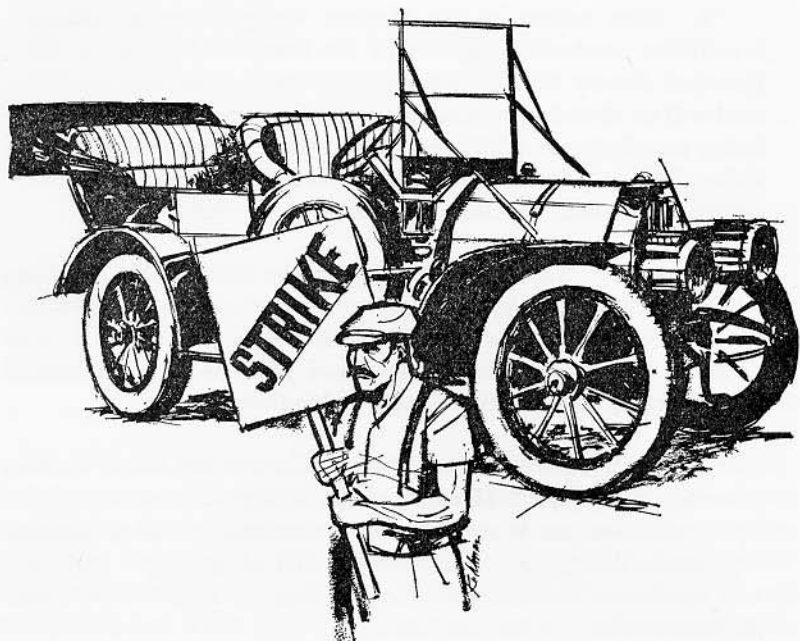


# Northwest Ohio Quarterly

Volume 35

Issue 3



## The Pope-Toledo Strike of 1907

(Part I)

by DONALD G. BAHNA

### 1. *The Pope-Toledo Automobile*

The retort of a backfiring gasoline engine was not a totally new sound in the city of Toledo in 1906, but it was still unusual enough to send many citizens scampering for shelter. Detroit had not yet been selected as the motor capital and at this time Toledo was favored by many as the perfect site. Its labor supply and transportation facilities had attracted the Pope family of Hartford, Connecticut, to purchase a huge plant on Central Avenue to manufacture the new "horseless carriage."

This pioneer company in the automobile industry was the brain child of Albert A. Pope. He had earlier been engaged in the bicycle business when he organized the famous American Bicycle Company; but he had

turned to producing steam, electric, and finally gasoline machines in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Among the properties acquired by the Pope interests was the Toledo plant of Lozier and Company, manufacturers of bicycles. Under the Popes this plant produced bicycles, steam automobiles, and finally gasoline models. After a reorganization of the parent company in 1903, the American Bicycle Company became the Pope Manufacturing Company with the Pope Motor Car Company as its motor carriage department.<sup>1</sup>

The Pope Motor Company owned several factories throughout the East and Mid-West, each devoted to a different type and quality of machine. The Pope-Toledo was designed as the luxury gasoline model. Its price ranged from \$2,800 for the lowest priced standard models to \$11,000 for custom orders.<sup>2</sup> As the *Toledo News-Bee* described the Toledo plant with a pardonable degree of exaggeration:

The Pope Motor Car Company . . . is far and away the largest plant in the world devoted exclusively to the manufacture of automobiles. The factory employs from 1200 to 1500 men . . . It is a matter of pride to Toledo that this car has won in the past two years every notable speed, hill climbing, and endurance contest held in the country. The factory built this season 1,000 cars . . .<sup>3</sup>

Even if Toledoans were sometimes frightened by the products of this company, they were still very proud of the fact that their city was an important part of the automobile industry.

Although not the only large plant in a city of about 170,000, the Pope-Toledo factory was a major source of employment and had spread the city's name throughout the country. In 1905 twelve Pope-Toledo machines were ordered by Secretary of State Elihu Root for use in handling the Russian and Japanese peace commissioners in the negotiations at Portsmouth to end the Russo-Japanese War.<sup>4</sup>

Another major source of fame for the Pope-Toledo was its racing record. These races, of course, were primarily tests of certain mechanical improvements. In 1903 the Pope-Toledo models placed first fifteen times, second six times, and third and fourth once each out of a total of twenty-three races. In 1904 the score was even more impressive. In forty meets it won thirty-three firsts and two seconds. The most sensational performance was the Vanderbilt Cup (an older American version of the Grand Prix) in 1904. Herbert Lytle drove his Pope-Toledo to a third

place finish, ". . . driving what was virtually a stripped stock car of only twenty-four horsepower in a field where the first and second finishers were ninety horsepower French machines."<sup>5</sup>

In the summer of 1906 the prospects for the Pope-Toledo Company were bright. It was in the middle of its peak season and orders were pouring in. However, it was shortly to be the scene of a bitter and protracted strike which was to be an important landmark in Toledo labor history. The battle lines were already being drawn. Both labor and management were organizing for a knock-down, drag-out struggle, the causes of which must be examined.

## 2. Toledo Industrial and Labor Background

Early in the twentieth century labor relations in Toledo seem to have been good. Of course there had been strikes but no major clashes. The American Federation of Labor was able to report in 1904 that there was no sign of hard times among union workers, that work was good and well maintained over the country.<sup>1</sup> The *Toledo News-Bee* announced in February, 1905: "Labor satisfied — No spring strikes planned";<sup>2</sup> and in May, "Toledo is lucky, it is free from strikes this spring. The United States is having a rash of strikes but the local scene is good."<sup>3</sup> In fact it was claimed that a large firm was interested in moving from Chicago to Toledo because of its labor problems in the Windy City. It seems Toledo had more to offer than just geographical advantage when the *Toledo News-Bee* could say, "Manufacturers locating here have the assurance of obtaining dependable, competent, reliable, and conservative labor."<sup>4</sup> Of course this labor climate had not yet come to a real test. When labor attempted to make new gains and achieve official recognition, the situation underwent a drastic change.

An attempt was being made to educate the community concerning the principles, aims, methods, and history of the labor movement through a course in the manual training department of the University of Toledo called "Ethics of Labor." This was in response to a claim by organized labor that graduates of manual training schools throughout the country were turning into "scab labor."<sup>5</sup>

Yet, behind the scenes there were ominous developments as the elements of a conflict were forming. Already the International Union of Machinists, a branch of the American Federation of Labor, had established

a local organization and had made inroads into many plants employing machinists with the ultimate objective of becoming the bargaining agent for all machinists. To counteract this move the National Association of Manufacturers had sent J. W. King to Toledo to enlist as many employers as possible in a national organization, "the chief object of which is to indemnify all manufacturers and employers of labor against losses by strikes and to repel the incursion of labor unions."<sup>6</sup>

Employers' groups were not the only organized opponents of labor in Toledo or elsewhere. Persons, who were not employers, but objected to trade unions or their practices, became members of associations usually known by the title "Citizens' Alliances."<sup>7</sup> They usually attempted to be types of law-and-order leagues which aided employers by importing strike-breakers, resisting boycotts, and adding their support to employers' organizations. On January 22, 1906, in the midst of the Pope-Toledo strike, a Citizens Alliance was born under the leadership of William Boettker, who espoused its cause by saying, "When a man joins a union, he sacrifices his country, his home, his family." The purpose of the organization was "to bring peace between capital and labor — he would destroy boycotts by inducing every member of his association to patronize boycotted stores."<sup>8</sup> It seems likely that these "Citizens Alliances" were at least prompted by employers and certainly received their wholehearted support.

