

SELECTED SPEECHES

OF

FRANK P ZEIDLER

by

Raymond G Wilke

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

(SPEECH)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1962

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
<u>INTRODUCTORY ESSAY</u>	i
I. The Purpose and Nature of the Present Study	i
II. The Research Method Employed in the Present Study	ii
A. Steps of Preliminary Investigation	ii
B. Research Design	ix
III. A Biographical Note on Frank Zeidler	xi
A. Personal Data	xi
B. Spokesman for the Socialist Party	xiii
C. Spokesman for the City of Milwaukee	xiv
D. Spokesman for Municipal Improvement	xvi
E. Spokesman for Civil Defense	xvi
F. Reputation as a Public Speaker	xviii
IV. A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Speeches of Frank Zeidler	xxi
A. Stock Issues	xxi
B. Mode of Argument	xxvi
C. Pathetic Appeals	xxxiv
D. Personal Proof	xxxv
E. Organization	xxxvi
F. Word Choice	xli
G. Use of Figures	xli
V. A Summary	xlii

	page
<u>SELECTED SPEECHES OF FRANK P. ZEIDLER</u>	1
I. Spokesman for the Socialist Party	1
A. "The Spirit of American Socialism," July 22, 1952	1
B. Keynote Address to the National Convention of the Socialist Party, June 8, 1956 . . .	13
II. Spokesman for the City of Milwaukee	23
A. Inaugural Address, April 20, 1948	23
B. Message to the Milwaukee Common Council, April 17, 1951	47
C. Message to the Milwaukee Common Council, April 19, 1955	59
D. Memorial Day Address, May 30, 1959	74
E. Greeting to Conference of the Civil Service Assembly, May 28, 1956	76
F. Speech to the Wisconsin CIO-AFL, July 24, 1958	93
G. Speech to the Knights of Pythias, Wisconsin Domain, August 4, 1958	104
H. Official Greeting to Guardian Council Of Job's Daughters, May 17, 1957	114
I. On the Occasion of 111th Birthday Anni- versary of the City of Milwaukee, January 31, 1957	116
J. 1952 Mayoral Campaign Address, March 12, 1952	128
K. Televised Campaign Speech, March 4, 1956 .	131
III. Spokesman for Municipal Improvement	137
A. "Don't Fence Me In," October 8, 1952 . . .	137
B. "Build Cities To Build Men," June 13, 1957	153
IV. Spokesman for Civil Defense	163
A. "The Challenge To Effective Service During This Fifth Decade," January 18, 1956 . . .	163

INTRODUCTION

I. The Purpose and Nature of the Present Study

Frank P. Zeidler is a man known to many both in the State of Wisconsin and throughout the nation. For twelve years, 1948 through 1960, he served as mayor of the City of Milwaukee. During this term in office, his tireless efforts publicly to communicate his feelings and convictions on American socialism, municipal affairs, and civil defense won for him a local and national prominence enjoyed by few.

As an active member of the Socialist Party of America, Frank Zeidler is known as one of the foremost proponents of American socialism. As mayor of Milwaukee, the thirteenth largest city in the United States, he is recognized as a leading expert in municipal government. As one vitally interested in the welfare of municipalities in a time of international tension, he is looked upon as an authority in civil defense.

Despite his local and national prominence and an energetic public speaking career, Frank P. Zeidler has been the focus of little study. There has been neither a systematic examination of his public speaking nor an attempt to collect and edit the many speeches he is known to have

delivered.¹

In an effort to recognize the speaking achievements of Frank P. Zeidler and to collect and edit those public speeches which Mr. Zeidler himself feels are representative of his major or typical efforts in the fields of his special interests, this thesis presents a collection of sixteen speeches with expository headnotes and footnotes. Introductory to this collection is an essay which attempts to provide a biographical sketch of Zeidler, the speaker, and a brief rhetorical analysis of the speeches contained in the collection.

II. The Research Method Employed in the Present Study

The research method employed in collecting and editing the selected speeches of Frank P. Zeidler may be discussed under two headings: (A) the steps of preliminary investigation; and (B) the research design adopted.

A. The Steps of Preliminary Investigation. The first step of early investigation involved a survey of studies on Frank P. Zeidler and his public speaking. An examination of

¹ In a personal interview, Mr. Zeidler estimated that while mayor of Milwaukee he delivered a total of 10,000 public speeches; the number of speech manuscripts located in the Frank P. Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library would show the estimate to be a close approximation.

standard references² uncovered a small bibliography of two articles and one pamphlet.

The first article, authored by Dan Wakefield, appeared in Nation magazine.³ Observing that Mr. Zeidler was the only Socialist in 1957 in the United States holding an office, the article summarizes Mr. Zeidler's views on socialism. The article is generally accurate but lacks depth of analysis.

The second article,⁴ written by Mr. Zeidler himself, is an autobiographical sketch of Mr. Zeidler's six-year period as Mayor of Milwaukee, 1948-1954. The article serves as a summary of Mr. Zeidler's views on municipal government. Though interesting in what it says this article is far from being a comprehensive autobiography.

The third item is a pamphlet which is entitled "The Voter's Review" and which can be found in the Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library. It is a bio-

² Typical standard bibliographical references consulted are: Dow, Clyde W., ed. Abstracts of Theses in the Field of Speech, I-XV, Speech Monographs 12-27 (1945-60); Grace C. Nolan, ed. Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, (New York, 1935-61); Giles Wilkeson Gray, Index to the Quarterly Journal of Speech, (Columbia, Missouri, 1961) and Edwards, J. W., ed. A Catalog of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards, (Ann Arbor, 1961).

³ Dan Wakefield, "The Socialist Survivor's," Nation, 184 (1957), pp. 97-103.

⁴ F. P. Zeidler, "Would You Want To Be A Mayor?," American, 163 (1954), pp. 20-28.

graphical review of the Mr. Zeidler published in conjunction with the 1948 mayoral campaign. As a piece of campaign literature, the pamphlet provides insight into the life of the candidate and his position on the major issues of the election. Because of the nature of the pamphlet, it has a tendency to be biased.

One can conclude from this brief bibliography that there has been little written on the subject of this thesis, Frank P. Zeidler. Though the quantity of material is small, the quality of the cited articles is high. From the three items mentioned above, it is possible for the reader to obtain a general but undetailed picture of Frank Zeidler as a socialist and as mayor of Milwaukee.

The second step in the preliminary investigation was the devising of a working hypothesis. The hypothesis upon which this study is based is simply: was Mayor Frank Zeidler an effective speaker for the period covered by this thesis? Historical in nature, the thesis concerns itself not only with discovering factual material in the form of a representative collection, but also with providing a rhetorical analysis of the speeches themselves.

The next step taken was the constructing of a working bibliography. When Mayor Zeidler left office in 1960, he gave a near complete collection of all his mayoral papers to the Milwaukee Public Library. Lacking certain confidential papers, the collection is incomplete. The col-

lection, however, does contain such items as municipal records, official letters, and other relevant correspondence dealing with Mayor Zeidler's twelve-year mayoralty.

Also contained in this collection are letters and correspondence of a more unofficial nature. Within the collection of these unofficial documents, one can find a complete file of campaign material for the municipal elections of 1948, 1952, and 1956.⁵ Among the unofficial documents, one can also find a complete file of speech manuscripts, note cards, and typewritten copies of certain speeches of numerous speech occasions. The speech manuscripts among both the official and unofficial documents serve as the source for establishing the texts in this thesis.

As yet there is no complete catalogue of the contents of the Zeidler collection. As a result, the many speech manuscripts contained therein were difficult to locate. Moreover, the random filing of speeches added to the problem of determining the corpus of speech scripts upon which this thesis was to be based. A systematic screening of the speech scripts uncovered 150 speech scripts variant in subject, purpose, and occasion and which, consequently, served

⁵To a student of either political science or American History, this section of the collection would be of particular interest. At present the collection of campaign materials from 1948, 1952, and 1956 is located in the Marine and Local History room of the Milwaukee Public Library.

as the basic bibliography from which the speeches selected for this thesis were derived.

The fourth step taken in the preliminary investigation was the selection of the sixteen speeches from the basic bibliography. The selection of these speeches involved four procedures. The first procedure consisted of devising an outline of the major speech occasions. This outline represented the major areas of the public speaking of Mayor Frank P. Zeidler.

In the second procedure, the outline of major speech occasions was presented to Mr. Zeidler who agreed that the summary of occasions was accurate.

With the major divisions set, the third procedure involved the selection of representative speeches from the basic bibliography that fell under the various classification by speech occasion. A working bibliography of thirty-one speeches arranged under four major occasional classifications emerged.

REPRESENTATIVE AND SELECTED SPEECHES OF FRANK ZEIDLER
(Asterisks indicate those speeches selected for the
collection of speeches found in this thesis.)

AS SPOKESMAN FOR MILWAUKEE

Deliberative

* Inaugural Address of April 20, 1948.

Inaugural Address of April 15, 1952.

* Annual Messages to the Milwaukee Common Council,
1951 and 1955.

"Why the New Museum Should Be Built," Speech to the Common Council, June 30, 1956.

Ceremonial

- * Memorial Day Speech at Wood, Wisconsin, 1959.

"Free Schools in a Free America," May Fellowship Day Service, May 2, 1957.

Columbus Day Speech, October 13, 1957.

"Our Church and Government," Speech to the National Lutheran Council Ministrium, May 13, 1957.

Keynote

- * Keynote Address to Central Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, May 30, 1956.

- * Keynote Address to the Convention Dinner of the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO Convention, July 24, 1958.

Keynote Address to the 20th Annual Conference of Municipal Finance Officers of Pennsylvania, October 7, 1955.

Welcome

- * Civic Welcome Speech to Job's Daughter's, May 17, 1957.

Civic Welcome Speech to the National University Extension Association, May 14, 1956.

- * Civic Welcome Speech to the Grand Lodge Convention of the Wisconsin Domain of the Knights of Pythias, August 4, 1956.

Commemorative

- * On the Occasion of the 111th Birthday of Milwaukee, January 31, 1957.

On the Occasion of the 110th Birthday of Milwaukee, January 30, 1956.

Campaign

- * Speech to Campaign Workers, March 12, 1952.

- * Television Speech, March 4, 1952.

Speech to the South Division Civic Association,
March 5, 1956.

AS SPOKESMAN FOR MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENT

- * "Don't Fence Me In," Speech to the National Planning Conference, October 8, 1952.

"The Problem of Metropolitan Government in the United States," Speech to the Conference of United States and Canadian Mayors, September 22, 1953.

"Metropolitan Area Problems," Speech to the United States Conference of Mayors, September 10, 1957.

- * "Build Cities to Build Men," Speech to the Conference of United States and Canadian Mayors, June 13, 1957.

"The Metropolitan Area," Speech to the United States Conference of Mayor's, July 15, 1959.

Summary of Remarks on Interdisciplinary Services of a Community in Transition, November 25, 1959.

"New Industry and What It Means to the City," Speech to the South Dakota Municipal League, June 20, 1956.

AS SPOKESMAN FOR CIVIL DEFENSE

Address to the American Municipal Association, December 13, 1948.

"Restoration of Community Function," Speech to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1952.

Speech to the Civil Defense Conference, November 2, 1959.

- * "Challenge To Effective Service During This Fifth Decade," Speech to the Milwaukee Kiwanis, January 18, 1956.

AS SPOKESMAN FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY

- * Keynote Address to the National Convention of the

Socialist Party of America, June 8, 1956.

* "The Spirit of American Socialism," August, 1952.

The fourth and final procedure involved presenting the bibliography of thirty-one speeches listed above to Mr. Zeidler for further screening. Presented with the bibliography, Mr. Zeidler was asked to choose those speeches that he felt were most representative or typical of his speaking on significant subjects and occasions. Mr. Zeidler chose the sixteen addresses constituting the collection of speeches found in this thesis.

The last step in the preliminary investigation was the establishment of the texts for the sixteen speeches selected for this thesis. All of the speech texts were derived from typewritten manuscripts which are located in the Frank P. Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

B. Research Design. The division of this study into (1) introductory essay and (2) collected speeches reveals the design basic to this study.

The introductory essay attempts to provide the reader with a biographical sketch of Frank P. Zeidler, the speaker, and a brief rhetorical analysis of the selected speeches found in the collection following this introductory essay.

The portion which contains the collected speeches attempts to present the speeches arranged according to the following classifications: Spokesman for the Socialist

Party; Spokesman for the City of Milwaukee; Spokesman for Municipal Improvement; and Spokesman for Civil Defense. This classificatory system, it should be noted, is not only indicated by Mr. Zeidler's own recommendation of major speech occasions but also suggested by the nature of the sixteen speeches selected.

The text of each speech has three facets: headnote, text of the speech, and footnotes of explication. The headnote is structured in such a way that it gives the details of the specific occasion, comments upon noteworthy characteristics of the pertinent speech, and provides the textual source of the speech.

The text of the speech is a copy of a typed manuscript used by the speaker. In an attempt to verify the authenticity of the individual texts, the copies that appear in this thesis were counter-checked with newspaper accounts, municipal records, and printed versions of the texts.

The accompanying footnotes serve to give the reader a clearer understanding of the individual speeches. Thus the footnotes provide information on persons and events which the speeches briefly cite or to which only a passing reference is made. Where it was impossible to locate such information in published materials, Mr. Zeidler was consulted.

The analysis of the individual speeches was accomplished by outlining in detail each speech. These outlines enabled

this writer to identify the line of thought, organization, and stylistic techniques employed by Mr. Zeidler in his speaking. By a comparative analysis these outlines quickly revealed both certain common denominators of technique and certain fundamental differences.

III. A Biographical Note on Frank P. Zeidler

A. Personal Data. The third of four children, Frank P. Zeidler was born September 20, 1913. His father, Michael Zeidler was a barber in the city of Milwaukee. His oldest brother, Carl, preceded Frank as the Mayor of Milwaukee, being elected to the office in 1940.

Frank Zeidler's early years as a child were spent in Milwaukee. He received both his grammar school and high school education in the Milwaukee Public School system. He attended the Grand Avenue Grade School and later went on to West Division High School where he graduated as salutatorian of his class.

Mr. Zeidler chose to stay in Milwaukee when he began what was to be an abbreviated college career. In September, 1930, Frank Zeidler entered Marquette University to begin work toward the Bachelor of Science degree in engineering. Illness forced him to leave Marquette after one semester. Later he enrolled in a summer session at the University of

Chicago. The close of this summer session concluded Mr. Zeidler's formal college education. To this day, however, he has continued his education by enrolling in innumerable University of Wisconsin Extension correspondence courses.⁶

Frank Zeidler had always been interested in government. Hence, so at the age of 26, he started his political career. Running as a Progressive, he was elected to the office of Milwaukee County Surveyor in 1939. The minor importance of this first political victory is reflected in his own words: "The little thing that elected me was the fact that the job paid only \$200 a year and nobody else wanted it."⁷

With this minor victory in 1939, Frank Zeidler's career in politics was launched. In the years that followed, many hard hours were spent in campaigning. The net result was five defeats and one victory in the period 1940 to 1948. After his victory in 1939, he was defeated in his bids for Milwaukee County Supervisor in 1940, Wisconsin State Treasurer in the fall of 1940, Governor in 1942, and Mayor of Milwaukee in 1944.

⁶ At present, Mr. Zeidler has completed seventy-one credits of work in the University of Wisconsin Extension Division. This course work gives him junior standing in the University. Mr. Zeidler has concentrated most of this work in the fields of Civil Government and English.

⁷ F. P. Zeidler, "Would You Want To Be A Mayor?," American 163 (1954), p. 22.

In 1948, Zeidler was finally elected to the office of Mayor of the City of Milwaukee. He was re-elected to this office in 1952 and in 1956. It is the period 1948 to 1960 in which Mr. Zeidler makes his greatest bid for prominence as a public speaker.

B. Spokesman for the Socialist Party. In the early years of the third decade of this century, the United States was in the midst of the worst economic depression it had ever known. The people of the United States were searching for a way to overcome the problems of the depression. In 1932, Frank Zeidler chose the Socialist Party as the answer to that for which he was searching. In an article appearing in American magazine, Mr. Zeidler gives us some insight as to the reason for his having chosen in 1932 the Socialist party as his party affiliate:

I felt that some kind of government was needed to prevent the boom-and-bust economy. After studying all the party systems, I joined the Socialist Party, attracted particularly by its record of honest,⁸ efficient government in Milwaukee.

Steadfast in his support of the Socialist Party since that time, Frank Zeidler is today one of the major voices in the Socialist Party of America.

⁸Ibid., p. 23.

In the article, "The Socialist Survivor's,"⁹ Dan Wakefield reports that Norman Thomas considered Zeidler to be one of the most politically remarkable persons that he had ever known, a person who would surely have been one of the brightest young men in the Democratic party if he had so desired.

As in the case of the other major areas in which Mr. Zeidler gained prominence, Mr. Zeidler did not limit his endeavors on behalf of the Socialist Party only to the local level. He attained national importance as a spokesman for the Socialist movement in the United States. He has been the keynote speaker at the National Convention of the Socialist Party on different occasions. In 1957, he was elected to the office of National Chairman of the Party. Today he is still active in the work of the Socialist Party of America.

C. Spokesman for the City of Milwaukee. During the period 1940 to 1948, Mr. Zeidler spoke many times in his campaigns for election to the offices of Milwaukee County Supervisor, Wisconsin State Treasurer, Governor of the State of Wisconsin, and Mayor of Milwaukee. However, it is the year 1948 that marks the beginning of the speaking career of Frank Zeidler as Mayor of Milwaukee.

⁹Dan Wakefield, "The Socialist Survivor's," Nation, 184 (1957), p. 99.

In 1948, Mr. Zeidler and a group of persons from various walks of life, decided to band together under the name of the Municipal Enterprise Committee. Feeling that the city had lost its sense of progress under wartime restrictions, this group adopted a progressive platform and selected Mr. Zeidler as its candidate for Mayor.

An article that appeared in the Milwaukee Journal provides a clue to the importance and complexity of the 1948 Milwaukee mayoral race.

The election next spring will be crucial in Milwaukee history. The outcome will determine whether this city is to go forward or stand still. Milwaukee has been standing still a long time. In the years of the depression and then of the war, our problems multiplied a hundred fold.¹⁰

In the March 16, 1948 primary election in Milwaukee, there were fifteen candidates: Frank P. Zeidler, Henry S. Reuss, John Fleming, Henry Maier, George Hanley, Louis Schmaus, August Pringel, Daniel Hohn, Mrs. R. Froemming, George Skramstad, Arthur Ehrmann, James Boulton, Sigmund Eisencher, Charles Mazurel, and Russell DeMarks. Having received plurality votes over the other thirteen candidates, Frank P. Zeidler and Henry S. Reuss were the final candidates on April 3, 1948. The final count found Zeidler with 124,000 votes, Reuss with 97,277. Zeidler was the new mayor.

¹⁰The Milwaukee Journal, September 27, 1947, p. 23.

During his twelve years as mayor of Milwaukee, Mr. Zeidler gained prominence as the spokesman of the City of Milwaukee.

D. Spokesman for Municipal Improvement. Due to his fine record as a municipal manager and as Mayor of Milwaukee, Zeidler attained stature as a spokesman for municipal improvement, as reflected by his elevation to key posts in national municipal organizations and special invitations to address meetings of city authorities in various cities. The United States Conference of Mayors elected Zeidler as a member of the advisory board of this body. This same body twice chose Zeidler to represent it before the Canadian Conference of Mayors, for the first time in 1953, for the second in 1957.

E. Spokesman for Civil Defense. While mayor, Zeidler also became recognized at the national level for his work in the new field of Civil Defense. Concerned not only with the common municipal problems confronting most large cities (problems such as housing, waste disposal, slum clearance, and traffic), Zeidler also considered the growing problem of the defense of the city in event of atomic attack. Whenever listing the problems which confronted the city, civil

defense had priority ranking in the list.¹¹

In the face of public apathy to civil defense, Mr. Zeidler was relentless in his attempts to arouse the public regarding the growing problem of civil defense. Because of this relentless effort, the City of Milwaukee became a model of adequate Civil Defense planning and Mr. Zeidler, a leading municipal authority on the problem. It was as an authority on civil defense that we find Mr. Zeidler devoting a major part of his public speaking efforts.

In a letter to Mr. Zeidler, Eugene Rabinowitch, Director of the Nuclear Science Service, gives significant evidence of Mr. Zeidler's reputation and wide acclaim as an expert in municipal civil defense:

During the past year [i.e. 1950] I have followed some of your Civil Defense activities by reading articles you have written for the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists and the testimony you have given on the hill. I find your point of view on Civil Defense to be the most enlightened that I have found in any municipality.¹²

It should be noted that during his years in office, Mr. Zeidler had occasion to write a number of articles dealing

¹¹ An early reference to this problem of Civil Defense can be found in Zeidler's Inaugural Address of April 20, 1948. See this thesis, p. 45.

¹² Letter from Eugene Rabinowitch to Frank Zeidler, February 27, 1951. Frank Zeidler Collection, Milwaukee Public Library. Brackets are mine.

with the problem of civil defense.¹³ Hence civil defense became the fourth major area in which Mr. Zeidler gained prominence as a public speaker.

In summary then, true to his personal political beliefs Zeidler spoke as a Socialist for the Socialist Party of America. As Mayor he spoke for the City of Milwaukee. Because of his fine record in municipal affairs, he became a spokesman for municipal improvement throughout the country. Lastly, he spoke as an authority on the subject of civil defense, in the United States. These then are the four major areas of the public speaking of Frank Zeidler that this thesis will consider.

F. Reputation as a Public Speaker. Frank Zeidler did not have any formal training in public address. Most of the rhetorical knowledge Mr. Zeidler possesses is derived from indirect sources. These sources included the examples that

¹³ Typical of these articles are: "Is Dispersal Good Defense?," Fortune, January 10, 1955, pp. 46-52; "A Mayor Looks At The Civil Defense Problem," Bulletin of The Atomic Scientists, September, 1950, pp. 30-35.

were set by both of Zeidler's brothers¹⁴ and Zeidler's own personal desire to become an effective speaker.

The period spent at the Grand Avenue Grade School was to afford him with his first introduction to an audience. At the Grand Avenue School, Frank Zeidler took part in the production of plays for the grade school. At this time, Mr. Zeidler was ten years old. These plays gave Zeidler his first experience before an audience. It was also during this period in grade school that Mr. Zeidler observed with a learning eye the high school public speaking of his brothers.

The first major speech that Mr. Zeidler can recall delivering, was a speech delivered to a student assembly at West Division High School in September, 1928. On this occasion, Zeidler spoke for a rather unpopular cause; he championed Al Smith and the Democratic ticket in the nation election of 1928. By the end of his high school days, Frank

¹⁴In 1940, Carl Zeidler, an independent with conservative leanings, defeated Dan Hoan for the office of Mayor of Milwaukee. This victory by Carl Zeidler was the greatest upset in Milwaukee's political history. Hoan, a Socialist, had been in office since 1916. With this stunning victory, a bright political future lay in front of Carl Zeidler. In 1942, Carl Zeidler took a leave of absence to join fellow Americans in World War II. He served as a Lieutenant in the United States Navy. Lieutenant Zeidler was in command of a gun crew on a merchant vessel when it sunk without trace, probably after attack by a German submarine.

Frank's other brother, Clemens Zeidler, is president of the Northwestern Seminary in Minneapolis.

Zeidler, a veteran of many speech occasions, considered himself to be "a ready speaker" able to speak with at least some effectiveness before an audience.

After his graduation from high school, the speaking career of Frank Zeidler was guided by a new force. During the years that followed, Zeidler the speaker grew because of an intense personal desire to improve his public speaking. This desire was manifested in the great number of speeches he gave and the experience gained from this busy speaking career. The importance of speaking and formal speech training is something that Mr. Zeidler recognized throughout his political career. The high regard that Mr. Zeidler had and still has for formal speech training is reflected in his own too modest words: "that if there were one defect in my career it was that I did not have formal speech training."

As for the physical attributes of the speaker, Frank Zeidler appears on the speaking platform as a neatly dressed man who is energetic, medium in build and stature, with straight brown hair that generally looks a bit uncombed. Beneath his thick shell-rim glasses, blue eyes sparkle as he speaks.

Mr. Zeidler's mode of delivery can be generally described as conversational. Testifying to Mr. Zeidler's intelligible vocal delivery, one reporter for the Milwaukee Journal observed: "Mayor Frank Zeidler is not a powerful

speaker, but there is no difficulty understanding him because of his clear voice and precise enunciation."¹⁵ Words seem to flow easily and fluently and are enforced by frequent gestures.

The overall image that Mr. Zeidler presents to an audience is one of quiet dignity. Upon beholding Mr. Zeidler on the platform, the listener soon realizes that here is a man well qualified to speak on the particular subject matter of the occasion.

The communicative effectiveness of Frank Zeidler is no accident. Although he lacked formal speech training he was endowed with the natural attributes which a good speaker possesses.

IV. A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Speeches of Frank Zeidler

In making a rhetorical analysis of the sixteen speeches comprising the collection of speeches in this thesis, seven critical topics will be considered: stock issues, mode of argument, pathetic appeals, personal proofs, organization, word choice, and use of figures.

A. Stock Issues. There are three major issues that

¹⁵The Milwaukee Journal, April 21, 1948, p. 47.

are found in the majority of Zeidler's speeches; these issues will be examined in this section.

The first issue revolves around the apparent conflict that Mr. Zeidler saw between the state government and the central city; simply stated, what is the responsibility of state government to city government? Answering the issue, Mr. Zeidler thought the state's responsibility was great. In his message to the Milwaukee Common Council of 1951, Zeidler summarizes the ways in which state government had worked against the welfare of the City of Milwaukee.

For the last two sessions of the Wisconsin Legislature, representatives of the urbanized portions of neighboring townships have harassed the City of Milwaukee with proposed bills to stop the city's growth in size. In addition, attempts at incorporation - one recently successful - have been made by groups of people seeking to get a large industrial base for their own exclusive tax use. And now, experts say that the Wisconsin Supreme Court rulings on two annexation cases reduces our powers of external growth to insignificance.¹⁶

In the "Don't Fence Me In" speech delivered on the occasion of the Canadian Mayors Conference, Mr. Zeidler addresses himself to the same issue by strongly contending that the citizens of the central city are not adequately represented in state governments.

Grant-in-aid returned to the central cities are usually a minor fraction of that which has been taken from them. What is worse--the state legislatures have a habit of systematically denying the people living in the central cities

¹⁶See this thesis, p. 48.

an equal vote for representation in the state legislature. Underrepresentation of the American cities is a scandal of American state governments.¹⁷

In his address to the Milwaukee Press Club on the occasion of the 111th birthday of the city of Milwaukee, Zeidler all but issues an ultimatum to the Wisconsin legislature better to concern itself with the problem of lebensraum in Milwaukee:

Then, I believe that the City of Milwaukee under all conditions should have at least one area kept open by the state legislature for the growth of the city itself. We cannot hope to successfully deal with the problems of overcrowding a too dense population without having some area for the planned growth of the community. This is very vital for our continued health and operation.¹⁸

We find the idea of struggle between the state legislature and the central city discussed in seven of the sixteen speeches found in this collection.

The second major issue to which Mr. Zeidler often addressed himself is: is civil defense essential to the well-being of the United States? That Zeidler stood firmly in the affirmative on this issue is evidenced by the concern for defense which Zeidler indicates in his inaugural address of 1948.

¹⁷See this thesis, p. 147.

¹⁸See this thesis, p. 119.

The result of the impact of world events on the City of Milwaukee at this time is difficult to determine. We must unceasingly strive for permanent peace and good relations between governments. But in this troubled world, we must be prepared for any eventuality. I propose to investigate fully Milwaukee's position in the national defense plans.¹⁹

And again in his message to the Common Council of 1955, he clearly identifies the high priority which he gives to civil defense in a time of international tension.

I used the expression non-military or civil defense last. Perhaps I should have used it first. Certainly it has a new and continued high priority in all our action and planning for the future. World events now have an important bearing on our continued existence as a city. If there is peace we can go ahead as if new and powerful weapons-city destroyes-did not exist. However, there is no assurance that there will be peace or that limited wars in Asia will not spread to North America.²⁰

The ideas pertaining to civil defense, both direct and indirect, appear in fourteen of the sixteen speeches found in this collection.

The last major issue found in the speeches of Mr. Zeidler, is: are understanding and friendship the true keys to world peace? In an address to the Knights of Pythias, Mr. Zeidler lays heavy emphasis upon both under-

¹⁹See this thesis, p. 45.

²⁰See this thesis, p. 67.

standing and friendship as the means by which human differences can be resolved into a harmonious whole.

But the peculiar and particular genius that lies in man is that often a spirit emanates from man in which he takes these differences, not as an inevitable signal for combat to wage war against those who he thinks are different than he is, but to find some common bond of understanding and friendship on the basis of differences and to compose the differences into a harmonious whole. Where the will to friendship exists there understanding enters in and with understanding comes the ability to compose differences and to make them more valuable for the persons who have composed their differences.²¹

A very precise expression of this concept is found in the Memorial Day speech given at Wood, Wisconsin in 1959 by Mr. Zeidler, in which the speaker points out that mutual respect is far above toleration of enemies as an alternative.

The national existence of the United States today depends in part of the military defenses of the United States and in part on our ability to persuade people to live together in peace and harmony. We do not want co-existence which implies the toleration of two powerful enemies, made fearful of the other; but rather we desire the mutual respect, understanding and appreciation of the culture of various people of the world.²²

We find the issue of understanding and friendship as means to world peace in ten of the sixteen speeches found in this collection.

²¹See this thesis, p. 110.

²²See this thesis, p. 75.

