

a close friend of Hanna. Rockefeller and Everett were well acquainted.

The Everetts were a hospitable couple, staging notable social functions some of which the Rockefellers attended. At such gatherings one might meet dignitaries like Presidents Hayes, McKinley or Taft, as well as J. P. Morgan and Andrew Carnegie. Guests were greeted by Mrs. Everett on a hostess balcony, midway up a grand staircase at the entrance of the large ballroom.

When the Rockefeller house was razed in 1938, the palatial Everett house also was torn down.

---

## 16. The Standard Oil Company Is Formed

---

A newcomer to Cleveland appeared in the offices of Rockefeller & Andrews in the Sexton Building. He was Henry M. Flagler, a grain dealer in Bellevue, Ohio, who was establishing himself in the city. He persuaded Rockefeller to rent him desk space. The two had met when Rockefeller was a commission merchant and Flagler sold him carload lots of wheat and corn. On his trips around Ohio developing customer contacts, the Cleveland produce man often had climbed the stairs to Flagler's office above a village store facing Bellevue's "Square."

Sober-faced, withdrawn Rockefeller was attracted to Flagler, quick-smiling and gregarious, who made friends easily. Different though they were in temperament, they had a good deal in common, including an inborn zeal for business and hard work, plus an underlying determination to get on in the world.

Flagler, nine and a half years older than Rockefeller, had made and lost a fortune by the time he arrived in Cleveland. Wartime contracts with the United States Army for food and commodities netted him his first big money. He invested heavily in the booming salt industry in Michigan. Overproduction, plus sharply curtailed

demand for salt at the war's end, knocked the bottom out of the market. Flagler was virtually bankrupt.

Tided over his financial stringency with a loan from his wealthy Harkness kin, he had come to the big city on the lake to start again, to recoup his losses, and to pay back what he owed as soon as possible. He brought with him a patented horseshoe which he had invented and hoped to manufacture. But nothing came of that.

He sold barrels to Rockefeller and to other refiners, putting his hand to anything he could find to do. He went to work for a commission house in the Flats that was headed by Rockefeller's former partner, Maurice Clark. He made a lucky speculation, and before long he was able to buy Clark's company.

Once more Flagler had money, possibly as much as \$50,000. He often dropped by Rockefeller's desk to talk over the deals he was putting through and to listen to Rockefeller talk about oil. The Rockefeller-Andrews works was ahead of its rivals, but Rockefeller told Flagler competition was terrific. Writing later about this period, Rockefeller summed up the problems:

The price went down and down until the trade was threatened with ruin. It seemed absolutely necessary to extend the market . . . by exporting . . . and also to greatly improve the processes of refining so that oil could be made and sold cheaply, yet with profit.

The overall advancement program could be accomplished "only by increasing our capital."

But where to get it—enough of it.

He was borrowing constantly from Cleveland banks. He declared that he went to bed at night worrying about how he would discharge the loan he had assumed that day only to waken next morning wondering how he could borrow more.

Flagler was a sympathetic audience—and more. With his sharp, practical imagination, without doubt he would have put forward searching questions and suggestions . . . Rockefeller had an innate faculty for appraising talent and personality, for picking the right man at the right time. He had ample opportunity to study Flagler. He liked what he described as his "vim and push."

One can be sure also that the refiner would have admired the man's daring business moves, and his courageous comeback from disaster. Before long, in his words, Rockefeller "thought of Mr. Flagler as a possible partner and made him an offer to come with us and give up the commission business."

Discerning Flagler, wiser now from his ups and downs, was fully conscious of the enviable position the Rockefeller works had attained and of the respect Rockefeller himself was winning from business leaders. The difficulties confronting oil production only intrigued Flagler, for he had the kind of mind that saw tangles as challenges. He accepted the partnership offer and invested his newly acquired assets.

With Flagler now one of the firm, Rockefeller had a ready-made entree to the monied Harknesses in Bellevue. Flagler's wife, the former Mary Harkness, was a first cousin of Stephen Harkness. Mrs. Flagler's father, Lamon Harkness, and Stephen's father, David, both physicians, were brothers.

There were other connections between this remarkable family and Flagler. His mother had been widowed twice before she married his father, Isaac Flagler, an impoverished, itinerant Presbyterian minister in Western New York State. Her son was christened Henry Morrison Flagler, the boy's middle name being that of his mother's second husband. Her first husband was David Harkness, Stephen's father, a widower when she married him. From this marriage Daniel Harkness was born. Daniel was the half-brother of Stephen and also of Flagler. Flagler and Stephen, however, were no blood kin, but they had been close friends since their youth. The inter-relationships were tangled further when Daniel married his first cousin Isabelle Harkness, who was a sister of Flagler's wife, Mary! Withal, this was a congenial, affectionate group.