The principal antagonist of the International Union of Machinists was neither of these, however, but an employer organization known as the National Metal Trades Association. Its significance is easily indicated by the fact that its local branch was organized in June, 1907, and that its first showdown came at the Pope plant in August of that same year. As the Association was in the process of being organized, an employer who had attended some of the early meetings said, "The apparent bone of contention is the labor union demand for a 'closed shop' and the movement looks like the beginning of a lineup for a finish fight."<sup>9</sup> The objectives of the association as outlined by Robert Wuest, a representative of the National Metal Trades Association, were to promote the open shop policy, regulate unfair employers, and protect employers' interests in case of strikes.<sup>10</sup> It was also deemed necessary because the great reform mayors of Toledo, Samuel Jones and Brand Whitlock, had refused to "provide adequate police protection."<sup>11</sup> Both of these mayors refused to use the power of city government and the police force as a weapon against the labor movement; because they refused to suppress peaceful picketing.

To further clarify the purpose of the newly formed Toledo Metal Trades Association, it is helpful to examine the words of W. F. Willoughby, writing in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, as he describes the purposes of the national association:

...it may assist the member involved to procure men to replace those striking, or have his work done for him, or directly grant to him financial help. In all cases it undertakes to take such legal steps as are necessary for the protection of his rights. . . . To meet this demand for labor, the association, however, places its chief dependence upon its system of local and national employment bureaus. . . . through which their members can obtain employees without having to resort to trade unions.<sup>12</sup>

Here we see the traditional weapons against labor: the strike-breaker, the injunction, and the black list.

As was suggested in a previous quotation, the entire struggle centered around the controversy of the closed shop versus the open shop. It was not until this issue was raised that the National Metal Trades Association found it necessary to organize a branch in Toledo. Therefore, the two positions on this matter should be clarified. To strengthen its position the National Metal Trades Association published two periodicals: *Open Shop* (1902-1908) and *Shop Review* (1904-1930). Many other magazines were also sympathetic. One called *World's Work* gave its summary of the open-shop principle as follows:

No restriction in the use of tools, machinery or materials, except of such as are unsafe; no limitation of output; no restriction of the number of apprentices and helpers, when of proper age; no boycott; no sympathetic strike; no sacrifice of the independent working man to the labor union; no compulsory use of the union label.<sup>13</sup>

The labor unions also had their champions outside the cause. The famous attorney, Clarence Darrow, was among them. The publication of the International Union of Machinists ably summarized his point of view by quoting one of his speeches:

The closed shop. . . . the shop wherein none but union labor is employed. . . . is the logical result of the labor union. It is necessary to give practical effect to the principles on which the unions are based. . . .

It is the nature and policy of capital to purchase its supplies, whether of material or labor, as cheaply as possible. Likewise, it is the nature and policy of labor to obtain the best possible price for its work. The capitalist has no difficulty in pursuing his natural inclination in this respect: he can purchase or employ where he pleases. The individual laborer is in a different position. . . .

Why? Because the capitalist can employ men at wages that suit him, or replace the present importunate employee with a man who will work for the old scale. Therefore, labor, to compel capital to listen to it, must be in a position when it can make its activities felt upon the interests of capital. If the labor unionist is willing to work in a shop beside non-union labor, he will soon find that the capitalist prefers the non-unionist to him. . . . which is natural.

The union laborer, therefore, is compelled to stand out against the open shop; the closed shop is the one means he has to compel his employer to listen to him.<sup>14</sup>

The pro-union *Toledo News-Bee* supplied another bit of reasoning in support of labor. On February 10, 1905, it proclaimed the open shop a fallacy since no shop was open to all prospective, qualified employees without regard for such considerations as their attitude toward organized labor.<sup>15</sup> In other words the newspaper claimed that management was trying to screen out employees with pro-union sympathies. With these diametrically opposed positions in view one can better understand the strike and its consequences.

Since this issue is far from settled today, the bitterness of this early struggle can be appreciated. This was a crusade against evil for each side. It should be pointed out that the opponents were much less evenly matched than they are now. Besides the abundant resources on which the employers could draw, they usually could count on government agencies to favor them; while the laborers did not have the vast strike funds available today. As we shall see, these advantages were neutralized in Toledo, primarily through the city's labor-minded mayors and the federal courts.

It is proper to state that the hostility of 1906 indicates that both labor and management in the Toledo area considered themselves engaged in a life-and-death struggle for survival. The two were not seeking so much to bargain as to pick a fight with each other. Management with its open shop policy hoped to kill the union movement. On the other hand, the

It does not seem that either of the two organizations was likely to back away from a fight, which was really a to-be-or-not-to-be contest so far as the union was concerned. Both had anticipated it and had made their preparations. Each was ready for a long battle since the union threatened to make the strike indefinite unless the two men were reinstated, while the company decreed that it would never re-employ the two men. It was freely admitted by both sides that the issues of wages and hours were not directly involved.<sup>5</sup>

The strike settled down to picketing around the clock while the company struggled to maintain its production schedule. To do this it was necessary to put the employment agency of the National Metal Trades Association into high gear and this meant the importation of strike-breakers. Hired armed guards were used to escort these men from the trains to the Pope plant, but men who came to answer advertisements on their own were stopped by the pickets and urged to join the union.

The Pope Company maintained a boarding house on its premises for their remaining workers, both strike-breakers and regular employees. If we can believe the words of business agent Keck of the union, it was more like a prison: "The Pope Company maintains a boarding house in the shop where the men are held prisoner. They are even refused permission to look out of the window. Several have made their escape by jumping out of the window while the guards were not looking."<sup>6</sup> Whether these extremes were reached is uncertain, but there was a great deal of trouble with many of the workers who had been hired to take the places of the strikers. One man (according to the story he later told to the police) came to Toledo without any knowledge that he was to be





used as a strike-breaker. After being taken to the plant "...while in the act of throwing a note to a man outside, the strike-breaker was discovered by watchmen employed at the factory, and without any more ceremony was thrown out of the place...."7

The strike-breakers were further restricted by ironclad contracts. The new workers were obliged to sign agreements containing extremely onerous terms. It is doubtful that they understood what they did. Indeed it is probable that many of them had not even read the terms. Evidently those who were recruiting men for the National Metal Trades Association, in striving to employ as many workers as possible, made little effort to make clear the full details of the contractual agreement. The lure of employment plus free transportation were about all that was needed to entice some of the workers.

Whatever the great expectations of the strike-breakers at first, they were all changed upon their arrival in Toledo as the ironclad agreement went into effect. After reaching their destination and being whisked to the plant under guard, they were practically isolated from the outside world. When many expressed their desire to leave, they were faced with the hard alternatives of the contract, a copy of which is as follows:

### CONTRACT

Date....., 190....

Received from the Pope Motor Car Company (Toledo Department) the sum of \$....., which has been advanced to me in the form of transportation from ..... to Toledo, Ohio.