B. Modes of Argument. In developing his major contentions, Mr. Zeidler generally relied upon seven different modes of argument. Of the seven, four modes were often used; three, infrequently employed. Among the modes often used are: (1) Argument from Generalization; (2) Argument from Causation; (3) Argument by Alternation; and (4) Argument from Historical Example. Among those infrequently employed are: (1) Argument from Statistics; (2) Argument from Circumstantial Detail; and (3) Argument from Authority.²³

ARGUMENT FROM GENERALIZATION. Mr. Zeidler has a tendency to make a great number of generalizations in his speeches. In most cases these generalizations are insufficiently supported.

One thing that must be taken into consideration before one makes too harsh a judgment in this matter is that even though no support is evident in the speech itself, the given audience on that particular occasion might have accepted and understood what one might consider an unsupported generalization. Audience acceptance of the unsupported generalization holds true especially in the speeches given by Mr. Zeidler to members of the Socialist party.

In his keynote address to the 1956 national convention of the Socialist Party of America, one finds him listing a

²³This classification of arguments is derived from A. Craig Baird, Argumentation, Discussion, and Debate, (New York, 1959) and Winston Brembeck and William Howell, Persuasion, (New York, 1952).

great number of achievements for which the Socialist Party should be honored. In all the instances of this speech, he uses generalizations in an attempt to prove his contentions. For example, he credits the socialist movement as the source of the social welfare program in the United States:

Numerically in the United States the socialist movement never has been a large movement; but because of the quality of its ideas, its humanitarian appeal, and its desire to see a world of cooperating democratic commonwealths, it has exercised a power and an influence far above its numbers. The two major parties, as conditions seemed ripe to them in the field of practical politics, have adopted many socialist planks. For example, it can be safely said that the social welfare program of the United States has been derived from the socialist movement.²⁴

Argument from generalization can also be found in the speech that he was asked to deliver before the Southwest Kiwanis Club of Milwaukee on January 18, 1956. Mr. Zeidler spoke as a representative of municipal government in an after-lunch program which the Kiwanis had oriented around the general topic of municipal affairs. In his introduction, Zeidler uses generalization to support his assertion that we must be aware of the potential destruction emanating from a missiles race.

In 1957 this nation expects to launch its first satellite. The launching of the satellite is a prelude to the creation of an inter-continental ballistic missile which one nation, or several nations, may

²⁴See this thesis, p. 15.

be able to dispatch against their foes. When this happens the world will either be in a political stalemate for a time or the nations of the world will resolve their differences by a catastrophic war. The result of such a war would probably mean the destruction of a large part of the United States and possibly several other of the most culturally advanced nations of the world.²⁵

ARGUMENT FROM CAUSATION. Argument from causation can be classified as that which moves from cause to effect, from effect to cause, or from effect to effect. Zeidler makes use of the cause to effect argument in ten of the sixteen speeches selected for this thesis.

In his speech to the AFL-CIO convention in Milwaukee on July 24, 1958, when the AFL and CIO were formally merged within the state of Wisconsin, Zeidler identifies this merging of the two largest labor bodies as a cause and from that cause reasons to the effect that the merging will be beneficial not only to labor but to the state of Wisconsin as well.

It has been said many times that this is a history-making occasion, and it deserves repetition; for the creation of the Wisconsin AFL-CIO will make history not only for the labor movement, but will also have an influence on the course of the entire state.²⁶

In his message to the Common Council of 1955, Zeidler makes excellent use of argument from causation when he

²⁵See this thesis, p. 164.

²⁶See this thesis, p. 93.

reasons that if the Community Development Department had not been in existence then the problem of blight and overcrowding would have been much greater than it was.

Our Community Development Department proved its worth again and again by obtaining, in the face of great obstacles, the necessary building sites for our expanding population. Just imagine the crowding and blight which would have occurred if this expanding population had been compelled to find shelter within the existing boundaries of the community. Instead, it was possible, because of our program, for families to secure a residence on an individual plot of ground - a fact which has distinct advantages for family life, for the raising of children and for the development of human personality.²⁷

ARGUMENT BY ALTERNATION. This mode of argument is often called the "either-or" type of argument. When using this kind of argument, Mr. Zeidler presents two alternatives; one involves a very attractive proposition; the other, an obviously undesirable one. Mr. Zeidler makes use of this type of argument in five of the sixteen speeches collected in this thesis.

A good example of this type of argument can be found in his 1955 message to the Common Council. In this speech, he presents two alternatives: (1) Redevelopment; or (2) loss of low-rent housing for minority groups; the choice is obvious.

The task of redevelopment is going to be a long and arduous one; of community resistance so strong that major projects cannot be

²⁷ See this thesis, p. 63.

evolved, we will then have to rely on strengthened building and housing codes to carry the load. I can see a number of stumbling blocks ahead of us. One of these is the persistent desire of certain groups to get rid of the Housing Authority and all low-rent housing. The Housing Authority is the only agency we have to carry on redevelopment work; and if there is no low rent housing, displaced families, especially of minority groups, will have no place to go.²⁸

ARGUMENT FROM HISTORICAL EXAMPLE. The last of the more frequently used arguments employed by Mr. Zeidler is that of argument from historical example. This type of argument can be found in eight of the sixteen speeches.

One of the longest uses of this factor appears in the speech delivered by Zeidler to the Central Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly in Milwaukee on May 28, 1956. Early in this speech, Mr. Zeidler devotes two complete pages to a discussion of the historical foundations of the idea of civil service in this country and their relationship to the achievements of Carl Schurz.²⁹ In this speech, historical example is not used so much for proof, but rather to add clarity to Mr. Zeidler's explanation of the early history of the civil service movement.

In his speech before the twentieth annual Conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, held

²⁸ See this thesis, p. 71.

²⁹ See this thesis, pp. 78-81.

at Manior Richelieu, Murray Bay, Quebec, during the period June 13 to 17, 1957, one finds Zeidler employing the historical example as a transition into the discussion of one of the major points of the speech.

History gives plenty of evidence of leaders who sought to build cities of everlasting pomp and glory, but their work speedily was brought to naught because larger matters of truth and justice were forgotten.³⁰

ARGUMENT FROM STATISTICS. Mr. Zeidler does not rely on argument from statistics very often. Argument from statistics can be found in only four of the sixteen speeches collected in this thesis. It should be noted that when using statistics Mr. Zeidler always attempts to make the figures as meaningful as possible. Thus, he always rounds off the figures he cites.

In his speech to the Milwaukee Press Club on the occasion of Milwaukee's 111th birthday in 1957, one finds statistics used to point up a contrast between geographical area and number of people.

The 111 years of Milwaukee's growth from 1846 to 1957 has seen the city grow from about 12,000 people in 1846 to about 275,000 people in 1900 and to about 735,000 people in 1957. In an area which represents about one-seven hundred and fiftieth of the total size of Wisconsin are concentrated more than one-quarter of the entire population.³¹

³⁰ See this thesis, p. 158.

³¹ See this thesis, p. 116.

One finds excellent use of statistics to create an image, something that can be visualized, in Mr. Zeidler's speech to the Southwest Milwaukee Kiwanis Club in January, 1956.

I shall use one illustration to show the fantastic proportions which have been reached in a potential destruction of mankind. If we were to represent by a line the total load of explosives a single airplane could carry in 1940, that line would be four inches long. In 1956, that line would be more than 790 miles long.³²

ARGUMENT FROM CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAIL. Circumstantial detail is that line of argumentation in which a number of items not intimately related to each other by cause to effect relationships combine to form a pattern. The conclusion in the circumstantial detail argument is the missing link completing the pattern. Mr. Zeidler does not rely too heavily on this type of argument; in fact, it is found in only four of the sixteen speeches.

In his speech to the Conference of the Civil Service Assembly in 1956, we find Mr. Zeidler making effective use of argument from circumstantial detail. In this speech, he lists some of the factors that tend to protect the civil service system in this country.

Another protection for the civil service system is found in the complexity of the technical aspects of governmental service. Great expertness is now required in many

branches of vital public service such as the water works system or the sewerage system. The friends of the man who campaigned for office do not include all of the categories of knowledge required by government, so the civil service systems must continue to supply those who possess the expert knowledge.³³

In his speech entitled "The Spirit of American Socialism," delivered at a picnic in Milwaukee sponsored by the Milwaukee Socialist Party in 1952, one finds Mr. Zeidler using argument from circumstantial detail to prove that the attack on "creeping socialism" is dangerous to the people of the United States.

As far as I can ascertain, the government of the Soviet Union believes it [World War III] to be inevitable, and there are leaders in the United States today who would make it so. There is no danger of war today in the countries where socialist or labor parties represent the people. These countries should be the invaluable friends of the United States in any struggle to prevent an armed conflict. Yet we are losing the friendship of these countries precisely because of the stupid attack on "creeping socialism."³⁴

ARGUMENT FROM AUTHORITY. In the speeches contained in this thesis, one will find that Mr. Zeidler employs argument from authority very seldom. Of the seven types of argument that we have discussed, this type is by far the least used argument. In some of his speeches on municipal problems, Mr. Zeidler will speak with the authority of his office

³³See this thesis, p. 84.

³⁴See this thesis, p. 9. Brackets are mine.

behind him. One will find Mr. Zeidler using quotes from others as authorities on a given subject only in a very few instances. When using the testimony of another, Mr. Zeidler generally folds the testimony into his speech as a clarifying factor. For example, when speaking to the Conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, Zeidler quotes the "Five Giants" of Sir William Beveridge to explain the struggles with which all mayors must through their office, concern themselves.

Why do we struggle with our finances? In order that worthy objectives of schools and hospitals, and recreational facilities and public services be attained within the means of the community. These objectives we seek because they remove from men what Sir William Beveridge described in his famous report on 1942, as the 'Five Giants' of want, ignorance, idleness, squalor, and disease.³⁵

C. Pathetic Appeals. The place of the pathetic appeal in the public speaking of Frank Zeidler is secondary to that of reason and evidence. Mr. Zeidler was not an emotional speaker at any time in the period represented by the speeches collected in this thesis. When using the pathetic appeal, however, Mr. Zeidler was especially effective.

The finest examples of the pathetic appeal as used by Mr. Zeidler are to be found in the speeches on behalf of

³⁵See this thesis, p. 157.

the socialist movement. In "The Spirit of American Socialism" speech which he delivered on the occasion of the Milwaukee County Socialist picnic in 1952, Mr. Zeidler appeals to the pride of his audience as he relates the achievements of the Socialist Party of America.

Under certain conditions, one might believe that we socialists would be honored for our contributions to the American way of life. We have upheld civil liberties and democratic traditions as no other group in the country has. I should say here, parenthetically, that Norman Thomas who has so ably represented us in the forum of world affairs, will be forever remembered for being the greatest champion of human rights this nation has yet produced.³⁶

We find in the conclusion of this same speech one of the most eloquent of Zeidler's pathetic appeals. Though short in length, we find Zeidler appealing to the pride of his socialist audience when he says; "Our movement may lose its name, may change its quarters, may shift its leaders, but it can never die because of its spirit."³⁷

D. Personal Proof. In our discussion of argument from authority, it was pointed out that Zeidler was his own source of authority in many of the speeches collected in this thesis. Consequently, he often employed personal

³⁶ See this thesis, p. 2.

³⁷ See this thesis, p. 12.

proof in his speaking. Recognized as an authority in the fields of municipal affairs, civil defense, and socialism Zeidler had the opportunity to use his position as an element of proof. In his speech to the Civil Service Assembly on May 28, 1956, he refers to his contact with civil service through his mayoral office to justify certain rules that he suggests.

Civil service will be under other pressures also if any kind of unemployment develops, particularly within the next few years. At such time public jobs become desirable, yes sometimes vital to sustain life, and the pressure of the public office holder [i.e. Mayor of Milwaukee] to provide employment becomes enormous. The office holder who does not provide work will be swept from office in such a period. I would like, therefore, to suggest certain rules to be kept in mind by those engaged in civil service work in the future.³⁸

Mr. Zeidler's televised campaign speech of 1956 provides still another example of the employment of personal proof. In this speech he speaks of the reputation of the City of Milwaukee during his years in office.

During the period of 1948 to 1956 Milwaukee continued to enjoy its reputation of being the first among America's well-governed cities. The reputation of its various departments continued to enjoy national fame.³⁹

E. Organization. Throughout all the speeches collected

³⁸ See this thesis, p. 86. Brackets are mine.

³⁹ See this thesis, p. 131.

in this thesis, Mr. Zeidler follows the Platonic pattern of basic arrangement: introduction, body or central discussion, conclusion.

In examining the structure of the introduction, it should be noted that Zeidler begins his speeches by enlisting the attention of his audience by acknowledging his audience, alluding to the privilege of speaking, or referring to the occasion.

In his address to the Civil Service Assembly on May 28, 1956, one finds Zeidler employing the common "reference to the occasion" when he acknowledges "Bob Jordan"⁴⁰ who introduced him, and says what a pleasure it is for him to extend the greetings of the City.

I am happy to be here to extend the greetings of the City of Milwaukee to the Central Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly. I note that in the book I am supposed to be scheduled to give the welcoming address and the keynote speech but, as Bob Jordan is so adept at giving welcoming addresses, I should cut that part of my program off.⁴¹

In his speech to the Job's Daughters, he acknowledges the Grand Guardian, the audience, and again comments upon the privilege of extending the civic welcome.

Grand Guardian Carrie Brussock, Associate Grand Guardian, Arthur F. Carlson, Grand Officers, and members of the International

⁴⁰Mr. Robert Jordan, at the time of this occasion, was the chairman of the Milwaukee Civil Service Commission.

⁴¹See this thesis, p. 76.

Order of Job's Daughters, and Friends:
I have the very great honor and privilege to extend to you the greetings of the people of the City of Milwaukee.⁴²

Regarding the second component of the introduction, statement of thesis, one will find that Mr. Zeidler often includes this component in his introductions. The introduction to his speech before the Southwest Kiwanis in 1956 is typical. In this introduction, he briefly and simply states his purpose as that of discussing the challenge to effective service that lies before such organizations as the Kiwanis.

It is gratifying to have this opportunity to speak to the Southwest Kiwanis on the challenge to effective service in this fifth decade of the fifties. The key to this title is to be found in the phrase "Fifth Decade."⁴³

After having considered the parts of the introduction, let us now look at the organization of the body of the speech.

First, one will note that in all the speeches contained in this thesis Zeidler uses a definite pattern of organization within the body of the speech. In his message to the Common Council in 1955, we find a typical pattern of arrangement of his points which support and unfold his central theme. In developing this central theme, Zeidler uses the chronological

⁴²See this thesis, p. 114.

⁴³See this thesis, p. 163.

pattern of arrangement.

- I We may well be pleased with the achievements of the period 1948-1954.
- II We must not overlook the problems that lie ahead.

The second characteristic of Mr. Zeidler's organization is that basic patterns vary from speech to speech. Thus for example, in his Memorial Day speech in 1959, one finds the special-topical pattern employed by Zeidler in his discussion of his central theme; namely, that Memorial Day should be meaningful to the living.

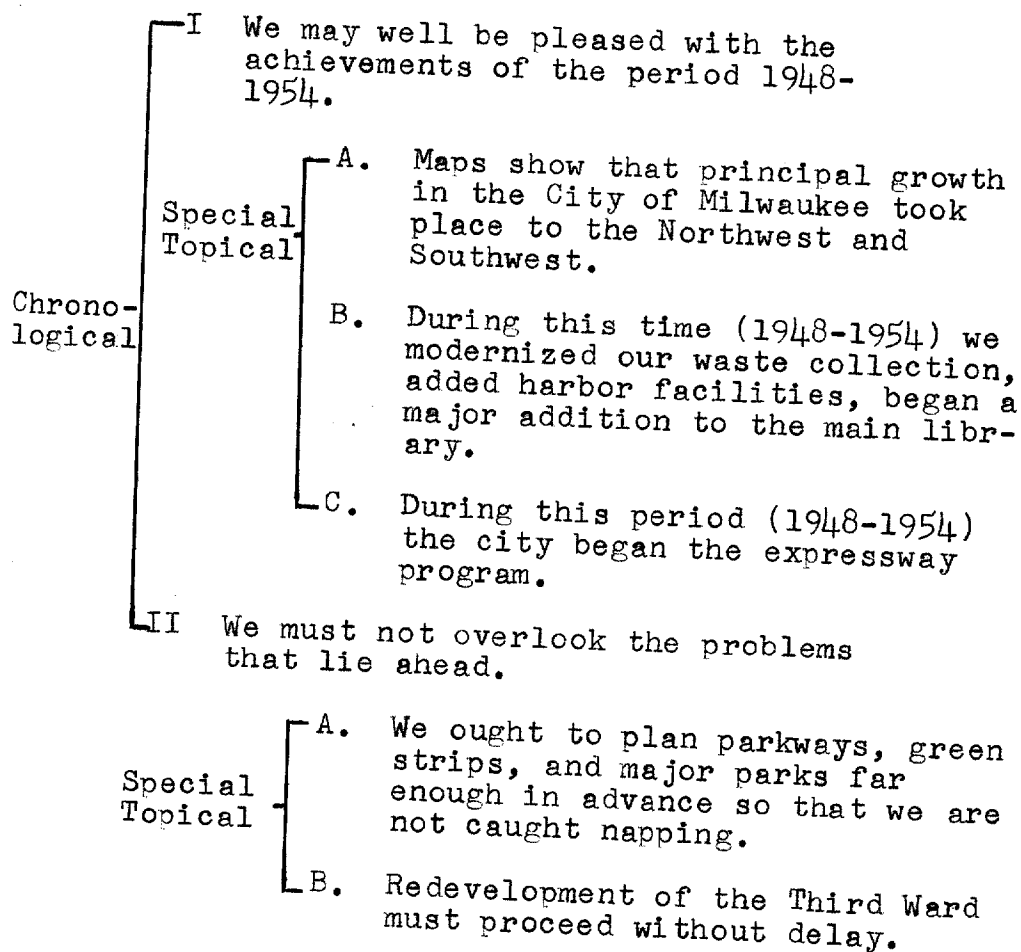
- I Every act of our lives ought to be a memorial to the dead.
- II Our national existence depends on the ability to persuade people of the world to live together.
- III Our ultimate aim ought be, the desire for mutual respect among people of all nations.

In the speech to the Job's Daughters, one finds yet another organizational pattern employed by Mr. Zeidler. In this speech one finds the problem-solution pattern used to point out the value of Job's Daughters to the young people of this country.

- I The young people of this nation are faced with many problems.
- II The Job's Daughters can give to the young people the guidance that these young people are seeking.

If one examines the inner structure of the Common Council address of 1955 further, the third characteristic

of Zeidler's use of organization becomes apparent. One finds that within the central discussion, taken as a whole, he varies his patterns. Thus, one finds that the inner structure of the Common Council speech is made up of a number of special-topical headings found under the two major headings of the speech which are arranged in a chronological pattern.



Regarding the third and final major part of a speech, the conclusion, one will find that Mr. Zeidler generally uses the type of conclusion that restates his central thesis. Hence in the speech to the Milwaukee Press Club on

the occasion of Milwaukee's 111th birthday in 1957, he concludes by reaffirming the major municipal problem confronting the city of Milwaukee, adequate civil defense.

I should like to say in conclusion that I have one more comment which ought to be made and that is it would be a great birthday present for all of us if there could be a union of cities in the Union of Socialist Republics who are powerful enough to tell Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin to quit talking tough and brandishing atomic weapons ... Perhaps in one respect this is the first and most major problem of all city administrations.⁴⁴

F. Word Choice. In the speeches contained in this thesis, it is apparent that the major characteristic of Zeidler's choice of words can be summed up in one word, that word, simplicity. He relies to a great extent on the monosyllabic word. This heavy reliance on this type of word tends to make all of the speeches understandable.

G. Use of Figures. One finds little use of figures in the speeches of Mr. Zeidler. The metaphor is, however, occasionally used with effectiveness.

In his speech to the Common Council in 1951, Zeidler compares actions unfavorable to the City of Milwaukee with adverse weather conditions.

The wintry breath of judicial disapproval,
the fierce blast of certain kinds of subur-

⁴⁴ See this thesis, p. 126.

ban hostility, the cold water of national realty interest, and now the cloudy skies of international affairs--all these are now combining in an effort to shrivel and wither Milwaukee's municipal life. We had signs of these changes in the weather.⁴⁵

This vivid metaphor is continued throughout the speech.

In the "Spirit of American Socialism" speech, one finds Mr. Zeidler again making effective use of metaphor. In the introduction of the speech, Zeidler compares the Socialist party to a run down house.

The Socialist party today in the United States is a party without much of a house. In the course of its history since the 1900's so much of the party's house has been taken in planks which the other parties have used to build their houses, that we haven't much left in our own structure.⁴⁶

The use of metaphor in this speech tends to make this opening point vivid and strong.

V. Summary.

The stock issues to which Mr. Zeidler addresses himself most frequently emerge from three subjects: the responsibility of state government to city government, civil defense, and world peace.

⁴⁵See this thesis, p. 48.

⁴⁶See this thesis, p. 1.

Though Mr. Zeidler employs many modes of argument, he relies primarily upon argument from generalization, argument from causation, argument by alternation, and argument from historical example. Moreover, in using these arguments, he is more than simply effective; he is especially skillful.

In structuring his speeches, Mr. Zeidler is always sensitive to the Platonic pattern of introduction, body, and conclusion. Also, he always makes his introductions functional by adapting to the occasion and by preparing the audience for his central theme. His central discussions are systematically structured by clear-cut and varied patterns of arrangement. His conclusions generally reassert the relevant central themes.

Enjoying prominence as an authority on the subjects of which he spoke, Mr. Zeidler at every possible turn either cites or alludes to events and achievements that enhance his prestige before his audience. Yet, these citations and allusions are tastefully and artistically handled.

Regarding Mr. Zeidler's platform language, one predominant stylistic trait is evident: simplicity with occasional metaphoric colorings.

Though he finds little use for them, Mr. Zeidler is more than merely aware of pathetic appeals. When he uses them, they are effectively employed.

Though he is no longer the mayor of Milwaukee, he is still consulted by many for his views on the subjects of

municipal affairs, civil defense, and socialism. Here is a man who has been listened to in the past and who will be listened to in the future.

I. SPOKESMAN FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY

1

"THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM"

JULY 22, 1952

A long-time and distinguished member of the American Socialist Party, Mr. Zeidler found many occasions upon which to speak for the advancement of the Socialist Party. One such occasion was a picnic at the Howard Avenue Park in Milwaukee, on July 22, 1952, sponsored by the Milwaukee Socialist Party. The speech he chose to deliver was one ideally suited to the occasion and entitled "The Spirit of American Socialism."

The speech attempts to define the spirit of American Socialism by reviewing the history of American socialism, assessing its present position, and identifying its goals in America. The distinguishing features that mark this speech are his discussion of the attack on "creeping socialism" in this country and the effects of the attack outside this country. Also noteworthy is the employment of emotional proof in the conclusion of the speech.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library. The text of the speech was later published in booklet form by the Socialist Party of America, 303 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York and under the title of "The Spirit of American Socialism."

The Socialist party today in the United States is a party without much of a house. In the course of its history since the 1900's so much of the party's house has been taken in planks which the other parties have used to build their houses, that we haven't much left in our own structure, at least as far as the domestic program of the United States is concerned.

One has but to read the platforms of the two recent conventions at Chicago to realize that the domestic program of both parties relies heavily on social measures and social ideas first promulgated by the Socialist party in the

power projects which harnessed under federal auspices the mighty rivers and turned the energy of those rivers into developing farms and factories. Without this energy there could not be the high standard of American life today. Even the mighty plants producing atomic energy, and all that this energy may mean for good and evil, comes from the harnessing of rivers under federally produced power.

The union organizations of America, insofar as they serve the public interest, owe more to socialist philosophy and socialist thinkers, and to the Jimmie Higginses² of the Socialist party, than any modern spokesman in the highest ranks of the national labor movement dares to admit.

We have also been the conscience of the American political movement. Where Socialists were active in municipal government, the gangsters were run out and decent government took over. When national political leaders flirted with the wicked dictators of Europe and Asia we raised the cry against this conduct and warned of the awful consequences of war that was to follow and that did follow.

We were the first to point out that the Russian Revolution of 1917 was degenerating into a secret police state which it is today.

²To Mr. Zeidler, the term "Jimmie Higgins" is synonymous with the rank and file worker of the Socialist Party. It is derived from Upton Sinclair's novel of the same name in which the character, Jimmie Higgins is a typical Socialist party worker of the early 1920's.

We long advocated cooperation between the peoples of the world and we joined hands with labor and social democratic parties all over the world. Many of these parties have grown to maturity where they now constitute the major force for world peace in this dark day of ours. Today the United Nations is a step in the direction of cooperation between people which we early advocated.

But we are not honored either for our contributions or our prophetic wisdom on so many vital subjects. Instead, an intensive and concentrated drive by professional ad writers has been focused on the word "socialism," and an attempt is being made by some persons newly prosperous under semi-socialistic measures to aid industry, to win support for their political ideas by an attack on "creeping socialism."

It may be well to inspect the nature of this attack for our own edification. Since 1932 and the advent of the depression, the federal government found first, under Republican leadership, and then under Democratic leadership, that it could maintain its supremacy in affairs by subsidizing various economic classes of the country. With the encouragement and consent of the overwhelming number of leaders of agriculture, commerce, and industry, the federal government began making cash payments to these various groups, extending cheap credit, acting as banker, and absorbing losses for almost any kind of business you can name.

It did this through such alphabet agencies as RFC, HOLC, FHA, AAA,³ and dozens of other agencies. The government assumed risks that no private lending institution would consider. It built brand new plants and practically gave them away, it engaged in huge public works to the great profit of large construction corporations. It subsidized steamship and airplane lines, and it did it all by increasing enormously the national public debt.

Out of these activities came an immense class of persons who cleaned up fabulous profits for themselves because Uncle Sam took all the risk. But the oddity of human nature is such that these persons never gave Uncle a bit of credit for making them well to do. Instead they claimed all credit for themselves and said it was "free enterprise" on their own part that put them where they are today.

These people, not content with the wealth they gained by the United States government subsidies, direct and indirect, seek to gain more by avoiding payment of federal taxes, which taxes make the whole system possible. They have banded themselves together in dozens of different associations, whose professional promoters lay down a

³RFC (Reconstruction Finance Corporation); HOLC (Home Owners's Loan Corporation); FHA (Federal Housing Authority); AAA (Agricultural Finance Corporation).

concentrated fire on the federal government as a waster of tax money.

I have had some experience with these people. They always want the federal government to cut out the other fellow's subsidy but not their own. In their desire to get the federal government out of aiding the other fellow's business, they profess to see "creeping socialism" in federally assisted housing, but he does not see it in federally assisted financing of his own operations. The industrialist sees creeping socialism in social security, but not in the new plant built for him with government assistance; the farmer sees creeping socialism in union security, but not at all in federal price supports for milk and farm produce.

This attack on socialism also reflects two other conditions of world significance. The word "socialism" to many American ears has a ring of a foreign quality to it. The two most evil dictators of modern times, Hitler and Stalin, both attempted to use the word to confuse the workers of their own country and other countries into following their schemes.⁴ They have distorted the word completely and made it easy for propagandists in America to seize it and confuse it with communism.

⁴Mr. Zeidler refers here to the National Socialist Party of Germany. This was the party that Hitler founded and lead to victory in 1933. The reference to Stalin's misuse of the word socialism arises from the employment of this term by Stalin in discussing his economic five year plans.

Out of the experience of socialists with Hitler and Stalin has come the profound conviction of many socialists that public ownership of the commanding heights of industry and planning are in themselves no complete guarantees of precious personal individual liberty. Thus, at the very time that the propagandists of privilege are assailing the word "socialism," socialists are in doubt as to the proper means of responding to this attack.

It is well therefore for us to look at ourselves, to see what we stand for and to ascertain what leadership we can furnish in this crass and materialistic world.

The socialist movement sprang from the minds of great and humanitarian thinkers who could observe all about them the evils of the industrial revolution, particularly as they affected the impoverished working people a century and a quarter ago in northern Europe. "Socialism" was a name first used in England in 1827 to describe a movement of persons seeking a more just social order.

This was the period of the great influence of Robert Owen, philanthropist, industrialist, humanitarian, and great social thinker.⁵ The Socialist movement, the trade union movement, and the cooperative and mutual aid movements owe their principal debts today to Robert Owen.

⁵Robert Owen (1771-1858) is regarded as the founder of socialism in England. He set up two socialistic communities: one at Orbiston in Lanarkshire; another, at New Harmony, Ind. (1825-1827).

The ideas of socialism as we know them today were but imperfectly formed, but the spirit of good will towards one's fellow man, and the desire to cooperate with him in overcoming adversity was the essential spirit of the movement then, as it is now, even though the expressions of that spirit have changed.

Today, the socialist movement feels that the best way to obtain a peaceful, cooperative and harmonious world is under a system of democratic control of the principle means of production and distribution. Such control may be obtained by public or cooperative ownership. It is quite apparent that under this definition much of what both the Republican party and the Democratic party stand for in their domestic programs can be classified as socialist.

Conversely, there is a vast gulf between socialism and communism under this definition, since under communism there is no democratic control of the means of production and distribution - there is only the absolute control of human life by the politbureau which is responsible to nobody but itself.

The greatest and most important objective to which we must address ourselves today as socialists with a humanitarian and cooperative outlook is the threat of atomic, biological and chemical warfare. The consequences of such warfare stagger the minds of students of it. The human suffering entailed in it would surpass the accumulated

suffering of the ages. Yet we are not very far from it. One international "incident" and the thing would be upon us.