While probably as bewildered as everyone else over the involved relationships, Rockefeller would not have missed the significance of the Harkness-Flagler connection. On his Ohio travels he had some contact with Stephen Harkness, foremost citizen in the Bellevue-Monroeville locale, operating a variety of business enterprises, one a distillery. Harkness recently had come to Cleveland and he and Rockefeller seem to have renewed their acquaintance.

Keen-minded Harkness appears to have been as impressed as Flagler was with Rockefeller's standing in the community and with his thriving, smoothly running oil works. At any rate, Harkness soon became a partner, bolstering the company with a large sum of money, the total never made public. Nevertheless, it was estimated variously as from \$60,000 to \$90,000. Whatever the amount, it was a life-giving transfusion for the refinery program. Rockefeller had the capital he was seeking.

Cleveland now had a new firm: Rockefeller, Andrews and Flagler. Harkness was a silent partner. Brother William Rockefeller was the fifth partner—John D. always managed to have this brother share in the good things that came his way. He dispatched William to New York City to cultivate the export trade and domestic markets along the eastern seaboard.

John D. was boldly projecting his Cleveland-based business into far places. With an ardor not unlike that of the Baptist missionaries he supported, he intended to carry the new light to peoples living in darkness both at home and in foreign lands. He installed William in an office at 181 Pearl Street in Gotham, and soon this address as well as names of the Rockefeller brothers appeared in the New York City directory. William was a genial, ready mixer who resembled his father, Doctor Rockefeller, in many ways and, like him, was a good salesman. He proved to be a most able export manager.

These five men formed the nucleus of the Standard Oil Company that soon came into being. All of them except Andrews had been commission merchants during the Civil War. In addition to the distillery profits made by Harkness, a goodly share of what the four invested in the oil company represented returns from contracts with the Army. All five were self-made men. Andrews and Flagler had risen from humble beginnings, Harkness faring little better. While the early years were more secure for the two Rockefellers, their boyhood was anything but one of luxury.

The able works superintendent, Samuel Andrews, arrived in Cleveland as a poor English immigrant. He had little education and no technical training save what he picked up by his own efforts. Schooling was equally brief for Flagler, who quit the class-

room in the eighth grade. To ease the family's meager income, the boy decided at fourteen to leave home which was near Canandaigua, New York, and support himself. He packed his few belongings in a carpetbag and started out on foot to join Harkness relatives in Ohio.

Working his way on the Erie Canal and aboard a lake vessel, he disembarked at Sandusky, Ohio. His first job was in a general store where he dispensed merchandise like calico, molasses, and tallow candles for a salary of five dollars a month. As an emolument he was given the privilege of sleeping under the counter, blanketed on cold nights with brown wrapping paper. He made his start in the grain business in Republic, Seneca County, where his future father-in-law, Lamon Harkness, was a well-to-do produce wholesaler. Flagler met the gently reared Mary and promptly fell in love. They were married when she was nineteen and he was twenty-three.

Success came easily to Flagler. He settled in Bellevue, outpost of the Harknesses. While still a young man, he made money, built a large home so ornamented that townspeople called it the "Gingerbread House." It was sold to Daniel Harkness, and later it became the Young Men's Christian Association headquarters. Next to it Daniel erected the Memorial Congregational Church in memory of his wife. Inasmuch as whisky distilling had been one of Daniel's enterprises, the propriety of his joining the church was questioned. However, the denomination's hierarchy saw nothing amiss in accepting the church building, since it honored the "sainted Isabelle" who had been a member in good standing.

Stephen Harkness, senior among the new Cleveland oil firm's partners, was born in 1818 in Fayette, New York. He was more than twenty years older than the two Rockefellers. His mother died when he was two, his father's death followed a few years later in Milan, Ohio. Its canal to the lake made it a noted wheat port where David Harkness had been a grain dealer. Stephen was reared by his grandfather, Stephen Cook, in Waterloo, New York. At fifteen, apprenticed to a harness maker, he worked at this trade until his indenture was completed. Then he headed for Ohio and the Bellevue area. There he was welcomed cordially by cousins, uncles and aunts.