I Hereby Agree to go to work promptly for the Pope Motor Car Company (Toledo Department) and Further Agree that the firm by whom I am employed shall deduct from my pay the amount of money advanced to me deducting one-half the first pay, and one-half the second pay; and if for any reason I should quit the service of the Pope Motor Car Company (Toledo Department) prior to my second pay day, I agree that the total amount of money so advanced to me, shall be deducted from whatever wages may be due to me.

I am fully aware that there is a strike on at the present time in the shops of the above mentioned concern, and I certify that I am perfectly willing to go to work under such conditions.

I further agree that my tools and personal effects shall be considered as a pledge for the faithful performance of my duties and the repayment of moneys advanced, failing in which the same may be sold at either public or private auction, without notice to me.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

WITNESS \_\_\_\_\_

Transportation to be refunded after 60 days' faithful and efficient service.

I agree to work under this contract as \_\_\_\_\_ (specialty).<sup>8</sup>

There can be no doubt that once this contract had been signed the workers were strictly bound by its terms. The lawyer who drew it up for the National Metal Trades Association deserved a bonus because it really was ironclad. Those employees who afterward repented signing must in the future have scrutinized with greater care any documents requiring their signatures. There was no mention of pay in the contract but there were further complaints by some that they had been promised forty-five cents an hour and were only receiving thirty.<sup>9</sup>

Further evidence of the technique of how strike-breakers were recruited by the Pope-Toledo management is available. Each member of the National Metal Trades Association received a memorandum from national secretary Wuest containing the request that it "...detail to the association for strike services to Toledo, at least one competent and thoroughly reliable machinist"<sup>10</sup> The national organization was thus attempting to replace the striking machinists in Toledo with reliable and anti-union machinists from other parts of the country.

The employment situation was further complicated by the fact that there were strikes going on in two other Pope plants simultaneously. It appears that the International Union of Machinists was concentrating many of its guns on one company in the hope of scoring a victory for machinists everywhere. That is, the union hoped that if it could become the bargaining agent of the machinists at the Pope, this would lead employers of machinists elsewhere to recognize the union.

Wuest supplemented his anti-union efforts with a technique resembling the black list. At any rate there was an effort to prevent Toledo

machinists from obtaining employment in other plants while on strike as he cautioned the membership to "...use extreme care in giving employment to applicants coming from Toledo."<sup>11</sup> Unions at this time were without strike funds and it was necessary for the strikers to look out for themselves. In spite of Wuest's warning, most capable machinists who struck the Pope Company were able to find work in Detroit; but at lower wages. Many of them who were family men found it extremely inconvenient to keep a home in Toledo and travel to Detroit to work during the week. Yet, they managed to hold out.<sup>12</sup>

But strike-breaking did not succeed. The company soon began to feel the pinch of the walkout of highly skilled men. They simply could not fill the vacancies with workers of equal skill. The result was that it was not possible to maintain the production schedule. Many orders went unfilled or were cancelled because delivery was not made on time. The Pope Company's predicament grew worse from day to day.

Considering all these points of friction, the wonder is not that there was violence, but that it was postponed for so long. The company employed many private detectives and watchmen (which the union claimed cost \$600 a day extra).<sup>13</sup> There was bound to be a clash sooner or later. On September 18, a spy named B. C. McQuown was attending a union meeting. He was discovered, searched, and immediately escorted to the police station. He was later tried and sentenced to thirty days in prison for carrying a concealed weapon.<sup>14</sup> Under the circumstances it is remarkable that McQuown was delivered to the police unharmed.

The first indication of outright violence came a month after the strike had begun. Both sides complained that they were innocent of any attacks but the *Toledo Blade* announced: "...police seem powerless to prevent almost nightly assaults by one side or the other."<sup>15</sup> Men on the picket lines were attacked by guards for trespassing, and strike-breakers were intimidated and sometimes beaten by pickets. The union acknowledged the beatings but, of course, claimed to have no part in them.

The most serious altercation occurred when a Pope guard, J. M. Hickey, fractured the skull of one of the strikers. The guard was chased and captured by other strikers present and at once turned over to the police. Cooler heads must have prevailed in this instance since he was delivered unharmed. Even General Manager Schaaf of the Pope plant said, "I cannot tell you how much I deplore this affair...and I have no apologies to offer for Hickey...."<sup>16</sup> The injured man hovered between life and death

for a time but recovered. If he had not, it is certain that the situation would have become more explosive.

The newspapers gave few further reports of violence from this time on until the settlement of the strike. However, one of the non-union workmen at the Pope plant, John Davis, did become involved in an unfortunate incident when he shot Mrs. Frank Bush in her own home. The shooting was later proven to be accidental. After being held temporarily "for his own protection,"<sup>17</sup> Davis was released. Even though few incidents were reported in the newspapers, it would seem that many were overlooked or became so common that they were no longer newsworthy. The latter is more probably the case.

It was inevitable in such a situation that the Pope Motor Car Company would attempt to obtain a court order barring the union men from picketing and interfering with non-union workers. A sweeping permanent injunction was sought. Men with obvious wounds were entered as evidence of the violence and assaults caused by the unionists. The strikers agreed that the beatings had taken place, but denied any union involvement.<sup>18</sup> The union also admitted that picketing was taking place but denied that this was in violation of any law as long as it remained peaceful.

The first important decision in the injunction hearings took place on October 27, when Judge Taylor of the United States Circuit Court ruled that no union member could be individually held responsible for any damages.<sup>19</sup> The hearings reached a climax a little over a week later when Judge Taylor ruled that picketing was legal when it was peaceful. The motion for the sweeping, permanent injunction was denied but a temporary court order was issued. Six men, out of the 276 included in the company's petition, were forbidden, "...to use force or intimidate legitimate workers."<sup>20</sup> It was not clear why only these six were singled out in the court order, but it appeared that they had been involved in considerable violence before the injunction was issued. The National Metal Trades Association's lawyers made repeated attempts to obtain a more general injunction but without success. Later, three of the six men enjoined were cited for contempt of court when they beat and injured an employee of the Pope Company.<sup>21</sup> This tended to even the score for some of the company men who had been imprisoned for assault and carrying concealed weapons.

There were two attempts to arbitrate this first phase of the strike. On September 12 Mayor Whitlock offered his services. The Pope Company

turned down his offer since it considered the issue ended when the men walked out. There was nothing to arbitrate, the company said. It was at this juncture that the mayor made it plain that, "...he does not intend to use the police department as a strike-breaking factor."<sup>22</sup> A statement like this was not designed to ingratiate him with the National Metal Trades Association. The offer was rejected.

The State Board of Arbitration was no more successful in its endeavors. One of the secretaries of that organization, Joseph Bishop, was sent to Toledo to do what he could. He, too, found the company adamant in its refusal to have anything to do with the strikers. As he was about to return to Columbus, Bishop summarized his efforts in this manner: "The strikers have shown a willingness to meet with their former employers, but the company declines to meet with the men and there the matter rests."<sup>23</sup> (The company was to show much less reluctance to compromise when the strike threatened to drag on into the spring when the new car season would begin.)

