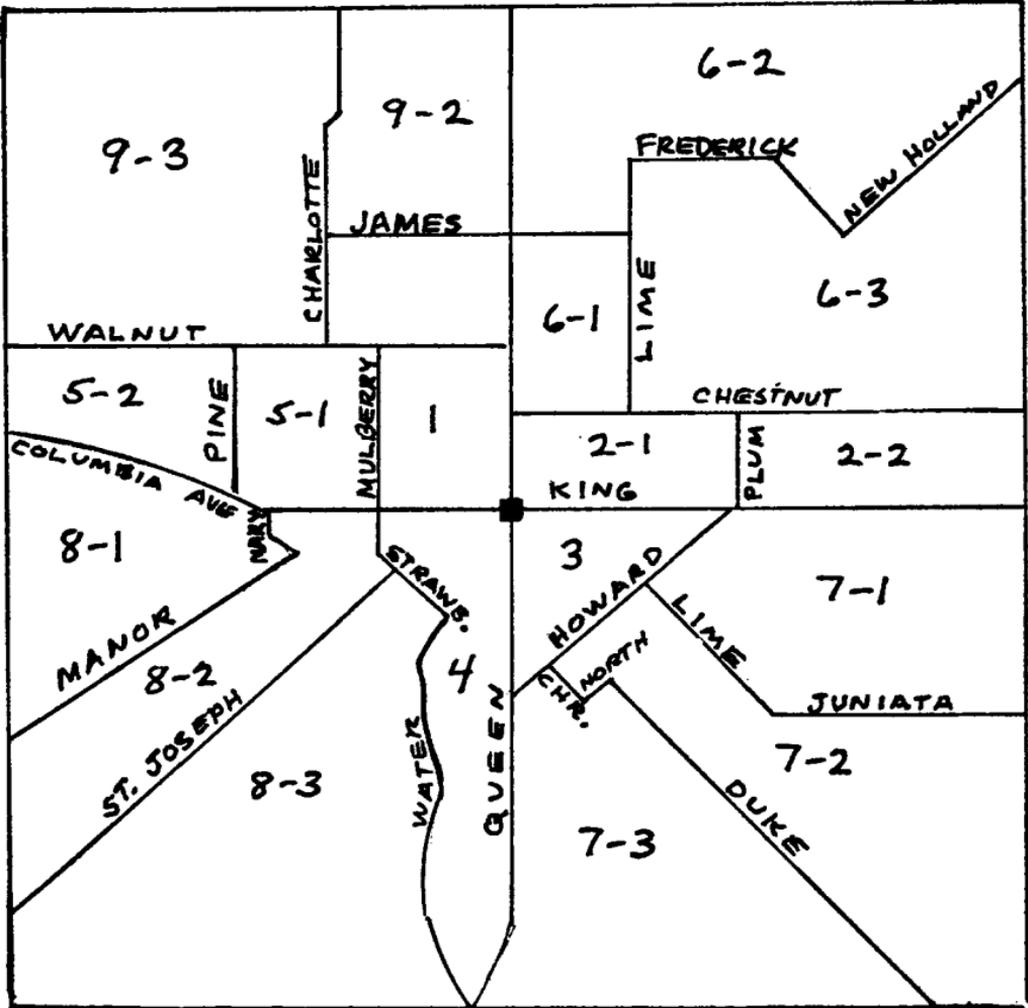
REGISTRATION RESULTS

	1921				1923				1925			
	First Day	Second Day	Third Day	Total	First Day	Second Day	Third Day	Total	First Day	Second Day	Third Day	Total
First Ward	309	153	193	655	193	191	353	737	287	104	220	701
Second Ward												
First Precinct	330	139	208	677	225	225	343	793	265	266	301	832
Second Precinct	352	144	169	665	190	250	436	876	365	280	321	975
Third Ward	439	188	293	920	305	259	469	1033	341	353	424	1118
Fourth Ward	551	218	237	1006	420	376	573	1369	550	477	437	1464
Fifth Ward												
First Precinct	432	171	185	788	205	231	510	946	418	329	316	1063
Second Precinct	380	174	180	734	184	214	429	828	352	255	281	888
Sixth Ward												
First Precinct	275	128	188	591	181	150	332	666	346	256	274	876
Second Precinct	783	285	343	1411	332	404	965	1701	910	638	750	2208
Third Precinct	417	214	189	820	228	285	652	1165	562	457	426	1445
Seventh Ward												
First Precinct	783	316	364	1463	420	493	746	1659	681	635	592	1908
Second Precinct	460	218	238	916	278	369	505	1152	553	489	461	1503
Third Precinct	482	168	172	822	215	326	479	1020	436	341	396	1173
Eighth Ward												
First Precinct	616	312	237	1165	300	223	826	1349	783	567	645	1995
Second Precinct	562	258	352	1172	337	386	618	1341	461	489	579	1520
Third Precinct	399	216	245	860	115	190	596	901	425	341	278	1044
Ninth Ward												
First Precinct	268	145	153	566	161	175	305	641	274	235	211	720
Second Precinct	184	87	98	369	77	115	251	443	191	165	171	527
Third Precinct	618	295	387	1300	440	401	693	1534	709	529	599	1837
Total	4,464	5,021	4,536	14,021	4,809	5,269	10,081	20,154	8,989	7,305	7,682	23,896