He dealt extensively in livestock and, like his relatives, in grain and other produce—lucrative operations in war time with the government as a steady customer.

Here was another member of the clan with the Harkness Midas Touch—everything he went into turned out well. Distilleries were common in the region, for whisky-making was a practical way to utilize the abundant crop of this corn belt. Stephen established a large distillery in nearby Monroeville where he also organized a private bank. He settled here, and in 1842 married Laura Osborn, like him a native of New York State. After her death, Anna M. Richardson of Dalton, Ohio became his wife in 1853, and he continued to make his home in Monroeville.

Senator John Sherman, brother of General William Tecumseh Sherman, is said to have dropped a hint in Harkness's hearing that a tax was to be placed on whisky as a wartime revenue measure. Harkness at once set about buying all the whisky he could locate, combing the countryside around Monroeville and filling his warehouses and barns ceiling-high with barrels of the stuff. Worried depositors claimed he almost drained his bank's surplus for funds to pay for his stock. The tax was voted. Harkness sold the lot at a price which covered the excise tax and yielded him a handsome profit, making him a rich man almost over night. If this money found its way into the new oil partnership, as is generally conceded, Rockefeller, strict temperance advocate though he was, managed to overlook its origin.

More than dollars accrued to Rockefeller from his association with Flagler and Harkness. The latter could be practical and impersonal in commercial transactions. Yet he also was a kindly, generous-hearted friend, as Rockefeller discovered in an incident he afterward recorded.

A devastating fire had destroyed the company's large warehouse and refinery complex in the East, the buildings covering many acres. The plant was insured for "many hundred thousands of dollars," in Rockefeller's words. He was worried about collecting so large a claim, or at best that there might be a delay in the insurance adjustment. The unit had to be rebuilt and put back into op-

eration at once. Rockefeller approached Harkness about the possibility of a loan, should one be required. Harkness grasped the situation quickly and said: "All right, J. D., I'll give you all I've got."

Rockefeller went home that night relieved of anxiety. The full amount of the claim did come through from the insurance company, an English concern. The reconstruction was paid for. Rockefeller had no need to call on Harkness for assistance, but, he said: "I never forgot the whole-souled way in which he offered it."

It had also seemed wise to ascertain if bank help could be counted on, should it be necessary in this same situation. The bank canvassed, though not designated by Rockefeller in his memoirs, was obviously the Second National Bank of Cleveland. One member of the bank's board of directors opposed granting such a loan. Whereupon, Rockefeller has recounted, Stillman Witt, another director, took issue with his colleague. He asked his son-in-law, Dan Eells, also an officer now of this bank, to bring him his strong box. With an emphatic gesture, Witt pledged its contents to the "young men" who, he declared "are all o.k. and if they want to borrow more money I want to see that this bank advances it without hesitation."

Rockefeller referred to this episode on several occasions as further illustration of "the kind of friends we had in those days." He did not mention that the objecting director was the imperious Amasa Stone, reputedly the richest man in town, but not one of the most popular.

In his *Reminiscences*, Rockefeller makes it clear that of all the men with whom he was associated through the years, none meant more to him than Flagler. Not even John D. Archbold, later Standard Oil Company president, could quite take Flagler's place, though Rockefeller had the highest regard for Archbold. "The part played by one of my earliest partners, Mr. H. M. Flagler," Rockefeller stated in this unusual tribute, "was always an inspiration to me."

Out of their business contacts, a very real relationship developed between the two. Rockefeller quoted Flagler as saying a friendship founded on business was better than a business founded on friendship. For the reticent Rockefeller, who kept his emotions well under cover, friendship of any sort was not entered into easily.

When Rockefeller at seventy was casting backward glances over his years, and writing about his old-time colleagues, it was Flagler to whom he gave the most attention.

At that time his former partner was still alive, renowned for his spectacular achievement in opening up eastern Florida, laying a six-hundred mile railway to Key West, promoting hotels, and homesites. Flagler had entered into these vast undertakings after his long, lucrative connection with the Standard Oil Company, and at an age, as Rockefeller commented, when most men would be retiring. The same creative ability and energy that Flagler directed to Florida, he had given to nurturing the oil company. Rockefeller put it this way:

He invariably wanted to go ahead and accomplish great projects of all kinds. He was always on the active side of every question and to his wonderful energy is due much of the rapid progress of the company in the early days.

Rockefeller reminisced further:

For years and years this early partner and I worked shoulder to shoulder; our desks were in the same room. We both lived on Euclid Avenue, a few rods apart.