In an attempt to influence public opinion the National Metal Trades Association began a clever bit of psychological warfare. In a series of articles which appeared in both the *Toledo Blade* and the *Toledo News Bee* during the period from September 17 to October 20, the position of the Pope Company was explained. These appeared as advertisements in both Toledo newspapers openly paid for by the National Metal Trades Association. Although they all appeared on the inner pages of the newspapers, they were by no means obscure. Most of them were conspicuously headlined and were three columns wide and twelve inches in length while one was four columns wide and a full page in length.

Through these advertisements two main points were made: (1) the justification of the open-shop principle, and (2) the importance of the Pope Manufacturing Company to the prosperity of Toledo. The first point can be illustrated by a few quotations from the advertisements: "It [the strike] was not for principle. It was for the unprinciple which says to an employer: 'No you shall *not* hire your own men. We shall say whom you shall not hire.'"<sup>24</sup> On another occasion the company asked, "Shall the manufacturers be allowed to run their own businesses?"<sup>25</sup> These were very telling arguments when the reverence given to the principle of free enterprise at the time is taken into consideration.

The second point was designed to hit Toledo in a very vulnerable area — the pocketbook. It was suggested that this was not just Pope's

strike but all of Toledo's because the \$1,000,000-a-year payroll found its way into every phase of economic life.<sup>26</sup> There were subtle hints that there was a letter from Cincinnati inviting the Pope Company to move there with promises of no labor trouble, but that the Pope Company had replied with a note of concern for Toledo's welfare and for the effect of the loss of 1,100 jobs on the community.<sup>27</sup>

The union also tried a little public relations of its own. It proposed an open meeting and discussion to be held in the largest meeting place in the city, Memorial Hall. A representative of the National Metal Trades Association was invited to speak and defend the Company's stand. On October 8, 3,000 predominantly union sympathizers appeared for the exhibition. Naturally, no company representative was drawn into the trap and the meeting turned into a union rally with such ringing declarations as, "Open shop means more hours, less pay."<sup>28</sup> It is debatable whether this was as effective as the newspaper advertisements but it was also less expensive.

As the winter dragged on, it became more and more imperative for both parties that some sort of settlement be made before the next automobile season began. The winter had taken the toll in the pocketbooks of the strikers and the company. The machinists were needed for the new models while the workers were anxious to return to work if a settlement could be made. Our knowledge of the exact terms of the settlement is minimal. All we know is what appeared in the following announcement in the *Toledo Blade* on February 22, 1906:

The Pope Strike is settled but no contract has been made with the Machinists Union. The understanding among the men seems to be that the foremen will have the power to hire and discharge whom they please and that as a result union men will be employed and non-union men, who have been working as strike-breakers, will be discharged. Manager Schaaf said: "They do not have the right to employ or discharge men. No man now in our employ will be discharged to make a place for any man who left us to go on strike."<sup>29</sup>

It is clear from this announcement that the basic problem had not been solved. Apparently all that had happened was a dismissal of non-union strike-breakers and a re-employment of the strikers. In view of the quick renewal of the strike, it is unlikely that the closed shop was recognized. Presumably the agreement was merely an opportunistic compromise. Neither side had surrendered to the basic demands of the other;

and so it was that just ten days after this so-called adjustment the Pope Company had a more widespread walkout on its hands.

#### FOOTNOTES—Section 1

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3. *Ibid.*
4. *Toledo News-Bee*, July 26, 1905, p. 3.
5. John Bentley, *Great American Automobiles* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), pp. 47-52.

#### FOOTNOTES—Section 2

1. *Toledo News-Bee*, Jan. 9, 1904, p. 2.
2. *Toledo News-Bee*, Feb. 21, 1905, p. 1.
3. *Toledo News-Bee*, May 1, 1905, p. 1.
4. *Toledo News-Bee*, May 20, 1904, p. 2.
5. *Toledo News-Bee*, Sept. 27, 1905, p. 7.
6. *Toledo News-Bee*, Jan. 26, 1905, p. 11.
7. W. F. Willoughby, "Employers' Associations," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XX (August, 1907), p. 116.
8. *Toledo News-Bee*, Jan. 22, 1907, p. 9.
9. *Toledo News-Bee*, June 22, 1906, p. 1.
10. *Toledo News-Bee*, June 15, 1906, p. 1.
11. *Toledo News-Bee*, June 21, 1906, p. 2.
12. Willoughby, p. 128.
13. "The Open Shop Campaign," *World's Work*, XIV, Aug., 1907, p. 9164.
14. P. J. Conlon, "The Closed Shop," *Machinists Monthly Journal*, XVIII, (February, 1906), p. 267.
15. *Toledo News-Bee*, February 10, 1905, p. 4.
16. *Toledo News-Bee*, Sept. 2, 1907, p. 1.

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1. *Toledo Blade*, Aug. 30, 1906, p. 6.
2. *Toledo Blade*, Sept. 6, 1906, p. 1.
3. J. M. Keck, "Business Agents' Reports," *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, XVIII (October, 1906), p. 933.
4. *Toledo News-Bee*, Aug. 30, 1906, p. 1.
5. *Toledo Blade*, Aug. 30, 1906, p. 6.
6. Keck, p. 933.
7. *Toledo News-Bee*, Sept. 11, 1906, p. 5.
8. P. J. Conlon, "Policy and Tactics of the National Metal Trades Association," *Machinists Monthly Journal*, XVIII (October, 1906), p. 938.
9. *Toledo News-Bee*, Sept. 14, 1906, p. 1.
10. P. J. Conlon, "Policy and Tactics of the National Metal Trades Association," p. 939.
11. *Hartford Times*, March 6, 1907, p. 4.
12. Interview with Ernest Braun (Pope employee in 1905) Feb. 4, 1963.
13. J. M. Keck, "Business Agents' Reports," *Machinists Monthly Journal*, XVIII (December, 1906), p. 1036.
14. *Toledo News-Bee*, Sept. 18, 1906, p. 1.
15. *Toledo Blade*, Oct. 1, 1906, p. 1.

16. *Toledo News-Bee*, Oct. 17, 1906, p. 1.
17. *Toledo News-Bee*, Jan. 14, 1907, p. 9.
18. *Toledo News-Bee*, Oct. 24, 1906, p. 9.
19. *Toledo News-Bee*, Oct. 26, 1907, p. 4.
20. *Toledo Blade*, Nov. 8, 1906, p. 1.
21. *Toledo News-Bee*, Nov. 27, 1906, p. 14.
22. *Toledo News-Bee*, Sept. 12, 1906, p. 5.
23. *Toledo Blade*, Oct. 15, 1906, p. 1.
24. *Toledo News-Bee*, Sept. 17, 1906, p. 7.
25. *Toledo News-Bee*, Sept. 26, 1906, p. 4.
26. *Toledo News-Bee*, Sept. 18, 1906, p. 5.
27. *Toledo News-Bee*, October 20, 1906, p. 9.
28. *Toledo News-Bee*, Oct. 8, 1906, p. 2.
29. *Toledo Blade*, Feb. 22, 1907, p. 1.





## Barney Oldfield Turns A Plowhorse Into A Race Horse

*By Walter F. Peterson*

"I wouldn't be seen dead in one of the damn things."<sup>1</sup>

This was the nearly universal feeling about the automobile at the turn of the century. That Barney Oldfield should have made this forthright statement is one of the ironic quirks of history for just eighteen years later he would retire as the king of automobile racers and his name was to become synonymous with speed in the United States. Just as remarkable was the vital role this man was to play, though separated by thirty years, in the development of both the Ford Motor Company and the Allis-Chalmers tractor.

