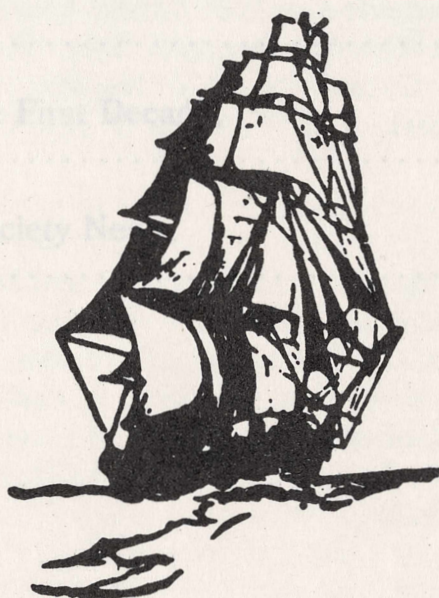


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EDITOR'S NOTE: This article is a condensed version of Mr. Douglass' paper, "A Political and Economic Analysis of the Election of 1896 in Erie, Pennsylvania." The full length version discusses whether or not 1896 in Erie was a "critical election" as that term is used by political scientists and historians and analysis the impact of religious affiliation on the Erie voter. The complete version is available at the Edinboro State College Library.

OTTOMAR JARECKI - SCHOLAR AND INVENTOR

by

Paul R. Guevin, Jr.

PREFACE

This year, 1976, we celebrate the Bicentennial of the United States and the Centennial of the American Chemical Society. The American Chemical Society (ACS), a national organization of chemists and chemical engineers, was founded in New York City on April 6, 1876. The Erie Section of the American Chemical Society was granted a charter from the ACS on April 9, 1923. Its forerunner was the Erie Chemical Society. Dr. Paul H. Henkel of Continental Rubber Works, other chemists in Erie industries and chemistry teachers from local high schools were instrumental in the founding of the Erie Section. To commemorate the Centennial of the American Chemical Society and the Bicentennial of the United States, the Erie Section of the ACS formed a Centennial Committee to collect history on the teaching and practice of chemistry in Erie. The following essay is a portion of the information which has been assimilated by the Centennial Committee.

INTRODUCTION

Carl W. Jarecki, paternal grandfather of the subject of this article, was born in Posen, Prussia, Dec. 24, 1803.¹ At that time during the period of his boyhood, significant political changes were taking place in Prussia and elsewhere in Europe. From 1799 to 1814, the history of France and of all Europe was so closely tied to the career of Napoleon Bonaparte that these years have been called "The Era of Napoleon."² In vain, against Napoleon's Continental System, Great Britain organized and subsidized a Third Coalition with Austria, Russia and Sweden against France. Prussia had not originally joined the Third Coalition, but now its King Frederick William III entered the war and sent an army under the aged Duke of Brunswick against Napoleon. The Prussians were defeated at Jena (October 14, 1806) and the Prussian military prestige evaporated.³ Prussian Poland was torn away and formed into a Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Napoleon's power was at its peak in 1808 but then was on the wane and ended at Vienna in the autumn of 1814. There, a so-called Congress of Vienna assembled and hammered out the settlement.

The **Quadruple Alliance** of the "Big Four" - Austria, Prussia, Russia and Great Britain - under the guidance of Prince Clements Metternich, chief minister of Austria, provided a temporary bulwark against forces of disorder and change. The period from 1815 to 1848 has usually been called the "Era of

¹Correspondence from Charles J. Palmer to George L. McClelland, November 26, 1975.

²J. H. Hayes, Marshall Whitehead Baldwin and Charles Woosley Cole, *History of Europe*, MacMillan Company (1950), p. 708.

³ *ibid.*, p. 727

Metternich” for, during those years, the Austrian statesman was a central figure in Europe.⁴ Europe was undergoing restoration with continuing conflict between conservatives and liberals.

Carl Jarecki emerged from his adolescence as a skilled engraver, silversmith and goldsmith. On Sept. 22, 1822, he met and married Wilhelmina Wibczinka. On August 8, 1824, their first child, August, was born. Nine more children were to follow: Henry (1826), Caroline (1828), Gustav (1829), Frederick (1831), Louise (1833), Emma (1835), Charles (1837), Herman (1839), and Theodore (1842).^{5,6} August was educated in the local Posen schools and learned his father’s trade. Continual unrest in Posen and all of Prussia precipitated the Jarecki family to consider moving to America. Many Prussians were immigrating to America and several were choosing Erie as their new home town. August, the oldest child of Carl Jarecki, was twenty-three when he was elected to leave his homeland and settle in Erie, Pennsylvania.