Flagler bought the house the year the Standard Oil Company was formed, and in December of that year, a son, the third child, Henry Harkness Flagler, was born there. A boy long had been hoped for and the proud father made great plans for his future. Flagler's wife, Mary, never robust, however, grew increasingly frail. Her husband was devoted to her, spending the long winter evenings at her side, often reading aloud to her for hours at a time. Stephen Harkness was a frequent visitor, for Mary was his favorite cousin. John and Laura Rockefeller, both fond of the Flaglers, dropped in often to cheer the invalid.

By day the energetic, popular Flagler was active in civic and business organizations like the Board of Trade, associating with the city's leading men. In the fresh hours of the morning, Rockefeller made it a habit, as he has said, to stop in at Flagler's house from where the two "walked to the office together, walked home for luncheon, back again . . . and home again at night." We can

almost see them striding along, clad in the regimentals of the successful executive: striped trousers, frock coats, high silk hats. Rockefeller affected a heavy brown moustache to add a touch of age to his youthful face, and was taller than his black-haired, distinguished looking companion.

They had moved their offices to the new Case Block on Superior Street east of Public Square. This seems a considerable distance to cover on foot, and doubtless there were times when they went back and forth by horse and carriage — or on horseback. Yet, in those days before the split-second tempo of the automobile era, people did know how to walk and took time to do so. Rockefeller and Flagler used that time profitably. "Free from office interruptions," Rockefeller said, "we did our thinking, talking and planning together."

Euclid Avenue itself invited walking, with its broad "sidewalks overarched with massive shade trees." The stately homes Rockefeller passed on these walks were owned by men with whom he had frequent contacts in the course of a day's business.

The two bankers, Witt and Handy, always his allies, had moved from lower Euclid to "The Row," Witt coming from Euclid near Muirson (E. 12th) Street (site of the western end of the Statler-Hilton Hotel). Handy sold his classic pillared house on Euclid below Erie Street to Cleveland's mayor, George B. Senter. The massive stone mansion of Dan Eells, shortly to be president of the Commercial National Bank, was pointed out in later years as the place where he and Mark Hanna had a conference with McKinley, resulting in the latter's candidacy for the Presidency.

They passed the sumptuous home, in fashionable Italian villa style, of Hinman B. Hurlbut, built in 1855. Hurlbut, later a Standard Oil stockholder and horticulturist of note, was a discriminating collector of art. A well-modeled heroic-sized bronze dog that he had found on one of his European trips, stood poised on the lawn as if guarding his master's property. Farther downtown was Amasa Stone's imposing mansion, its heavily embellished facade making it the most ornate on the Avenue.

On their walks Rockefeller and Flagler were not concerned with architecture or landscaping. Their discussion now centered on con-

verting their company into a joint stock corporation. Rockefeller had been contemplating such a step for a long time. The stock was not to be placed on the open market. He and his four partners would retain control. Above all, there was not to be any manipulation of the stock, such as was the notorious practice of Jay Gould and the elder Morgan. Rockefeller never digressed from this stand and could say truthfully years later: "there has been no 'water' introduced in its capital (perhaps we felt that oil and water would not have mixed)."

Taking the name of the Standard Works that William Rockefeller had headed, a new company, the Standard Oil Company, came into existence. The name, John D. said, signified "standard quality." The two Rockefellers, Andrews, Flagler and Harkness formed "a body corporate under the laws of Ohio for manufacturing Petroleum and dealing in Petroleum and its products. . . ." Incorporation took place January 10, 1870. Capitalization was \$1,000,000. Ten thousand shares were issued at \$100 each. No bank was involved. Each investor paid for his lot.

Assets of the corporation actually far exceeded the capitalization figure. In Cleveland alone the holdings included two refineries in excellent condition, sixty acres of land, an up-to-date cooperage shop, lakeside dockage, and railroad tank cars. In addition, heavy investments had been made in property and facilities in the Oil Regions and in the East. The Standard Oil Company of Ohio at the time of its inception was not only the biggest oil operation in Cleveland, it also represented one-tenth of the petroleum business in the country.

The pre-eminence of Cleveland in oil refining was assured. Pittsburgh was definitely out-paced. The Standard Oil Company was headed for phenomenal growth and the city of its origin would share in the harvest. The company's made-in-Cleveland products would be used around the world.