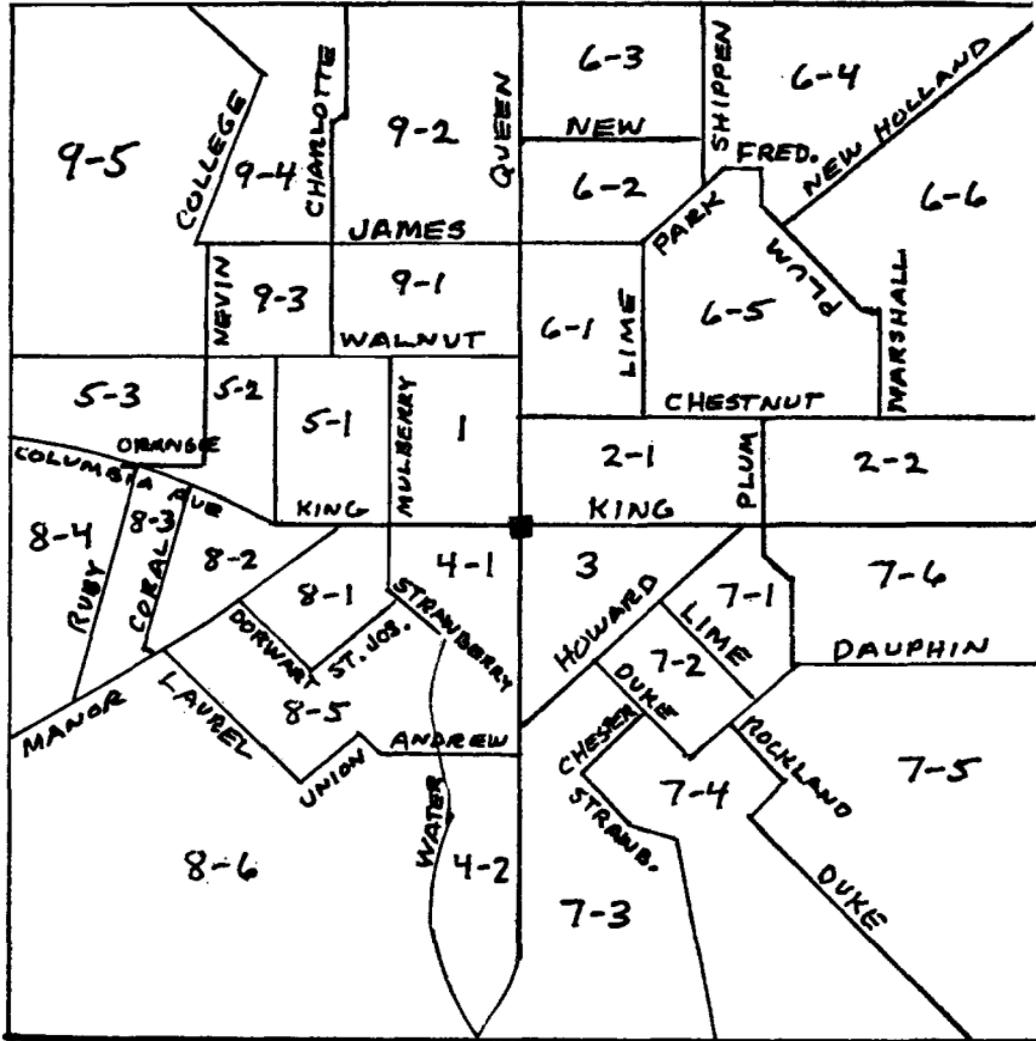
Appendix VII

REGISTRATION RESULTS

	1927				1929			
	First Day	Second Day	Third Day	Total	First Day	Second Day	Third Day	Total
First Ward	123	175	244	542	215	117	253	585
Second Ward								
First Precinct	223	186	251	660	287	185	272	744
Second Precinct	228	242	405	875	376	275	392	1034
Third Ward	396	279	315	990	397	282	425	1104
Fourth Ward								
First Precinct	299	236	311	846	263	190	434	887
Second Precinct	158	131	210	499	168	128	298	594
Fifth Ward								
First Precinct	153	138	263	554	275	224	260	759
Second Precinct	113	115	187	415	187	154	235	576
Third Precinct	150	137	234	521	289	173	252	714
Sixth Ward								
First Precinct	214	178	301	683	327	166	324	817
Second Precinct	138	121	259	518	171	139	271	581
Third Precinct	153	171	406	730	209	276	403	888
Fourth Precinct	134	162	578	694	264	246	441	951
Fifth Precinct	231	162	214	607	307	190	280	777
Sixth Precinct	210	157	216	583	302	179	332	813
Seventh Ward								
First Precinct	202	180	377	739	310	230	341	881
Second Precinct	279	218	280	777	347	248	287	882
Third Precinct	188	122	234	544	275	196	262	733
Fourth Precinct	152	133	233	508	192	206	252	650
Fifth Precinct	109	152	271	532	216	170	298	684
Sixth Precinct	202	188	295	685	290	246	300	836
Eighth Ward								
First Precinct	243	198	307	748	355	233	278	866
Second Precinct	219	188	275	682	322	188	370	880
Third Precinct	144	171	296	611	260	182	317	759
Fourth Precinct	260	215	322	797	397	264	375	1036
Fifth Precinct	135	199	327	861	278	149	374	801
Sixth Precinct	179	137	276	592	221	159	415	795
Ninth Ward								
First Precinct	140	175	235	570	200	197	303	700
Second Precinct	114	95	174	383	150	110	185	445
Third Precinct	161	157	357	875	268	187	375	830
Fourth Precinct	153	128	159	440	190	136	220	546
Fifth Precinct	221	135	221	577	248	197	325	770
Total	6,044	5,361	8,843	20,248	8,547	6,222	10,149	24,918



City wards and precincts prior to 1926. The first precinct of the ninth ward is not marked.



City wards and precincts after 1926.

Appendix VIII

VOTE FOR MAYOR

	1921		1925	
	Frank Musser Coalition	Horace Kennedy Republican	Frank Musser Coalition	Theodore App Republican