As far as I can ascertain, the government of the Soviet Union believes it to be inevitable, and there are leaders in the United States today who would make it so. There is no danger of war today in the countries where socialist or labor parties represent the people.⁶ These countries should be the invaluable friends of the United States in any struggle to prevent an armed conflict. Yet we are losing the friendship of these countries precisely because of the stupid attack on "creeping socialism."

To keep up this attack on "socialism" is to alienate the sympathies of western Europe and the newly awakened Asiatic countries and to drive them into a position where they can not help us if they would. Even now the United States is losing ground in winning people because of the wilful confusion of socialism and communism.

I have heard this very thought expressed from the lips of labor leaders of western Europe who are right up against the Iron Curtain fighting Communism, only to find themselves the object of calculated hate stirred up in America.

And we in Wisconsin have more than our share of blame

⁶ Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

in this situation, for we have not sent one, but many representatives to our national government,⁷ who have not taken the trouble to differentiate between the democratic labor governments of Western Europe and Asia and the government of the Soviet Union; but rather have spent more time attacking labor and liberal elements than they have in fighting totalitarianism and dictatorship. In this sense the Wisconsin electorate has become a threat to world peace unless it changes its voting habits.

Last year I proposed a program of internal improvement for the United States. I pointed out how under a planned program of improvements we could put a floor under our economy, build needed schools, highways, water works, and public conveniences; how we could save our soil, improve our agriculture, restore our forests; how we could clean up the blight in cities, and raise the standards of living; how we could prepare a program of research to extend our knowledge in the eternal struggle against disease and death.

This program is still a valid program. Coupled with our strong program of personal rights, this nation could

⁷ Mr. Zeidler refers here to Senator Joseph McCarthy and Congressmen Charles Kersten. At the time of this speech, Senator McCarthy was the junior Senator from Wisconsin and Congressmen Kersten was representative of the 5th Congressional district of Wisconsin.

make progress and win the following of the oppressed people of the world. This is all possible and not the least bit utopian. As a matter of fact, the socialist program has proven to be the most practical program in domestic affairs.

But what good are all these physical improvements if everything we build and everything we do is capable of being wiped out in one big war smash? And why should we, in Wisconsin particularly, encourage that smash by sending spokesmen⁸ to Congress who persist in attacks on socialism which drive our world allies away from us.

In this coming election, we in the Socialist party have a particularly large educational responsibility. It is to show the people that democracy can live only by an extension of the understanding of socialist ideals and aims. We must show the people that their very lives and that of their children are at stake, if they do not understand the political forces at work in the labor and social democratic movements throughout the world.

While we may not influence directly the election of socialists as such to the Congress of the United States, we can at least show how foolish and dangerous it is to confuse the labor movements of the world with communism.

I can think of no greater service that the press can

⁸ See note 7, supra.

do - the daily press, the weekly press, and the labor press - than to give factually, without bias, the history of the labor and socialist movement of western democratic nations, in order that in national elections we do not carelessly affront our democratic allies and drive them from giving us mutual aid.

We have had losses from our ranks. We work against national forces stemming from the false prosperity of government subsidy. We have not acquired new members because they are frightened by our name. But there is no substitute for our spirit, the spirit that looks for a world of cooperative commonwealths and a world where brotherhood prevails.

Our movement may lose its name, may change its quarters, may shift its leaders, but it can never die because of its spirit.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE
SOCIALIST PARTY

JUNE 9, 1956

One of the climactic points in the speaking career of Mr. Zeidler was his keynote address to the 1956 national convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago, Illinois, held June 9 through June 11. As National Chairman, he was called upon to deliver an address which would inspire the delegates and set the tone for later deliberation in drafting a platform.

The speech bears a striking similarity to an address which he delivered at the Milwaukee Socialist picnic on July 22, 1952, and entitled "The Spirit of American Socialism." In the Spirit of American Socialism, he discussed the past, present, and future of the American Socialist Party. In this keynote address he reiterates the proud history of the party, its present day problems, and its future course of action. A major difference, however, is the stress placed on the problem of world peace or world destruction. Mr. Zeidler states that the Socialist Party must lead the way to world peace, and to this end he calls on his fellow delegates.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library. The text of the speech was later published in booklet form by the Socialist Party of Wisconsin and under the title of "Keynote Address to the 1956 National Convention of the Socialist Party of America."

The National convention of the Socialist Party brings together people in an organization with a long and honorable political history. The history of the socialist movement in the United States is a history of pioneers in political and social science. From these pioneers there has come much of the social legislation which has brought about more equality, more security, and more individual freedom than exists in many other parts of the world.

Many modern American institutions owe their origin to the activities of the early socialists and social democrats.¹ Out of their ranks came the labor leaders who promoted laws for the advancement of labor. Of these leaders, Eugene V. Debs, several times Socialist candidate for president of the United States, is one of those who grows in stature as time moves on.²

Out of the socialist movement came the original request for old age pension laws, social security, workmen's compensation, laws protecting workers from hazards in industry, laws providing for the clearance of slums and for the erection of shelter with public funds. Probably the first old age pension bill in the United States was introduced by a Socialist congressman from Wisconsin, Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee.³

From the socialist movement also came great humanitarians who fought for and protected civil liberties, the rights of the minorities, the rights of those with unpopular political views, and the rights of those who

¹The institutions to which Mr. Zeidler refers here are such movements as labor and fraternal movements in their early years of development in this country.

²Eugene V. Debs (1855-1926) was the presidential candidate of the Socialist Party in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920.

³Victor Berger (1860-1929), one of the most prominent socialists in the United States during the formative years of socialism in the early 1900's, was instrumental in founding the American Socialist Party.

suffered political persecution.⁴ In this field there are few names in America as great as that of Norman Thomas, our candidate for President of the United States in several elections.⁵

Numerically in the United States the socialist movement never has been a large movement; but because of the quality of its ideas, its humanitarian appeal, and its desire to see a world of cooperating democratic commonwealths, it has exercised a power and an influence far above its numbers. The two major parties, as conditions seemed ripe to them in the field of practical politics, have adopted many socialist planks. For example, it can be safely said that the social welfare program of the United States has been derived from the socialist movement.

Elsewhere in the world, parties which have a socialist philosophy have demonstrated how practical and useful socialist concepts can be for the improvement of society and government, and for the promoting of peace and pros-

⁴In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Socialist Party in America and else where supported the rising union organizations of that time. The Socialists were one of the few bodies that supported the union movement in this country. Eugene Debs was defended by the Socialists in 1893, and because of this defense Debs shifted his membership from the Democratic party to the American Socialist party.

⁵Norman Thomas (1884-), was the Socialist candidate for president on six occasions. As the Socialist candidate in 1932, he polled 884,731 votes, the greatest number ever recorded for a Socialist candidate.

perity. In fact, the word "socialist" has come to have such an idealistic hold on people elsewhere, that a severe struggle has been waged by dictatorships to seize control of the word and its meaning.

It is difficult to formulate a precise definition of the word socialism, but basically the socialist movement is more than a political movement with a desire to obtain control of governments. The spirit of the socialist movement was born out of a feeling of one man toward another, and the desire of men to cooperate mutually in overcoming the adversities of life. This is still the basic concept and socialist movements have sought to apply it to government.

The socialist movements generally throughout the world feel that the way to obtain a peaceful, cooperative and harmonious world is under a system of democratic control of the principal means of production and distribution. Such control in the commanding heights of industry may be obtained by public or cooperative ownership, but no democratic socialist⁶ believes that public ownership of itself is the cure-all for the ills of government; for public or state ownership unless accompanied by the presence of

⁶The modern concept of democratic socialism alleges that there should be some public ownership and control of the basic means of production and distribution. Socialists today believe that there can be no socialism without democracy. As used by Mr. Zeidler, the terms socialist and democratic socialist are synonymous.

democratic control and management can lead to dictatorship and to slavery.

It is important to bring out these points here because there is a widespread confusion in this nation and elsewhere in the world that communism in its various national forms and even the national socialism of Germany—that is, Nazism—are somehow the same thing as democratic socialism. This confusion is fostered by communists themselves who seek to mislead the unwary people into believing that their type of dictatorship of the proletariat is really a democratic order. The confusion of democratic socialism with communism is also fostered by the extreme reactionaries in the United States.⁷ These extremists are afraid that some of their monopolistic powers would be diminished and restored to the people; and hence they are raising the notion that socialism is also communism. This notion is a grave error.

I have said that the socialist movement in the United States is not powerful in numbers but has had a great influence on ideas. For this reason, the possessors of monopolistic power and huge private possessions sheltered by special privileges of government have lately swung the whole battery of powerful propaganda against the small

⁷In a tape-recorded interview held June 29, 1961, Mr. Zeidler explained that by "extreme reactionaries" he was referring to no one in particular. As it is used here, it is a broad general reference.

group of socialists in the United States.

They seem now to be more afraid of the ideas of social democracy than they are of the hydrogen bombs of the Soviet government. More and more the speeches and propaganda of the extremists of the United States focus their main attack on socialists as the great threat to the national existence of the United States. I suspect that there are two major reasons for this condition. One reason is that the extremists in America who would dismantle our social security and welfare system and who would give away our nation's resources and assets are essentially timid when the Soviet government rattles its hydrogen bombs. The extremists therefore are soft-peddling a little on the Soviet government and are pounding away at the socialist movement because that movement is essentially peaceful and doesn't threaten reprisals.

Another reason that the national extremists are directing their attack on the socialist movement is that perhaps they see similarities between themselves and the foreign dictators, and they have a sneaking admiration for them, but only contempt for those who don't preach hate. The condition in dictatorships in which the state owns the trusts and monopolies is not too much different from the condition which the extremists in America seek: and that condition is one in which the trusts and monopolies own the state. The difference gets to be a play on

words only, without any real significance to the worker under the system.

Under the system of social democracy, the natural assets of the world will be used for the benefit of the people of the world. In this just and equitable system every man shall have his voice in the determination of policy. This is an ideal for which we democratic socialists strive. This ideal may not be immediately feasible owing the differences in the condition of nations and peoples, but it is an ideal whose realization becomes terribly and overwhelmingly necessary in face of the fact of hydrogen bombs and the capacity of several nations to make and to deliver them.

For us then at this convention, for the major parties and for the nations of the world there is the pressing and urgent necessity of discussing proposals to take away from people the threat of atomic, biological and chemical warfare. All the rest of our domestic program, our campaigns for public office, and our own personal plans as individuals, becomes of little significance if this problem is not solved. No political party and no group of leaders, either here, in western Europe or in Russia and China, will survive an atomic war. Let the brandishers of weapons not fool themselves.

In my opinion, time is not with us now; it is against us. The scientists of the world are in a mad race to pro-

duce more powerful weapons, bigger carriers of these weapons, and to fit them into intercontinental ballistic missiles. They have made enormous strides toward this goal and the experts predict that by 1959 the issue may be resolved. In the meantime, a dozen spots all over the world can light the fuse to detonate the world holocaust. We therefore may be a short distance away from the last military or diplomatic move beyond which the process toward peace can be reversed.

If there were democratic socialist nations everywhere, especially in Russia and its satellites, the threat of war would diminish because effective disarmament would undoubtedly result.

Not only must this convention point out a path of world peace, it must also concern itself with immediate domestic situations which, if they are not solved, can cause internal difficulties in the United States, and stresses which might flare outward.

This convention must produce practical and worthwhile ideas on the matter of reducing social tensions and difference between peoples of different ethnic background. The convention must also consider the application of socialist principles to lessen the effect of the cycles of inflation and deflation.

We must also consider the practical application of cooperative effort toward solving the agricultural problem

and of preserving the family-sized farm from the enroachment of corporate farming. We must consider the preservation of the nation's water resources, its soil and forest, its minerals, and its wild life on a democratic socialist basis.

Our gathering should consider the development of regional resources in the great underdeveloped valleys of America. We ought to think of reclamation of exhausted soils and dust bowls. The principles of democratic socialism can also profitably be applied to the clearing of the slums, the provision of decent housing, the promotion of highway, industrial and home safety; the development of community health and sanitation, the provision of education, of parks and recreation.

Economic, political and civil rights and privileges must come under our consideration at this convention and we must forge new programs to meet the changing circumstances of our day.

The socialist movement will be effective politically only as it reaffirms its belief in the dignity of man and the worthwhile qualities of the individual above what others have done. In order to promote these beliefs, it must lessen the bitterness of conflict between men, it must seek to solve men's problems in the framework of cooperative nations organized for the commonwealth of the people within those nations. This was the ideal of

those who formed the original party and this ideal, although it has been neglected and called unworkable, must continue to light the path of men as they enter the future with its unknown terrors from an unchecked science.

Let no one call us materialists. We are more concerned with men, their rights, their privileges, their responsibilities to one another, and we believe that when these are solved in the framework of justice and equality, the material advantages will follow.

We shall address ourselves to our task with cheerfulness and confidence that whatever truth is in our ideas will prevail.

II. SPOKESMAN FOR THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE

23

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

APRIL 20, 1948

Breaking from the custom of a colorful inaugural ceremony at the Milwaukee auditorium initiated by Carl Zeidler in 1940, Mayor Frank Zeidler delivered his first inaugural in a simple ceremony held in the city's Common Council Chamber. Aside from a handful of interested citizens, the audience was composed of forty six aldermen and several members of the press. From his reference to the setting, it is apparent that Mayor Zeidler felt the dignity of the council chamber would do more to encourage the aldermen to meet the task that lay before them than would the glamour and pomp of a mass ceremony in a municipal auditorium.

The specific aim of the speech is to set forth the details for implementing the platform upon which Mr. Zeidler campaigned in the 1948 mayoralty race.

The major topics with which Mr. Zeidler is concerned are: housing, traffic, capital improvements, taxes, public health, and civil defense.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library. The text of the speech was later published in booklet form by the City of Milwaukee and under the title of "Inaugural Address."

In accepting their posts in city government, the members of the common council and the administrative officers of the city have accepted not only positions of honor, but offices of great responsibility requiring sound judgment and vigorous action.

The voters of our city spoke out clearly in the municipal elections. They demand--and they have every right to expect--that the men whom they have entrusted with public office will make sincere, energetic and courageous efforts to help them overcome the difficulties

they are encountering in their daily living. We in positions of public trust must approach our tasks with highminded resolve and unselfish devotion to the public welfare. In that kind of spirit, and aided by divine guidance, we shall not fail those who look to us for effective leadership in these difficult times.

Milwaukee's city government, like city governments all over America, is faced with enormous problems of finance, housing, new construction, blight, traffic congestion, and the universal demand for more public services. Yet at the same time we observe that the trend toward decentralization is continuing, so that the tax base is shrinking steadily within the city. Relatively fewer and fewer taxpayers are now available in the city proper to finance all the requests for expansion of public services that this great age of technology has thrust upon local government.

In the light of these circumstances, city governments will be hard-pressed to meet both demands for more services and demands for lower taxes. Budget-making will become more fiercely competitive than ever before. Groups seeking portions of the limited public funds for their specific purposes will undoubtedly increase their demands.

City officials need balanced judgment in foreseeing the economic and governmental trends of the city; wisdom in providing for the most important public needs, courage

in holding resolutely to a vigorous course of action, and dogged perseverance in overcoming the most complex problems.

I shall outline in the next portion of this address the immediate and practical steps whereby the city can attack its most pressing problems.

Good city government depends on sound and coordinated planning in all departments of municipal government. Good planning, however, must not result in inaction or deadlocks. The chief executive, the legislative body, and administrative departments, bureaus, boards and commissions, must show teamwork and unity in planning.

To foresee and develop the city's future is becoming a crucial function of planning in all large cities. The high cost of government makes it necessary that sound financial judgments shall underlie our future course.

As president of the board of estimates, I shall request the board of public land commissioners to assign a staff member to attend meetings of the board of estimates in the interest of coordination. With the same objective, a member of the mayor's office will attend meetings of the board of public land commissioners. I shall also request that body to inform me in advance of policy matters which involve coordination with the work of other departments and bureaus. This will enable the

city to secure coordinated over-all planning and avoid duplication, confusion and delay.

This need for leadership in coordinated planning applies also to the city's relations with the county board and its regional planning department.

Thousands of Milwaukee citizens desperately need housing. The full power of the municipality must come into play to bring adequate relief for families living in substandard dwellings. We must not temporize or quibble. Faith in democracy itself is at stake. Unless we can fulfill the hopes of our citizens for decent habitation, the very pillars of our way of life will be undermined.

The housing shortage can not be solved overnight. It is admittedly a difficult problem. There are many factors beyond the control of a municipality, but if we make a strong effort, we can make appreciable headway.

Some housing authorities estimate the potential residential construction of the Milwaukee area to be about 4,500 units a year. There may be several ways by which this program can be stepped up to about 6,000 units a year, 2,500 of which could be started by local government, both city and county.

For instance, the common council should authorize enough money from the \$3,500,000 fund to be raised by the sale of bonds for veterans housing to meet the cash require-

ments for two projects presently started--Northlawn and Southlawn.¹ We should not allow any financial delays to interfere with the plan to get this work underway by early July as planned by the housing authority.

Next the council should make available to the housing authority the remainder of the funds for another 600 units. The Hillside² project, the Northlawn and Southlawn projects, and this new project of 600 units will provide altogether an initial 1,410 units which the city housing authority should be able to start this year.

Next the agreement between Milwaukee county and the city of Milwaukee, whereby the city builds permanent residences and the county builds temporary structures, should be terminated, so that the county likewise will build permanent structures. I believe that the city and

¹The Northlawn project is a housing project whose construction was started in 1948 and concluded in 1949. Located in the general area bounded by North 20th and North 23rd streets and West Villard and West Fairmount Avenues and covering 23 acres, the project has 247 living units.

The Southlawn project is a housing project whose construction was started in 1948 and concluded in 1949. Located in the general area bounded by South 20th and South 25th streets and West Morgan and West Ohio Avenues and covering 32 acres, the project has 331 living units.

²The Hillside project is a low-rental housing project whose construction was started in 1948 and concluded in 1950. Located in the general area bounded by North 6th and North 7th streets and West Galena and West Vliet streets and covering some 20 acres, the project has 232 living units.

the county together should try to begin work on 2,500 permanent units this year.

If these projects are carried out on a community scale it is entirely possible that by their very magnitude they will attract the necessary labor and supplies from other areas. If this is the case, this large scale activity may not necessarily interfere with the program of private builders in Milwaukee who build for a different sort of market.

Private builders who want to build on the community scale should receive every assistance from the city government in acquiring land and getting utilities laid.

The city planning commission can be assigned to the task of community development on a large scale—a development of five to ten thousand homes, one which would encourage private builders to come in and take over the development.

If the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill³ succeeds in passing Congress, Milwaukee should be ready with plans to take advantage of its provisions.

The commissioner of public works should delegate one of his subordinates to the job of securing scarce housing materials for this community.

³Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill: Bill S. 866, Housing Act of 1947. Sponsored by Senators Taft, Wagner, and Ellender, this bill was ultimately enacted into the Housing Act of 1949, and serves as the basic guide to municipal public housing and re-development. For details of this bill, see Congressional Record, Volume 94, p. 4738.

Finally, non-housing construction should be curtailed until the housing crisis is met.

The present building code committee which is revising the code came into existence by ordinance of the common council in 1944.⁴ Since the committee is now acting under council ordinance and since there is a public request for the early adoption of a new code, it would be wise for the council to call for an early report from this code committee on its past activities and on the probable date of the completion of the report. From the nature of the report of the committee, the council will be able to act intelligently in expediting completion of the code.

Since the \$2,500,000 bond referendum for blight clearance has been authorized by the voters, the urban redevelopment coordinating committee, jointly with the board of public land commissioners and the city housing authority, should have the duty of recommending at an early date the proper use of this money. I shall assign a member of the mayor's office to keep informed in the preparation of these plans.

There are at least two types of general use to which proceeds from the sale of these bonds may be put. In the

⁴In 1944, during World War II, the Common Council finally activated a housing authority pursuant to state law and in a manner acceptable to the federal government for the purpose of providing financial aid. The first project considered by the newly formed authority was a 144 unit warhousing project in the 6th ward under Public Law 671.

one type, the city can assemble parcels of land under the blighted area law for group sale to large financial or construction interests for redevelopment. I suggest a study of a second method of attack on blight by the process of infiltrating in a lot-by-lot development, also under the blighted area law.

The use of private automobiles in recent decades has multiplied the problems of the cities manifold, by creating congestion on the streets and by creating a demand for more parking. The ultimate solution of traffic congestion will come from proper zoning and land use which will prevent congestion of traffic where facilities cannot care for that traffic.

For an immediate step the creation of a metropolitan transportation body by appropriate action at the next session of the legislature should be pushed jointly by the city and county.

The city vitally needs an immediate transportation survey by competent outside experts. We are about to make drastic traffic changes with a serious effect on our city. For instance, we have abandoned street cars for buses without knowing the effect on road costs,⁵ and without the benefit of a report on whether the new method gives efficient and sufficient transportation. We have committed ourselves to a start on expressways. We have a splendid

⁵The last streetcar line, the Wells Street line, ceased operation in March, 1957.

rapid transit line which needs better developing.

I recommend therefore, that the city employ a firm of outside traffic consultants to propose a plan for transportation development. The origin - destination survey contains much helpful basic data for this recommendation. A firm of national repute should be selected so that their report for traffic improvements will have the weight of authority behind it.

In following such a recommended report on transportation, engineers should save the city hundreds of thousands of dollars in financing needed traffic improvements.

Concerning the two defeated bond issues for a Bay View arterial, and for North and South 44th Streets, it is my opinion that the "no" vote pertained only to the method of financing and not to the need for the projects. If these projects have a high priority in street work, as I believe they have, then high priority consideration should be given to them.

I shall ask the long-term improvement program technical committee to study the possibility of finding sufficient current funds within the present six-year program, to start these two projects. If this should not prove feasible, I shall recommend that this procedure be followed in the 1949 city budget in order to initiate these same projects.

Concerning the South First Second Streets-Kinnickinnic Avenue project, the traffic pattern along these routes will be changed by the construction of a bridge across the Kinnickinnic river at the foot of E. Greenfield Avenue. The public land commission should soon present a final plan for this area which will take into consideration all of these factors. I believe it is possible to relieve traffic congestion considerably without large scale widening, if this plan goes through.

On the South Forty Fourth Street program, the city should not include in any of its plans any commitment to pay for approaches to a stadium. Such payment should be provided by county funds-70 per cent of which will in any event come from City of Milwaukee taxpayers. I shall shortly address a communication to the county board, in the interests of cooperation, for their financial assistance and participation.

On the authorization of a bond issue for expressways, an agreement should come into existence, indicating specifically the respective responsibilities of the federal government, state government, and the Milwaukee city and county governments-similar to the present agreement in the Detroit area.

The question of alternate routes should be thoroughly explored so that the original concept of expressways along marginal land can be followed in order to reduce costs.

The first segment started must give immediate relief after these conditions are satisfied.

While considering expressways,⁶ Milwaukee should also think of its federal-aid street program. Critical intersections need treatment as early as possible, and a system of federal arterials inside of the city must be developed. This program should not be considered as hostile to, or exclusive of, the expressways program voted by the public.

What we need, and soon, is down-to-earth detailed coordination between the federal-aid street program, the master plan, and the expressway proposals.

One-way streets have proven their usefulness for Milwaukee motorists. We should now attempt pairs in the vicinity of South Sixteenth Street and in the vicinity of South Sixth Street in order to accelerate the flow of traffic in these sections of the city.

With respect to the authorizing of revenue bonds for parking facilities, the interim parking commission should promptly report on which type of parking facility will bring best results - a cleared area or a multiple deck parking station.

Capital improvements - what shall they be, when shall they be constructed, how much shall they cost, and how shall they be financed?

⁶At the time of this speech, an origin and destination survey had just been completed. There was to be no actual construction on the expressways until the late 1950's.

Milwaukee has a good system for taking care of its new requirements in the permanent improvement fund and in the six year program of permanent improvements. Now we need a revised six year program which can be carried out, beginning with this year's work program. This revised program should be made in full consideration of the decisions of the voters at the April 6th election.

The long term improvement program technical committee should produce, by budget-time this fall, a work program for the council to adopt on a six year basis. This program should include work already begun and work urgently needed, balanced to give a well rounded development. The program can provide data on the funds required to complete the projects now in the six-year program, to which the city is now committed.

In the interests of coordination, I shall assign a member of my office to attend the meetings of this committee. When matters of policy are discussed, I shall attend the meetings.

Because of the present competition for materials and labor on housing projects, the capital improvement program should not emphasize projects to compete with housing. Some improvements should be held as a backlog for a slack period.

Inasmuch as an important part of our permanent improvement program is the replacement of old bridges and

the construction of new ones, the public land commission should present soon an up-to-date recommendation for a policy on fixed bridges as compared with movable bridges, the extent to which fixed bridges are feasible, and at which locations; and the possibilities for relocation of the business properties which would be affected by certain fixed bridges.

It is reasonable to expect that our harbor will become a port of call for more and more of the ships of all nations. Therefore, our harbor improvement program ranks high in the list of needed projects.

Conferences should be held by the board of estimates with civic groups requesting various kinds of improvements not now provided for, to determine the willingness and ability of the public to pay for these requests.

The budget supervisor should prepare a report on the advisability of setting a tax rate related to the assessed valuation, instead of a fixed annual appropriation of \$3,800,000 for permanent improvements.

The City of Milwaukee cannot isolate itself from its neighbor communities. We are all citizens of the greater metropolitan area. In the interests of coordination, joint conferences should be held periodically between the city, county and school elective and administrative officials engaged in the planning of capital improvement programs. The city's six-year program must be

integrated with the county's projected ten-year program. The five-year school board building program must be fitted in with the other community needs. The order of construction, the manner of financing, and the location of new facilities, by any one of these three taxing bodies, ought not to be done without knowledge of, and relationship to, the plans of the other two bodies."

Particularly, is this procedure required for the development of cultural projects. The public demands and should receive the cultural projects it is seeking. Chief of these projects are the war memorial, the sports arena, the new library, the museum, the zoo and the stadium. Of these projects, only one is definitely provided for and that is the sports arena.

The zoo and the stadium are on the county list of projects, while the new library and the museum are likely to become county projects.

A final plan for the development of Kilbourn Avenue should be speedily proposed and adopted.

All over the world labor is assuming an even greater role, both in responsibility to, and dependence upon, government. Milwaukee is no exception to this general rule. Organized labor has reached a position of great responsibility and influence. Labor organizations have interested themselves in the economic processes which will assure its members continuous employment at wages

providing a decent standard of living. This interest naturally extends itself to local government.

In behalf of representative city government, I welcome labor to greater participation in public affairs. Of course, persons representing economic groups should act impartially in public affairs. I am sure that Milwaukee labor will establish just as good a record in this respect as any other economic group.

Milwaukee has been comparatively free of major industrial disputes in recent years. Every branch of city government stands ready to assist in the solution of industrial conflict.

In order that Milwaukee may insure a continuously well-nourished industrial development, several factors need detailed consideration at an early date by the public land commission.

The city needs more land adjacent to railroad trackage.

The city needs a greater diversification of industry.

The city needs a continuous supply of efficiently trained and highly skilled artisans.

The city needs low internal costs in the shape of charges for utilities and transportation in order to keep Milwaukee industry on a competitive basis with other cities.

We should look to the native enterprise and skills of our people to give us technical advantages over other

communities. Milwaukee leaders ought to consider establishing a scientific institute on the highest level of learning so that this institution may enrich and stimulate technical progress and promote practical business in our city. This requires coordination of the facilities of the vocational school, the public schools, and the University of Wisconsin Extension Division,⁷ as well as cooperation with Marquette University and the State Teacher's College.⁷

Though management of airports is now largely in the hands of county government, the city must remember that its future depends on the development of commercial aviation, and hence the citizen's committee on aviation must receive every encouragement.

The problem of utility regulation has assumed new importance due to the rate increases recently granted to both the gas and telephone utilities.

We now need coordination of the work of the common council's public utilities committee, the city attorney's office and those bureaus of the public works department which deal with public utility matters in order to secure and to defend the consumer's interest.

At the present time the Wisconsin department of agriculture and markets has under consideration a re-

⁷By a legislative act signed by Governor Vernon J. Thompson, in 1955, the University of Wisconsin Extension Division in Milwaukee and the Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee were merged to form what is now known as the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

quest by the city and others for the establishment of a municipal food terminal. This project should be carried through, and a practicable site selected-as close as possible to the center of the city without sacrificing the other features revealed in studies made to date.

I shall ask the public land commission, together with the improvement program technical committee, to prepare detailed financial and physical plans for the food terminal in response to the request of the state department of agriculture. I will support the common council in seeking early and definite action on the city's petition for a marketing authority.

The union depot relocation, from North Fourth and Everett Streets, calls for early action because of the other traffic problems connected with it. The effective use of Clybourn Street, the bottleneck at the north end of the Sixth Street viaduct, and the need for downtown parking, all hinge on a relocation of the depot. The depot relocation itself depends on a financial plan and a physical plan, both of which should be started by council direction at once.

While there is no simple key to all of the city's difficulties, the practical answer to many of them lies in appropriations made from the city budget.

A major portion of city funds comes from real estate and personal property taxes. Our present tax rate of

\$40.87 and our 55 million dollar budget are the highest in the city's history. It is likely, therefore, that we are near the point of taxpayer resistance to any further levies from this source, and we must begin to look around for other means to supplement our revenue.

At the present time there is a trend upward in the total assessed valuation of the city. This trend is likely to continue for another year unless there is a sharp break in economic activities not now foreseen. This upward trend can mean a lower tax rate if the same level of expenditures is maintained next year. But if there is any concerted demand for additional services or improvements, the tax rate may take another upward jump which would be undesirable if the present price level continues.