Neither Rockefeller nor any of his partners glimpsed the future in store for them: "None of us ever dreamed of the magnitude of what proved to be the later expansion," Rockefeller said forty years later, and even then, he could not quite believe it.

A few days after the incorporation, the men met to elect officers.

On January 18th the *Leader* gave the news to the world: President, John D. Rockefeller; vice president, William Rockefeller; secretary-treasurer, Flagler; superintendent, Andrews; and director without portfolio, Harkness.

John D. Rockefeller subscribed to 2,667 shares; Harkness, 1,334; William Rockefeller, Andrews and Flagler, 1,333 shares each; the Rockefeller, Andrews, Flagler Company, 1,000 shares. This brought the number of shares to nine thousand. The remaining 1,000 block was taken by O. B. Jennings of New York, brother-in-law of William Rockefeller. Nine-tenths of the total stock was owned by the five partners. John D., master mind of it all, was in charge. He was not yet thirty-one. Like a good golfer who keeps his eye on the ball, he kept his on his goal, and his vision never wavered.

In this same year, 1870, in Akron, thirty-six miles away, Doctor Benjamin Franklin Goodrich organized the first rubber factory west of the Alleghenies. Goodrich, two years younger than Rockefeller and like him born in New York State, was a physician turned manufacturer. Convincingly presenting his proposition before a group of Akron business leaders, he raised a capital loan of \$13,600. His modest operation soon got under way, specializing in fire hose and also making such things as wringer rolls, billiard cushions and fruit jar rings. After financial struggles that threatened more than once to scuttle the effort, the B. F. Goodrich Company was established. Akron was on its way to becoming the Rubber Capital of the world, and Cleveland the Oil Capital.

Doctor Goodrich died in 1888 before the era of automotive power. Rockefeller lived long enough to witness the first decades of that age. But neither man could have any conception of the revolutionary impact on oil and rubber that was to come.

## 17. Giving

Rockefeller did not wait to become rich before starting his program of giving. In a period before public welfare existed, local citizens took care of local needs. Considering himself a Clevelander, he began when still in his teens to do his part and continued to do so.

One of his earliest charities, after his church, was the Ragged School to which he allocated small sums from his meager resources. Dedicated men and women operated the "school," really a mission in a rented room on Champlain Street to care for "vagrant youth" recognized as beyond reach of the public school. Children rounded up here were from impoverished families. Sometimes described as "vicious," they often were homeless boys and girls with no place to lay their heads at night.

The waifs, a ragged lot indeed, were clothed, fed and instructed in the Three Rs, trades, morals, and the Bible. Some were placed temporarily in private homes in lieu of children's aid agencies or orphan asylums. Ultimately absorbed by the public school system, in its early days, the project ministered to hundreds of neglected children. During the years it functioned, Rockefeller's original miniscule contributions grew to a five-figure largesse.

In 1867 a new building went up at Superior Street and Ohio Lane (West 10th Street) with "Cleveland Bethel Union" over its door. True to the "Bethel" in its name (a place of worship for seamen), the sailors, dock and shipyard workers (and some women) who gathered in its rooms heard talks on temperance and the Christian religion. A kind of glorified Wayfarers' Lodge, it was an outgrowth of the Western Seaman's Friend Society which was organized in the 1830s for destitute members of lake vessel crews.

The colorful Bethel was close to Rockefeller's heart. He underwrote a substantial part of the budget, but he kept his name off the donor lists appearing in the local press. He liked to stop in at noon to observe with satisfaction the men assembled in the big

dining room for the substantial meal served for twenty-five cents which included ice cream for dessert. Those who lacked the price could earn their dinner by chopping kindling at the Bethel woodpile, an arrangement approved by Rockefeller. To his way of thinking, free handouts pauperized the recipient and dulled initiative.

Among other Clevelanders behind the Bethel's endeavors were Dan Eells, Mark Hanna and his wife, Mrs. Henry Chisholm and Edwin Cowles, editor of the *Leader*.

Bethel Union is not to be confused with the "Floating Bethel" of a later date. This was an abandoned scow moored at the foot of St. Clair Street, that was reconditioned as haven for lakefront derelicts. Here one-armed "Brother" J. D. Jones, a town character for years, held prayer meetings so powerful in appeal that river men were lured from surrounding saloons to listen to his exhortations. Brother Jones had only to appear at Rockefeller's office to receive a good size check; the oil magnate, it is said, gave in all many thousands of dollars to the earnest evangelist.