Born in a log cabin in Fulton County, Ohio, on January 29, 1878, Berna Eli Oldfield was the all-American boy who realized the dreams of all American boys. Boys in the 1890's who had a passion for speed looked to the bicycle to fulfill their ambitions. Bitten by the cycling bug,

fourteen year old Berna said, "Some day I'll have the fastest cycle in the whole wide world. People will come from a thousand miles away, just to watch me ride it."<sup>2</sup> From hawking the *Toledo Blade* and *Bee* on street-corners he rose to become a bellhop in a Toledo hotel where the bell captain called him "Barney," a nickname that was to become famous. Having earned the money for his bicycle, he spent his spare time in practice. A gold watch and two gold medals won at the Ohio State Championship Races of 1895 seemed to wed him to bicycle racing as a career. By 1900 he still would not touch an automobile with the proverbial ten-foot pole.<sup>3</sup>

As a daredevil bicycle racer who would do anything for money, Oldfield had been recommended to Henry Ford as just the man to drive Ford's specially built "999" for no one, to that time, had had the nerve to drive the mammoth racer wide open. The careers and fame of Henry Ford and Barney Oldfield were made jointly in a race at Grosse Point, Michigan, October 25, 1902. Barney is said to have remarked to Ford at the starting line for this his first race, "This damn thing may kill me but the records will show I was going like hell when it got me."<sup>4</sup> Oldfield's opponent was Alexander Winton the nation's racing champion. The millionaire founder of the Winton Motor Carriage Company of Cleveland, he was the man responsible for America's first commercially successful motor car. This dapper, mustachioed sportsman entered the race with supreme confidence, for Winton's famous "Bullet" was capable of speeds "in excess of 50 miles per hour." But Barney Oldfield, the Ohio farm boy who had never raced before, won the three-mile race by half a mile. His time was five minutes, 28 seconds, and he had covered the second mile in 1:04 for a new record.<sup>5</sup>

This was the making of Ford as well as Oldfield. Within a month after Oldfield's spectacular performance at Grosse Point, Alex Y. Malcolmson, a prosperous coal dealer who was on the point of investing a modest fortune in the automobile business, sought out Ford and the two men began the negotiations that led to the founding of the Ford Motor Company.<sup>6</sup>

Driving the now famous "999" in New York on July 25, 1903, Barney Oldfield became the first man to pilot an automobile on a circular track at the incredible speed of more than a mile a minute. Very early in the game Barney recognized the importance of establishing rapport with the newspaper reporters. He knew what they wanted, and when asked what it felt like to go a mile a minute, "America's Premier Driver"

told them in melodramatic detail. "You have every sensation of being hurled through space. The machine is throbbing under you with its cylinders beating a drummer's tattoo, and the air tears past you in a gale. In its maddening dash through the swirling dust the machine takes on the attributes of a sentient thing . . . . I tell you, gentlemen, no man can drive faster and live.' "

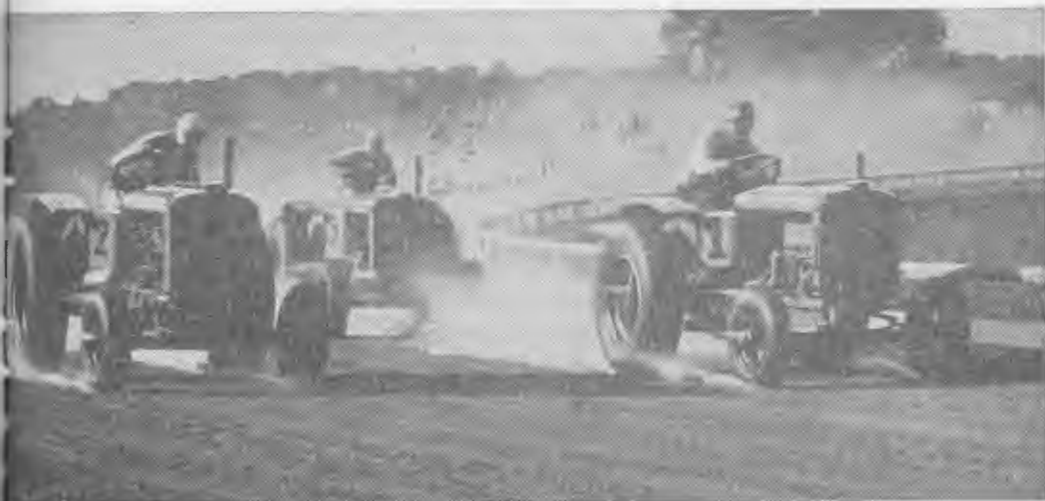
But Oldfield did drive faster and he lived. In 1909 he set a new record of 131 miles per hour, though not without innumerable accidents. Having chipped several teeth in early crashes, he began driving with a thick cigar stub clenched between his teeth. It served as a protective cushion and became his most famous trademark. Crouched behind the wheel of the "999," Green Dragon, Big Ben, Blitzen Benz, or the Golden Submarine, Barney Oldfield was a great dramatic personality with racing goggles over his eyes, his dark hair streaming in the wind and an unlit cigar clenched between his teeth. Since 1914 acclaimed "Master Driver of the World," he gambled with death but usually emerged from a cloud of dust ahead of his reckless competitors.<sup>8</sup>

Following a race on October 13, 1918, at Independence, Missouri, Oldfield finally hung up his goggles and retired from automobile racing. After twenty-five years of speed racing with bicycles and automobiles, the king had abdicated the throne.<sup>9</sup> But the magic of the name remained. A piece of doggerel from the period points this up very nicely.<sup>10</sup>

Consider what it means to own  
A name by every mortal known . . . .  
The free life of the country boy,  
Of meager wants and simple joy,  
Whose sinews grow with outdoor needs,  
His courage by heroic deeds:  
From such as this do great men spring  
As Barney did, the Speedway King,  
Who won the banner fame unfurled—  
"The Master Driver of the World."  
We love his grimy, goggled face,  
His matchless daring in a race;  
But greater than his record mile  
Is his great heart and record smile.

Caught up in the speculative spirit of the '20s, Oldfield became associated with a number of business enterprises and, of course, invested

*Barney Oldfield telling crowd about Allis-Chalmers tractor and Goodyear tires July 24, 1933.*



*A tractor race with Barney Oldfield in the lead.*

in the stock market. As he later recalled, "On October 1, 1929, my account in Detroit stood at just over one million dollars, I had 22,500 shares on margin, and my annual income was \$270,000. Before the year was over I didn't have a cent!"<sup>11</sup> During the early years of the depression he was associated with the Plymouth Motor Corporation as a highway safety adviser and campaigned for safe driving.

But speed still held its attractions. Oldfield was among the spectators on the firm sands of Daytona Beach, Florida, in February of 1932 when Sir Malcolm Campbell set a new world speed record of 253.97 miles per hour for the measured mile in his latest "Bluebird." That an Englishman should set a world's record on American soil was more than Barney Oldfield could bear. His national pride bestirred, his interest in racing reawakened, he told reporters, "I realize that 254 miles per hour is fast but I'm going faster! Next year I intend to hit this beach in a car that'll do 300. America should hold the land-speed mark, and I intend to get it back for her."<sup>12</sup> It is one of the curious twists of history that his search for financial backing to set a new world record should have brought Barney Oldfield, the greatest name in automobile racing, in contact with Allis-Chalmers of Milwaukee, a rapidly rising manufacturer of farm tractors.