August wished to come to America on the first steamboat plying between Bremen or Hamburg and New York. Transatlantic steamship service was inaugurated on Saturday, July 19, 1840 when the **Britannia** steamed into Boston’s “Historical Harbour.”⁷ In 1847, the Hamburg Amerikanische Paketfahrt Aktien Gesellschaft (known thereafter either as the Hamburg-America or by its initials, HAPAG) put a fleet of six 700-ton sailing ships into service on the Atlantic carrying 20 first class and 200 steerage passengers, averaging 40 days westbound and 29 days on the homeward run.⁸ August Jarecki booked passage on one of these ships, but when his mother heard of it, she said that she was not going to send her son on a trial trip. So, he cancelled his booking on the steamship and had to travel on a sailing ship.⁹

On the western side of the Atlantic, during the same time span as indicated above, Erie, Pennsylvania was being settled. In the year 1795, Erie was first permanently settled by Colonel Seth Reed and the town was formally laid out. In 1800, Erie was designated the seat of Justice for the County of Erie. It was not until 1803 that the county was permanently organized and the first court was held by Judge Moore in a log house near the corner of Second and Holland Streets.¹⁰ Erie was incorporated as a borough in 1805. Its government consisted of a Burgess and Council. From this period, for many years, the town progressed but slowly. Its population, however, increased at a more rapid pace.

Erie, Pennsylvania, in 1847, was a growing community. It was still a borough and Thomas H. Sill was its Burgess. August Jarecki lived at First and Myrtle Streets* and set himself up in the jewelry business. After August had

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 731

⁵ Benjamin Whitman, **Nelson’s Biographical Dictionary and Historical Reference Book of Erie County** (Erie: S. B. Nelson Pub. Co., 1896), pages 614, 615 and 870.

⁶ Correspondence with Charles J. Palmer

⁷ Warren Tute, **Atlantic Conquest**, Little, Brown & Co., (1962) page 55.

⁸ *ibid.*, page 73.

⁹ Charles A. Curtze, Oral History, interviewed by P. R. Guevin, February 4, 1976, on deposit at Mercyhurst Archives.

¹⁰ James Sill, **City Directory**, 1853-54, pages 4 and 5.

* The first **City Directory**, 1853-54, indicates this as his address. Descendants believe he lived on East Sixth Street between French and Holland Streets.

earned enough money to bring them from Posen, Prussia to Erie,[‡] his wife, the former Julie Pelk,[†] joined him in 1849 with August's brother, Henry. They all worked hard to earn enough money from the jewelry business to bring their father, mother, and remainder of their sisters and brothers to Erie in the early 1850's.

August soon had his combination store and house built at 622 State Street. This was a grand building in the Victorian manner. The store, Jarecki Brothers Jewelers, was on the first floor. In the front of the second floor was the living room which had three windows which opened onto a New Orleans type balcony making it easy for the Jareckis to view parades and other activity on the street. Also on the second floor were the dining room and kitchen. The third floor housed the bedrooms. In the center of the house was a skylight similar to that in the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, which allowed natural light to show through the two upper floors. A feature in the living room was a rosebox Steinway grand piano which still exists today.

Church activities were an essential part of the life of the Jareckis. The Evangelical Union of Prussia was a combination of two Protestant church bodies in Prussia, Reformed and Lutheran. The church had grown tired of the doctrinal controversies in minor and unessential matters. But, instead of forming one united Protestant communion, the result in many German states was three - Reformed, Lutheran and Evangelical.

There were few German Reformed Lutherans in Erie. Some German Evangelical churchgoers and a sizeable group of German Lutherans, many who were dissenters from the Evangelical Union principle, worshipped together at St. John's German Evangelical Lutheran Church, Peach Street at West 23rd Street. Those holding to the Evangelical position, like the August Jareckis, were persuaded that this congregation was committed to the Union principle, desired by King Frederick William III. Consequently, their dissatisfaction led to the conversions among themselves, their ultimate withdrawal from St. John's Church and, 1850, the founding of an Evangelical congregation.¹¹

The German St. Paul's United Evangelical Church was formed at a meeting held in December, 1850. The initiators included the names of Gustav Jarecki and Frederick Curtze. Soon afterwards, other names, such as August Jarecki, were added. This new congregation accepted the invitation to hold their services of worship in the chapel in the First Presbyterian Church at Fifth and Peach Streets until the construction of their new church was complete. The congregation purchased from the Charles M. Reed estate a piece of property in the middle of the 1000 block on Peach Street which was convenient to the homes of the influential sponsors of the congregation.