Specifically, to meet this situation, several actions must follow:

1. The tax commissioner should continue his work of equalizing those assessments which have gotten out of line in the recent inflationary period.
2. The city's special committee on taxation and revenue should add some citizen members and then should prepare a comprehensive report with the aid of civic groups on the city's present revenue sources, revenue needs and possible new revenue sources. This report should be available in the fall, in case additional legislation is needed at the 1949 session of the legislature.
3. We should begin planning now on the prospects of getting legislation to return a larger

portion of the taxes now shared by the city and state, or the city and the federal government.

4. It is important to find new revenue sources which may be allocated specifically to new improvement work, or to definite uses.

There is considerable sentiment in the city for turning over certain functions of municipal government to the county government for the purpose of spreading both costs and services. Two services offered by the city are the library and the museum. Because the museum is planning a new \$5,000,000 building, and the library a \$2,500,000 remodeling, all the people of Milwaukee county who use these two institutions ought to pay for these new buildings and their maintenance on an equitable basis. Popular opinion appears to favor the operation of these two functions on a county-wide basis. In addition, the transfer of Maitland Field should be studied.

The common council, therefore, should request the special library and museum study committee, consisting of representatives of the common council and county board, the city attorney's office, the county corporation counsel's office, and two civic organizations, to present a detailed plan of procedure showing how these functions can be turned over to the county government and what legislative action is necessary at the next session of the legislature to accomplish this transfer.

Competent authorities have recognized for a long time that Milwaukee's charter and charter law are inadequate and obsolete due to the involved matter and the multiple sources from which this law is derived and the actual structure of the city government itself.⁸

As a first step, I recommend that those civic and official groups which participated in the city charter movement of the 1920's, should prepare a summary of the history of that attempt, and the lessons to be learned. This should be prepared within the next sixty days. Then I shall recommend the appointment of a representative committee of officials and citizens, to outline the legislative procedure, and the necessary steps in charter revision. Action is necessary now, in view of the approaching 1949 session of the state legislature.

Certain suggestions for improving the city's "house-keeping" methods merit consideration.

I shall conduct regular meetings with the major department and bureau heads, and chairmen and technical directors of the important boards and commissions. These meetings will deal primarily with matters of co-

⁸In 1892 the State adopted a constitutional amendment which prohibited the legislature from passing any special legislation to amend, alter or repeal any special charter. Since the City of Milwaukee has been governed under charter since January 31, 1846, all amendments to the Milwaukee charter law have since been made by general law. For more details see, Charles Estabrook, The Charter of the City of Milwaukee, (Milwaukee, 1905), pp. 561.

ordination, but they will also be used for testing new suggestions.

The budget supervisor should, with a small working committee, make a survey of certain administrative services which are common to most departments and bureaus, such as the use of numerous forms and records, in order to eliminate unnecessary and costly forms, printing and duplicating services, statistical and accounting tabulator services and transportation of officials and employees. Recommendations should be prepared for greater efficiency and economy.

The board of estimates, with the aid of the budget supervisor, should consider the feasibility and cost of a general over-all administrative survey of city government, similar to recent surveys in St. Louis, Cincinnati and Philadelphia. Well governed cities, like well managed businesses, should periodically take civic inventory of themselves with the purpose of constant improvement, modernization and progress.

The purchasing board should prepare a progress report on the present status of a study made several years ago on city stores "control" and store houses. It is also in order to request from the county park commission a report on improvements made in the parks located within the City of Milwaukee since consolidation was effected in 1937. Data as to park and shore areas which still await

transfer to the county should be obtained. The need for unified treatment of the shore erosion problem justifies transferring the area involved to the jurisdiction of the county board.

I would also recommend to the common council that a study on legislation desired for the city of Milwaukee be started now so that it will be ready for the new 1949 session of the legislature.⁹

Two special committees merit special attention. The inter-racial relations committee performs commendable work. Ultimately the functions of this committee should be expanded to cover the broader field of civil rights.

The mayor's advisory council also makes an important contribution to the city's welfare. At present representation on this council is limited mainly to advancement associations and civic clubs. I propose to broaden this representation to include labor, industry, welfare and fraternal organizations and other groups in the city vitally interested in municipal progress.

Milwaukee is justly proud of its health, police, fire and public safety activities. These services, however, can only be kept up at their high level if we supply the departments with modern equipment and adequate personnel. I am confident that, with this aid, the heads of the de-

⁹The State of Wisconsin legislature

partments which render these services will maintain the leading position that Milwaukee has kept for so many years.

Milwaukee was once known as the "Athens of the West".¹⁰ Today we need modern methods to again call attention to the talents and abilities of our people. I recommend that the Midsummer Festival Corporation set up a well-rounded organization to handle a Midsummer and a Midwinter Industrial Fair.

The Midsummer Festival requires, as its chief objective, a full expression of the native and local talents of our people in art, music, literature and drama.

An Industrial Fair in the winter should publicize Milwaukee's industrial might and advertise Milwaukee's products to the world.

I shall give every aid and encouragement to private organizations which seek to promote the fame of Milwaukee through the sale of Milwaukee-made products.

The result of the impact of world events on the City of Milwaukee at this time is difficult to determine. We must unceasingly strive for permanent peace and good relations between governments. But in this troubled world, we must be prepared for any eventuality. I propose to

¹⁰ J. H. Alois Lacher, The German Culture in Wisconsin, (Milwaukee, 1895), p. 18.

investigate fully Milwaukee's position in the national defense plans. I shall ask the various official city agencies which participated in the late conflict on the home front, to submit a report on their current preparedness status.

As mayor of the City of Milwaukee, I propose to offer vigorous leadership and action with only one purpose - the public welfare. I invite the cooperation of the common council in all objectives that will bring a better life for all citizens. I invite the cooperation of all existing organizations - civic, business, labor, women, industrial, church, welfare, fraternal and other organized groups of citizens.

We must remind ourselves that democracy is government for the people and by the people. We must develop new techniques to bring government closer to the people. Municipal government is everybody's business. We must avail ourselves of the best minds and hearts within our community to meet any challenge to democratic institutions in our city, state and nation.

We must rely on good teamwork. Here in Milwaukee we can establish a framework for cooperative action and solid achievement that will be an inspiration and example for the nation.

MESSAGE TO THE MILWAUKEE COMMON COUNCIL

APRIL 17, 1951

By custom, Milwaukee's mayor is expected to address the Common Council each year at the Council's second meeting in April. Following this tradition, Mr. Zeidler delivered a message that acknowledged the city's past achievements but emphasized the need for crystallizing future plans for municipal improvement. These plans were set forth in his inaugural address of April 20, 1948 and had met considerable resistance by his political opponents. The setting of the speech was the Common Council chamber in the Milwaukee City Hall. The audience was composed of city aldermen, members of the press, and invited guests.

The speech is noteworthy in the fact that Mr. Zeidler displays a much more spirited and colorful style than is evident in his inaugural address of 1948. Of special note is Mr. Zeidler's employment of a metaphor comparing the state of municipal affairs with the weather. This metaphor is an undercurrent throughout the speech.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library. The text of this speech was later published in booklet form by the City of Milwaukee and under the title of "Message to the Milwaukee Common Council, April 17, 1951."

To the Honorable, the Common Council:

Gentlemen: Three years past since this Common Council assembled in this place to hear my inaugural message defining our city's path of progress. The people had given us a clear mandate to redevelop our city's administrative operations and its physical assets.

Looking back on these three progressive years we realize we have accomplished a great many improvements. As for my own part, I stood for this office on a platform designed for a four-year period. So many of the objectives

of this platform were accomplished in two years that the Public Enterprise Committee, on whose platform I stood, adopted in October, 1950, a new program of action for years ahead.

The members of this Common Council in order to appreciate what we have accomplished since April, 1948, might well refer to my inaugural address which outlined twenty-four points of endeavor.

Lately, however, city government has entered into a noticeably colder climate. Milwaukee's powers of development, and of growth, and its ability to continue its improvement have been almost frozen. The wintry breath of judicial disapproval, the fierce blast of certain kinds of suburban hostility, the cold water of national realty interests, and now the cloudy skies of international affairs - all these are now combining in an effort to shrivel and wither Milwaukee's municipal life. We have had signs of these changes in the weather.

For the last two sessions of the Wisconsin Legislature, representatives of the urbanized portions of neighboring townships have harassed the City of Milwaukee with proposed bills to stop the city's growth in size. In addition, attempts at incorporation - one recently successful - have been made by groups of people seeking to get a large industrial base for their own exclusive tax use. And now, experts say that the Wisconsin Supreme Court rulings on two annexation cases reduces our powers

of external growth to insignificance.

An impediment to community redevelopment came on April 3 when the foes of slum clearance and blight elimination, succeeded, by the narrowest margin, in getting approval of a tricky and confusing question designed to stall blight elimination. However, the effect of this nationally-schemed maneuver by special interests to stop blight clearance in Milwaukee is in doubt. The Milwaukee voters, in the same election, made clear their desire to continue blight elimination by overwhelmingly approving a second referendum question which was worded in a straightforward manner.¹

Even if the national special interests, aided by some suburban attorneys, had not rolled this blight clearance impedence in our way, those same forces and individuals would have, and no doubt will, continue their tactics of constant legal challenge, even as they did in the

¹In a special election on April 3, 1961, two contradictory referenda were presented to the voters. The first aimed at preventing the city from accepting Federal aid for housing; the second, at legalizing city acceptance of such aid. Both referenda were adopted. The question of precedence among the two referenda was submitted to the Wisconsin Supreme Court; the court ruled that the referendum disallowing acceptance of federal aid was legally binding. Mr. Zeidler considered the decision a serious blow against the program of slum clearance in Milwaukee.

Berryland case.²

Having choked our city's expansion, and having stopped its recuperative powers against blight, the foes of our city will now seek to seize, one by one, its remaining assets, such as its waterworks, while they continue to enjoy special tax advantages.

It is well to pause at this moment and to consider a vital question: "Do cities have a fundamental reason for existing?" "If so, have our rights to that existence been impaired?"

Central cities exist because they are the workshops of the world. Because of their advantages of compactness, they furnish a proper environment for the large industry and commerce without which millions of people could not live. The strength of modern nations rests principally in their cities and when these are crippled or destroyed the nation falls.

Those forces which tend to cripple or strangle the city's healthful operations and cause internal decay, are forces which ultimately cause the nation to sicken and die. Of this, we have abundant evidence. The cities now suffer under-representation in the governing bodies of the state

²Berryland, a veterans' housing project in Milwaukee which was not financed by the United States government, is a project which was initiated by the Milwaukee city government. The legal challenges that arose in this case hinged upon: first, use of public funds for veterans housing, and secondly, the condemnation power used by the city to acquire the land for this project.

and nation; their revenue sources have been appropriated. They are forced to give away their services without adequate compensation, their tax base is diminishing and their powers for home rule are stifled. And now, the crowning indignity, they are losing their rights to redevelop internally and to check blight.

It is no wonder that under these conditions cities have been forced to go to the federal government for revenue sources and for protection from abuses by other governments and by privileged, special, or factional interests.

If all these dire circumstances presently surrounding us were allowed to remain, almost everyone, including those who have forced these conditions upon us, would lose by it. These issues are so fundamental, that we dare not allow them to be lost amid our minor concerns.

With a growing city such as ours, loss of power to expand must mean that thousands of new persons coming in each year to live must be crowded into our already too densely occupied areas. The loss of powers to redevelop will force these people to crowd into older structures. Blight and slums will result.

A city so stunted must inevitably fall prey to the forces of corruption that have seized nearly every large American city. These cities, ringed by hostile suburbs, and powerless by law to redevelop their blighted areas, are the sore spot of American government.

Superimposed on these legal obstacles is inflation. The steadily rising inflationary trends of the nation have had adverse effect on our city. The cost of new construction is running 25 percent higher than at the time our budget was adopted. The cost of living index has risen nearly 12 points. We are faced at many points with federal restrictions on much needed civic projects. Even labor is much more difficult to obtain, and our ordinary housekeeping becomes ever harder to accomplish.

Thus, we have the description of the cold climate in which we are expected to survive. But let us not refuse to face these elements. A cold climate is not entirely bad - in fact it can be invigorating to a resourceful and energetic people. We can adopt new methods and ideas, and overcome these temporary adversities quickly.

For instance, we ought to make, for the record of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, the strongest representation of the effects of its rulings which have practically nullified an annexation law under which we operated for 52 years.

Next we ought to place before the legislature bills which would remove any shadow of doubt now beclouding our right and necessity to grow in a healthy fashion. One of these bills should provide for a means of annexation by judicial review - a method sorely needed by every major city in America in this age.

Such a method of judicial review would overcome the Gordian knot of entangled governments³ existing in Milwaukee and would make unnecessary the many proposals for unusual governmental forms to meet the problems that these multitude of governments cause.

We cannot stand idly by. We should press forward in a program of directed expansion in order to learn how effective are our remaining powers. By directed expansion I mean the production of a maximum of new units at a minimum city expenditure in a program of coordinated planning. Such growth necessarily implies close coordination between our public land commission and our public works department.

This growth is vital. A special committee investigating defense housing for me, reports that industry requires, immediately, 5000 more housing units for new workers. These 5000 workers represent families totaling about 20,000 people - half the number of population increase in the last decade.

We should proceed on our redevelopment program. The proposed plan for veteran's homes, prepared and endorsed, jointly by the City Attorney and the Housing Authority seems quite sound. The plan will make payments in lieu

³The term "Gordian knot" refers to Myron L. Gordan, Judge of Branch 1 of the Milwaukee Civil Court, who ruled in 1951, in the special referendum case. See footnote 1, supra.

of taxes equivalent to local taxes and therefore should be in no wise affected by the April 3 referendum. I do not think that any of us want to continue the blighted temporary shantytowns into which families of servicemen have been crowded.

We should also expedite work under our previously adopted program of 2500 units of low-rent projects for blight clearance. In view of our commitments, we need not be apprehensive over possible court tests.

Nor can we stand still on our program for improving inner trafficways and public transportation. What is more, in face of federal restrictions on other types of building, we may need to concentrate on this type of program. We can lay out our routes, acquire necessary right-of-way and clear as much of it as possible, provide adequate off-street parking, and enact enabling ordinances to secure land for these purposes.

While we pay close attention to the business of moving private motor vehicle traffic, we cannot neglect public transportation. Service on public transportation this last winter was poor, owing to a compounding of difficulties raised by heavy snowfall, extreme cold and shortage of operators. The higher fares and the poor service caused many riders to use their own vehicles and this, in turn, led to aggravating traffic tie-ups.

We can take aggressive outlook on public transportation

and consider the need for a metropolitan transportation authority. The experience of other cities shows that under such an authority new capital can be acquired for modernization of equipment and extension of service.

We can necessarily turn our attention to preventing the spread of blight by revising our ash and rubbish collection so as to increase frequency of collection. We need to provide for a triple separation of wastes into solids, combustibles, and organic wastes - each requiring a different process for disposal.

In addition we will have to continue to check thoroughly on property deterioration and overcrowding in residential areas. We shall have to seek ways and means of preserving existing residential neighborhoods from the blighting effects of traffic and undesirable encroachments. We ought to insist that the park system be expanded inside the city where fresh air and green grass are most needed.

I cannot refrain from commenting, at this moment, on the great need for decent homes for families with children. These families seem not to be welcome anywhere except in our low-rent projects, which cannot begin to accommodate them.

Private builders have built, with federal aid, a great many "one room efficiency" apartments. This program does not meet family space requirements and the rent for these units ranges from \$70 to \$100 a month.

During the past five years, the city has extended many invitations to the building industry, and building financing agencies, to engage in redevelopment projects. Our helping hand is still extended but, unfortunately, many of the spokesmen for these groups have fallen into an awkward position. They have denounced our city and federal aid to others as un-American and now find it difficult to accept for themselves. Despite these factors, I am sure the city will cooperate wholeheartedly with groups seeking to engage in blight clearance, and to provide rental housing for moderate income families.

While we concentrate on taking care of what we already have inside the city, we must join with our sister cities in a demand to halt inflation. Our city has done fairly well in keeping the rise in costs of government well below the rise in other prices. We have done this partly by effecting administrative economies, which is good, and partly by deficit financing which is not good.

According to the Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research, our city tax rate - that part of the rate for which we are responsible - is among the lowest of cities in our class. But we can maintain this position only if the cost of living stops rising.

There are many other objectives which we can fulfill in 1951. These objectives are well summarized in the platform of the Public Enterprise Committee, prepared in October,

1950, a copy of which is attached.

There is one matter which I dare not leave untouched because it is so vitally tied up with blight clearance and city expansion. That is the matter of civil defense. It is with us and we cannot escape it. It is beginning to ask more of us in the way of time and money.

The cities of America are the Achilles heel⁴ of our defense system. Our objective during this next year must be to further improve our own local civil defense organization - even though it is now better than most. There is, in preparation, a publication of our defense program which will shortly be placed before the public. This will give the people of our community a better idea of what they can do constructively in their own interests. Their co-operation is the basis of this program.

Now that we have surveyed our status, as of this moment, let us set our minds and energies to the task of overcoming the obstacles. Milwaukee's progress must go forward.

With the proper physical environment we can overcome

⁴ Achilles, a legendary hero of ancient Greece and the central figure of Homer's Iliad was dipped, when a child, into the waters of the river Styx. This act, according to the legend, made his body invulnerable, except for his heel that was held during the immersion; hence the proverbial reference, "Achilles heel." Achilles was slain by Paris whose arrow was guided by Apollo to his vulnerable heel. In this context Mr. Zeidler's reference to the large American city as the Achilles heel of our defense system is a vivid one.

many of our problems of a social character, we can improve our culture, and give meaning to the life of our people.

MESSAGE TO THE MILWAUKEE COMMON COUNCIL

APRIL 19, 1955

Following the custom of delivering an annual address to the Common Council at the second meeting of the Council in April, Mr. Zeidler delivered a speech which, in the main, was an inventory of achievements accomplished during his term as mayor from 1948 to 1955. Using the twenty-five point plan set forth in his inaugural address of 1948 as criteria for appraisal, the speech attempts to assess the progress made to the date of the speech.

Within the body of this speech one will find that Mr. Zeidler focuses special attention on only seven of the twenty-five points that are found in his inaugural address. The topics that receive special attention are: housing, expressways, labor relations, traffic planning, harbor development, utility rates, and city development. It is also interesting to note that Mr. Zeidler deals with areas in which little has been accomplished since he came to office. The two major topics we find discussed under this heading are civil defense and redevelopment.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library. The text of the speech was later published in booklet form by the City of Milwaukee and under the title of "Message to the Milwaukee Common Council, April 19, 1955."

To the Honorable, the Common Council:

Gentlemen: It has been customary in the past for mayors to annually give their views to the Common Council at its second meeting in April. In accordance with this custom, I am giving some of my views on past achievements and future progress.

I suppose our best summary of achievement is to be found in the fact that from 1948 to 1954 this city increased in size some 50 per cent and in population some 15 per cent. In a talk some months ago at the Press Club,

I said we assimilated a population larger than the city of Oshkosh. One recent account compares this growth with the assimilation of a city the size of Madison, and, I suppose, as far as territory that is true.

In order to graphically illustrate this condition I asked the Public Works Department to prepare a series of maps by means of which one could see at a glance what kind of capital improvement and development took place, and where. This series of maps was supposed to be ready in time for the annual birthday dinner of the city given by the Press Club, but owing to the pressure of work on the department, it did not deliver the final report and the maps to me until Friday last. By now each member of this Council should have received the reports.

The report and maps will show that the principal growth and expansion of the city took place to the northwest and southwest until last spring when the Town of Lake and the City of Milwaukee consolidated. Into these outlying areas went large sums of money for water, sewers, streets, lighting, and schools.

During the same period of time the central part of the city enjoyed the advantages of repaved main thoroughfares, improved playgrounds, introduction of parking facilities, construction of police stations, construction and improvement of many new fire stations, and some blight clearance combined with public housing, and bridge construction or

reconstruction to the number of fifteen such projects. A large quantity of work, including improved fire and police alarm signaling and the installation of automatic traffic signals, was also accomplished, as was the channelization of traffic at many important intersections.

During this time we modernized our waste collection systems, improved the frequency of collection, constructed one incinerator, began another, modernized our municipal equipment and built one substantial municipal garage. We added to our harbor facilities, completed or improved several branch libraries, and began a major addition to the main library. Early in this period we completed the Arena which served not only as a spur to progress in this community, but also sparked similar developments all over the country by its example of fine and useful architecture.

The housing problem, which was a tremendous one early in this period, was met by community expansion, by temporary residential construction for veterans, and by permanent construction for veterans and for low income families. All this was accomplished against great legal harassments.¹

During this period in the Public Works report, the city assimilated some 47,342 cars when the total jumped

¹For an account of these "legal harassments," see Message to the Common Council 1951, footnotes 1 and 2.

from 170,629 to 217,971; and in addition we had the traffic of an ever growing suburban area. For this reason the city began the expressway program and did the initial work of engineering, decision of routes, and purchase of lands, until the program was transferred to the county.

The spectacular physical improvements often hide the solid work of administrative departments. During the period of great growth we maintained the highest national reputation for the Tax Commissioner's Department, for the Election Commission, for the Central Board of Purchases, for the Safety Commission, for the City Service Commission, for our Fire and Police Departments, and for rigorous building inspection practices. We added such little touches as a sound program of tree planting and boulevard maintenance along with a very fine system of street signs and traffic directions.

Among the administrative practices we encouraged was a complete study of every department by the firm of Griffenhagen and Associates, which brought forth more than a thousand recommendations. A committee of aldermen and citizens, and the Budget Supervisor, sat through session after session until every recommendation was treated, with the resultant effect that hundreds of thousands of dollars will be saved annually.

Another noteworthy achievement was the consolidation

with the former Town of Lake which involved many tedious and complicated details, many of which were carried by the City Attorney's Office and the Comptroller's Department, with assistance from the City Treasurer and the Budget Supervisor. All of these agencies deserve our highest commendation for the smoothness with which this transaction was carried out.

Our Community Development Department proved its worth again and again by obtaining, in the face of great obstacles, the necessary building sites for our expanded population. Just imagine the crowding and blight which would have occurred if this expanding population had been compelled to find shelter within the existing boundaries of the community. Instead it was possible, because of our program, for families to secure a residence on an individual plot of ground - a fact which has distinct advantages for family life, for the raising of children and for the development of human personality.

Our Health Commissioner, too, held high the reputation of his department for work in preventable diseases and for the development of a housing code.

Labor relations with the employees of the city during this time were generally good, and we have evolved a grievance procedure which I believe is unique among American cities. The local government also extended and improved compensation and benefits to public employees, so

that public employment does not stand at any disadvantage with private employment.

In our relations with the legislature, we received on the whole, a sympathetic consideration for many problems, with the probable exceptions of the return of revenue sufficient to meet with the burdens of the increased use of the automobile, and with the exception of the ill-conceived attempt to take away the right of urban people to equal representation in the legislature. It is my hope that this latter move to abridge our voting rights for legislative representatives remains quiescent forever.

It would be difficult to recount the many measures adopted by city government to assist the flow of traffic and to provide parking space. The city has four parking lots in operation, about nine new ones under construction, and leases 102 lots which provide more than 3,000 spaces. We have done all of this on a cash basis and have developed a system which provides about \$800,000 of new money a year for this purpose. In addition, the Council spent many hours providing intricate solutions for on-street parking in many neighborhoods, to keep merchants and residents satisfied and yet let traffic flow.

The Common Council and myself gave unstinted support to the Harbor Commission and the Port Director in their efforts to keep alive the St. Lawrence Seaway when all

over the nation people thought it was dead, and then to our great and agreeable surprise we saw it come to life through the Wiley-Dondero bill.²

The Common Council supported the School Board and the Vocational School in their effort to secure building funds, and it aided in playground development on a major scale.

The Common Council and the City Attorney's Office maintained a continual interest in utility rates and regulations, and in most cases gained the best possible results out of bad situations caused principally by an inflationary rise in costs. The Common Council and myself assisted in the shift from a street railway to a motor bus system which resulted in better traffic conditions on our streets.

From all this burden of work you can see what requirements for policy and for zoning were laid on the Public Land Commission; the tasks of the Real Estate Department for purchase of necessary real estate; and the load laid on the various financial agencies, like the Board of Assessments or the Zoning Board of Appeals, the Building Code Committee, and the Board of Tax Appeals, among others. All of these had their necessary tasks to keep the wheels of progress moving.

² Bill S. 2150 is the basic bill providing for the creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway. For details of this bill see, Congressional Record, Volume 99, p. 2127.

We might even mention the voluntary boards, like the Cost of Living Committee, the Commission on Human Rights, the Christmas Tree Commission, and the Library and Museum Boards. Each made its contribution to the international reputation which this city now enjoys for excellence in government.

It is well that we recite these achievements in order to gain some sense of satisfaction from our enormous and burdensome tasks in these times which require not only many hours of work, but the weightiest consideration of many fundamental problems.

It would be good if I could stop here and say that we have but to maintain our pace of effort, or even slacken a bit, because we have reached the heights of municipal achievement. Unfortunately, this is not so, for other conditions beyond our making have brought to the fore the necessity for making certain policy decisions and following through on them in order to maintain good, standard living conditions in this area.

Among our problems are increased need for finances, or else curtailment of services at some distant time; the regulation of the motor vehicle and financing of expenses necessary for its service before we are swamped with congestion; advance site planning, development of open spaces and green spots, preservation of park sites in advance; public transit, slum clearance, housing and

building code enforcement; encouragement of industry, preservation of older districts, and non-military or civil defense.

I used the expression non-military or civil defense last. Perhaps I should have used it first. Certainly it has a new and continued high priority in all our actions and planning for the future. World events now have an important bearing on our continued existence as a city. If there is peace we can go ahead as if new and powerful weapons - city destroyers - did not exist. However, there is no assurance that there will be peace or that limited wars in Asia will not spread to North America.

It seems to me wise, as I have stated again and again to this Council and the people of this city, that we have to make a greater place for non-military defense planning, and that means that we will have to show some leadership and assert propositions from time to time that are not popular at the moment. At the same time, if something were to happen, what defense could you offer to the people that you, as their officials and leaders, did not sufficiently prepare for the very real kind of military danger that now exists? I believe that a little pressure on these matters now is wise until we obtain the maximum degree of community safety permitted a big city in these times.

Thus I believe that we ought to concentrate on im-

proving our arterials and escape routes out to the city limits. This ought to be reflected in our very next budget. We ought to study formally, with the state government, the future growth of this entire area so that mistakes of the past decade; namely, the adding of thousands of people in another thick layer around the city, instead of locating them in satellite communities or in ribbons, does not occur. All over America, cities have become richer targets in the past decade, even though we were all aware of the implications of atomic weapons during that time.

Such a study must take place under state-wide auspices even though we spur it, for the remedy to the problem can only come from well-conceived state legislation. If the good people of Wisconsin do not want the prospect of hordes of Milwaukeeans streaming over and around them sometime in the future, they too will make haste to remedy the situation wherein one-quarter of the people live in one-eight hundredth of the entire state. This means that over a period of time the region known as Milwaukee must be diffused over a much larger area. Such diffusion is going to take place anyway, in my opinion. The use of the private auto and certain federal measures affecting the defense industries will cause changes to take place which will approximate the condition of widespread diffusion of industry and population. We ought to study the situation

now so that it does not happen to us when we are not prepared for it.

All of this requires development of a plan and adherence to it. We ought to speed up our arterial and expressway development, for these items of themselves will cause diffusion. We ought to plan parkways, green strips, and major parks far enough in advance so that we are not caught napping even as the growth on the outskirts of the city caught us napping now. I think you will remember that I said although we have had an enormous growth of population west of North and South Forty Third Street, almost to the county line, in that entire area we have had no major park space, either in the northwest or southwest sections, equivalent to Jackson or Washington Park. It is almost too late now to remedy this defect for a large number of people.

The diffusion of population that is taking place under the "two cars to a family" slogan has been placing some burdens on our government. Expenditures for relief of the motor vehicle user far exceed any return to the city government. One estimate indicates that the average motor vehicle is subsidized about ninety dollars a year from other tax sources. This is the principal reason, in my opinion, for the growing indebtedness of the city government. The end of this growing indebtedness is by no means in sight.

Expenditures for this kind of development are competing with increased school costs and costs for other governmental services. Something has to give way ultimately. We can postpone the decision until we have reached our statutory debt limits, and then those in government at the time must face the day of reckoning. This problem of making the motor vehicle pay its way is primarily a legislative matter; with the present state of things, only dribblets of relief can be expected. I merely recite this situation to you to warn you because the temper of the present generation of taxpayers is to enjoy all things and to present much of the bill to their own sons and daughters.

The wider use of the private motor vehicle is bringing a public transit crisis all over the nation. The fewer riders and the longer distance each rider travels, as the city becomes more diffused, the more costly the fares. The most frequent remedy for this situation is to subsidize the transit company at the expense of the local property taxpayer. If this appears to be the answer that the legislature gives to Wisconsin transit companies, it looks as if we are faced with a further burden by loss of revenue from the companies.

It will be apparent from our maps that much of the capital expenditures have gone to outlying districts where absence of facilities compelled new construction. This

meant that the center of the city could not be rehabilitated the way we might like it. Local funds for reconstruction were not available, and all attempts to secure federal grants-in-aid for clearing up the worst parts of the older city were strongly opposed, so that only about six blocks of badly blighted property were torn down and replaced by rental units for low income families.

Now we are confronted with a proposal to redevelopment of part of the lower Third Ward. After studying the transcript of the recent testimony about this project, and since talking to people affected in the district, it is my considered opinion that they will be best off in most every way if the project goes ahead, with possibly a few modifications.