General Otto H. Falk, dynamic president of the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company, had entered the tractor and farm implement field in 1913 in an attempt to diversify the products of the company.<sup>13</sup> But this was the heyday of automobile racing, and Barney Oldfield was at the height of his career. There was nothing in the tractor of that day to intrigue a racer like Oldfield, because the first Allis-Chalmers tractor was an unwieldy tricycle type with only one speed forward and one reverse. Even by the early '20s the conventional four wheel tractor was still something of a monster in size and appearance and also difficult to steer, drive and maintain.

But by 1932 this awkward, ugly duckling had undergone a remarkable transformation. The new tractor was half a ton lighter, cost nearly a thousand dollars less than before and the general appearance had been re-designed to achieve what was euphemistically called tractor "sex appeal." Moreover, the rear wheels embodied an even more significant innovation for low pressure rubber tires now replaced the massive steel rims studded with six-inch lugs. As a matter of fact, the tires used in the original experiments were Firestone airplane tires. Low pressure proved to be the breakthrough in rubber tires for tractors, bringing success where

hard rubber and high pressure pneumatic tires had previously failed. Since the idea of the low pressure or "air-tire" was revolutionary, it immediately became the focal point of ridicule from farmers, not to mention dealers and competitors in the tractor industry.<sup>14</sup>

Something dramatic and spectacular would have to be done to break down the resistance to the low pressure tire. Since the tractors of the day were equipped with speeds no higher than five miles per hour, someone conceived the idea of speed racing. Special high speed gears were installed in the regular stock model tractor, and the first public speed test was made at the State Fair race track in Milwaukee on June 18, 1933. The spectators could hardly believe their eyes when the tractor which had been plowing the infield of the race track all afternoon was unhooked from the plow and turned over to Frank Brisko, a famous local race driver who had just returned from competition in the Indianapolis Memorial Day Classic. But they had to believe what they saw: in a five mile race against time, Brisko streaked around the track at 35.4 miles per hour.

The tractor speed race created an immediate sensation. Officials of state fairs across the country began to inquire into the possibility of similar performances. Although Frank Brisko had a reputation in the Milwaukee area, the question was raised whether someone who had a wider reputation might not be available. The name of Barney Oldfield was suggested. During the past year the veteran racing driver had been trying to raise money for the super-racer that would achieve 300 miles per hour, but it was hard for even Oldfield to raise that kind of money in a depression-ridden United States. He was eager to appear before the public again — it might somehow create the opportunity, make the financial contact he so desperately desired. He accepted the offer.<sup>16</sup>

The crowning achievement of these demonstrations occurred at Dallas, Texas, on September 17, 1933, when Barney Oldfield drove a Model "U" air-tired Allis-Chalmers tractor over a measured mile course at a speed of 64.28 miles per hour. The first man to drive an automobile at more than 60 miles per hour had also become the first man to drive a tractor at more than a mile a minute. Since this event was held under the sanction of the American Automobile Association and was timed by its officials, it became an official A.A.A. record.<sup>17</sup> It was estimated that in 1933 alone more than one million people saw these tractor races. In fact, they had to be repeated for several years by popular demand. Across the country these races were given top billing with such famous drivers as Oldfield, Lou Meyer, Floyd Robers and Ab Jenkins. Although Barney Old-

field never did get the financial backing he so ardently desired, these demonstrations certainly benefited Allis-Chalmers for the company's tractors showed an amazing yearly gain in sales until World War II.<sup>18</sup>

Barney Oldfield had nothing but praise for the performance of the Allis-Chalmers air-tired tractor. He was quoted as saying, "If they had made tractors like this when I was a boy, I never would have left the farm."<sup>19</sup> Considering his passion for speed, he may well have made this statement tongue in cheek. Robert Ripley of "Believe it or Not" fame probably came closer to the truth when he credited Barney Oldfield, the farm boy from the Buckeye state, with turning a plow horse into a race horse.<sup>20</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. William F. Nolan, *Barney Oldfield: The Life and Times of America's Legendary Speed King*, (New York, 1961), p. 39.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
3. *New York Times*, October 5, 1946, p. 17, c. 1.
4. M. M. Musselman, *Get a Horse! The Story of the Automobile in America*, (New York, 1950), pp. 48 f. Also, Barney Oldfield, *Barney Oldfield's Book for the Motorist. With a Sketch of Barney Oldfield's Life by Homer C. George*, (Boston, 1919), p. 24.
5. Nolan, pp. 16 ff. Also, *New York Times*, October 5, 1946, p. 17, c. 1.
6. Keith Sward, *The Legend of Henry Ford*, (New York, 1948), pp. 15 f. Also, Musselman, p. 49.
7. Nolan, pp. 54 f.
8. *New York Times*, October 5, 1946, p. 17, c. 1. Also, Oldfield, pp. 37 f.
9. *New York Times*, October 5, 1946, p. 17, c. 1.
10. Nolan, p. 182.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
13. Arthur Van Vlissingen, "50,000,000 New Dollars a Year," *Forbes*, June 1, 1938, pp. 34 f.
14. Walter F. Peterson, "Allis-Chalmers: Technology and the Farm, 1925-1940," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences Arts, and Letters*, vol. LI, (1962), pp. 245-252, *passim*.
15. *Allis-Chalmers Sales Bulletin*, July to December 1933, p. 37.
16. R. A. Crosby to author, June 15, 1961. Mr. Crosby of the Allis-Chalmers Tractor Division was largely responsible for initiating the tractor races and for their success.
17. Certificate of Performance, Sanction No. 2988, Contest Board of the American Automobile Association, October 17, 1933.
18. *Fortune*, May, 1939, p. 152.
19. Barney Oldfield to R. A. Crosby after he had driven a tractor more than a mile a minute on October 17, 1933.
20. Undated clipping, historical files of the Tractor Division, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company.



## Correspondence of Jesup W. Scott (Part 3)\*

*Edited by* MILDRED SHEPHERST

Castleton, May 15, 1868\*\*

My dear Doctor,

You see by the above I am on the Hudson again. We came on the 7th. and are busy fixing for the summer. Fanny Scott, our oldest granddaughter came with us to spend the summer. Yest. . . . . had our first game of Croquet. . . . . to anticipate your presence this sum. . . . . our sports. We left our sons families. . . . in usual health and prosperity. No one of them is as healthy as their father. Frank injures his health by smoking cigars. Toledo — my pet — is growing finely — especially in accessions of Doctors and Lawyers. I have no less than 4 Doctors as my tenants — occupying my offices, in Scotts Block.

Improvements of streets are progressing at such a rate that I expect the taxes of our family — mine and our boys — will not, this year, fall

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\* Part I appeared in the Autumn, 1962 number of the *Quarterly*; Part II in the Winter, 1962-63 number.