OTTOMAR'S BOYHOOD YEARS

Into this strong religious family, Ottomar Heinrich Jarecki was born on August 22, 1850 to August and Julie Jarecki. He was baptized, probably at St.

[‡] Church records show her name spelled as "Julie" and as "Julia". The early records show it spelled the former way but those records after 1855 show it as "Julia". The Curtze family records show it spelled as "Julie".

[†] It is believed that Julie Pelk married August Jarecki in Prussia but no record has been found. It is doubtful that he met her in Erie since there was no Pelk family listed in the *City Directory* for that period. Evidence seems to point to her coming to Erie with brother-in-law, Henry, after August established himself in Erie.

¹¹ Richard E. Kneller, *St. Paul's Church, A History*, a private publication, 1972.

John's Lutheran Church at 23rd and Peach Streets or the German Evangelical Lutheran Church (Salem Church) at the corner of West 12th and Peach Streets, on December 1, 1850.* Later, August and Julie Jarecki became parents of the following Olga, born on August 7, 1852; Amanda Emma, born on July 3, 1854; Antonia Caroline, born on October 27, 1856; Emil, born on June 23, 1859; and Edwin, born on May 3, 1866.

In 1848, the "East Ward" School building was constructed on the corner of 7th and Holland Streets, the site of Erie's first school house and present location of Jones School. The School Law of 1854 established the office of County Superintendent of Schools to be elected by a convention of the school directors of each county. This was the educational reform desired beyond all others by friends of education. The Erie County school directors elected William Armstrong of Wattsburg as its first County Superintendent. The public schools of Erie as well as all county public schools were under Armstrong's general supervision through 1860.¹² In 1855, the East Ward Board decided to build a large school, similar to those constructed in large Canadian cities. In spite of objectors, the directors erected the new school, School No. 2, on the corner of East 7th and Holland Streets. It was finished in 1860 and was considered as a model of its time. Ottomar Jarecki, a hard working, studious boy who was full of ideas, most likely attended this school. On June 26, 1866, the Erie High School was established and occupied the upper story of School No. 2. The high school, referred to as the "People's College" by its friends was opened in 1866 with J.M. Wells as principal and an enrollment of 166 scholars.¹³

The high school, as it was established and described in the 1868 book of Rules and Regulations consisted of three years: Junior year, Middle year and Senior year. Each year was divided into three terms: fall term, winter term and spring term. There were three courses available for these scholars: English course, Classical course and Eclectic course. The English course was suited for those who were not expecting to go to college. The Classical course was organized for those students who intended to enter college. The Eclectic course was a combination of both. Chemistry was available in the fall term and the winter term of the Senior year of the English course. Other subjects included rhetoric, geometry, history and English. Upon graduation, three diplomas were awarded: Simple, Diploma of Honors and Diploma of Distinction. At the beginning of 1869, a high school newspaper was established. **The High School News** had G.L. Douglas and O.H. Jarecki as co-editors and was a real defender of Erie High School and criticized its private counterpart, the Erie Academy. All features to be published in the newspaper were to be sent to Ottomar Jarecki's residence at 622 State Street. August Jarecki was a regular advertiser. Uncle Henry Jarecki and cousin Alfred K. Jarecki were occasional contributors of articles. Ottomar took over ownership and remained on as Editor through May 1871.

By the end of spring, 1869, graduation time had arrived and the 166 original scholars had dwindled to two: Ottomar and Adella I. Brindle.* These two

* Records at St. Paul's Church give the date of his birth and baptism but do not indicate where the baptism took place.

¹² Frank S. Anderson, **History of the Public Schools in Erie**, private publication, 1970, pages 10 and 12.

¹³ John Elmer Reed, **History of Erie County Pa.**, Topeka: Historical Publishing Company, 1925, pages 794-796.