Rockefeller, not yet thirty years old, was an early member of Cleveland's first continuing cultural organization, the Western Reserve Historical Society. Born as the historical department of the Cleveland Library Association, it broke away from the parent institution and in 1867 it became a separate entity. Its ambitious purpose was to "preserve whatever relates to the history, biography, genealogy, antiquities and statistics . . . of the city of Cleveland and the Western Reserve."

Founders of the Society chose as its first president the dynamic Colonel Charles Whittlesey, West Point graduate, veteran of the Black Hawk and Civil Wars. A geologist by profession, he had carried on explorations of the copper mines in the wilderness stretches of Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Pursuing his interest in local history and archaeology throughout his life, he published almost two hundred books and pamphlets. This harvest from his research became the basis of the Historical Society's collections. Like many of the later Society presidents, including the present head, Frederick C. Crawford, Whittlesey was a native New Englander.

The Whittleseys lived on Euclid Avenue about opposite Dun-

ham Tavern on what today is the 6700 block. Their simple, rambling white house, hung with vines and shaded by tall trees, was in the midst of open country, practically farmland. Next to them across the meadow stood the home of Rockefeller's associate, Stephen V. Harkness, their house not unlike the Whittleseys'. Neighbors were far apart and not numerous. There was much visiting between the two families, "Grandma Whittlesey" becoming a special favorite of the Harkness children, particularly of their little daughter Florence.

Before this, on arriving in Cleveland, the Harknesses had occupied a large Victorian house at the southwest corner of Euclid and Fairmount (East 107th) Street in the "Doan's Corners" area. Forming a company to handle crude petroleum, Harkness went into partnership in 1864 with William Halsey Doan, grandson of Nathaniel Doan, early settler at the "Corners." Two years later the district was designated as the Village of East Cleveland, and Harkness served as mayor for a brief time.

To be nearer Cleveland's business district, Harkness decided to move and selected the property beside the Whittleseys. The Colonel soon won the newcomer as a member of the Historical Society. Rockefeller already had joined, to be followed later by Flagler and Andrews. Membership was by invitation, a privilege reserved for the prominent. Whittlesey had brought into the Society the leaders of what was to be the Standard Oil Company.

Notables from out of town, classified as "corresponding members," included the Ohioans Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, Senators Benjamin F. Wade and John Sherman, and the Toledo attorney, Morrison B. Waite, later Supreme Court Justice.

Historical Society headquarters were in rooms on the third floor of the Society for Savings Bank Building on Public Square where lengthy and learned papers were delivered. "Meetings were thronged," according to Cleveland newspapers which reported all proceedings in full.

After some years (1891) the Historical Society, greatly expanded, bought the entire bank building for \$40,000. By this time Rockefeller was vice president of the Historical Society and a member

of the finance committee. He endorsed the project and supplied \$10,000 toward the purchase. J. H. Wade, of Western Union fame and a banker, contributed \$5,000, which was the next largest gift. Judge C. C. Baldwin, successor to the presidency of the Society at Colonel Whittlesey's death, and William J. Gordon, donor of Gordon Park, to the city each gave \$2,000.

While trustees thought Western Reserve Historical Society was "settled for life," their sense of security was upset three years later by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce whose directors cast covetous eyes on the former bank building. The Chamber offered the Historical Society \$55,000 for the property, plus a lot for new headquarters on the corner of Euclid and Fairmount streets across from the one-time Harkness home. Some members felt the proposed location was too far out from the center of the city. On the other hand, an advantage was seen in its proximity to the cultural attractions unfolding around Case School of Applied Science and Western Reserve University. The Chamber's proposition was accepted.

Well established in its handsome, new terra-cotta building on the new site, the Historical Society in 1907 launched a campaign for a \$350,000 endowment fund. Rockefeller promised \$25,000 on condition that the balance be raised by a stipulated date. Pledges lagged. Time ran out. The Society did not get the Rockefeller money.

Rockefeller's interest in the Society was rekindled when Wallace Cathcart, first became president, and later director. He was an ardent Baptist. Further, his alma mater was Denison University at Granville, Ohio, a Baptist institution which Rockefeller liked and helped with regular sums amounting to almost \$300,000. At Cathcart's urging, Rockefeller remained a vice president of the Historical Society. Later he was made honorary vice president, a title he carried as long as he lived. Preserved in Society files is a sheaf of correspondence and notes on conversations between Rockefeller and Cathcart.

The Society today is firmly established on East Boulevard in University Circle. It occupies a three-building complex, the newest unit of which is the Frederick C. Crawford Auto and Aviation Museum.