\*\*This letter was torn and unusually illegible.



short of ten thousand dollars and may come up to \$15,000. This will keep us scratching to raise the needful unless we are fortunate in making sales. Perhaps a little *depletion* will be good *for the boys*. I don't think it will make me any better. I am desirous to learn how you are getting along — in health, in associations and in business. The necessity of saving and being close in calculations will be quite Yankee-fying, in its effects — on your population. This will not be joyous but grievous . . .

Since writing the foregoing I have been out raking and digging — so that my hand is not quite so steady. Our lawn is such an emerald surface as cannot be seen in your hotter climate. It seems to me the great advantage of our climate over yours is that it grows grass and wheat so much better. The grass grows without . . . . . and gives us better meats than you can . . . . . I suppose balancing advantages . . . . . pted to it. I think . . is too hot to provide the best I mean the most efficient, men and women. That is my theory. Tell me all about your family and your plantation business. How much cotton, corn and other crops you are working this summer and how many hired men kept steadily employed. We are just now anxious about the impeachment result. I suppose the anti-constructionists after the Republican fashion — I mean those calling themselves Democrats — save the mark! among you hope for acquittal. I hope for conviction tho' in doubt whether it will be for the best or not. Johnson has been of eminent advantage to the cause of manhood suffrage — by his stupid blunders. I would remove him, never the less, as a disgrace to the nation. A day or two will tell . . . . . ly on a just Providence to bring the needed good out of the seeming necessary evil if such must be. Men are but instruments in the hands of a just God.

Since writing the foregoing I have had the pleasure to receive and read your favor of the 3rd. As you wrote it on the 44th. anniversary of our marriage we give it additional value. We value it also for the brave spirit which, as is usual with you, it evinces.

Your Republican? members . . . . . to be much of the same kind of cattle . . . . . elect. The grogeries — the brothels and the ca . . con . . tute the base and much of the superstructure of that party in the north. As with you, there are not wanting ambitious men of talent who go into the organization for the power they thereby obtain.

I regret that our namesake Genl. Scott has failed to do anything for you. He is not a personal acquaintance, but I had the promise of a man who acted with and for him in war matters that he wd. use his influence

in your favor. I did not see what he wrote to accompany my letter. It so happened that I could not find him in the office when several times I called for the purpose, but his partner, my friend said he wd. attend to it for me, and I supposed he had done it in a way to benefit you. I hoped . . . Mrs. Scott wishes me to thank Pauline for her letter and to say she would be thankful for others from her. What do you think of Florida as a place for W. S. & myself to spend next winter? We have spoken about it — tho' it is not much likely we shall go. If you. . . living there among the pines we might go. In that. . . . .anticipate much enjoyment. But . . . . .near the end of our lives to change. . . . . It seems likely that a climate that would invite more out door life would be more enjoyable, at least for the cold half of the year.

I have written to-day to two sons of my old friend Col. John W. Lee to learn what I can do to repay the kindness recd. from their Father. I feel under obligation to befriend his children, to some extent, if my assistance can do them good.

Susan desires me to send a great deal of love to you and kind wishes to all yours to which please add those of your friend &

Cousin—J. W. Scott

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Castleton, July 24. 1868

My dear Doctor,

We recd. your letter yesterday and deeply sympathise in your troubles. That boy was ripe for Heaven and so is only left to your memory and hope. He will, now, ever be to you the lovely boy and as such in perpetual youth you will enjoy the anticipation of meeting him above. You are tried severely. I hoped you wd. this year make a good crop. I can hardly realize such a drought as to dry up tomatoes & corn. It is now very dry with us, but a good harvest of hay and Rye has been secured hereabouts and corn that has been continually worked yet promises well. The crop in general of the Northern and Western & Southern States too seems to have been beyond an average.

We have been trying to contrive something better for you than S. Ca. seems to offer. Perhaps we may succeed, but difficulties rise up when

plans are scrutinised. Socially, you would be in accord with our best people while, politically, I fear, you would be working with our worst. In that, I suppose, you wd. be no more unfortunate than we Republicans, if living South; only we dont refuse to associate with our sesesh acquaintances — we don't taboo those whose sympathies are with the Rebellion, if they are other wise respectable. Deduct from the so called Democratic party of the North those who are under the influence of liquor shops — the Brothels and other vile people and ignorant foreigners and it would not have the ghost of a chance to succeed in any northern state. I see nothing but ruin staring us in the face, if the principles of the platform adopted on the 4th. should triumph in the next election. W. W. Wakeman has sold out all his shipping at a heavy loss. He has now but little business. He has offered his New York house for sale, but his means I think, are still ample. I will consult my sons and keep a constant lookout for something for you to get a support in, if the fates still persecute you in your native state. There may some chance turn up in Toledo for keeping a boarding house. I expect Frank will be here next week and I will talk with him about it. Maurice and wife are with us for a few days. Two of our grandchildren spend the season with us here. The croquet ground is used very much and you are remembered by several who played with you. Hetty Jesup is here. You will remember her, probably. We have now 11 in the family so that Susan has more care than is comfortable. We have, when suffering from bad and insufficient help, thought of sending to you for a colored cook. Just now we have a good woman and boy and our visitors — all females but Maurice — take care of their own rooms. — Well — it actually rains! Hurrah! We had just got our garden engine and forcepump in order for watering some favorite plants. We have omitted to send other Harper weekleys because you said so many of them failed to reach you — intending to get enough together to forward by Express. We hope to do so, but we are busy, for such old people.

Saturday 25th. The rain was but a trifle but does some good. It has not cooled or cleared off the atmosphere. We have not seen the Cattskills out clear for weeks. My garden corn is just silking and I have muskmellons about half grown. My potatoes are backward. I buy new ones for  $12\frac{1}{2}$  *cts.* *the quart!* Tomatoes are in market at half that price. There will be a great reduction in prices of agricultural productions after harvest, most likely.

A military govt!. Well, you white rebels have seemed determined to have no other unless allowed to keep the *nigger* from participating in self-government. Impartial justice, equal rights before the law is the theory and it must be made practical. Inferiority — ignorance do not confer on

superiority and knowledge the right to domineer. Indeed Christianity, as taught by the Great Master, makes it the special duty of the wise to instruct the ignorant and the powerful to raise up the lowly.

If I had been born & spent my life in a slave state, I should have been a Tyrant over slaves and domineering over poor whites just as *I know* most of the slave holders have been and I should have had my pride wounded and been as desirous of avenging the injuries suffered by the war — not as I hope of the worst of your leaders but doubtless as the average. Human nature under like circumstances is very much the same north and south. The law of kindness requires self abnegation and that is hard for most of us. You must make colored people your friends and *then* no tyranny can be used towards you. Your states, then, will be masters of the situation. Until that is done, you are at war among yourselves and with the opinion and sympathy of the world. Your leaders seem to yearn for another war and your white voters appear to back them up. I did hope your people had suffered enough from following them, to have their eyes opened, but they seem to be in the condition of Pharioh.

Do I preach too much? Well, I practice little enough to make it up. I hope when you read this your prospects look better than when you wrote. Do answer this soon. I answered yr. last, I think soon after its rect.