* They did not enter high school until the second year of its existence in September 1867. They were promoted to the second year class by December 1867. When they graduated in 1869 they had only been in high school for two years.

graduates received Diplomas of Honor. Ottomar's graduation speech was a mathematical discussion of "Squaring The Circle". He and Adella returned to the high school to continue their education. In 1870, they were both awarded Diplomas of Distinction. Eight other students graduated with them that year from the new high school. Ottomar and Adella were considered as post graduates that year.

One of Erie's leading newspaper companies, The Herald Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd., commissioned Josh Ramsdell, a pen and ink artist, to illustrate Erie buildings. In 1888, The Herald Printing and Publishing Company produced a Souvenir of Erie which included his illustrations. Figures 1, 2 and 3 are copies of his illustrations.

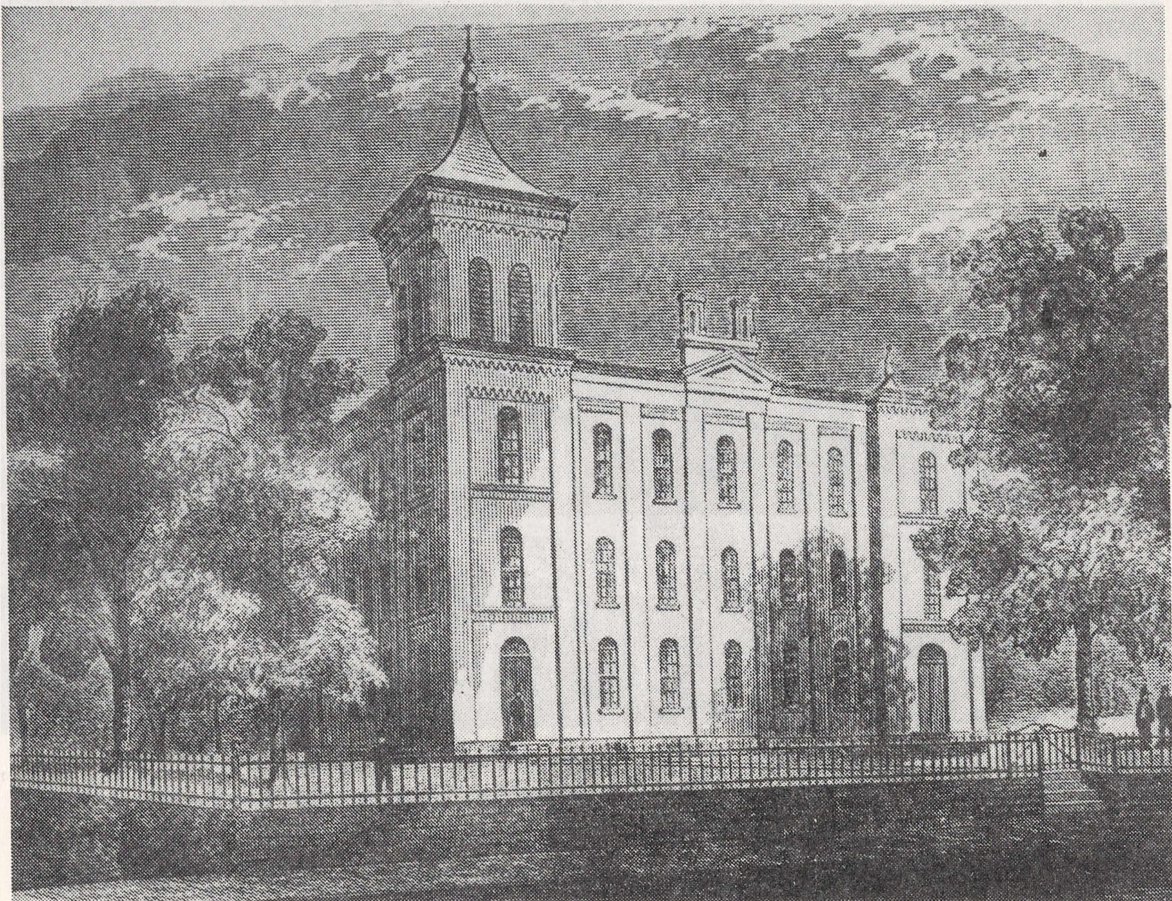


Figure 1

Figure 1 shows the Erie High School which was located on the corner of East Seventh and Holland Streets. The iron fence which surrounded the property is clearly visible. This School No. 2 housed the primary grades on the first two floors and the Erie High School occupied the upper story.