The task of redevelopment is going to be a long and arduous one; of community resistance is so strong that major projects cannot be evolved, we will then have to rely on strengthened building and housing codes to carry the load. I can see a number of stumbling blocks ahead of us. One of these is the persistent desire of certain groups to get rid of the Housing Authority and all low rent housing. The Housing Authority is the only agency we have to carry on redevelopment work; and if there is no low rent housing, displaced families, especially of minority groups, will have no place to go.

In the midst of all of our problems, we must remember that the funds upon which we operate in this city ultimately come from the income of the producing elements in the city, both management and labor. We should keep this in mind because if military expenditures slacken, and the situation for industry becomes more competitive, we may have to make the necessary adjustments to keep industrial activity going. This requires many things including good plant sites, and attractive community conditions for management and labor alike.

Accordingly, I have asked the chairman of the utilities committee, whose special task it is to keep a watchful eye over economic conditions, to gain for himself and his committee the most current information about industry in Wisconsin so that this Council may be advised of our city's position in the era ahead. Also, I am keeping a close watch on developments in the national capitol to take advantage for this city of any federal assistance that may be forthcoming if economic conditions change.

The matters which I have touched upon here are some of the matters of principal interest to us at this moment. This comment is not to indicate that I am not aware of the specific and often major problems of each and every one of you. On these problems I can assure you that my office will give the same careful attention and study that it has given in the past in order to be helpful to you and

the people you represent.

I want to thank you for the cooperation you have given me in the past, and it is my hope that this next year will not only prove to be for the people the most fruitful of this present term of office, but also the most profitable in the hundred and nine years of the city's existence.

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS

MAY 30, 1959

In observance of Memorial Day, May 30, 1959, Mr. Zeidler addressed world war veterans and their friends at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Wood, Wisconsin.

Though a brief speech, the theme is a significant one: namely, that national existence rests not only on the death, suffering, and anguish of our defenders, but also upon national world understanding.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

Memorial Day is a day when the people of this nation pause to reckon the cost of national existence. The reckoning made in this day is not in terms of the treasure of the nation or material cost, but in the awful terms of life -- the loss of life and the suffering and anguish of those called on to defend the home land of this country. Speech and words on this day are not capable of expressing this cost, nor the debt of the living and free people, to the honored dead, and we are therefore constrained in our speech to simply pledge ourselves to live so as to uphold the ideals of humanity which have been embedded in the Constitutional Democracy of this nation.

Every day then ought to be kind of a Memorial Day, and every act of our lives ought to fit a pattern which is a kind of memorial to the dead. This is most difficult to do in view of the great prosperity of the nation, but our physical prosperity must not blind us to the fact that

under today's conditions in the world it can disappear in one day's time. Nor should we forget that this nation is still calling upon its citizens to render national service at an enormous cost.

The national existence of the United States today depends in part on the military defenses of the United States and in part on our ability to persuade people to live together in peace and harmony. We do not want co-existence which implies the toleration of two powerful enemies, made fearful of the other; but rather we desire the mutual respect, understanding and appreciation of the culture of various people of the world.

This is what the people of the United States should want and this is what they should strive for. Upon this principle the foundation of our nation was laid, and this was the principle which permitted the United States to assimilate so many people of such diverse cultures.

By practising the art of understanding and honoring the people of the various nations of the world, by insisting on free democratic expression of people, and by emphasizing honest and just conduct of government, we honor our dead and their ideals.

GREETING TO CONFERENCE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE ASSEMBLY

MAY 28, 1956

As mayor of the city of Milwaukee, Mr. Zeidler was often asked to address different organizations holding conventions in Milwaukee. Zeidler's speech to the annual convention of the Central Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly at the Hotel Schroeder is an example of such an occasion. The audience consisted of 350 civil service employees, guests, and several members of the press.

Reflecting on the background of the civil service movement and on the direction in which the movement is headed, the speech takes the form of a history of the ideas and development of civil service in this country. Especially noteworthy is Zeidler's opening humorous track-meet illustration, a device which he rarely used.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

By the Honorable Frank P. Zeidler, Mayor of Milwaukee

I am happy to be here to extend the greetings of the City of Milwaukee to this Central Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly. I note that in the book I am supposed to be scheduled to give the welcoming address and the keynote speech but, as Bob Jordan is so adept at giving welcoming addresses, I should cut that part of my program off. Bob, incidentally, is the President of the County Council CIO and a man of very substantial civic vision. He has participated much in the development of the progressive program the City of Milwaukee has gone through in the past few years.

When I see this audience and look through it, I note

that many of you are directly engaged in civil service examinations and that reminds me of the only story on examinations that I know that I can tell at this time. It is the story of a track meet, a dual track meet, that was being held between a great state university and a small state teachers' college. In this track meet a great, big, hulking man, Butch McGonigle, carried off first in the shot put, first in the discus, and first in the javelin. Two professors were sitting alongside of the track, one from the state college and one from the university. The professor from the state college said to the university man, "I see you have Butch McGonigle competing for you." The university man said, "That's so; what does it mean to you?" The state college man said, "We flunked him out of our school." The university man thought for a while and he said, "Well, look, our school is twice as big as yours and if you need 100 to pass in your school we only need 50 to pass in ours. So, we gave Butch an entrance exam. We asked him two questions. We asked him who was the fourth President of the United States and he said John Adams. That was wrong. Then we asked him how far it was from the earth to the moon and he said he didn't know. That was right, he didn't know."

I say the City of Milwaukee is happy to have this conference in its midst because of the inspiration I know our

people will get from it. We certainly implore you to have a good time because Bob and the Host Committee twisted the arm of the Common Council Finance Committee to get the money for you. So, have a good time and if you don't have a good time we should have difficulty explaining to the Finance Committee what happened to that fund.

I'm sure that the Host Committee will demonstrate to you what the meaning of the Milwaukee word "gemutlichkeit" is that's a word which is very difficult to translate but it's a word that comes closest to meaning easy-going good-fellowship. Many of you already know much about this city, its history, its great industry, and the good government which has made it world famous. The same wave of immigration in the last century that brought this tremendous industry to Milwaukee (for Milwaukee is the eighth largest industrial center in the United States), brought with it a movement and a man who contributed much to the civil service idea in the United States. That man was Carl Schurz.¹ Schurz came to the United States as a refugee from the Rebellion of 1848. He had been imprisoned for his part in the Rebellion. He went to London and then finally found his way over into the United States into the Midwest, which was then opening up, and he came to Milwaukee. Schurz

¹Carl Schurz (1829-1906), immigrated to the United States from Germany in 1852 and is known as the Father of the Civil Service Act.

was a man of considerable learning and intelligence and, when he came to Milwaukee and found that there were so many Germans here, he concluded that an additional German would have difficulty in making a living; so he moved to Watertown, Wisconsin, where his wife, incidentally, started the first Kindergarten in the United States.

From there he went to Madison, Wisconsin, where he acquired enough of the English language so that by 1859 he could come back to Milwaukee and be admitted to the Bar. About that time he got interested in the anti-slavery movement and was one of the strongest supporters of Lincoln.

About 1859, or 1860, he left for St. Louis, which was another large center of German population and there he participated actively in the elections of 1860. As a result of these elections he came to the conclusion that he had a large role in the election of Lincoln. Whether this was true or not, he had that conclusion and he, along with thousands of others, went to Washington to demand of Lincoln some position in the government commensurate with his ability to deliver the votes. There he discovered that the President was besieged with other people wanting to get appointments that they felt they earned because they were a party that had newly come into existence.

Schurz received some appointments. Those that he got he felt were unworthy of his talents, but he got a few of them and one of them was the post of Ambassador to Spain.

He went back to Missouri and I think he became a United States Senator.² While he was a Senator, about 1869 or 1870, apparently there matured the idea in his mind that it was unnecessary and undesirable for the President to have to personally supervise all the appointments of all the jobs. He introduced what was then the first Civil Service law. I think that as a result of his efforts there was a Civil Service Commission appointed in 1871 that lasted for a few months. From then on he came to devote his particular talents to this special program and agitated throughout the United States, with many others of course, for improved civil service.

Although the times would have seemed to demand it, with the enormous amount of corruption which existed in all levels of government of the United States, particularly during Grant's regime (corruption which penetrated not only the national government but was rampant in local city government), there was no great wave of sentiment for civil service until the assassination of Garfield. After that the national Civil Service reform movement came into existence and in 1883 Congress enacted the Pendleton Act, setting up the first effective Civil Service system. As you know, civil service then had to fight its way gradually, law by law, amendment by amendment, action by action,

² Carl Schurz, United States Senator from Missouri, 1869-1875.

until we have a fairly sizeable program of civil service in the state, national, and local governments in the United States.

It is well, therefore, at the outset of this particular program of ours, to pause and think over the background of the civil service movement; not only that you can reflect from whence it has come but reflect on the direction where it will go. You can see from the history of the civil service movement that a popular demand was necessary to institute it; but there were some other factors involved.

This conference, I gather from its program, will be much concerned with the techniques and practices of the civil service movement. Most of these techniques will be beyond the comprehension of the average citizen whose interests these techniques were designed to protect. In the discussion of these techniques, therefore, it is wise that we refer back and relate them to the fundamental reasons for the existence of civil service.

The fundamental reason for the existence of civil service is found in the desire of taxpayers for more service for the same tax dollars. If the system of dividing the spoils of office, which prevailed before, could have continued to provide efficient service, or even reasonably tolerable service, it is not likely that the present civil service system would exist. It was be-

cause of the massive and repeated failures of the spoils system that civil service finally came into being and then it came into being only haltingly and slowly. Each step of the way had to be fought. Not only had the political parties to be fought, but also a large part of the public had to be convinced. I think we would be less inaccurate in our appraisal of the survival values of civil service if we did not recognize that there is a conflict between its concepts and that of political parties and political organizations, and I say this although I have been active in political affairs myself for more than two decades.

Political parties and organizations hold themselves out to manage the public's business and to guide public affairs. It takes manpower as well as funds to conduct a successful campaign and, since campaigns are generally bitter and campaigners often suffer the shock of battle, the winners naturally expect a reward. The only reward they can give their followers is employment in the public business. Here the concepts of civil service often stand in the way, for the skilled precinct worker is not necessarily the most qualified health inspector; nor is the head of the national women's division of the winning national campaign necessarily the greatest qualified expert for a cabinet post.

Prejudices of this kind have developed recently in the national government because one party has been in

power for two decades and has expanded the number of positions covered by civil service.³ The party out of power usually desires to have some method of rewarding its followers and this means changing the methods of civil service, if not abolishing civil service coverage for some of the public employees.⁴ The public often does not mind reduction of those covered by civil service, especially if there is a considerable shift in administration and if the public demands a new policy. Then it doesn't mind if there are wholesale dismissals, provided that reasonable replacements are available. In some of the foreign countries wholesale replacements mean the actual decimation of all those responsible for its existing policies. We do not do that in the United States or Canada but this is, unfortunately, a common practice falling on the heads of civil servants in different parts of the world in Asia and Eastern Europe.

Too often in local government there is some resentment of the public worker because some persons feel that he is

³Reference here is to the Democratic Party. During the period 1932-1952, the positions under Civil Service control expanded through Democratic Party efforts in the Congress.

⁴During the period 1932-1952, the Republican Party fought for the curtailment of Civil Service coverage. Bill S. 364, introduced in 1949, provided for the elimination of certain Civil Service jobs. For details of this bill, see Congressional Record, Volume 96, p. 2534.

overly protected from the competition of life. This resentment, however, is greatest where the spoils system firmly prevails. Against these conditions the civil service employee and the civil service commission have some protection.

The first protection is found in the desire of the taxpayer to have quantities of good service but not to pay too much for it. The spoils system is inefficient and causes taxes to rise and service to deteriorate. In some instances in the history of local American government it was discovered that people who were to carry out important functions simply could not read or write and were merely put on the payroll. Of course, there were many people on the payroll who weren't there at all and somebody was taking the check. This was a common thing in the United States around the turn of the century. Consequently, the political leader must take cognizance of the situation where the taxpayers demand service and don't want to pay too much for it and he must rely on the staff work in civil service to provide properly trained employees to carry out the functions of government.

Another protection for the civil service system is found in the complexity of the technical aspects of governmental service. Great expertness is now required in many branches of vital public service such as the water works

system or the sewerage system. The friends of the man who campaigned for office do not include all of the categories of knowledge required by government, so the civil service systems must continue to supply those who possess the expert knowledge.

A third protection of the civil service system is found in the very numbers of public employees themselves. There are too many employees for individual candidates who win office to pick them all out and to assign them to the various responsibilities. In addition, employees have banded together in organizations and in unions and thus, by virtue of these unions and organizations, they have become themselves a political force to be recommended with by the candidate seeking public office.

I mention this conflict between the very nature of the party and political systems and the civil service system because it has had its effect on civil service systems. To be really qualified to deal with realities, a civil service system must take into cognizance the existence of this particular conflict.

That the civil service system is by no means sure of its future can be seen in the expression I recently heard from one of the greatest experts in government who attended the session on metropolitan government at the Michigan State university. This man was one of the greatest champions of civil service and had recently

acquired a new post.⁵ He said that he would really have an efficient office if he could only get rid of some of the people who came in by the political route and who were cemented in by civil service. This man gave me a strong argument why he thought that civil service was bad when previously he had been a great champion of it.

Civil service will be under other pressures also if any kind of unemployment develops, particularly within the next few years. At such time public jobs become desirable, yes sometimes vital to sustain life, and the pressure of the public office holder to provide employment becomes enormous. The office holder who does not provide work will be swept from office in such a period.

I would like, therefore, to suggest certain rules to be kept in mind by those engaged in civil service work in the future. The first is that civil service must provide the most competent people possible to deal with the vital functions of government, irrespective of any pressures put on them. One cannot tolerate incompetency or inefficiency where the lives of people are at stake.

In this connection I am glad to say that the Milwaukee City Service Commission and the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission have provided excellent persons to the city government for the vital services. They have been

⁵Reference here is to Carl Chatters, who assumed the post of comptroller of the City of Chicago in 1955.

able to do this because the merit system has played an important role in appointments and advancements. I'm not so naive to state here that the merit system has been exclusively used, and that it has exclusively prevailed, because the Mayor of the city cannot observe all of the minutiae of departmental treatment to see that absolute justice prevails; but the commissions know that the merit system is desired in Milwaukee and I believe that they have impressed it upon the department heads. As a result, many of our department heads and their subordinates are nationally and internationally known in their particular field. I should like to mention a few: our tax commissioner is internationally known, the secretary of our election commission is internationally acquainted, and our harbor director is a man of world-wide reputation. Our police chief and our fire chief, both of whom are selected by the merit system, have gained nation-wide reputations.

Next, I think that commissions and civil service agencies themselves must not engage in the practices they do not want the public office holders to engage in; that is, in discrimination and in advancement of favoritism. When this happens, the use of the civil service system disappears and the public office holder might just as well go back to the spoils system because somebody else is running such a system and he isn't getting the benefit

of it. This is a practice, unfortunately, which has crept into some areas. When the employees begin to feel that those who control the city service, or civil service commission, and that those who are department heads have their favorites whom they are advancing irrespective of merit, there enters into the situation a discontent and a disgruntlement with civil service which can lead effectively to its curtailment or to its ultimate destruction.

Next, I think civil service bodies must strive ceaselessly to perfect their techniques of character analysis and human capacities. As jobs become more difficult, and as subtle strains and unthought of demands of human nature enter into these jobs and are placed on the employees, it is more than ever necessary to get the right person to fit the particular job. This is needed not only for the efficiency of the job, and not only for accomplishing the objectives of the job, but also for the comfort of the person on whom the burden of work is placed.

Then, I think that civil service bodies as a corollary to character analysis must continue to observe jobs and workind conditions. They must do this to ascertain that the classifications and compensations are correct. Jobs in themselves suddenly shift in the emphasis or type or work and, when a maladjustment appears, the civil service body ought not to be caught by surprise. This is a

situation that happens occasionally when a job changes without it being recognized. When the demand for change in compensation comes to the proper authority, it is a great surprise. It's a surprise to the legislative body, which says, "Well, why didn't you tell us, you in the Civil Service Commission, what was happening? We then wouldn't have this strife or this major discontent over conditions and hours and methods of operation in that particular service."

Civil service bodies ought to consider also what to do with the handicapped. Wars and this mechanical age and longer life thrust this problem on public employees as well as on private employees and, while civil service has been just to those handicapped by age, those otherwise handicapped have not had enough opportunities in public service, in my opinion. Now, of course, I know that you will say, "Mr. Mayor, you are asking us to do two impossible things. One is to give the highest efficiency possible for the taxpayer and, also, on the other hand to hire the handicapped and that may necessarily mean that we cannot give the highest efficiency. Which do you want?" I admit that there is a conflict, but that is a task the civil service commissions are going to have to resolve, simply because age and the increasing number of persons disabled in accidents, automobile and otherwise, are presenting that problem to us.

I also think that civil service bodies must pay attention to "in service" training more than they have, especially in the engineering fields. If this nation is about to face a shortage of engineering personnel, then the upgrading of those already working at jobs in public service is going to be necessary. "In service" training, however, can also be applied to almost all other regular employees in order to get them to understand their work better; to promote friendly relations; to get across to them the idea of the fact that their employer has a personal interest in them, and to get from them their very best ideas for the improvement of the service.

Our City Service Commission has conducted about 75 classes of this type to great advantage. To these classes are brought people from the various departments and bureaus of the city government and there, for a period of perhaps eight hours, they learn the techniques of meeting people. They learn what other departments are doing. They get a sense of the direction of the city government, because we do not want them to feel that what goes on above them is mysterious. We want them to feel that they have an essential part of carrying out the total objectives and policies of the city government and, in addition, we want any ideas they may have which will be for the improvement of their own jobs and the improvement of the public service.

Last of all, I think that civil service commissions

must review their philosophy of life and government. Civil service experts, as well as all experts in public administration, must think over their role as citizens generally. They cannot divorce themselves from the daily activity of providing service to the government, nor can they divorce this activity from their responsibility for what the government ultimately does. There was an efficient government service in Nazi Germany. That service provided the Nazis with an efficient army and military machine but that machine and that army was used to oppress people and to destroy them on an unprecedented mass basis. When the servants of that government were called to trial, they often times excused themselves by the assertion that they were taking orders and that was the limit of their responsibility, no matter how wicked the thing was that they were commanded to do. This is an extreme case, you may say, but every totalitarian government exhibits the same phenomena of the irresponsibility of the public administrator for the end results of what he is doing.

The civil service commission, and the public employees alike, must keep in mind that they must serve the democratic ideals and the freedom of the people, who are sovereign in our country. Public service must lead to the ennoblement and the enrichment of the cultural heritage of mankind in the struggle against ignorance, squalor, want,

disease, and death. Where the public servant has this ideal, or the civil service body itself instills this ideal, public service will become a pleasure and a rewarding experience in a sense greater than a monetary sense. If this ideal is not attained, public service then can become brutal and oppressive and wicked. Your experiences in Milwaukee in your conference here should help maintain these ideals of democratic practices and of the rights of the individual; of freedom and of a just government, of which you will be an integral part. If you gain this sense of purpose from your gathering here, it is the best gift that the citizens of this community can give you. Thank you.

SPEECH TO WISCONSIN STATE AFL-CIO

JULY 24, 1958

In 1958, the Wisconsin American Federation of Labor held a three day joint convention with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, July 21 to July 24 at the Hotel Schroeder. The convention has some historical significance in that it was the occasion of the Wisconsin merger of the two unions. For the concluding session Mr. Zeidler was asked to deliver a major address to members of both unions, national officers of both unions and guests.

The speech is especially effective in its detailed account of the historical and theoretical bases of American unionism.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

Mr. Chairman, President and Officers of the Wisconsin AFL-CIO, members and friends of the organization, members of the clergy, national officers, distinguished guests:

This gathering is the concluding session of a series of meetings which has resulted in the merging of the two largest labor bodies in Wisconsin, the Wisconsin Federation of Labor and the Wisconsin Council of Industrial Unions. It has been said many times that this is a history-making occasion, and it deserves repetition; for the creation of the Wisconsin AFL-CIO will make history not only for the labor movement, but will also have an influence on the course of the entire state.

The merging of these two great labor bodies is, of course, a part of a still larger scheme of things. The

merger stems from a merger of the two international bodies, the American Federation of Labor, founded in 1886, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations founded about 1936. This larger merger took place on December 4, 1955, and was carried out for the purpose of ending a conflict between national labor bodies and for the purpose of dealing with legislation more effectively.

When the merger is complete, perhaps 17 million organized workers out of the working force of the nation will be represented by the new merged organization.

That many workers represented by a single organization, as their spokesman on national, state, and local policies, is full of great significance for the future of the nation and of every local government, as well as, of course, the future of management and enterprisers.

It is well, therefore, to look back on the history a bit in order to judge the present and estimate the future for the new organization.

The American Federation of Labor was an organization that developed from craft and trade unions, that is, unions composed of persons with skill in a particular trade or craft. The Congress of Industrial Unions was composed of persons employed in mass production industries where work of the individual is often limited to operations in a very narrow monotonous segment of the total production process. It is an interesting fact that craft unions

appeared early in economic history, so that their antiquity has blurred their origin. Adam Smith, the classic economist, complained in one of his writings of journeymen who, no matter where and how they met, for weddings, funerals, or good times, set to figuring out how to raise wages.

But the industrial union concept has a long history also; the American Railway Union which figured prominently in the Pullman strike of 1892 was an industrial union. There has been a kind of tug-of-war in the union movement, theoretically, over the merits of industrial unions as compared with trade or craft unions. The national CIO, in fact, at its birth was a kind of organization inside the AFL, but its organizing principle of industrial union organization was unacceptable to the board of the AFL and so the sponsors of the CIO took the organizing committees out of the AFL and formed the Congress of Industrial Organization outside of the AFL. Thus was created a great division in the labor movement in the United States, which is now being erased.

Despite this division, the labor movement prospered. Both industrial and trade unions grew in number for two decades. The primary reason was the favorable attitude of federal law, particularly the Wagner Act. This act was passed for two reasons: one, to protect the right of labor to organize; and the other, to stop the ruinous decline of prices and the bottomless pit of deflation. A secondary cause for labor growth was the amount of work

caused by national defense.

But the conflict of ideas of industrial union organization and trade union organization showed itself in many ways. Some organizations were always coming and going from one status to another. A firm's employees would be organized on an industrial basis and then a group of specialized employees would desire to be represented as a kind of craft. This problem of bargaining units will never be completely solved, but the merger of the two groups should promote a better development of principles of organization and reduce disputes which distress the public as well as the labor organizations.

It is also important to point out an historical fact of the organization of the AFL. At the time of the organization of the AFL, there were many theoretical principles of trade union organization. It makes a fascinating study to consider all the types of theories of labor organization --craft union organization, industrial union organization, organization emphasizing political action as a distinct labor party, organization limiting political action in the body politic only to workers elected from industrial unions, and so on.

The leader of the AFL, Samuel Gompers, triumphed over all groups and factions with a program that called for shortening of the work day, increase of wages, and improvement of conditions under which the employees work. To this

he added the principle of rewarding one's friends and punishing one's enemies in any political party. This latter principle was an extension of Gomper's idea of not proposing a whole new economic and political system, but of taking the one in hand and changing it by influencing legislation.

Whatever one may think of the deficiencies of this program, it was more successful than rival theories of the labor organization, and the largest body of union members in the United States today officially follow the policies of Sam Gompers.

I think it is important to have this little discussion on the respective theories of organization of labor because an understanding of the theories of labor organization will be necessary for the AFL-CIO to survive. Despite the fact that it represents perhaps 17 or 18 million American workers, the AFL-CIO needs friends to survive as an organization, for organized labor is now engaged in a difficult legislative struggle to survive because of so-called "right to work" legislation which is aimed at fostering open shops and a drop in union membership.

In addition, the American labor movement cannot avoid dealing with the theory of labor organization, for the greatest single world-wide challenge present to free organized labor is presented by the Leninist and Stalinist

theoreticians who have, under guise of labor theory, organized the greatest system of mass exploitation of labor the world has ever seen. In this particular instance, the Leninist theory is that a select group of party bureaucrats may organize and control government in the name of the worker, and under this barrage of propaganda they have enslaved the worker to their bureaucracy. Not only is this a problem outside of the United States, but it also proved troublesome for a time to American labor.

The new AFL-CIO, both in the nation and the state, must be extremely careful about the course of action in the future, for the fear arises on the one hand that it is going to be too powerful; and on the other hand that it will not be militant enough in asserting labor demands.

The people of the United States today, except for a few irreconcilable individuals, recognize the very important function that labor organizations play in the process of collective bargaining, which is essential to the operation of our economy. Collective bargaining is a means of equalizing the offers of the supplier and buyer of labor services in the present-day system of industrialization where scores, hundreds and thousands of persons, without capital of their own, are employed by a single employer or firm.

Collective bargaining is a tough business, but even as there is no escape in the marketplace from give-and-take

over prices, so in the present system of production there can be no escape from collective bargaining; and most people, I believe, accept this condition.

But the position of organized labor in collective bargaining was gained only by gaining the good will of the public which ultimately reflected itself in favorable legislation. The primary problem of the new state AFL-CIO is to keep and increase the good will of the public.

In my opinion, this can be done by AFL-CIO interest in civic and community projects, such as better schools, health facilities, parks, playgrounds, clean neighborhoods, better houses. Indeed, much of the benefits enjoyed by modern workers come not only from the pay increases bargained for and war, but from the favorable living environment in shop and home and the community benefits gained by good government. If the labor movement is considered by the public as narrowly interested in its own good, it limits its own response of public acceptance. Thus the formula of Gompers calling for legislation in the interest of labor must be broadened to a pattern of legislative interest in matters of civic good. The state labor movement in the past has gained its greatest acceptance for this reason.

Next, I believe that the AFL-CIO in this state must take an active interest in the problems of the farmer and agriculture. It goes, of course, without saying that

without the producer of food, none of us city dwellers would live. Historically there has been a definable political split between the man who makes his living on the farm and the man who makes his living in the city. Why this should be is one of the great problems of human psychology. The city man envies the farmer and wishes he could quit his job to live in the country, and the farmer envies the eight-hour day, forty-hour week of the city employee. The farmer's animosity is therefore largely transferred to one class of city people only--the worker. Where there exists an agricultural enmity to labor, the problems of labor become immensely complicated. Such animus should not exist, and we who live in the city, whether employer or employee, should seek to improve relations with agricultural leaders, get to understand them and have them understand us.

Next I would stress the importance of good labor publications--weekly papers, pamphlets, and yes, even histories of the labor movement. Labor papers are often accused of being biased and of reporting inaccurately or with the wrong emphasis. At times this is true, but so also are all other publications, whether trade or even daily publications. Each has its slant and its special emphasis, and the reader's closest hope of developing a good judgment is to weigh one against another and compare them. If the labor press dies, the labor movement dies. If the press is weak, the movement is weak; and labor, like business, must

live on a constant dissemination of information about itself, which should be true and accurate. I hope, too, that the new state AFL-CIO sometime will publish a full and complete history of itself to date.

Lastly, I feel that the present-day enlarged movement of labor, both state and national, has to develop greater concern for and awareness of world affairs. The frontiers of the great nations of the world are no longer its outer boundaries, but its cities and its shops. Here the first blow of a new war will land. The Gompers' theory of interest only in immediate demands, in my opinion, needs expansion; it must be enlarged. Organized working men and women must know what they are working at, what they are producing, and what is being done with their production. To old-time philosophers and economists, this may sound like labor interference with the owner's rights, but this is no longer a simple world. The worker who assembles an atomic weapon ought to have some realization of what will happen to other workers, their wives, and children if that weapon is used. He ought to realize himself that somebody else would be pleased to destroy him and his family, too, for his part in making the weapon.

Fifteen and twenty years ago the workers in several countries of Europe accepted jobs after long unemployment without fully realizing that the result of their production would be their own destruction. They chose, without too

much protest, guns to get butter and received death instead.

The organized labor movement of the world must be genuinely interested in peace and democratic methods of production. I do not mean peace as the present leaders of the Soviet Union use that word, for they mean peace that comes from the destruction of all opposing men and ideas, but I mean that genuine peace which stems from understanding and cooperation which flows from democratically constituted commonwealths.

The AFL-CIO has played an important part in world peace and understanding, but the sentiments of the leaders often do not penetrate the man in the shop. He often needs work and he is often unhappy with his job, which he regards as punishment because he neither understands his role as a producer nor knows to what end his work is being put; and he has troubles of the home and family to watch for. Nevertheless, the man in the shop is the one who must be aware of great events, of his own importance to his union and to society so that he can support intelligent decisions for world cooperation. For in the last analysis, the ordinary shop-worker or craftsman pays the penalty when society fails.

I conclude without mentioning the much-discussed subject of corrupt elements in the labor movement. This subject has very little application to the state labor move-

ment, and the national organization has shown its ability to deal firmly with this problem, which is not unique to labor.

I do not mention management-labor relationships. I believe this new organization desires to treat employees fairly with respect to economic matters, just as it expects to be treated fairly by employers. I believe American labor has taken a progressive attitude toward mechanization and automation, because it expects that the benefits of increased production and increased leisure be justly distributed so that mass unemployment does not exist along-side of scientific marvels of production.

The times ahead for the labor movement call for great understanding, firm decision, uprightness, and dedication to the cause of humanity in the field of labor relations. I am acquainted with the president, vice president, secretary and other officers of the new Wisconsin state AFL-CIO, and with most of the members of the executive board. On the basis of their past records, they will meet the challenge placed upon them by the formation of this new and greater labor movement.

The good wishes of thousands upon thousands of people of this state go with this organization and its leaders, and the people wish that the Almighty grant both the leaders and the members the wisdom to bring labor to even greater heights of respect and dignity.