In line with his intent to be identified with the city of his adoption, Rockefeller joined the Early Settlers Association which was founded in 1879 by the venerable pioneer "Father" H. M. Addison. The new organization's first president was the distinguished Harvey Rice, whose bill in the State Legislature created Ohio's system of free public schools. In 1888, under Rice's leadership, a statue of Moses Cleaveland was erected in Public Square, and there the Founder stands today surveying his rapidly changing city. Cost of the sculpture, slightly under \$4,500, was raised by public subscription, with fifty dollars, it is said, received from Rockefeller.

Attending an Association meeting in 1912, he was called upon to speak. Rockefeller said that when he was first a member he felt himself "a very young early settler." Since then, he continued wryly, the crowding years had altered all that. At his death in 1937 he was found to have the longest membership record up to that time.

As a teen-ager Rockefeller paid a dollar to join the Young Men's Christian Association when it was organized in Cleveland and he remained a loyal supporter. He sent \$4,500 to the secretary when a block at Euclid and Sheriff (East 4th) Street was remodeled as a "Y" center in 1880; \$50,000, or a fifth of the total, for a new headquarters at Prospect and Erie streets and \$15,000 when the Broadway branch was burned out and restored in 1890. There were other large gifts reaching about a quarter of a million dollars given the Y.M.C.A. in the early days. Originally women were admitted to membership in the Young Men's Christian Association, and Mrs. Rockefeller became a life member.

In the late 1860s the Young Women's Christian Association had its start in Cleveland as the Women's Christian Association. Two women delegates from each of twenty churches met as organizers in the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association. Mrs. Rockefeller and Mrs. Henry Chisholm represented the Second Baptist Church (the former Erie Street Baptist, later called the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church).

As a consequence of manpower loss in the Civil War and pressures from the high cost of living, young women were flocking into the city seeking employment. The new association directed its



early efforts to finding "suitable boarding places where the working girls could be sure of proper literature and religious influences." Among the projects, also, was The Retreat on Perry Street where "fallen women" were sheltered and, hopefully, turned away from sin to Christian usefulness.

In vain, one looks for Mrs. Rockefeller's name in the long tabulations of officers and committee members in the first Young Women's Christian Association yearbooks. Evidently she preferred a background role. Her husband, as if substituting for her, helped the program with contributions of \$500 to \$1,000. When the big "YW" building at Prospect Avenue and East 18th Street was planned in 1907, the Rockefellers gave \$150,000 of the \$250,000 cost.

Years before, as the temperance movement was sweeping across Ohio, Mrs. Rockefeller joined the hundreds of women, many of them Young Women's Christian Association members, who met at (Old) Stone Church in the spring of 1874 to establish the Women's Christian Temperance League, soon called the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Reared by parents who were strong abstinence advocates, the Rockefellers became almost fanatic supporters of the dry cause.

One of the first undertakings of the League was an onslaught on the inroads of alcohol in the Haymarket, then the inner city slum. Both Rockefellers endorsed the idea. From his marriage on, John D. made his wife a partner in his giving. The Haymarket for some time had been a common concern of the couple. It was the district south and to the west of Public Square, site now of the Terminal Tower and group of buildings erected by O. P. and M. J. Van Sweringen. To make way for the complex that was opened formally in 1930, fourteen hundred buildings in the area were razed and several streets obliterated from the Cleveland map.

At the edge of the old "bad lands" a large section was given over to farmers who drove into the city with loads of hay and grain to be checked by the sealer of weights and measures. Afterwards they lined up to dispose of their produce from their wagons. Other country people came in with fruit and vegetables which they sold in this lively marketplace.

Nearby was Whisky Hill and a crisscross of narrow, littered streets and alleys which teemed with recently arrived immigrants—Italians, Hungarians, Germans, Lithuanians, Poles, Slavs. Thirty-one different nationalities and more than a dozen religions were counted here. The men were in demand as laborers in this city of rapidly increasing mills and factories.

Big families crowded into dilapidated shanties. Ill-clad children played happily in roadway mud puddles, a beloved mangy dog invariably in their midst. Here and there flowers rooted in tin cans bloomed on window sills, reminders of some homeland garden patch. On a tin roof a flock of listless chickens might be seen pecking at slim rations, while a few scrawny goats roamed the grassless hillsides.