ADULTHOOD OF OTTOMAR

Upon graduation from high school in 1870, Ottomar commenced to work as a jeweler in his father's store at 622 State Street. There were two Jarecki jewelry stores in Erie from about 1865 to 1905. August Jarecki Jewelers, 622 State Street, was established in about 1848 by August Jarecki. In Figure 2 is shown the store which August Jarecki had built in the early 1850's. Clearly visible is the sign for the Boston Store at 718 Street.



Figure 2

The store was originally called Jarecki Brothers in which Gustav Jarceki was co-owner with August Jarecki. They remained as partners until 1869 when Gustav was appointed to the U.S. Council at Augsburg, Bavaria by President Ulysses S. Grant. Jarecki Jewelers, 728 State Street, was originally established as a joint venture between Herman T. Jarecki and his brother-in-law, August Drodzewski, who married Emma Jarecki on December 1, 1853. Upon the death of August Drodzewski, in 1865, Herman T. Jarecki became the sole owner. It is this jewelery store which has lasted, at least in name to the present time.

In his never ending desire to seek knowledge and work in challenging areas, Ottomar returned to the Erie High School as a special teacher of chemistry. In the 1875-76 year, the School Board embarked on an experiment to merge the Erie High School with the private Erie Academy. In Figure 3 is shown the Erie Academy building at the corner of Peach and Ninth Streets.

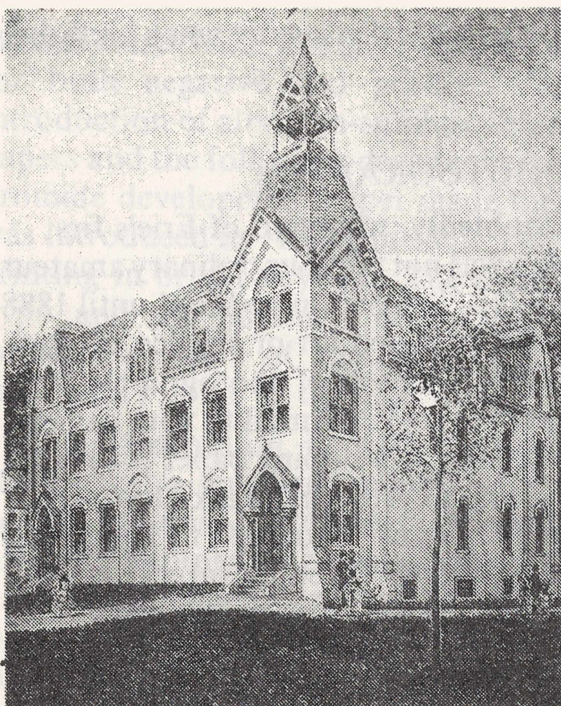


Figure 3

It was hoped that this merger would improve the education in Erie on the high school level and remove the rivalry which existed between the two schools. In that year, the Erie Academy building at the corner of Peach and Ninth Streets was used to house the Erie High School. The next year, the School Board reversed its decision and returned the high school to School No. 2 on the corner of Seventh and Holland Streets. Ottomar returned to his father's business.

Henry Jarecki, Ottomar's uncle, was one of Erie's most prominent businessmen at this time. In 1849, two years after August came, Henry located in Erie. He immediately applied his trade and established a brass works on State Street between

Eighth and Ninth Streets. This was a small shop with tread power and capable of melting about 15 lbs. of brass at a time. Yet, from this small shop, was to grow the gigantic institution which was to last for almost a century, Jarecki Manufacturing Company. During the early days of the company, success depended almost entirely on the persistent energy and shrewd business methods of Henry. Since Ottomar was fascinated by his uncle's business, which was a short five-block walk from his home, Ottomar worked as a part-time pattern maker for Jarecki Manufacturing Company. From this relationship, Ottomar acquired an outstanding understanding of machinery and its capabilities. Upon his return to Erie in 1872, Gustav Jarecki was a great help to Ottomar in the jewelry business. In the Prussian military schools where he was educated, Gustav learned the trade of a watchmaker. He was able to improve Ottomar's talents as a watchmaker and a craftsman for Jarecki Jewelers, 622 State Street.