OFFICIAL GREETING TO THE CONVENTION OF THE KNIGHTS OF
PYTHIAS

AUGUST 4, 1958

As both Mayor of Milwaukee and a member of the Knights of Pythias, Mr. Zeidler was asked to deliver the central banquet address of the 1958 Grand Lodge Convention of the Wisconsin Domain of the Knights of Pythias. In attendance at the convention were 300 knights representing all major communities in the state of Wisconsin.

The major theme of the speech is simple but profound: friendship is a means to the survival of men and mankind.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

Mr. Chairman, Officers of the Grand Lodge, Members and Friends of the Knights of Pythias, Wisconsin Domain:

It is a high honor which has been accorded me to speak to this gathering of the Grand Lodge Convention of the Wisconsin Domain of the Knights of Pythias.

The activity of the Knights of Pythias over many score of years has brought to the organization community respect and community support and has attracted to membership many persons of intellectual vigor and substantial achievement in almost every walk of life. It was my privilege to be present at a Milwaukee County membership meeting last May and I could not help but be impressed by the substantial quality of the Brother Knights who were present at that meeting.

The association of men of leadership and character, such as the organization of Knights of Pythias promote is

is bound to result in the mutual improvement of the men by virtue of contact with each other and also the advance of the common good of the community.

The Knights of Pythias was founded as an organization was founded in the last century by men of vision who perceived the necessity of men associating together in an organization that would improve their conduct, satisfy their needs for worthwhile companionship, give basic instruction in some of the principles that lead to success in life and to furnish a constructive outlet for basic energy.¹ To meet this end a ritual was constructed which was designed to teach certain lessons of conduct and to make a man more ready to participate in this organization and in the challenging issues of life itself. One of the basic factors binding the organization together was and is the principle of enduring and binding friendship with the lesson drawn from two persons mentioned in ancient writings, namely, Damon and Phinthias, whose name has come down to us in this age as Pythias. Briefly, for those who are not familiar with this ancient account, Damon and Pythias were Pythagorean philosophers of the Fourth century before Christ who lived in or near Syracuse in Sicily. Pythias incurred the wrath of the ruler of that country, Dionysius, the

¹ The Knights of Pythias was founded in 1864 as a brotherhood organized to disseminate the principles of friendship, charity, and benevolence.

Younger, who accused Pythias of plotting against him and who sentenced Pythias to death. Pythias asked leave of Dionysius to go to his home to settle his affairs and his close friend, Damon, offered to remain as hostage with Dionysius to guarantee Pythias return. Pythias did not return promptly and Dionysius prepared to take the life of Damon who accepted this fate without having his affection for Pythias diminish. This act so impressed Dionysius that he did not carry out his intended plan but asked to be considered the friend of the two close friends, Damon and Pythias.

This story has impressed men since the time of its first telling and has been embodied in literature by Johann,² Schiller,³ and Richard Edwards.⁴ It is the founding principle of the Knights of Pythias. Thus the basic principle of the order is the idea of the value of friendship as a means of survival of men as individuals and as mankind in the total picture of human society. It is therefore worthwhile that we inspect this assumption of friendship as to whether it offers a practical mode of

² Gottfried Johann (1575-1622), German author and poet.

³ Johann Fredrick Schiller (1759-1805), German author, wrote the tale of Damon and Pythias in a work entitled, Die Burgscheft.

⁴ Richard Edwards (1523-1566) is an English playwright and poet whose only extant play is "Damon and Pythias."

conduct in the present age.

I think that any short and quick inspection of human society, as it is lived now, will indicate that many movements and ideas among people are not based on friendship but are rather based on organized hatred. Political leaders, especially, in the world have discovered that it is often easier to organize people on the basis of their common hatred towards some person, people or object, than it is to organize them on the basis of common friendship and respect for one another or for other people. Often times where men are brought together for a common objective that objective is not their mutual liking for one another but their common hatred of some one else, and when, by pursuing their common hatred toward others they destroy the object of their hatred, they then turn upon each other like a wolf pack and rend and destroy each other. It is a sad commentary on human nature that this episode has been repeated again and again in the history of human kind and the most recent examples of it are to be found in the struggle of the political leaders of the Soviet Union and of Nazi Germany. In each case the basic organizing philosophy of governmental action was hatred toward some other group of men or people and the leaders, successful to a degree, at the very pinnacle of their success fell out with each other, destroyed themselves, and countless other people in the process.

No appeals of friendship for other people could reach the already closed minds of these movements for if the leaders of them allowed such appeals to reach their hearts and minds their organizations would have fallen apart and they themselves would have vanished as leaders. Consequently, it was to their interest, as they imperfectly conceived that interest, to stir up hatred between people of different nationalities, different races, different cultural backgrounds, different economic levels, until the leaders themselves were consumed by the inevitable results of the very hatred that they themselves had stirred up.

It seems to me that on the basis of recent history, in world affairs especially, and also in the internal affairs of many nations, that the sure road to destruction is the acceptance of the cynical and easy method of promoting hatred and factionalism in order to gain political power, and that the long range proposals of success are to be found in the promotion of the ideas of friendship, mutual understanding, mutual respect, and consideration of people for other people, and individuals for other individuals.

The road to dislike and then to hatred is often very easy to take for there are many things that spur us in that direction. For instance, mere geographic difference of location on the face of the globe has historically been a cause of strife and differences between people. These

geographical differences between people have led to the evolution of different types of human beings who have a physical difference and this physical difference in appearance is one of the most fruitful of all of the sources of human conflict. Geographic separation of people also introduces gradually a shift in language so that over a course of years people whose ancestors were the same, but who live in different locations, shift their speech and lose their ability to understand one another. Hence lack of understanding through inability to transmit ideas by speech is another source of conflict.

People often enter into conflict with each other by virtue of their economic status, by virtue of their educational background, by virtue of their beliefs about the nature of the Universe, so that the course of human history has been marred by clashes of ill will generated from these sources.

To think over all the reasons that men have to dislike each other would produce a very despairing vision of the Universe. It would seem that the Great Creator, who had made these differences or at least allowed them to develop, desired to permit these differences so that men would destroy themselves and not overpopulate a world which has only limited resources, to sustain life in its various forms. Indeed, we might get this viewpoint by looking at nature itself which has been described as "red in tooth in

claw."

But the peculiar and particular genius that lies in man is that often a spirit emanates from man in which he takes these differences, not as an inevitable signal for combat to wage war against those who he thinks are different than he is, but to find some common bond of understanding and friendship on the basis of differences and to compose the differences into a harmonious whole. Where the will to friendship exists there understanding enters in and with understanding comes the ability to compose differences and to make them more valuable for the persons who have composed their differences.

Is it inevitable that men on the basis of their differences must inevitably wage war on each other till one or the other of the different sides are inevitably destroyed. I do not believe so but I believe that on the basis of friendship cultural, economic, social, and political differences can be composed and if there is one absolute evil it is that frame of mind which unalterably accepts the idea of this life as the road to power and influence over people's minds rather than the will to friendship.

We have but to look at the present state of mathematical knowledge to realize that different people, with different cultures, in various parts of the world, all have contributed essential knowledge to bring our state of mathe-

matics to the level that it has reached today. The Ancient Romans for instance had no knowledge of the idea of "Zero." This came from the Hindus.⁵ Without the knowledge of zero and how to use it as a concept our mathematics would be poor indeed. Our knowledge of geography as presently taught in the high schools comes pretty large from the Greeks and one of the most famous geometrical principles - that of the relationship of the sides of a right triangle with each other, comes from the philosopher Pythagoras⁶ whose philosophy Damon and Pythias followed.

Modern mathematical principles have come from Liebniz, the German, and Newton the Englishmen, who simultaneously invented calculus; Descartes, the Frenchmen who invented analytical geometry;⁷ several Russians who have invented other types of geometry; Chinese who have discussed the mathematical principles of atomic physics, and so on. Each

⁵ Our present decimal system whose zero enables us to do without the ruled columns of the abacus is of Indian origin. The use of the zero in India can be traced to the Nana Ghat inscriptions, supposedly dating from the early part of the 3rd century B.C.

⁶ Pythagoras, Greek philosopher and mathematician of the 6th century B.C., was responsible for raising mathematics to the rank of a science in Greece.

⁷ Gottfried Liebniz (1646-1716), German mathematician, simultaneously, with Sir Issac Newton (1642-1727) invented calculus. Rene Descartes (1596-1650), distinguished French philosopher and mathematician, originated the science of analytical geometry.

people from their culture have something to contribute to the total information of mankind and it is the task of modern people to sort out, on the basis of friendship and understanding, the good principles from the erroneous ones.

It becomes obvious therefore that the principle of friendship which people have narrowly construed in the past to include only themselves, their relatives, and their neighbors, must be broadened in order to attempt to achieve world understanding. The forces of science, and the knowledge of the destructive powers of nature have become so mighty that if all the nations of the world desire to keep the luxury of hating one another they will die and their people within them will perish miserably.

It is very difficult for us--in fact for any people--to broaden the concepts of friendship to include world understanding. The United Nations is one such attempt and is reasonably successful although in various parts of the world we have but to observe that the preachers of systematic hatred are still pursuing their course of death. The task for a modern people is to see whether on the basis of friendly feeling and attempt at mutual understanding, the differences of the world can be composed. The cynical, the hard-bitten, the power-seeking, the unlettered, will say that it is not possible to build a world united in the idea of friendship that seeks to understand differences between people. But these are not the practical people. They are

the people that may literally cause the destruction of the earth. The practical people are probably those who say that admittedly there are differences between people for many reasons that I have mentioned but that we must seek to understand those differences, to compose and to adjust them, in order that people on this globe might be friends.

Of course I cannot flatly guarantee that this basic principle of friendship upon which the Order of Knights of Pythias was founded is absolutely true in this complicated Universe, but I maintain that it is a better assumption to assume the truth of the superiority of the principle of friendship for organizing human society than the superiority of using the principle of hatred for such organization.

Let us therefore at the conclusion of this convention and after the earnest discussion of business, go back to our respective lodges and reflect once again on the meaning of the basic principles so that we may seek how to apply them to our daily problems of living and so that we may better understand and meet the problems of our business, the problems of our duties as citizens, the problems that come to us as being inhabitants in this most startling age in the entire history of mankind. I am confident that a rededication to the basic principles of the Pythian Order, especially that of the value of friendship, will result in the strengthening of the Order and in its greater usefulness in applying a practical solution to many of the ills that trouble our community, our nation, and our world.

OFFICIAL GREETING TO GUARDIAN COUNCIL OF JOB'S DAUGHTERS

MAY 17, 1957

Though brief, the text of the speech below exemplifies the "short civic greeting" which the mayor of Milwaukee was often called upon to deliver to organizations meeting in the city of Milwaukee. The occasion of the speech was the Twenty-Ninth Annual Session of the Grand Guardian Council of the Wisconsin Order of the International Order of Job's Daughters, meeting of May 17, 1957.

The speech centers on the theme that many social and professional organizations can make a significant contribution to the problem of guiding and counselling the youth of America.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

Grand Guardian Carrie Brussock, Associate Grand Guardian, Arthur F. Carlson, Grand Officers, and Members of the International Order of Job's Daughters, and Friends:

I have the very great honor and privilege to extend to you the greetings of the people of the City of Milwaukee on this, the occasion of your Twenty-Ninth annual session. It is my hope that your visit to the City of Milwaukee and your conference here will result in an increased and renewed enthusiasm for your work in respective cities from which you come.

As many of you know, one of my daughters is a member of one of the Bethels in the City of Milwaukee where she has received much guidance and counsel.¹

¹Reference here is to his oldest daughter Clara Zeidler.

As I look over the problems which many young people of this nation face today and the difficult life they are expected to lead, I can see the need for assistance which they can receive from such an organization as this. I am sure that every young person who is under the guidance of this Order benefits from the discipline of the organization and can become a better homemaker and citizen on the basis of the experience which she has received in the group.²

The young people of today, everywhere, seriously need guidance and counsel from older people. It makes me very happy to see that so many of you devote your attention to this type of work which can be so remunerative to those who receive the benefit of your advice. The work with young people of this order, especially women will repay itself many fold to those who devote their time to them. Consequently, it is a pleasure to extend to all of you a civic welcome and to wish you well in your work in the future.

Thank you.

2

The International Order of Job's Daughters was founded in 1920 to promote spiritual and character development through its fraternal activities and philanthropic projects.

ANNUAL MILWAUKEE PRESS CLUB ADDRESS

JANUARY 31, 1957

Annually since 1926, the mayor of Milwaukee is expected to deliver to the members of the Milwaukee Press Club a speech commemorating the incorporation of the city of Milwaukee on January 31, 1846. Maintaining the custom, Mr. Zeidler delivered the "one hundred and eleventh birthday address" to the members of the Milwaukee Press Club and their guests at a meeting held at the Press club.

Traditionally structured as a "state of the city address," the speech sets forth recent achievements and outlines future action which the administration anticipates taking.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

The 111 years of Milwaukee's growth from 1846 to 1957 has seen the city grow from about 12,000 people in 1846 to about 275,000 people in 1900 and to about 725,000 people in 1957. The total area of the city at the present time is about 72 square miles; and if all of the disputed area of the Town of Granville comes into the city, the total area will be about 94 square miles. The distance across the city from the farthest south point to the farthest north point, if the Granville area is added to the City of Milwaukee, would be about $16\frac{1}{2}$ miles; and the distance from east to west in the north side would be about 10 miles from Lake Michigan to the county line. In an area which represents about one-seven hundred and fiftieth of the total size of Wisconsin are concentrated more than one-quarter of the entire population. It is quite obvious that this

very dense packing of people results in a great number of difficult problems which require solution if the people within the area are to be kept alive and healthy.

The growth of the Metropolitan Milwaukee area is a phenomenon which is occurring all over the United States. With the increase in technology and with the new power of medicine to prolong life, the population of the United States has grown by leaps and bounds. Today, there are more than 172 metropolitan areas in the United States. These are areas of more than 50,000 people in size which have certain characteristics which the census bureau defines to describe them as metropolitan areas. The Milwaukee Metropolitan Area extends into counties surrounding it. The very rapid increase in population in this district was not accompanied in the past several decades by the proper kind of planning so that a great many new problems are resulting.

A principal characteristic of the new metropolitan area is a fragmentation of government. Many small and deficient units of government have grown onto existence around the core cities. Many of the older cities of the country now are completely surrounded by incorporated areas with the result that they show the characteristics of a form of municipal "strangulation" or constriction, in which the communities do not have enough space to contain their populations on a reasonable density or to conduct the

proper kinds of improvements.

In my past discussions before the Press Club¹ I have pointed out the prospective growth of the City of Milwaukee. This growth did occur, but unfortunately, not within the boundaries of Milwaukee; and there exists also in this area a serious fragmentation of government. It would not be amiss, therefore, at this moment to look again into the future to see what is likely to happen and to see how we can plan for the future eventualities, for it is undoubtedly true that this area will grow if we do not encounter a major war in the near future.

There are some things that I should like to see obtained for the City of Milwaukee which would be a kind of birthday present for it, even though these items cannot materialize immediately. If we attain these developments, we will have a better community in which to live. The first point is that we ought to develop a metropolitan concept of government which will reduce the number of units of government in the Milwaukee area and result in the amalgamation of the weaker and more deficient units of government. Practically all of the new units of government which

¹ Mr. Zeidler gave a total of twelve addresses to the Press Club while Mayor of Milwaukee (1948-1960). Eight of the twelve addresses were given on January 31st. When it happened that the 31st of January fell on a weekend, the date of the address was moved forward. In 1954 and 1960, the address was delivered on January 29th. In 1953 and 1958, the address was delivered on January 30th.

have been created in recent times are deficient in one or more respects, and this makes for a great deal of trouble in the area. I would prefer to see the amalgamation occur under one unit of government, but since there are some serious practical political difficulties in the way perhaps a step toward this end might be to create amalgamation might be the present North Shore suburbs. This sort of thing is happening elsewhere on the North American continent. Most of you have heard of the creation of the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, in which the provincial government of Ontario compelled Toronto and twelve of its suburbs to form a new type of municipality. The City of Winnipeg is also considering this measure but has rejected the idea of creating a new government and prefers amalgamation of all of the existing units of government. The reason for this is that when certain functions of government are transferred to the upper level of government the functions remaining for the lower levels are too few to justify their continued existence. In Miami, Florida which is a part of Dade County, in Allegheny County around Pittsburgh, and other places in the nation, this same idea is taking root.

Then, I believe that the City of Milwaukee under all conditions should have at least one area kept open by the state legislature for the growth of the city itself. We cannot hope to successfully deal with the problems of

overcrowding a too dense population without having some area for the planned growth of the community. This is very vital for our continued health and operation.

Next, the legislature should grant broad powers to local government to control planning so that green strips can be introduced between neighborhoods and definable areas in the city separated by parkways. Most cities are really a combination of neighborhoods, and it is important to identify them and to provide them with the proper environment so they can grow and regenerate themselves.

Next, I think that such planning would result in the extension of the boundaries of the metropolitan area to a region larger than the county. This should be done by a new charter from the state government. The metropolitan area already exists beyond the county, and the county is no longer a sufficient unit of government to define the area. Consequently, a new charter should be created for a metropolitan government in this area.

If such a charter were to be given, the governmental process in this new area could exist only if there were tax equalization throughout the area. This is a most important factor in maintaining community harmony and good community relationships in any metropolitan area.

The existence of a larger area chartered by the state government would result in better planning for the reduction of urban vulnerability under civil defense con-

cepts; for under such circumstances there could be a relocation of industry within the metropolitan districts so that a major portion of the tax base would not be lost, and there would be no diminution of city service. It is important in this age of atomic weapons for such a reduction of urban vulnerability to occur, for the present Archill's heel of the American defense system is the densely crowded cities.² By reducing vulnerability we reduce our vulnerability to international blackmail by those who threaten to use atomic weapons against our cities if we do not bend to their will.

In planning for the reduction of urban vulnerability within a large metropolitan area we might also ask for the improvement of the building code to reduce all flammable construction and to strengthen existing structures. European cities long ago have abandoned the wooden type of structure which we build so commonly in the Milwaukee area. We have used wood because of its availability, but the time, it seems to me, has come when we should build fire-proof constructions with shelters in each existing building. As long as we are going to inevitably improve the building code to reduce flammable construction and to strengthen existing structures, we ought to introduce into the code a requirement for shelter in all newly constructed

²For the use of the same metaphor, see Message to the Common Council 1951. p. 57

buildings, especially in public buildings.

In the redevelopment of our community it seems to me that one of the most important long-range objectives should be to create a system of pedestrian traffic, which is separated from the motor vehicular system and which does not cross it at grade. This, in my opinion, is the most practical method of reducing the future death and accident toll. This would require the creation of areas into which the motor vehicle cannot penetrate where only pedestrians can walk; and if pedestrians are to cross motor vehicular routes, they should do it by graceful arched bridges. We are making some plans for this in connection with some of our redevelopment projects at the present time.

While I am speaking about the motor vehicle it seems important at this point for an expression on the need of local municipalities to secure more money from motor vehicular operations in order to meet the cost of such operations to the municipality. It costs a tremendous sum of money to move a motor vehicle safely down a mile of street. There must be a heavy paved road, many street lights, traffic signals, police and crossing guards, special structures of all sorts, street cleaning, and similar operations which far exceed the present capacity of municipalities to pay. One of the reasons why most municipalities are now operating on a deficit basis is

that the state and federal governments control revenues from the motor vehicle; and as a result, the municipalities are heading toward insolvency at a very rapid annual rate. There can be no good future for municipalities without securing enough funds to deal with the motor vehicle.

The concentration of a tremendous number of people in a small area which I spoke of earlier in this talk results in the generation of a huge amount of waste, sewerage and solid waste. This is getting to be a problem of such magnitude that we will eventually have to develop an improved system of sewerage disposal so that the maximum purification rate reaches nearly 100% instead of its present rate of about 90%. The fact that we put our sewerage into a water system and pour this sewage into the same source from which we draw our water is an unacceptable system, in my opinion, in the long run. Therefore, science must develop a nearly perfect system of sewage treatment.

The challenge of improving a sewerage system is one that the engineers will have to meet in view of the fact that there is such a demand for pure water all over the United States at the present time. Our community is not the only one that must meet this problem.

In addition to the fluid waste of the community, we are a people that use a prodigious quantity of material, much of which we waste. This quantity is so great that every

year we might use up the space that is made available to us for dumping by a large quarry. As a result, we have come to the use of incineration for disposing of these wastes. It seems to me that we must now have better methods of community waste disposal in which we reclaim a large portion of the metals, glass, and other materials which we waste so that we preserve the value of fertilizer that is to be found in many types of food wastes and other similar materials. Incineration, in my opinion, is necessary in many parts of the nation now; but in the future we must have better methods of dealing with the community waste as more and more people demand the available raw materials and resources which are not replaceable. This calls for some special scientific investigation of the community waste problem.

I have spoken of the need for more green spaces in the city. Coupled with the problem of introducing green spaces by urban redevelopment, the city might with a very small amount of money intensify the tree planting in the older areas and the replacement of missing trees on tree borders throughout parts of the city which have been long inhabited. Even the commercial districts ought to have trees introduced in them. The experience of people in New York, particularly around Rockefeller Center and in the Chicago area around Marshall Fields demonstrated what a great attraction trees have for shoppers. In New York City

it is my understanding that on Third Avenue, where once an unsightly elevated ran, the city is planting a form of tree known as the London plane tree as a means of city beautification.³ We have done something along this line in the past years, but we need to do much more.

The city also needs to have better methods of heating and of propulsion of automobiles to reduce atmospheric pollution. This is one of the most serious problems of concentrated populations. Structures deteriorate from an excessive amount of chemicals which are poured into the atmosphere; this is the case in various types of pollution whether they come from the tens of thousands of homes in the area or from motor vehicles. Here again there is no easy answer, but constant scientific studies must be made of this particular type of problem. The cost to the city of deteriorated structures and ruined paint jobs, and in the metals eaten away from exposure to a polluted atmosphere, is quite high.

I also spoke of the necessity of defining neighborhoods in Milwaukee and developing these neighborhoods in a physical sense. We also need to develop neighborhood leadership. Many of the deteriorated areas of the city are places where there are large numbers of people, but for some unknown reason there has not been sufficient

³London plane tree (*Platanus acerifolia*), a type of sycamore tree, is shapelier, more compact in habit, and possessive of larger leaves than the common sycamore.

neighborhood leadership so that these areas could regenerate themselves. As a result, they have continued to deteriorate at a substantial rate. The problem of defining neighborhoods and then developing neighborhood leadership so that the neighborhood is constantly a good and attractive one is one of the new jobs we must face in the years to come.

Lastly, I would like to suggest that there should be a great improvement in public transit. We cannot afford to build the parking space nor the roads for all the people who want to travel in automobiles, anytime they want to travel, and to get where they want to go at a given time. This is simply a physical impossibility, and it will bankrupt the community if we try it. As a result, therefore, we will need improved systems of public transit. No city in America at this moment has successfully solved this problem either, but we must apply ourselves to it.

I should like to say in conclusion that I have one more comment which ought to be made and that is it would be a great birthday present for all of us if there could be a union of cities in the Union of Socialist Republics who are powerful enough to tell Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin to quit talking tough and brandishing atomic weapons. If this were to happen all of the cities of the world could plan with a reasonable degree of security that they would have prospects of progressive improvement. As

it is now, all of the plans we undertake are put in jeopardy by those national leaders who continue to hint at the use of atomic weapons on somebody else's city. Perhaps in one respect this is the first and most major problem of all city administrations.

1952 MAYORAL CAMPAIGN ADDRESS

MARCH 12, 1952

Running as an incumbent who had been elected in 1948, Mr. Zeidler successfully campaigned in 1952 for reelection to a second four year term as mayor of Milwaukee. His 1952 campaign was marked by several short campaign talks.

Typical of his campaign addresses is the speech Mr. Zeidler delivered on March 12, 1952 at the Milwaukee Turners Hall to an audience of approximately two hundred and comprised largely of campaign workers and several members of the Milwaukee press.

Especially noteworthy in the Turner's Hall speech is Zeidler's appeal to public and private agencies and to builders and financial houses to join forces in the fight against blight in the City of Milwaukee.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

This year should see a greater attention placed on the rebuilding of the areas of the city where blight is beginning to set in. Public and private agencies, builders and financial houses, ought to join forces in attacking this problem.

The Housing Authority of the city can do a portion of the job by setting the boundaries of the areas which need developing, and by purchasing some of the land under the Housing Act of 1949. But the total job of arresting decay is far beyond the present capacity of that agency to cope with it.

Private builders have many sorts of inducements and assists particularly from the federal government which

should encourage them to go into older areas and engage in new building. All of the federal agencies under the HHFA recently pledged themselves to a joint effort with any private agency to meet the large scale problems of blight clearance.¹

From obsolescence alone, about 1500 dwelling units a year should be replaced. This would represent almost a quarter of a square mile of property which should be rebuilt every year. Every year that we fail to approach this goal means that much accumulated obsolescence.

The total effect of this failure to meet the problem of a decaying core of the city is a severe housing shortage and heavy rental pressure. The Housing Authority in one of its surveys found that some blighted properties were bringing in incomes in five figures, and only 2,3, or 4 per cent of that income was used for tax purposes. The average for tax purposes in one district was only 8%. Thus far from taxes causing high rents, the rents in these areas were due to housing shortage and inflation.

It might even be said that this type of rent causes high taxes for others to meet the deficiencies of the areas.

Another effect of this decaying core is to cause people to live farther away from their place of employment, to build new homes in areas where there are no schools, water

¹See note 5, p. 150

or sewer, and to place demands for services in districts far distant from the source of supply, while existing facilities are not used to capacity. Thus the School Board for instance has a difficult time keeping up with the demand for new schools while classrooms in older schools stand empty.

The job, therefore, is a joint task of public and private agencies. Private investment must be ready to come into the older part of the city. Private investment in other cities is already doing just that. In Pittsburgh, the Jones and Laughlin Steel Company aided the Pittsburgh Redevelopment Authority in clearing a site for the expansion of the company. The financial interests of Pittsburgh are undertaking to clean the down town and rebuild it completely. In Chicago and New York private investment groups are under way with large scale rebuilding.

We seek rebuilding in this city, at least enough to keep up with the rate of decay. Such building can be a helpful economic force if there is any slackening of other parts of our economy.

TELEVISED CAMPAIGN ADDRESS

MARCH 4, 1956

During the mayoral campaign of 1956, the League of Women Voters sponsored on March 4 a half-hour afternoon television program whose purpose was to acquaint the citizens of Milwaukee with the mayoral candidates and their platforms.

Appearing with Ambrose Knapinski, Paul Schmeiter, and Milton J. McGuire, Mr. Zeidler delivered a six minute explication of municipal advancements made during his previous terms (1948-1956), and of the platform stemming from those advancements.

Though subject to a brief time limit, the speech is remarkable in that it surveys a multitude of achievements and sets forth a platform consisting of five major planks: first, blight elimination; second, expanded industrial and commercial opportunities; third, civil defense; fourth, efficient city government; and lastly, increased standard of living for all Milwaukeeans.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

My name is Frank P. Zeidler. I am a candidate for re-election to the office of the mayor of the City of Milwaukee. I have held this position since 1948.

During the period of 1948 to 1956 Milwaukee continued to enjoy its reputation of being the first among America's well-governed cities. The reputation of its various departments continued to enjoy national fame.

During this same period Milwaukee experienced its greatest growth in physical size. The greatest public works program in the history of the city was undertaken to meet the needs and demands for services.

Harbor works were expanded, hundreds of miles of new streets were laid and many miles of main arterials were widened and paved. Traffic control was vastly improved to regulate the ever increasing number of motor vehicles on our streets. Home service facilities were extended to many new areas, and service in older districts was improved and modernized. Street sanitation and garbage and rubbish collections were greatly advanced by modern, motorized equipment. Two new incinerators for combustible rubbish were created.

An arena was built. A modern addition was created for the main library and neighborhood libraries received new or redecorated structures. A large number of new playgrounds were built and many older ones expanded and lighted.

In the expenditure of more than 180 million dollars in public works for the benefit of the people of the city, I share with you a common pride in the fact that not one breadth of scandal has arisen in the city departments under my administration. Your city departments have not been a happy hunting ground for those who seek special favors or concessions, and we must all ever remain alert to guard against the graft and corruption which, unfortunately, too often has befallen some other cities.

During 1948 to 1956 assistance was given to the school board in meeting the problem of more children enrolling in the schools. The interest of the people before the state

legislature and the national government was vigorously protected.¹ The right of equal representation before the legislature was preserved. Utility rates were carefully watched and often successfully contested.² Favorable legislation was obtained and adverse legislation defeated.

Only recently, we had the satisfaction of helping to bring about the defeat of the Harris-Fulbright Bill in Congress.³ Had this bill passed, it would have opened the way to increase in natural gas rates for some 200,000 consumers in the Milwaukee area alone. It was my privilege to organize American mayors against this measure, and to represent them in a conference with President Eisenhower to point out the faults of the bill. The President subsequently vetoed it.

I am proud of my record in defending the people's interest and in promoting the welfare of Milwaukee.

However, it is not on this past record alone that I am

¹ During his first eight years in office (1948-1956), Mr. Zeidler appeared both before the Wisconsin State legislature and the Congress of the United States in behalf of the people of Milwaukee.

² Reference here is to the work done by Mr. Zeidler in the decision of the President to veto the Harris-Fulbright Bill.

³ Bill S. 1853 is a bill which was sponsored jointly by Congressmen Harris and Senator Fulbright. This bill was intended to give the suppliers of natural gas more control over the rates charged to the consumer. For details of this bill see, Congressional Record, Volume 100, p. 591.

a candidate for re-election. There are many tasks to be accomplished which call for a course of action in which the interests and rights of the people will need continued protection and experienced assistance.