First Ward	52.9%	47.1%	52.7%	47.3%
Second Ward	55.3	44.7	50.6	49.4
Third Ward	48.3	51.7	39.8	60.2
Fourth Ward	52.1	47.9	46.0	54.0
Fifth Ward	58.2	41.8	52.2	47.8
Sixth Ward	59.3	40.7	51.8	48.2
Seventh Ward	59.3	40.7	45.0	55.0
Eighth Ward	66.0	34.0	63.1	36.9
Ninth Ward	63.0	37.0	56.6	43.4
Totals	59.0	41.0	52.8	47.2

Appendix IX

CITY COMMISSIONERS ELECTION RESULTS

	Republican (Bare, Bushong, Skeen, Schaeffer)	Coalition (Bair, Howell, Miller, Ritchey)
First Ward	48.7%	51.3%
Second Ward	49.8	50.2
Third Ward	60.6	39.4
Fourth Ward	53.6	46.4
Fifth Ward	48.5	51.5
Sixth Ward	48.6	51.4
Seventh Ward	52.5	47.5
Eighth Ward	37.3	62.7
Ninth Ward	44.4	55.6
Total	47.9	52.1

Appendix X

VOTE FOR MAYOR

	1929 Warren Metzger Republican	William Raub Coalition
First Ward	61.5%	38.5%
Second Ward	58.7	41.3
Third Ward	70.2	29.8
Fourth Ward	67.1	32.9
Fifth Ward	64.0	36.0
Sixth Ward	57.3	42.7
Seventh Ward	60.1	39.9
Eighth Ward	47.5	52.5
Ninth Ward	55.5	44.5
Totals	57.5	42.5

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- ¹⁰ A. C. Darmstaetter, Unpublished notes in possession of A. C. Darmstaetter, pp. 1-2.
- ¹¹ A. C. Darmstaetter, Unpublished notes, pp. 2-3.
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- ¹⁰ *Sunday News*, Lancaster, August 27, 1965, p. 3.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 8, 1930, p. 1.
- ¹² See appendices I and II, pp. 86-91.
- ¹³ Windolph, *Selected Essays*, p. 101.
- ¹⁴ A. C. Darmstaetter, Unpublished notes, pp. 3-4.
- ¹⁵ A. C. Darmstaetter, Interview on May 26, 1973.
- ¹⁶ Windolph, *Selected Essays*, pp. 96-7.
- ¹⁷ *Lancaster Intelligencer*, November 7, 1921, p. 2.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, June 24, 1933, p. 6.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.
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- 23 *Ibid.*, September 26, 1921, p. 4.
- 24 *Ibid.*, October 11, 1921, pp. 1, 4.
- 25 *Ibid.*, October 29, 1921, p. 1.
- 26 *Ibid.*, October 31, 1921, p. 1.
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- 28 *Ibid.*, November 7, 1921, p. 4; *Examiner—New Era*, Lancaster, October 29, 1921, p. 9.
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