Early in the 1880's, Ottomar met Miss Amelia von Buseck, daughter of a wealthy Millcreek farmer, Lewis von Buseck. He was attracted to her and they were married in 1883. Ottomar built a house at 129 East 7th Street (the house number was changed in 1892 to 125). This house was next door to his sister, Amanda Emma Jarecki, who had married Charles A. Curtze on July 3, 1879. Ottomar's house was built to suit his needs. The basement housed his equipment for melting gold and silver ingots and drawing these precious metals into wire. The first floor consisted of their living room, dining room, and kitchen. On the second floor, Ottomar had constructed a completely equipped workshop with storage facilities, a complete chemical laboratory similar to the equipment that he had in high school, a dark room, a developing room, a machine shop, and wood working shop complete with treadle lathes, circular and band saws that he had built himself. He also had one guest room on the second floor which was used as a varnishing room for his furniture refinishing. This house was convenient to his father's store, an easy two-block

walk away. Ottomar became the manager of his father's store when his father retired at an early age.

OTTOMAR THE PHOTOGRAPHER

Amelia and Ottomar Jarecki, undoubtedly, were two of Erie's first photographers. Photography in the 1880's was not for your ordinary amateur photographer. George Eastman's Kodak No. 1 wasn't introduced until 1888 and still photography was somewhat a complicated art or science. August Jarecki Jewelers, Ottomar's store, handled all aspects of photography. They sold lenses, shutters and other components to make or modify your camera. Coated negative glass slides for picture taking, developing paper for prints, and processing of these items were available at August Jarecki Jewelers.

As stated before, Ottomar Jarecki had his house equipped to handle the photography business under the best conditions. Ottomar Jarecki worked with photography during the transition from the wet process developed in 1847 by Niepce St. Victor using egg white (albumen) containing potassium iodide which was coated on glass and sensitized by bathing in silver nitrate immediately before exposure and exposed in the wet state to the dry plate process developed by Frederick Scott Archer in 1851 in which a solution of potassium iodide in collodion (a solution of alcohol-ether of a material called pyroxylin or cellulose nitrate, which was first produced by Schoenbein in 1846) was coated on glass. This solution was allowed to set and then soak in a silver nitrate solution thus forming silver iodide in the collodion layer, the excess silver nitrate acting as a sensitizer. When this collodion layer was allowed to dry, it became impervious to processing solutions and thus the plates had to be exposed and processed immediately after manufacture, while in the wet state. They were developed in a ferrous sulphate solution, intensified and fixed in potassium cyanide.¹⁴

The first successful attempt with the dry collodion plate was made by Dr. J.M. Taupenot in 1855. This required an exposure of 30 seconds. The first successful use of gelatin in photographic emulsions is ascribed to Dr. Maddox who described his experiments in 1871. This was the forerunner of modern emulsions and caused the downfall of the wet collodion process. The latter, however, was so well established that several years elapsed before the dry plate gained ascendancy. Gelatin dry plates could be made at leisure and stored for future use. A photographer such as Ottomar Jarecki, skilled in emulsion making, could now produce more plates than he required and could find a ready market for the excess among those unskilled or uninterested in this activity. Indeed, some made the manufacture rather than the use, of light sensitive material their sole activity. Thus began the photographic industry as we know it today.

A secondary change naturally followed. Prior to the 1870's it had been the usual practice to publish improvements in emulsion-making techniques so that they could be generally adopted. Now, that livelihood depended upon the quality of material, the tendency to publish methods of improvements diminished, and as early as 1873, Bergess marketed a dry plate made according to a secret formula, thus setting the pattern for subsequent

¹⁴ Harry Baines, *The Science of Photography*. Fountain Press, 1958.

manufacture. Until about 1860, the Calotype process used a similar material for both negative and positive stages. The decades 1850-70 saw the introduction of albumen-sulphur chloride, and of the Callodio-silver chloride papers and the following decade the elegant platinotype process and the silver bromide development paper made their appearance. Gelatin-printout paper was introduced by Abney in 1882. The image was produced solely by contact printing in bright daylight. The excess silver salt was removed by fixing in hypo and the inclusion of a gold salt in the hypo bath converted the unpleasant color of the finally divided silver image to a much more satisfactory color of the gold image.

As an illustration, in 1888, the American Aristotype Company, placed on the market a sensitized collodion paper ("Aristo") in a limited way. It had several serious defects that were immediately noted by professional and amateur photographers and was taken off the market. After five months of exhaustive experimentation, they perfected a new sensitized collodion printing process which was commercially practical. The photographer could now produce a picture in definition, tone, brilliancy, finish and durability, far superior to the albumen process without the trouble of silvering, drying or fuming.¹⁵

Ottomar Jarecki studied much of the available photographic literature. **Photographics**, **British Journal**, and **The American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times** were three such sources of technical photographic literature. Ottomar's first technical paper "An Amateur's Routine of Silver Printing" discussed the preparation of paper, silvering bath, fuming, toning, fixing, washing prints and mounting.¹⁶ This article gives a good general description of the preparation of albumen paper that Ottomar used during this period. Prints of this type of paper were characterized by a pleasing blue-black tone which was held in high repute.