There is the problem of threatening traffic congestion, and the problem of improving public transportation.

There is also the task of reconstructing certain parts of our city which time and changing conditions have adversely affected. The city must provide more industrial sites, and expand industrial and commercial opportunities in connection with the completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

One problem is of the deepest concern to all of us. This is civil defense. Defense against atomic attack is a new field, and we have no experience to guide us. Milwaukee has made considerable strides, however, and is recognized as a leader in civil defense. It was my privilege as chairman of the American Municipal Association's Civil Defense Committee, to draft a Civil Defense policy, which has been adopted by other cities.⁴ We must not, we cannot afford to neglect this vital field, whatever the international situation may be. Our very existence as a city

⁴Mr. Zeidler was chairman of the American Municipal Association Civil Defense committee from 1955 to 1960. The policy set forth by this group consisted of the civil defense responsibilities of federal, state and city governments. The policy set forth by this group was adopted by such cities as Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, and Los Angeles.

and the lives of our loved ones may some day be at stake. God grant that day may never come, but preparedness is our only answer.

There will also be the need for vigorously pursuing the interests of the city before the state and national governments, in order to gain the benefits those governments can render the city of Milwaukee.

And, of course, we will want to keep our city clean in a physical sense and clean in the sense of good government. The two ideas must go hand in hand.

Then too we must provide for the increased standard of living that science has made possible.

All of this requires a balanced financial program, geared to our capacity to pay - a program in which a system of priorities is established for work to be accomplished.

In order to obtain these goals and objectives, I am campaigning for re-election on a well-prepared and well discussed platform, a copy of which I hold in my hand.⁵ Many of you have already seen this platform, but if some of you have not, I am sure you will want to read it because of the information it carries.

This platform is based on four principles - the right of Milwaukeeans to equal representation with any other Wisconsin district in the legislature. The second principle

⁵For a copy of this document, see appendix A, this study.

is the right of Milwaukeeans to access to the federal and state governments for relief - legislative or financial. The third principle is the right of the people to protect their assets and rights from special groups, public or private, which would seek to strip them of these assets and rights. And a fourth major principle is the right of the people, through their governments to meet effectively and efficiently their proven needs, if these needs are not otherwise being met by any agency, public or private.

To this program of maintaining the physical assets of the community and its heritage of governmental freedom and independence within the framework of cooperation, I have dedicated myself in the past and dedicate myself for the future.

We are now an American city with a world reputation. Our commerce and industry is beginning to have more of an impact on world affairs. We have a new challenge therefore to rise in greatness.

"DON'T FENCE ME IN"

OCTOBER 8, 1952

Recognized as an authority on urban problems, Mr. Zeidler was asked to deliver the central banquet address at the 1952 national convention of the American Society of Planning Officials in Boston, Massachusetts. In attendance at the convention were 900 city planners representing 289 cities of 38 American states and several foreign countries.

In the speech Mr. Zeidler lays out his whole philosophy of metropolitan planning regarding such topics as: taxes, expressways, water supply, schools, and the like. We find these topics discussed in the conflicting framework of central city versus the suburban plans and programs. This conflict is a re-occurring focus in Zeidler's municipal-oriented speeches.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library. The 1952 Convention Report of the American Society of Planning Officials contains a verbatim version of the speech.

Many planners do not recognize it, but the fact remains that they have become the center of one of the most fundamental theoretical conflicts in government of our time.

Planners are akin to persons of academic background who do not like the hurly burly contact of rough and ready politics. Modern life, however, has pushed the planner and his ideas into the middle of the political arena. The question of planning has become an international political question of the first order.

There is no school of politics in America which argues that governmental planning is a prime political sin, that it

is socialistic in character. Inasmuch as the Russian government indulges in planning, then planning is also communistic; anyone who argues that planning be applied to the United States, to solve the pressing shortages of land and raw materials, is nothing less than a Stalin Communist under this theory.¹

To a similar degree, planning has become a bone-of contention in local government. Local governments, as you know, are hard hit by the national defense economy which has caused a serious inflation and pinched the dollars of every city in the country. Since the cities have few sources of new revenue they are compelled to practice the strictest economy in their existing operations, including expansion of city service.

The most careful planning for the location of utilities, of roads, of schools, and public buildings must precede any current city development. In the meantime, the clamorous demand for more and better city services continues. The builders insist on new subdivision sites. The people who purchase their homes in these new areas demand all the city services faster than they can be produced.

The character and pattern of life of these citizens

¹The obvious comparison between governmental planning and Stalin Communism is due to the sensitivity of the speaker on this issue. At this time, an attack was being waged by such men as Senator McCarthy and others against the Socialist Party of America. The gist of the attack was a comparison between the American Socialist and the Russian Communist.

also has altered. They want to drive their automobiles whenever they are so inclined and they want a parking space ready and waiting for them at their destination. In addition, the people no longer want to live in a crowded city; instead they seek the green countryside to satisfy their natural instincts.

These are but a few of the factors which have forced the hard and practical office holder to ask the city planner to help solve his problems within the stringent financial requirements of the city budget. The planner, accepting this challenge, has inspected the problem; usually he has come up with some suggestions which cut directly across the marvelously complex political structure of large American cities. The planner's answer to the city government has usually been to propose developing satellite communities in order to relieve the pressure of the urban slum and to guarantee full use of any city services that are installed. But, in proposing these communities, the planner has run directly into a struggle between the central city and its suburbs.

There was a time in American history when people deserted the countryside for work in the industrial centers. There they became concentrated in large numbers and great densities by the fact that the principal means of transportation was the streetcar. In recent decades, however, the growth of the central city, in the middlewest and

eastern parts of the United States, appears to have slowed up. People who migrate from the countryside have tended to settle in the metropolitan area surrounding the city, and have become numerous enough to require urban services. However, rather than join the old central city they have found advantages, under obsolete state laws,² of forming their own villages, or little cities, thereby enjoying substantial tax advantages over persons living in the big cities. Under this process some large cities have already been completely ringed in by incorporated satellite suburbs.

Because of hard-surfaced roads, of electrical power, of natural gas, and of the automobile, people of substantial means, who want to have better living conditions, have escaped the boundaries of the older cities. These people of means are able to exert a considerable leadership, and they have formed a bulwark of animosity toward the older central city. Jealous of their rights as leaders of small communities, they nevertheless have found it necessary to rely on the older central cities to give them services which they cannot pay for themselves but which they find essential. As a result most central cities have a higher tax rate than their suburban attachments. The suburban leaders in turn have found devices to make the

²Here, Mr. Zeidler refers to the state laws that deal with the growth of the central city and urban areas. Under such laws, contends Mr. Zeidler, the state legislature consciously fostered, out of its hostility toward the City of Milwaukee, the fragmentation of the greater Milwaukee area.

central city pay for their own services, and at the same time can point with pride to their own lower tax rates.

Today, the largest problem of local government of the larger cities of America, therefore, is this question of metropolitan relationship.

In order to realize the degree to which the planner is involved in the struggle between the central city and its suburbs, we will need to point out some of the main issues which are debated.

One of the major and earliest issues is that of supplying water to the suburbs from the central city's water plant. Most American cities are located on substantial bodies of water and have spent considerable money to develop their water systems. The suburbs, being farther out from the source of water, often try to tap into the central water system of the city. Some cities extend water services beyond their boundaries without question. But many cities have discovered that when they freely dispense their water supplies into areas with a lower tax rate, the officials of these areas immediately try to attract the industry of the city. Then, the city loses some of its precious industrial tax base, and in addition, the city water users pay the principal cost of plant expansion for suburban residents.

Another point of issue is the attempt of suburban communities to increase their fire protection. In many instances suburban communities have stand-by arrangements with

the central city, with payments based on a minimum fee for hourly services rendered. This is a very neat arrangement for the suburbs. The taxpayer of the central city may pay \$4.00 a thousand on his assessed valuation for fire protection and the suburb gets the same protection for a few cents per thousand of valuation.

Consider also the cost of schools. People who have fled the central city and settled in the countryside, find themselves confronted with the cost of additional school facilities as the child population increases. They seek to surmount this problem by two devices. They may send their children to a school in the central city and pay a tuition charge which reflects only the operating cost of the central city school but nothing of the enormous capital invested. Or they may force consolidation under state law, compelling the city school system to include the suburban school areas to assume their debts, and to build and staff the new schools to take care of suburban children.

In connection with the water problem, I mentioned the struggle to capture industry. Suburbs that have obtained a hold on the city water supply seek to attract industry into their area in order to keep their own tax rates down. Industries are often willing to go into these suburbs in order to enjoy the tax advantages and to escape bearing the burden of such things as schools and welfare services. In Milwaukee County recently two tiny communities, each of

about 3000 persons, incorporated with special tax bases: in one instance, the base was a large power plant, and in another instance, a large industrial area. Previously, a Milwaukee County village of 5000 people took in a group of industrial properties valued at \$30,000,000. This village, prior to its absorbing this industrial property, had no tax for village purposes because it was already overendowed by taxes from industry.

The problem of cities keeping their industrial tax base has become even more aggravated by the National Security Resources Board's announced plans of inducing industry to leave the city target areas and to flee to the countryside.

On another phase of the issue, the central city also is faced with certain costs which the suburbs escape. The central city is expected to pay for the libraries, the museums, the parks, the extra police protection, the super highways, the special bridges, and the good roads, and the parking lots which a metropolitan area servicing tax free institutions which are not especially welcome in the suburbs. The central city is expected to carry the principal cost of organizing civil defense.

The suburban residents have discovered that the county form of government is a means by which they can acquire many municipal services for themselves such as police protection and health services for which they pay but a minor cost

since the principal share is being carried by the city residents.³

Who is left in the city to carry the total of these metropolitan costs? Outside of the downtown business core of American cities, there usually exists a wide cordon of blighted area containing people of very meager income who very seldom get new schools and new parks. In another zone beyond is a group of middle class people, mostly small property owners. And finally there remain the industries, many of which are searching for ways and means of fleeing the congested, heavily taxed cities.

At the far outer edge of the city is the zone of pressure between city and suburb. Here and there real estate operators, mostly in haphazard fashion, find lands in which to expand, as the owners become inclined to sell. On these lands the real estate people usually erect residences. Since these residences do not finance themselves, they place a demand on the finances of the central city. Most of the capital improvement funds of many cities are expended in these areas to provide the essential services. Under this process the older parts of the city grow older and the blight and decay grow worse.

³County governments are districts or branches of the state, having only such powers as the state gives them by specific statutes. The reason, according to Mr. Zeidler, that county government is more favorable to suburban areas is that the suburbs use the county as a siphon, to get out of the central city monies and governmental activities that they the county governments are unwilling to pay.

The central city planners and officials, taking a look at these mounting difficulties, usually come to a definite pattern of conclusions. First they decide that the city must expand in a planned fashion; the city must know where the population is going to be and how much money will be required to meet expansion. Next, the planners recognize that they will have to reduce the congestion in the older parts of the city, both for the reason of civil defense, which seeks to reduce the target potential of a city, and even more importantly, for the reason of preserving human values by getting rid of the slums and all of the factors that lead to the blighting of human life. Third, the planners and the city governments conclude that they must have adequate sources of revenue. On all three of these conclusions, the central city planners and officials find that the forces of other government units are lined up in an array against them.

For instance, when the cities attempt to expand their boundaries they encroach on other units of government, such as town governments or villages. These governments set about to thwart the growth of the central city with arguments numerous and effective.

They accuse central cities of disregarding the little fellow in government and of harrassing villagers and rural people. They express fear of corruption. They accuse the city of tax waste and of inefficient operations. The suburbs

and the rural governments make their principal plea to the central city governments. The legislatures are inclined to listen, because their leading members are people from rural districts who often do not understand the cities. Oftentimes, also, the legislators are Republican and the cities are Democratic and the party issues enter the picture. Consequently, the laws for city growth are of such a character that the boundaries of many American cities are rigidly fixed and little outward growth is possible.

When the cities, frustrated at their borders, seek to redevelop themselves inwardly, they find that the private powers for urban redevelopment are too feeble to meet the amount of the existing decay. The cities, therefore, by governmental action, national, state or local, have sought to engage in redevelopment for themselves and to provide decent living quarters for the low income groups who form the principal bulk of the city's population. Here again, the cities and their planners run into severe political opposition. Such redevelopment as is contemplated under governmental action, is conceived to be socialistic. Subsequently, the same suburban and rural leaders in conjunction with some real estate developers, home builders, mortgage grantors, and building and loan societies--many of whose officials also are suburban residents--join forces to harrass and stymie every move toward meeting the problem of central city blight. The large schemes, embodied in the

recent housing acts of the Congress, have been nullified by these forces in many cities of the country and mayors such as Mayor Bowron of Los Angeles⁴ who have fought to carry them out, are in a fight for their political lives.

When the cities seek additional funds to help them in their planning, they run up against further obstacles. The first obstacle is the state legislature, which, for reasons which I have mentioned before, is usually chary about giving cities further tax relief. By and large, with a few exceptions around the country, state legislatures have not kept pace with providing funds to meet housing traffic and school problems. They have, in instances, denied the cities the right of access to sources which justifiably belong to the cities. In turn, the legislatures have used as the principal source for their own support and operation taxes from the central cities. Grants-in-aid returned to the central cities are usually a minor fraction of that which has been taken from them. What is worse--the state legislatures have a habit of systematically denying the people living in the central cities an equal vote for representation in the state legislature. Under-representation of the American cities is a scandal of American state governments.

Frustrated by the state governments, the city govern-

⁴ Mayor Fletcher Bowron (Mayor of Los Angeles, California, 1949 to 1953), in opposing the housing acts of Congress, found himself defeated for reelection in June, 1953.

ments have gone to the Congress for aid and the Congress has responded with grants covering many fields. Anyone who wants to know why there is a loss of state sovereignty can find it in the failure of state governments to face up to the needs of the central cities and to provide them with the legislative climate under which they can adjust themselves to the needs of the times. Unfortunately for federal aid, it is oftentimes so hedged by restrictions and rules that it cannot be used by local governments.

Why do I recite this series of complex problems of the major American cities to you? Why do I say to you as planners that the major production centers of America must not be fenced in politically or economically? I repeat to say that planning is an issue in the middle of the political arena, and that something of the future of the country, whether it is to live in peace or at war, is dependent on how well this planning is done and how well its objectives are carried out.

I was one of two mayors who witnessed on April 22 last, at the Mercury Proving Ground in Nevada, the largest atomic airburst in the United States to that date. As I said then, and as I say now, that burst sealed the doom of the massed, globular shaped metropolitan community as we know it today.

The central American city is the production center of America, and under the right kind of federal and state government it can be the arsenal of democracy and of free

people the world over. But the central city is highly vulnerable and it needs to be redesigned and replanned from the point of view of preserving human values and the point of view of national defense.

A people living in the constant threat of destruction cannot act intelligently or peacefully; a people living in bad environment will find it difficult to rise to the heights of good citizenship; a people, whose main stimulus for production comes from military reasons cannot act as good neighbors. In the United States we can overcome all three of these difficulties by setting about on a master plan to reconstruct our metropolitan centers. Such a plan will put a basic floor under our economy in peace time, if it is combined with a broader plan for similar rehabilitation of rural areas and regions. The program will reduce the effects of blight on the human being; and it will remove a great deal of fear on the part of the modern city dweller in this age of global conflict. I have some suggestions to make in dealing with this problem. The primary responsibilities at this moment lie with state legislatures. If they fail, then the metropolitan target areas will have to obtain relief from the Congress.

It seems incumbent now upon every state legislature to recognize appropriately under new law the critical metropolitan areas of the state. The boundaries of these areas should be broadly defined to include all working,

sleeping, shopping and recreational areas which are integrally part of it. The multiplicity of governments in these areas should be reduced and simplified by use of the borough system, or by consolidating them into a single unit of government. New powers of planning and zoning, extending into as yet sparsely settled regions surrounding these areas should be granted. The objective of these zoning and planning powers should be to reduce population densities to five thousand or less people per square mile, to judiciously re-locate industry in the same general area, and to "freeze" rural areas in close to the centers so that they cannot fill up with the works of man.

Sufficient sources of revenue should be diverted into the metropolitan areas to enable them to take out their slums and to rebuild in fireproof construction. Broad avenues of entry and fire-breaks should be established. Tax free pockets should be eliminated and the burden of metropolitan costs should be equally and fairly distributed throughout the region which benefits.

The United States government through such agencies as the Housing and Home Finance Agency,⁵ the Bureau of

⁵The Housing and Home Finance Agency was established by Reorganization Plan 3 of 1947, effective July 27, 1947 which provided a single permanent agency responsible for the principal housing programs and functions of the Federal Government.

Roads⁶ and the National Security Resources Board⁷ should jointly compose their policies so that they do not work at cross purposes with each other - one urging decentralization and the other the rebuilding of slum areas with the same population densities.

State governments should recognize the principle of an equal vote for each human being and grant the equal vote and equal representation to the metropolitan city in both state and county government. The rural leaders of state governments must realize that their failure to recognize the metropolitan problem and to give adequate voice to spokesmen from these centers place in jeopardy not only the lives of millions of people living in the cities, but the future welfare of the whole nation.

Lastly, the Congress should provide incentives to state governments to get busy on this problem of metropolitan planning and development, or face the loss of

⁶On August 20, 1949, Reorganization Plan 7 of 1949 transferred the organization to the Department of Commerce and changed its name to the Bureau of Public Roads. The Bureau of Public Roads carries out the responsibilities and authority of the Secretary of Commerce with respect to Federal Roads and Federal-aid highway construction.

⁷Established by the National Security Act of 1947. The purpose of the board was to advise the President concerning the coordination of military, industrial, and civilian mobilization. This body was abolished under the provisions of Executive Order 10438, March 13, 1953. The functions of this board were delegated to the newly created Office of Defense Mobilization.

jurisdiction over these areas.

The time has come when the planner must prove himself intensely practical. He should become aware of the contending forces in this new and exciting age.

Working with the statesman, the engineer, the man of industry and commerce, the representative of labor, and with the humanitarian and the teacher of moral doctrines, he should provide a program that challenges the decent element of the world to the thrill of constructive accomplishment.

"BUILD CITIES TO BUILD MEN"

JUNE 13, 1957

The Twentieth Annual Conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities was held at Manior Richelieu, Murray Bay in Quebec, Canada, during the period June 13 to 17, 1957. Recognizing them as leading authorities an urban renewal, the American Municipal Association selected Mayor David L. Lawrence, then mayor of Pittsburgh, and Mayor Zeidler to represent it at the Canadian Conference. On the closing day of the Conference, Mr. Zeidler delivered a speech to an audience of 400 mayors and other municipal officials from various parts of Canada. The speech served to conclude the activities of the conference.

Deriving its title and central thoughts from Edwin Markham's poem "Man-making", the speech aims at reflecting on the entire program of the conference with an eye to the future. Mr. Zeidler attempts to give a philosophic meaning to the actions of the persons who attended this conference.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

We have come to the end of another memorable assembly of local government officials of Canada in this the Twentieth Conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities. The program has been a full one. The participating members of the Federation, and their guests from within Canada and from without, have heard from experts on the special problems that affect municipalities today. The many ideas presented in the program have undoubtedly stimulated new thoughts among the hearers on the great urban difficulties that we all face.

Perhaps at this moment, there is a feeling of weariness

of all further discussion. Perhaps there is the desire on the part of busy men to get back to the scene of their work, to attack the unfinished tasks, and to have done with words and speaking. Perhaps, so many ideas have been presented that one is left with a feeling of disarranged thought, when one seeks to apply pattern and order to all that has been said. Lewis Carroll has described this situation in "Through the Looking Glass"--

"The time has come, 'the Walrus said

'To talk of many things:

Of shoes - and ships - and sealing wax -

Of cabbages - and kings -

And why the sea is boiling hot -

And whether pigs have wings."¹

Seriously, however, it should be our purpose in this last moment of reflection to tie together the loose ends of all that we have heard into a connected scheme and pattern, so that our future official deeds may have a purpose based on a deeper philosophic base that gives meaning to what we do.

What possible deeper meaning, you ask, can we apply to the business of city finance, or city transit, or city rubbish collection? Are not these all phases of the phenomenon of people crowding together out of the instinct of gre-

¹ Lewis Carroll (1832-1898), Alice in Wonderland, (New York, 1924), p. 214.

garioussness, and we are not simply their agents to keep them from making a mess of living close together? There are places where some municipal administrators or political leaders act as if "yes" were the answer to this question, and there is nothing more to local government.

In fact, in some places, and at some time, those who controlled municipal government did it solely for the power and special privilege it gave them, and they performed only those municipal acts which enhanced their powers, or left the populace quiet, or gave their enemies no ground to launch charges against them. Municipal administration was carried on to support either the hereditary controllers of the cities, or in late times to keep the "Machine" going. From the point of view of people, this condition was and is evil.

Have my hearers ever thought why they came in to local government? Have they thought why they came to this conference to struggle with the problems of finance of their particular community or with its traffic and transit problem, or its protective services, or its master plan of development? Undoubtedly, each had a different motive, and perhaps in some the motives were mixed. Some may have entered local government because that was the only job opened to them. Some, perhaps, may have liked the security of government employment. Some may have run for election because they enjoyed politics as a kind of game. Some

people may not have liked the way others were conducting the affairs of their local municipality. Some may have wanted the honors and the prestige attached to a post in the government. Some may have had a program based on reasoned principles of government, a program which they felt would advance the progress of their fellow townsmen.

It is important that men occasionally try to analyze their motives, for the success of their efforts may depend on these motives. Thus, he who seeks public office for honor, should also realize there are profound and crushing hazards to reputation in public office and often unjust repudiation by the public itself. He who seeks public office because of a personal vendetta may find himself the unexpected object of another's attack. He who engages in local government as a kind of game may suddenly find himself confronted with a situation calling for responsible performance in his tasks which he cannot meet nor turn away to his own agony and despair.

For, one should learn from the beginning that local government, is a serious business; and the welfare and lives of people depend upon local officials and the manner in which they perform their duties. National governments may be concerned with the long range issue of war and peace, but local government is concerned with the daily lives of people. It must concern itself whether people are safe in their homes, in their work places, and in the streets. It

must protect them from the defects of faulty construction the peril of fire and the lurking threat of disease. It must provide for their wholesome recreation, for their care in illness, and for protection against destitution and want.

As we recount the services of local government, we come to realize a present basic reason for cities and their governments: We build cities to build men.

We participate in local government in order that by our participation there may emerge nobler beings with enlarged concepts of liberty, truth, justice, cooperation, peace, and righteousness. This should be our objective and this we should not forget.

With this concept of building cities to build men, we can then put a great many of our activities into focus. Why do we fight slums? Because they are the destroyers of men. Why do we insist on traffic regulations and better control of transit? In order that our other purposes of a well managed city might be fulfilled, and in order that lives may be saved on our streets. Why do we struggle with our finances? In order that worthy objectives of schools and hospitals, and recreational facilities and public services be attained within the means of the community. These objectives we seek because they remove from men what Sir William Beveridge described in his famous report of 1942, as the "Five Giants" of want, ignorance, idleness, squalor,

and disease.²

Beware lest in our desire to have our cities great, we think only of great edifices, of numbers of people, of richness of commerce, and of splendor of the officials. Each of these conditions has its place and purpose, of course; but where the foundation of community life is eaten by the insecurity and ignorance of the people, and by base motives and goals of factions of government striving for unjust powers, then the structure of government may come crashing down.

History gives plenty of evidence of leaders who sought to build cities of everlasting pomp and glory, but their work speedily was brought to naught because larger matters of truth and justice were forgotten. Have we not had this experience recently in cities of the world where unjust rulers of some national governments in trying to destroy the habitations of their neighbors accomplished in addition the destruction of themselves and their own cities? These unjust rulers did not wish to build men of character, and so the monuments to their memory are the rubble of once flourishing towns, and unfortunately the good suffered with the evil as a result of base motives.

Now, more than ever, we who live in cities must think

² See William H. Beveridge, Full Employment in a Free Society, George Allen, Ltd. (London, 1942), p. 17. The term "Five Giants" as used by Beveridge applies to want, ignorance, idleness, squalor, and disease as the enemies of society.

of the philosophical foundations of society.³ Today, the advance of science, if unaccompanied by an advance of social thinking may result in the destruction of tens of millions especially those in the cities. In this situation, boundaries of countries, much less city limits, have ceased to be means of protection, even for neutrals.

In the midst of our present honors, comes a time for humility as we contemplate the complexity of God's creation that these things should be so. In the midst of our gladness for past triumphs, we must soberly face our problems of the future. In the midst of the busyness of our every day, let us pause to reflect on whether we are busy at little things which are unimportant to our people and ourselves in the long run.

Let us once again dedicate ourselves to the service of our fellow citizens, our country, and more, to the ideal of a noble humanity. In our daily ministrations, in cities large and small, let us therefore not think of numbers and of power, but of the quality of people.

Let us not think in terms of the "mass" of humanity,

3

One might interpret this passage as the answer to the question, "Why do cities exist?" Some sociologists think the modern American cities exist only to make money; Communists construe cities as the means by which state business is carried out. The speaker here apparently believes that if one were to consider a philosophical rationale for the existence of a city, he could only conclude that a city exists not to make money, not to serve the state, but to advance the cause of human-kind.

but of the individual worth of each person.

Let us take pride in the cleanness of our administration and our surroundings and our individual persons and in our past achievements.

Let us face with humility and yet eagerness the new tasks and problems confronting us.

Let us be defenders of the poor, of those upon whom the hardships of life have fallen, of extreme youth and of those of great age.

Let us give encouragement to useful arts and knowledge and to the wholesome cultural aspirations of our people.

Let us not seek efficiency for its own sake but let us closely inspect the purposes to which we intend to apply efficiency, in order that these purposes may represent the highest good.

Let us seek honorable peace not only between ourselves and our immediate neighbors, but with all men. Let us assist our national government to achieve such peace.

Let us proceed in the confidence that it is the will of the Creator that order and peace shall obtain rather than disorder and conflict, and that there is a higher destiny for man which will result in the alleviation of our present ills, which destiny can be attained in part by proper community and governmental relationships.

In this age of cynicism, among men, in this age of

material striving, in this age of manipulation of the public, will by leaders in many walks of life who have learned the tricks of mass motivation, let us eschew all these things.

Let us, instead, as community leaders be optimistic; let us be fair; let us retain and improve our ideals; let us be open and consistent. Let us champion the right as we best understand it.

Let us, by study and reflection, seek to keep ourselves informed so that our counsel and guidance may be truly valued.

Each of us at the conclusion of his career will want some reminder to coming generations that he served his people. We will want the physical edifices of improved streets, schools, public buildings and park; but most of all we will want people to remember us for ourselves, for our leadership and strength of character. Every man, in every term of office, can demonstrate his personal worth even if no physical changes occur in his city. Remember, progress is not inevitable, physical and social progress are the marks of people with strength of spirit. Let us be such people.

Before concluding, may I not recognize the signal honor you, as Canadian officials, have conferred upon my country for permitting participation in your conference by local government officials of the United States. This is

another mark of mutual respect and honor that exists between our people. May it continue to do so, undiminished.

To conclude, then, I repeat the words of Edwin Markham:⁴

"Why build these cities glorious
If man unbuilded goes?
In vain we build the world, unless
The builder also grows."

⁴ Edwin Markham (1852-1940), American poet. This passage is taken from his poem entitled "Man-making." For the complete text see, Charles L. Wallis, Poems of Edwin Markham, (New York, 1950), p. 6.

IV. SPOKESMAN FOR CIVIL DEFENSE"THE CHALLENGE TO EFFECTIVE SERVICE DURING THIS FIFTH
DECADE"

JANUARY 18, 1956

During the year of 1956, the Southwest Kiwanis Club of Milwaukee oriented its after-lunch speaking program around the general topic of municipal affairs. Mr. Zeidler participated in the program by delivering an after-lunch speech to the organization on January 18, 1956 at the Westward Ho Restaurant in the suburb of West Milwaukee.

Speaking in the context of the world tensions of the early 1950's, Mr. Zeidler, in this speech, is concerned with the notion of "cultural friendship" and specifically with what service clubs like Kiwanis can do to foster this friendship. Of special interest in this speech is Zeidler's opening discussion of the proportions of the potential destruction of mankind which have stemmed from international tensions. To illustrate this point, Mr. Zeidler employs graphic analogies.

The textual source for this speech is a typewritten manuscript located in the Mayor Frank Zeidler Collection in the Milwaukee Public Library.

It is gratifying to have this opportunity to speak to the Southwest Kiwanis on the challenge to effective service in this fifth decade of the fifties. The key to this title is to be found in the phrase "Fifth Decade". What's left of the fifties may conceivably bring some fantastic developments to society with untold and possibly evil consequences to the kind of civilization that we have known in the United States. I speak, of course, of the marvels of science and invention which have occurred since 1940 and are likely to find their culmination in the fifth decade of this century when man will not only be able to produce a satellite to the earth but will be able to control that satellite, place in it an atomic weapon, and bring that

weapon crashing down upon the centers of civilization of his enemies.

In 1957 this nation expects to launch its first satellite.¹ The launching of the satellite is a prelude to the creation of an inter-continental ballistic missile which one nation, or several nations, may be able to dispatch against their foes. When this happens the world will either be in a political stalemate for a time or the nations of the world will resolve their differences by a catastrophic war. The result of such a war would probably mean the destruction of a large part of the United States and possibly several other of the most culturally advanced nations of the world.

It is not necessary for me to give you a graphic illustration of the advances in atomic, biological and chemical warfare but I shall use one illustration to show the fantastic proportions which have been reached in a potential destruction of mankind.