Winter brought special hardship plus an influx of homeless men, jobless, as cold weather ended work on the lakes and wheat fields. Here was the city's highest birth and death rate, the greatest ratio of crime, and everywhere poverty. Saloons stood conveniently placed at every turn, ready to welcome the mill hands and to relieve them of their wages. Drunkenness and neglected homes were the accepted way of life in the Haymarket.

Temperance League members, among them Mrs. Rockefeller, now arrived in their fine carriages to make war on the liquor takeover. Dismissing bewildered coachmen, they stayed to stage programs of Gospel songs and prayers for "souls drowning in drink." Demon Rum, however, remained unvanquished. Regrouping for a fresh attack, the women rented a couple of empty storerooms where they set up canteens. Along with hymn-singing and Bible lessons, they served "wholesome food and sarsaparilla."

Men weary from a long, hard day's work began to congregate in these "friendly inns," enjoying the pleasant surroundings and sociability as they had in their native village taverns. Their women folk in shawls and babushkas, offspring at their heels, came to have a look at the fine ladies, and they did not want to leave.

The scope of the friendly inns broadened to encompass training for mothers and older daughters in home care and child rearing. A kindergarten and playgrounds were opened and a children's li-

brary was set up. Grog shops began to close—not all of them, but a satisfactory number, and home life improved.

Before long it was apparent larger and permanent quarters were called for. Laura Rockefeller had withdrawn from the daily activities because of home duties. John D. carried on. He, with Joseph Perkins and William Taylor, dry goods store owner, gave \$50,000 for a building erected as Central Friendly Inn on Broadway at Ohio Street. This was Cleveland's first settlement house. Dedication took place in 1888, one year before Jane Addams opened Hull House in Chicago.

After several moves dictated by shifting urban population, the settlement house continues to function. Known as Friendly Inn, it is located now on Unwin Road in the Carver-Outhwaite Housing Development, a section in today's inner city.

Institutions mentioned in this chapter are from a tabulation in the Rockefeller Archives of Cleveland organizations which John D. began helping in his early years. The number, by no means complete, adds up to about one hundred and fifty. Not included in the list are those later Cleveland grants of much larger sums, nor what he gave to his Cleveland church.

The pattern that John D. and Laura Rockefeller followed in their early Cleveland charities was adhered to as wealth piled up. The oilman soon realized that instead of haphazard giving, it was as essential to chart a course for his benevolences as for his business. Thus, he developed definite guidelines for his philanthropy.

"It is easy to do harm in giving money," he concluded. Only when money helps a man (or organization) to help himself, he declared, is it beneficial. An institution should have many friends and supporters. For this reason, as is explained in the Rockefeller *Reminiscences*, he tended to make his "gifts conditional on the giving of others." Before endorsing a grant, thorough investigation went forward to insure that the undertaking met a true community need, showed evidence of potential, sustained local backing and did not duplicate an existing agency or source of aid.

## 18. Turbulence

The Standard Oil Company, incorporated in 1870, was launched in rough seas. Rockefeller and his first mate, Henry Flagler, piloted a craft buffeted by gales from two directions: overproduction of oil, both crude and refined, on the one hand; on the other, transportation of that oil jeopardized by a freight rate war among the three oil-carrying railroads, the New York Central-Lake Shore, the Erie, and the Pennsylvania. For Rockefeller, as for all refiners, the glut of oil, plus the unpredictable haulage charges, were narrowing profit margins to the danger point and bringing about ruinous competition within the industry.

The chaos was a continuation—intensified—of what had confronted the firm of Rockefeller, Andrews & Flagler two years before. At that time, in the spring of 1868, Rockefeller went to New York where he and his brother William met with Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt and his son William—autocrats of the New York Central. They also saw Amasa Stone of Cleveland, who was in New York, having been elected president of the Lake Shore.

John D. told Laura all about it, writing her on a Sunday afternoon and feeling guilty about thus breaking the Sabbath. He was in Brooklyn where her parents and "Lute" (Lucy) were living. For the previous day's conference he reported to his wife they had not run at the bidding of the railroad potentates. Instead, they sent their card by messenger to let them know where he and Will could be found (at 181 Pearl Street). The meeting took place later, not in the office of the Vanderbilts but at the Manhattan Club. The rail men—even the haughty Stone—were impressed apparently with the Rockefeller potential in oil freight, and some agreement was reached. Whatever it was, it paved the way for later haulage contracts when the Standard Oil Company was born.

In his letter, Rockefeller refers to Stone as "Amasa Stone, Jr." the way the latter often signed his name since his father was also