Ottomar and his wife took many pictures including stereopticon slide pictures of the city of Erie. In order to do this, they needed a pair of stereo lenses and shutters. This required ingenuity from Ottomar. He explained this process in his article "A Compound Stereo Frame and Shutter."¹⁷ In his travels, Ottomar took many pictures of sculpture throughout the world. He acquired a vast collection which, unfortunately, has not been located. In his article "Focusing by Proxy," Ottomar says that he was once called upon to photograph one of the iron cells of a certain police station. This required the photograph to be accurate as it was to be used in the court of law to elucidate and support some points of evidence.¹⁸

For his own use, Ottomar would prepare a glass lantern slides which used a carbon arc lamp to project the light through condensing lenses and through the glass slide to produce black and white images. He clearly describes the process he uses in his operation in an article "A Course in Lantern-Slides."¹⁹ In this article, he gives some excellent, practical information to the semi-professional and professional photographers. He used the gelatino-bromide

¹⁵ Anon., "Aristotype introduced a year ago; "American Amateur Photographer, Vol. 1, No. 4 (October, 1889).

¹⁶ Ottomar Jarecki, *The American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times Almanac*, 1888, pages 171-8.

¹⁷ Ottomar Jarecki, *The American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times Almanac*, 1895, pages 68-75.

¹⁸ Ottomar Jarecki, *The American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times Almanac*, 1894, pages 125-217.

¹⁹ Ottomar Jarecki, *The American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times Almanac*, 1889, pages 196-205.

formula of Mr. J.B.B. Wellington and Mr.B.J. Edwards but made his own improvements. He carefully describes how the plates are treated and gives the formulations he used. He concludes by stating that the reader, by following his directions, may feel confident that his slides will be worthy of the time taken for the process.

In the 1880's and 1890's, Ottomar was experimenting with color photography. He used various dyes to produce the red, green and blue constituents of any color and their subsequent combination to give an approximate match with the color. It was the object of supporting the tri-color theory of vision that the first color photograph was taken by Clerk Maxwell and shown at a meeting of the Royal Institute in 1861. Clerk Maxwell's color rendering was poor by modern standards, but surprisingly good in view of the quality of materials in the absence of sensitizing dyes in 1861. In 1869, a remarkable Frenchman, Louis Ducos du Haron, published a book in which he suggested many methods whereby colors could be reproduced photographically. He proposed a modification of Clerk Maxwell's method which would make it practical by dispensing with the three lanterns. Ottomar realized that his process took too much time to be considered practical for commercialization. In 1895, Professor Joly of Dublin achieved success in applying Maxwell's principle. A plate was exposed in a camera behind and in contact with a screen. From the process negative, a positive glass transparency was made by contact printing and, on registering transparency with the screen so the lines of red, blue and green record coincided with red, blue and green lines of the screen. This, however, was not a commercial success.

The first method to be a commercial success was an ingenious one devised by the Lumiere Brothers and put on the market in 1907. They used starch grains which are minute and clearly uniform in size. Three lots of starch grains were dyed red, green and blue, respectively, dried, and mixed to give a gray powder.

For various bromide plates which Ottomar Jarecki prepared using contact printing, artificial light is both sufficient and satisfactory. In Ottomar's experience with gas, a small iron burner served well, giving a flame of medium size. He pointed out that it was important to pay attention to the distance between the light and the printing frame, in order to secure uniformity of the print and to make intelligent changes in the timing, when necessary. He pointed out that, by a simple law of light, an exposure of 5 seconds at 12 inches is mathematically equivalent to 10 seconds at 18 inches, or 20 seconds at 24 inches. Where the exposure is as much as 5 minutes at 12 inches distance, Ottomar often used 3 inches of a light magnesium ribbon which he held in tweezers and ignited in the gas flame which was turned down low. With a heavier ribbon, a shorter length would serve the purpose. Most of this work was done in Ottomar's dark room on the second floor of his house.