If we were to represent by a line the total load of explosives a single airplane could carry in 1940, that line would be four inches long. In 1956, that line would be over 300 miles long and perhaps by next year the line would be more than 790 miles long. The bomb load of an airplane

¹On October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union launched the first artificial earth satellite. This was followed by a second Russian launch on November 3, 1957. The American satellite program began with the launching of Explorer I on January 31, 1958.

in 1940 was four tons of high explosives. Today a single plane can carry a load of explosives equivalent to 20 million tons and perhaps, as a result of the experiments to be conducted this year by the atomic energy commission, that load may reach as high as 50 million tons. The human mind can scarcely comprehend this quantum jump in energy release--as the scientists call it. It is no wonder therefore that civilized society, which will be the target for the weapons I describe, has been slow to adjust itself to the terrible realities of the day.

Of course, some attempts have been made to meet the circumstances, and these have been in the form of military defensive advances. For instance, this nation is trying to protect its borders by costly installations of a radar screen three lines deep extending nearly to the North Pole.² We are making arrangements for elaborate civil defense operations and a dispersal of people and governments.

All of these may lessen the effects of a conflict but the remaining catastrophe, if a conflict were to occur, would still be so enormous that it is doubtful whether the nation could recover at this present time from the paralyzing effects of ABC warfare.

The challenge to effective service in the fifties is a

²Reference here to the D.E.W. (Distant Early Warning) line which is a joint American-Canadian radar network, with installations both in America and Canada. It is the function of this line to give to the Northern Hemisphere warnings of an airborne attack.

challenge to prevent an international conflict and to get our civilization past a state of perpetual impasse in a cold war with other nations which possess atomic weapons.

To avert our attention from this critical problem to the pleasures of existence, as so many people in the world are doing today, is to invite national and cultural destruction. It seems to me, therefore that we ought to focus our attention on mastering the weapons that science has created and on controlling the situation so that the people of the world may live in a degree of harmony and peace.

I know that this challenge seems very difficult and almost impractical because we are forced to recognize that individually we do not have much to say about what is going on in the world today. We are not fully cognizant of all of the forces at work in our own nation, and certainly no one yet has been able to fathom the strange mental workings of the ruling powers of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, it is my belief that we can have a certain degree of effect as individuals by helping shape the environment in our own community, and our own state so as to assist in the survival not only of our nation and our culture but of our families and ourselves.

One of the first propositions I think that is necessary for effective service in the fifth decade is for every citizen to get the best possible understanding of the world

around him today. This means a continuous educational process. Persons belonging to service clubs such as the Kiwanis, for instance, should get informed speakers from the universities and the press to appraise them of the forces at work in the trouble spots of the world. This is necessary so that an informed American public opinion can reflect its views to the policy makers of American government.

I think a much greater use could also be made of television and radio in order to keep the people continuously informed as to the exact nature of the relations of the United States government with other countries of the world in order to reach the great bulk of our citizens, many of whom are so engrossed in their own affairs, or so burdened by the necessity of making their living, that they do not pay enough attention to the great forces that can strip them both of their living and their life.

In addition, we can give some thought to the re-planning of our nation and its cities to make ourselves less vulnerable to any conflict which may unfortunately occur. This involves the making of personal decisions as to where and how we will live and where and how we will conduct our business. And the whole problem that I mentioned here really fits under the area of civil defense planning. The service clubs and other educational agencies might well study the civil defense operations and some of

the current principles upon which civil defense is being constructed. But I think that there is a third method which is perhaps as important as the military, political and civil defense methods in helping humanity meet the challenge that is coming ahead of us.

And I think that is the necessity for the cultural improvement of the United States and for the securing of friendships between the United States and other nations based on a cultural friendship.³

In the last analysis the struggle going on in the world today is a struggle of ideas of what constitutes a better and richer life for the great bulk of the people of the world. People fight for that which they think is necessary for their existence and for their improvement. They will fight against that which they think deprives them of security and freedom of choice as they see fit to make choices necessary for their well-being. It is important for us, therefore, as a nation to give a cultural inspiration to other nations so that they recognize that from us as a people come the ideas and principles upon which a better and more secure life in the future may be found.

People in the world today may stand in awe of our physical might and our industrial production but I can

³In a tape-recorded interview held June 29, 1961, Mr. Zeidler explained that by "cultural friendship" he meant an exchange of leaders (i.e. writers, artists, educators and the like) between the Soviet Union and the United States, an exchange sponsored by UNESCO.

feel certain that no one loves us for it; in fact, there are people outside of the United States who are afraid that this might well be used against them capriciously, and without justice, as it suits the internal political situation of the United States. This is a regrettable circumstance which we have been able to overcome in part only by a large distribution of the wealth and assets of the United States to other nations. This wealth and these assets are accepted too often only with the feeling of taking it while it is offered and with resentment when economic circumstances in the United States compels curtailment. Something more than the sheer giving away of physical assets in this nation is necessary in order to keep the peace of the world. That something more is the development of ideas of world unity, economic and physical development of underprivileged nations, and an exchange of cultural ideas whereby other people learn to understand us and our problems and we learn to understand them and their problems.

Too often recently we in the United States have been speaking when we should have been listening, trying to catch not only what the rulers of other nations had to say but what the people of those nations had to say, in order that we might effect a just and friendly relationship with those people.

Effective service in the Fifth Decade therefore, in my

opinion, means a conscious and studied attempt on the part of all service organizations to encourage the cultural, educational, and moral growth of our nation in order that it may inspire other people elsewhere.

I have but to point out that the ties that have existed between America and Great Britain were not primarily ties of both countries having a common political history for a while, or ties because the United States feared the British Navy or its army, or ties because we love the British Empire. Rather the ties which brought the American people twice to the assistance of the British people were ties which were cemented by the literature and culture that emanated from Great Britain. The works of Chaucer and of Shakespeare and of the great poets, Keats and Tennyson, and Lord Byron, and, more recently, the Conan Doyle stories, and the works of Rudyard Kipling - to mention but a few. Moreover, there was a great admiration in America for the scientific thought that emanated from the British Isles. This nation swallowed a lot of unpopular political policy of Great Britain because of the cultural ties that were forged out of ideas that emanated from people in that area of the world.

I mention this because it is necessary for us in America to encourage cultural development in order that other people in the world might catch from our people some inspiration to improve their own life.

We should encourage cultural development in literature,

in drama, in poetry, in painting, sculpture, and music, and we should send our best work around the world where people can read and learn of the cultural development of the United States. Unfortunately, for this country, in my opinion, the impression of the rest of the world of America's culture is gained from the productions emanating from New York and Hollywood. Excellent as these may be, they do not reflect the vast diversity of the people of this country nor do they reflect the cultural talents that reside in the various districts and parts of this nation which truly constitute American life.

I think local service clubs ought to encourage native poetry. They ought to encourage the composition of music and award prizes for the best literature essays. This work need not necessarily be devised around patriotic motives for we have limited such contests in the past pretty largely to that area. Rather we ought to be encouraging people to express culturally what they themselves are feeling. Much of this expression constantly takes place but owing to the commercialization of our culture it never gets to see the, light of day. For instance, in Wisconsin, there are many people who are engaged in painting for their own amusement. Their works are seldom shown or demonstrated because there is no one to sponsor them. Such original literature as is created is usually confined to high school activities and it seems that we can seldom rise above that

level. Only a few attempts are made at the production of original music in our locality. It seems to me that here is a place where there is room for great expansion of human effort. Here is a place where service clubs could reach into a new field that has considerable promise for the development of the American nation.

I might point out that in the recent history of the conflict of men even the most evil of the dictators kept their hands off the cultural shrines of great nations. The anger of world opinion of the Nazi bombing of the cultural centers of Holland and of England, deterred the Nazi dictator from giving the same treatment to Paris and Rome. *There is a lesson in this and the lesson is that human nature is such that it does not mind destroying machine shops and factories but it hesitates to eliminate the places where, symbolically, the spirit of the people rests. To put it in another expression, the culture of a people is one of their principal, though not infallible, sanctuaries.*

I feel therefore that as a people and as a nation we should encourage the cultural growth of our theatre, of our art museum, of our educational institutions. For from these will come the kind of leadership that will cause the people of the world to recognize us as their friends and helpers rather than as their potential enemies. We will especially need this new revival in the last half of the

fifth decade because in the next four years a crisis will be approached from the capacity of nations to physically destroy each other.

The challenge for service in the fifth decade is now a challenge for a cultural growth which will capture control of the scientific and technical growth of the fourth decade.

APPENDIX A - see back
pocket

NWPA
W6501

CONTINUE PROGRESS IN GOOD GOVERNMENT

— ★ —

**A Chart for
Better Government In
The Milwaukee Metropolitan
Area**

— ★ —

Prepared by

**The Public Enterprise Committee
of Milwaukee County**

P. O. Box 1944, Milwaukee 1, Wis.

December, 1955



PREAMBLE

Public officials and citizens in Milwaukee must prepare and plan today for better living in the metropolitan area of the future,—in fact set the pattern which shapes the destiny of Milwaukee for the decades leading to the next century.

As the functions of the city expand so do the civic responsibilities of its citizens—men and women alike. They are needed for its many offices, boards, commissions, and advisory groups, which comprise local government in modern life. One of the purposes of this document is to acquaint our people—the men and women who are Milwaukee's citizens—with the problems and issues ahead.

In addition, all future plans, programs for permanent improvements, zoning, housing, and expansion must be geared to the atomic age.

In recognition of this, The Public Enterprise Committee, an organization composed of citizens from all walks of life, submits this program in the hope that, not only will it be evaluated by all those citizens interested in community welfare, but also that it will be used as a gauge to measure the qualifications of candidates for public office. To this end, discussion of ten major subjects is proposed.

1. City-Suburban Relations in the Metropolitan Area.
2. Traffic Improvements for the New Age.
3. A constructive Urban Renewal Program.
4. Improvement of City Finances.
5. City Administration and Operations.
6. Industrial and Commercial Relations.
7. Public Employee Policies.
8. Promotion of Cultural Needs.
9. Social Welfare and Crime Control.
10. Civil Defense and Disaster Relief.

1. THE CITY SHOULD SEEK TO MAINTAIN ITS OWN INTEGRITY WHILE CO-OPERATING WITH OTHER UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

The City of Milwaukee should seek to keep intact as many of its functions as possible unless complete consolidation of all units of government in the county occurs.

The City should continue its cooperation with local units of government in planning, in highway development, in park and recreational activities, in civil defense and disaster relief, in drainage and sewerage problems.

The City should seek to keep on friendly terms with its suburban neighbors, but such terms should not include handing over of the city's services to communities which can pay to develop their own services.

The City of Milwaukee should seek to encourage smaller units of government on the borders of the city, which are deficient in their ability to render service, to consolidate with the city.

The City should seek to keep at least part of its border open for expansion of its growing population.

The City should not allow the philosophy of states' rights to interpose any barrier between it and the federal government in the matter of grants for highways, shelter, welfare aids, or civil defense aids, particularly since the federal government has source of funds for these purposes not available to the states or the cities.

2. THE NEW AGE OF SCIENCE CALLS FOR STEPPED-UP TRAFFIC IMPROVEMENTS

Milwaukee along with other cities of the state and nation must get sufficient funds returned from present vehicle taxes to pay the current costs of the automobile. Since the state and federal governments have pre-empted automobile taxes for themselves, it becomes their duty to return a sufficient amount of these taxes to enable cities to

meet the mounting costs of off-street parking, through streets, and expressways.

Milwaukee County should be encouraged to develop the Expressway Program so that a portion becomes usable soon. An expressway viaduct paralleling the W. Wisconsin Avenue viaduct is absolutely necessary to relieve the W. Wisconsin Avenue traffic load. An express road on North 44th Street from W. National Avenue to W. North Avenue is also needed to relieve North 35th Street and N. Hawley Road.

The use of funds from parking meters should be continued until every shopping area along the street has the same number of off-street parking spaces as were on the streets of the neighborhood.

New methods of restricting through traffic in residential areas should be studied. Reduction of traffic congestion should be aided by encouraging use of public transit.

Apart from expressway improvement, the city should concentrate on improving the carrying capacities of its main arteries. All streetcars should be removed as promptly as possible to permit a better flow of traffic.

Efforts should be made to improve the use of radial streets in relieving the traffic load out of downtown.

Special attention should be placed on providing an additional crossing of the Menomonee valley so that the north side and south side of the city have more opportunities for commercial interchange and development.

In connection with the civic center, North 6th Street south of Wisconsin Avenue should be improved at an early date and work on the traffic intersection on North 6th and West Clybourn Street should be completed. The approaches to the south end of the Sixth Street viaduct should be completed.

In view of the use of a NIKE site at Maitland field, the location of the south extension of the Lincoln Drive and the type of harbor crossing, whether tunnel, lift bridge, or high level bridge, should be decided upon.

Careful planning now should be commenced for parking areas at the end of expressway terminals so that the city is ready to receive the load that these expressways will develop. This should include both above and below ground structures in the downtown area.

Further plans must be prepared to provide for limitation of the movement of over-the-road semi-trailers and the substitution of lighter delivery trucks in the city. This requires plans for truck terminals at convenient locations.

3. THE OPPORTUNITY IS AT HAND FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE AND STIMULATING URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM

The city guided by a master plan should continue a steady program of urban renewal on all fronts, clearance of blight, rehabilitation of blighted areas, and conservation of other districts.

The housing authority should be supported in its work to clear blighted sites and to relocate low income families from these sites in public housing if necessary.

The health, building inspection and fire departments should be given encouragement, financial support, legal powers and personnel to develop their inspections and their enforcements.

Full-fledged citizen participation should be encouraged. Citizens in blighted districts should be encouraged to show leadership. Financial institutions should be helped to invest in overcoming blight, and builders should be aided in doing what they can to overcome the accumulated decay in the central part of the city.

An office of housing coordinator attached to the mayor's office is necessary to keep all programs going in harmony and maintain liaison between all housing agencies and the common council.

A large scale program of education of civic purposes in urban renewal must be

carried on with the aid of a citizen's committee to gain acceptability of the program not only at home but in the legislature. Education is also necessary to have people voluntarily do what is necessary to prevent blight.

Adequate appropriations should be present in each budget for urban renewal purposes, and the city should seek whatever federal grants-in-aid that are available for site clearance, relocation and low rent housing.

A program of clearing parts of areas not completely blighted should be tried. The effect of barrack-like projects would be avoided as well as wholesale disruption of a district.

New parks, should be developed for the rapidly expanding populations in the far northwest side and the far southwest side of Milwaukee.

Encouragement should be given residents of the Towns of Granville and of Greenfield to join with Milwaukee, not only for the superior quality of services rendered by the city, which included fire, police, schools and water, but for effective planning, avoiding of platting mistakes and better location of residences and industry.

The beautification of older and settled parts of Milwaukee, a sound tree planting and tree replacement program, should be followed. Where buildings occupy sites or triangular pieces of land at important intersections it should be a community policy to remove them and to improve the appearance and safety of the intersections.

Financial agencies such as building and loan societies, banks, and insurance companies which make mortgage loans, should be encouraged to help rehabilitate the older sections of the city by their lending policies.

The capital improvement program of the city should be coordinated as much as possible with the urban renewal program.

4. THE CITY MUST SEEK TO IMPROVE ITS FINANCIAL CONDITION TO CONTROL ITS DEFICIT SPENDING

Since the city is financing by deficit, it should endeavor to keep the tax rate about at its present level. A steep rise will prove too burdensome on many homeowners with heavy mortgages. On the other hand, a sharp drop is unrealistic and may lead to an early financial crises.

City officials should conduct a ceaseless campaign toward federal and state governments to sharply increase grants-in-aid for servicing the motor vehicle — to help keep property taxes down.

Constant coordination should be maintained between the important units of government in Milwaukee County to keep payments for services on a uniform basis, and to keep the permanent improvement program within limits.

A continual program of public discussion on the financial problems of the city should be carried on so that people's desire for improvements will more nearly match their willingness to pay.

The city should carry on its program of consolidation and annexation with emphasis on gaining suitable industrial sites for industries that want to relocate, in order to save the city's tax base.

Costs of pensions should be carefully scrutinized with a view to putting pension costs in a position of proper proportions with the costs of actual operation of the government.

Strengthening of the budget supervisor's office in analyzing the budget requests is necessary. Some mechanization of accounting procedures to maintain a continual knowledge of the status of each budgetary account is desirable.

The brakes should be set as tight as possible on deficit spending by rigid supervision of all permanent improvements. In addition, a closer watch on proposed sub-

divisions in swamps or drainage basins should be maintained to prevent excessive expenditures for sewers. Builders and ultimately purchasers of homes in new subdivisions should be required to pay more of the costs to the community of constructing permanent improvements in these districts.

The city government should carefully watch all state legislation which adds to local burdens but provides no revenue. It should seek legislation to get its just share from utility taxes.

Special methods of financing school construction costs and sewer costs should be studied, since both these are being financed on a deficit basis and no early end to the demands for this type of construction is in sight.

5. MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND OPERATIONS

Civic Center

The civic center for the City of Milwaukee must embody in it the cultural aspirations and the affections of the people and must reflect the dignity and importance of a great city. Its approaches from all directions should be improved to be worthy of the character of the center itself.

Work on the civic center should be carried forward by demolition of old buildings on the site and the introduction of a plan of beautification before the ultimate appearance of the site is determined.

A date for the commencement of a new public museum should be set. It will be a worthwhile addition to Milwaukee's cultural facilities and an important tourist attraction.

The new municipal office building should be promptly started, since the old city hall is overcrowded, and will be seriously inefficient in a few years.

A study should be made of outlying districts to see if some municipal offices cannot

be conveniently located to shorten travel distance to and from downtown Milwaukee.

A new municipal garage for downtown Milwaukee should be obtained at an early date, and the one on the present civic center site removed.

Fire and Police Systems

The police and fire departments should have the proper equipment with which to operate. They should have enough personnel to do the task required of them. The necessary new buildings to house fire and police facilities in the new areas should be developed.

Modernization and relocation of the fire alarm control center should occur at an early date.

Fire and police schools are important parts of good protection and should continue with special emphasis on aiding men to advance on the basis of ability and knowledge of their work.

Bureau of Bridges

Owing to the tremendous work load on the Bureau of Bridges and Buildings, special study should be given to this department to see that it has enough persons with the right skill to carry out the work assigned to it.

Playgrounds

Improvement of playgrounds, especially in older districts, should continue. Attention should be given to include grass plots and trees in a portion of each play space.

Special Assessments

Operation of the law on special assessments should be considered by the Board of Assessments, the city attorney's office and the common council, with a view toward more clearly defining the scope of the law and the kinds of improvements on which it will be applied, and also with a view to shortening the procedure under it.

Water Utility

The Milwaukee Water Works should be modernized by a thorough study of its physical structure, the potential demands on it, and its rates and resources. This ought to be done to get an estimate of what additions are required for the future, how much they will cost, how they will be financed. In addition, the capability of the water works to make a payment to the city in lieu of taxes should be determined.

Since the waterworks is the city's most important proprietary interest, a commission of competent citizens similar to the harbor commission should be created. Under these circumstances the engineering for the waterworks could be transferred from the city engineer to the water department.

Traffic Engineer

For greater efficiency, the Bureau of Traffic Engineering and Electrical Illumination should be divided into two bureaus, one for traffic engineering and one for electrical services.

Harbor Commission

The city, with cooperation of the County Park Commission, should develop the outer harbor in conformance with the previous plan recommended by the harbor commission.

Establishment of a modern passenger pier on the north harbor tract should be given early consideration. The present passenger pier facilities are obsolete and furnish a very unfavorable impression of the city.

The harbor facilities of the City of Milwaukee should be operated as a common carrier, either as a declared policy of the city or under state or federal law.

Election Commission

The difficulty of getting persons to travel to the city hall to register for voting should be studied again by the election commission and registration offices in local neighbor-

be conveniently located to shorten travel distance to and from downtown Milwaukee.

A new municipal garage for downtown Milwaukee should be obtained at an early date, and the one on the present civic center site removed.

Fire and Police Systems

The police and fire departments should have the proper equipment with which to operate. They should have enough personnel to do the task required of them. The necessary new buildings to house fire and police facilities in the new areas should be developed.

Modernization and relocation of the fire alarm control center should occur at an early date.

Fire and police schools are important parts of good protection and should continue with special emphasis on aiding men to advance on the basis of ability and knowledge of their work.

Bureau of Bridges

Owing to the tremendous work load on the Bureau of Bridges and Buildings, special study should be given to this department to see that it has enough persons with the right skill to carry out the work assigned to it.

Playgrounds

Improvement of playgrounds, especially in older districts, should continue. Attention should be given to include grass plots and trees in a portion of each play space.

Special Assessments

Operation of the law on special assessments should be considered by the Board of Assessments, the city attorney's office and the common council, with a view toward more clearly defining the scope of the law and the kinds of improvements on which it will be applied, and also with a view to shortening the procedure under it.

Water Utility

The Milwaukee Water Works should be modernized by a thorough study of its physical structure, the potential demands on it, and its rates and resources. This ought to be done to get an estimate of what additions are required for the future, how much they will cost, how they will be financed. In addition, the capability of the water works to make a payment to the city in lieu of taxes should be determined.

Since the waterworks is the city's most important proprietary interest, a commission of competent citizens similar to the harbor commission should be created. Under these circumstances the engineering for the waterworks could be transferred from the city engineer to the water department.

Traffic Engineer

For greater efficiency, the Bureau of Traffic Engineering and Electrical Illumination should be divided into two bureaus, one for traffic engineering and one for electrical services.

Harbor Commission

The city, with cooperation of the County Park Commission, should develop the outer harbor in conformance with the previous plan recommended by the harbor commission.

Establishment of a modern passenger pier on the north harbor tract should be given early consideration. The present passenger pier facilities are obsolete and furnish a very unfavorable impression of the city.

The harbor facilities of the City of Milwaukee should be operated as a common carrier, either as a declared policy of the city or under state or federal law.

Election Commission

The difficulty of getting persons to travel to the city hall to register for voting should be studied again by the election commission and registration offices in local neighbor-

hoods should be established at least on a trial basis.

The city should strive for a properly constituted election commission which will evenly balance the major parties by giving representation to a third party or a citizen with no major party affiliation. An election system controlled by one party as the present law contemplates is bound to produce disorder.

Building Inspection

Relocation of the building inspectors' office into better quarters is the most pressing need of this department.

Reduction of multiple inspections by fire, health and building inspection departments should be pressed by joint cooperation between these departments and the budget supervisor's office.

Emphasis on razing of bad structures is an important part of urban renewal, and the department should have enough employees to keep up with the rate of obsolescence.

Health Department

A primary problem and a new one for the health department is the administration of polio vaccine. The problem is to administer to all those who want it and need it on a basis which does not discriminate against families which cannot afford paying a high cost for such protection. The local, state, and federal health agencies should begin a study of how all who desire the vaccine can get it regardless of family income and status.

Administration of the housing code should not be hampered either by lack of staff or by inability to decide on areas suitable for rehabilitation.

The pollution of the lake shore should be continuously studied, and if conditions warrant it, swimming pools should be constructed at the beaches as an alternative to lake swimming.

For special industrial and burnable wastes a third incinerator should be built.

A concerted program to locate and preserve new dump sites should be instituted.

Vigorous inspection by fire and health departments against dangerous or unsanitary conditions in home and industry also should continue. The continuous education of people about proper storage and containers for waste is vital to a clean city.

Special study should be given to noise abatement in the city from motors, sirens, auto busses, or other devices, since continuous noise is a serious detriment to health.

Mechanization

The city should continue a program of modernization of its mechanized equipment including fire and police departments and the various bureaus of the public works department.

The city police department should apply proven technical devices in its enforcement methods.

Mayor's Office

The mayor's office should be reorganized so as to provide the mayor with an administrative assistant. In addition the many functions which the mayor is expected to supervise directly should be divided. This would ultimately provide that only four or five top administrators—in charge of finance, public works, health and safety, and special services—would report directly to the Mayor.

Records

For civil defense and good housekeeping purposes, microfilming of vital records should be continued and expanded.

City Attorney's Staff

Because of the enormous background required for their work, certain of the members of the city attorney's office should be placed on civil service. Attorneys dealing

with utility cases, urban renewal, operation of the law or special assessments, school board, legislative matters, transportation cases, should be given civil service status.

Development of New Territories

Many miles of new streets, sidewalks, alleys, curbs and gutters, which are waiting completion should be programmed as rapidly as possible, so that the residents may know at what time they can expect these improvements. Close and continual consultation between builders and the city should continue so that a system can be developed in which the improvements in a subdivision will be as nearly complete as possible by the time homes are ready for occupancy. Attempt must be made by advance programming to eliminate problems of muddy or dusty roads, or resurfacing due to unscheduled construction.

The special question of financing the improvements in newly acquired areas should be studied.

Street Sanitation and Waste Disposal

In the surfacing of streets, methods of eliminating dust from seal coating should be considered.

Any program of street repair should make proper allowance for the aging of concrete streets approaching 30 years of age in order to preserve the useful life of these streets.

Improved methods of street lighting with modern light poles and better distribution of light should be considered and tried.

To aid the work of street sanitation, ample containers for litter should be distributed and maintained throughout the city. This should be coupled with a continuous educational program to induce people to have a sense of personal responsibility for litter.

6. INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

The city should seek by annexation, consolidation and blight, clearance programs

to furnish proper sites for industrial development.

The city should confer with rail officials for improving and extending rail terminals.

The city should investigate the bus and truck terminal problem with a view to providing better facilities for both types of operations.

The city should provide a new market and produce terminal and clean up the old districts now used for such purposes.

The city should make every effort to extend its port facilities and related operations. Improved shipping facilities must be relied on to keep our industries competitive with others.

The city should be vigilant about utility rates and charges, so that they will not work adversely to the economy of the city.

The city should be alert to help solve labor-management problems in order to prevent loss of markets during the periods of conflict.

To maintain the city's position as a manufacturing center, it is necessary to systematically develop the technical skills so that infant industries can develop in Milwaukee. Home-owned industry is not so likely to migrate elsewhere. This requires our best efforts in vocational training, apprenticeship, and higher education.

7. PUBLIC EMPLOYEE POLICIES

Hearings on wage rates and salary reclassification should be concluded far enough in advance of final adoption of the budget so that employee representatives can report the conclusions.

Employees of the city, by in-service training programs, should be made to feel that they are a part of a team doing useful work, and that they have a chance of improvement if they demonstrate aptitude and capacity to do better work.

Where Civil Service standards are consistently maintained at their highest level, the community inevitably benefits the most.

By a program of in-service training and direction, employees within the City Service should be prepared and given every opportunity through promotional examinations, for advancement to positions of leadership within the departments and the Service.

In any large organization, as the City Service, it is often possible for inequities and inequalities to escape detection. It is necessary, for the good of the Service, to maintain continuous vigilance to correct and prevent these hinderances to an effective Civil Service.

It is recommended that there be a continuous study of ways to improve grievance procedures, job analysis and evaluation, classification and other conditions of work of Civil Service employees.

8. MILWAUKEE NEEDS TO BRING ITS CULTURAL ATTAINMENTS TO A HIGHER LEVEL

It should be the policy of the city to encourage native arts wherever possible in order to promote the cultural development of the community.

The city should coordinate its library and museum activities together with the work of the Art Institute, the Vocational School, the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, Wisconsin State College, and any of the private institutions, so that there can be a cultural center from which new programs for encouraging the arts may radiate.

The use of television and radio as a means of cultural and educational advancement should be tested continually by all the school systems and cultural institutions.

Private individuals should be encouraged to make grants and endowments toward the cultural facilities of Milwaukee.

The branch library facilities of the city

should be replaced on a programmed basis with modern attractive libraries like the Finney Library.

9. SOCIAL WELFARE AND CRIME CONTROL

The city policy of fifty years of good police enforcement against organized crime, gambling, racketeering and hoodlums must continue.

The streets of the City of Milwaukee must be free from assaults in any neighborhood at all hours.

The Milwaukee Commission on human rights should be given proper funds to operate and should cooperate closely with the police department.

There must be an equal standard of enforcement of the law for all people.

The people of the city must be kept safe from drivers under the influence of alcohol or drivers who are incompetent.

A constant analysis of the areas of crime and the types of crime should be made so that a scientific remedy can be applied. A study of "skid row" should also be made.

Relentless enforcement of anti-narcotics laws should be combined with improved methods of segregation and treating habitual cases.

The owners of multiple tavern licenses should be checked to prevent gangster control of tavern outlets.

The youth aid program, the school bus recreational program, adult education, rehabilitation programs should be encouraged as a means of building or recreating useful citizens.

**10. THE NEW AGE OF SCIENCE CALLS
FOR NEW ATTITUDE OF PEOPLE
IN THE CITIES**

A master plan should be evolved to produce escape arteries from the city and wide green lanes for fire breaks.

New building codes should be evolved to end inflammable and non-blast-resistant construction in Milwaukee city limits.

Milwaukee should expand its boundaries to permit relocation of industry and population to less vulnerable sites within the city's jurisdiction, if possible, so as to avoid loss of taxes.

Serious study should be given to the provision of heavy shelter construction within the City of Milwaukee for any portion of the population which may need it.

The Civil Defense Administration should be encouraged to continue its work and to engage in exercises from time to time to test its plans and the readiness of the community for defense preparation.

Physical changes necessary to reduce the vulnerability of public utilities should be instituted.

Preparations for operating a municipal government under emergency conditions should be thoroughly developed.

Protection of the children, the aged, the infirm should be carefully developed for instant use.

The ultimate objective of planning should be to so construct and operate the city that no matter what the state of international tension is, Milwaukee's normal way of life will already have achieved the maximum degree of security.