With much esteem yr. friend & cousin J. W. Scott

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Castleton Augt. 18. 1869

Dear Doctor,

I have just recd. your favor of 13th. I think the last letter I recd. from you was answered promptly. I so intended — but — but — I am growing old and forgetful. What an ungrateful climate old Fairfield that used to be so fruitful. Has it been cursed for Adam's sin? Oh that you would get a new home in Colorado. Our son Maurice was there a few days in June and was much pleased with it, but his wife dont want to go there. The same is true of William's wife. Wm. & wife are under treatment of Dr. Mack of St. Catherines in Canada. He has had a tumor taken from his back and the Dr. has commenced having the wound healed. The trouble of his spine is not removed and it seems to me that an issue should be kept up. What do you think? He has been troubled with weakness in the

lumbar region of his back several years and I fear a cure can only be affected if at all, by a long time of probation — by a general improvement in bodily vigor. His wife has also been operated on for her shakes — in her womb — I think. We expect Wm. will be able to visit us this week leaving his wife at Dr. Mack's establishment — not knowing whether she will be able to come here this season.

Frank & wife are expected here today, from Desert Island — coast of Maine where they have been most of the summer.

Maurices wife, her mother & 3 children have been here 5 weeks and expect to leave to-morrow to visit in Massachusetts, the oldest daughter to remain with us.

Mrs. Scott's youngest sister Mrs. Crapo has been here several weeks and expects to leave in a few days. Mr. Campbell & family: Also Dr. Hogeboom's are much as when you left — *perhaps have been growing older*. Our village has grown considerably and some small improvements been made on the hill. The season has been pleasant. Fruits from strawberries to pears and peaches — the last from the market — have been plenty. My peaches are just ripening. Wouldn't you like to cultivate where you could turn on water at will? At Denver you may do so. If you will open a boarding house there some of us will spend our summers with you and pay a liberal price for board. It is the seat of the State Government and will be resorted to by great numbers for summer recreation for health and fine mountain scenery.

I and my boys continue to keep pretty deeply in debt — not exactly because we must but from a foolish ambition to hold property for a rise. In that we have been fortunate but a series of years of tight money would take away profits and leave us to pay with diminished means. If our sons would consent I would sell off enough to be clear and carry us to Denver with something to live on there when improved by our labor and care. We were glad to hear of the good health of yourself and family. With that you may hope to get all the means for a measurably independent living which will be beneficial — especially if you will go where nearly all thrive — in the North West — Among the most energetic people your children would hold their hand — with brain and muscle not inferior. Energy and work are fruits of the mountain region of our country and they make comforts and wealth. With them come science and arts.

Susan has been well all summer but to-day is out of order --- eaten too many pears I think.

My health has been better than usual I have not missed a full meal since I came here early in May.

How much means could you carry to Denver? I dont ask from mere curiosity, but to enable me to judge of yr. ability to go. Perhaps I may be able to give you useful information to aid you to its accomplishment.

I have not much time to write now — so with kind regards to all your family believe me truly

Yours etc J. W. Scott

P.S. I send two papers containing letters from 'M. A. S.' Maurice A. Scott

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Toledo Dec. 10, 1869

Dear Doctor,

Why don't you write. I have been here more than a month and have had no line from you. Write, if only a few lines, that we may hear from you. We — (Susan & I) are quartered in a boarding house paying \$85 per month — furnishing our rooms and fuel. With son Wm, I occupy one of my offices. Maurice has just gone out into rooms in a block just built by him near the center of the business part of the city and Frank & wife boards at our boarding place and occupies an office near by. He has just returned from Castleton where he is preparing to put up a summer residence on the hill next South of ours — *Ours* I believe I have told you is to be Maurice's in exchange for his homestead here. We are extending — perhaps to the breaking point —tho' I hope better things. Our taxes this year will reach to a sum not much, if any below \$15,000. This with interest may give us a hard strain. Wm goes along less hastily, but is considerably in debt His wife is yet in ill health. We swarm with Doctors. I think we have nearly an average of weekly accession of one. How they are all to live and at the same time give us out of the profession a chance for our lives I can't see. Toledo is lively and growing but prices of real estate and rents are receding We expect to number next June 35,000. Will not that come up to Charleston? It dont look exactly like growing to be the

chief city of the world — but — but — it may be I hope you will be able to come and see us before we die; and I hope you will take such good care of yourself and be so blessed by our good Heavenly Father as to live many years in comfort after we pass away. I wish you was here — to look out on the throng of business that passes our window You could spend one day I think without tiring. I have some business that needs attention so I will bid you goodbye, Yrs etc J. W. Scott

Our kindest regards to your wife and children

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Toledo May 27. 1872

My dear Doctor,

I have just recd. yours asking me to loan you one hundred and fifty dollars to be paid when your cotton crop comes in. In response you have a Drft of Kraus & Smith Bankers of this place on the National Park Bank New York payable at sight. Any merchant or Bank will give you its face and probably some premium. It is made payable to my order and endorsed by me payable to your order I hope it will be recd. in time to supply your pressing wants. With it I enclose a note to be signed and returned to me for one hundred and fifty six dollars, payable by you at the City Bank of Toledo on the 1st. day of Decr. next 1872. To pay it you can forward a Bank Drft. on New-York for the amt. directed to me on rect. of which your note shall be cancelled and returned to you. For the amt. I send you and much more I am paying ten per cent semi-annually.

We were glad to receive your manly letter and I will try to find time to answer it before long. Mrs. Scott has a disorder which I fear will trouble her much. When I learn from her Phisician its true name, I will write you for your advise.

Otherwise we are well as such old bodies can reasonably expect to be. Our other friends here are in reasonable health.

I am thinking seriously of going South next winter and in that case we may call on you and help you eat some of those fat fowls

Our kind regards to your family believe. . . . .

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Toledo, Oct. 13/72

Dear Doctor,

As it may be more convenient for you to pay by instalments as you can collect from the sale of cotton it will answer my needs if you pay 1/3rd. 1st. Nov. say Nov. 10th. one third Decr. 1 or 10th. and balance Jany 1st. In the 1st. summer in 23 years we remained at home in Toledo and have enjoyed it well. Our health for persons so old has been good — tho' Susan, for a month or two, had turns of dizziness and general debility. She is pretty well now. We shall be pleased if you will give us a somewhat particular account of your family and your doings and feelings. Not about politics, for you, my South Carolina friends, seem so determined to be fastened to the dead body of Democracy — (so calling itself) that no Lunatic assylum is likely to be available for your cure. It promised you independence and gave you poverty and dependance. It promised you control of the blacks and it left you under their control. It promises you Greeley and a return to Federal predominance and power, and it will leave you in more helpless subjection to that power. Why not go along with the great movement of the time. Unite with the Republican party and get their sympathy and support. It is ready to give both, cordially too, whenever you cease to fight it. The power to do this is in its hands; why not accept it?

We have had a very pleasant season — year thus far — winter, spring, summer and autumn. Crops and fruits have been bounteous. Our little fruit ground of less than 100 feet square has given us supplies of fruits from cherries to grapes and pears which are here yet. Our city is growing finely. I wish you could see it and spend some time with us here. Its improvements call on us for all the money we can raise to keep them moving on. Frank & wife spent some time, in the summer in Colorado and Utah. Wm. also visited the Rocky mountains, for his health. He returned improved, but, on his way home, got, in Southern Kansas, the seeds of Intermittent fever and is still suffering.

Susan send greeting and much love to you and yours.

My kind regards to your family and assurance of esteem and friendship for yourself.

Jesup W Scott