The printing-out processes (POP) were well suited to producing a visual image on exposure to daylight as well as a strong source of artificial light. In the silver printing-out processes, which included plain salted paper, albumen and collodion and gelatin papers, the principle difference was in the medium holding the silver halide crystals.²⁰ This was one form of printing which was

²⁰ C. B. Neblette, *Photography — Its Materials and Processes*, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., page 354.

common between 1888 and about 1910. Also in this period, the process of gum bichromate printing was quite popular. The process consisted of contact-printing negatives on a good grade of paper coated with a light sensitive bichromate solution. This is composed of a water-soluble pigment and potassium or ammonium bichromate suspended in a vehicle of gum arabic. The pigment can be anything from tube water colors to tempera paint just as long as it will dissolve in water.²¹ For their use, Ottomar constructed hundreds of wooden frames with glass fronts which were mounted in his back yard. In this process, he and his wife would print positive pictures from negatives onto this specially prepared paper using the available sunlight. Exposures of 10, 20 or 30 minutes were common.

Photography was only one of Ottomar's outstanding achievements. His talents were utilized in other areas too. In the late 19th century, directors of theatrical shows, burlesque, circuses and other similar performances used oxygen-acetylene fueled lime lights (spot lights) to focus the attention of the audience on specific performers. These oxyacetylene lime lights used mirrors and lenses to concentrate the illumination. Switching from one light to another was a difficult task for the lighting technician. Utilizing his mechanical mind and the machine shop on the second floor of his East Seventh Street home, Ottomar designed and built a lime light blender which used the principle of levers to switch one lime light off and another on in a smooth manner. Thus, the theatrical director was able to achieve his desired lighting aspects

The term "limelight", used for lantern projections and for stage spotlights, was so given because it used a stick of lime, calcium oxide, which was held in a flame and glowed brilliantly. Ottomar Jarecki noticed that the amount of light diminished as the oxyacetylene flame "cut" into the lime. He developed a device which rotated the stick of lime to compensate for this cavitation which produced a more steady light.

The method most frequently used in the laboratory to produce oxygen is to heat the ternary compound potassium chlorate. If this white solid is heated considerably above its melting point (357° C), oxygen escapes. Utilizing the retort principle of Lavoisier, Ottomar Jarecki built a metal retort for the production of oxygen. It was a horizontal cylinder of steel rolled, riveted and caulked which was about 5 ft. long. Into it was charged the potassium chlorate. He used a fish tail Bunsen burner which ran on two tracks parallel to the axis of the retort which was operated by clock work. The oxygen that was formed went through scrubbers and into a gas holding tank which was adjusted through pulleys. He designed a compressor which was used to store the oxygen.

The end of the 19th century and the first six years of the 20th century were sad ones for Ottomar Jarecki. On Thursday morning, December 28, 1899, just four days before the beginning of the 20th century, August Jarecki died at the age of 76. He was buried from St. Paul's German Church, Peach Street. While Ottomar and his wife were not church-goers, he dearly loved his father and mourned his passing. August Jarecki was buried in the Erie Cemetery at the beginning of the 20th century. In late January, 1901, at the same time that Queen Victoria had passed away in Great Britain, double tragedy hit the

²¹ Anon., "Creative Dark Room Techniques," Kodak Publication AG-18, Cat. No. 142 2211.

Jarecki family. After suffering for several weeks with a bad winter cold which developed into the grippe, Charles Jarecki, president of Jarecki Manufacturing, died on Saturday afternoon, January 26, 1901 in his home on the corner of Ninth and French Streets. Upon hearing of his death, his sister, Mrs. Emma Drodzewski, suffered a heart attack and, eight hours after the death of her brother, Emma died in her home at 121 East Ninth Street.²² A little over a month later, on March 3, 1901, Ottomar's younger brother, Emil William Jarecki, died in his 43rd year.²³



Figure 4

Figure 4 is a photograph of the August Jarecki Jewelry Store at 622 State Street. This was taken shortly after the turn of the 20th century and shows examples of transportation of the day parked in front of the Erie Trust Company Building which occupied the corner of State Street and South Park Row. The picture indicates that the August Jarecki business was largely centered around photography at that time.

In late 1904, Ottomar Jarecki retired from August Jarecki Jewelers. The store then became Photo Supply Company (1905), then Holmquist Photo and J.N Decker, Jewelers (1906-1910) and later Newer and English Kodaks (1919). On February 26, 1906, Mrs. Julie Jarecki, widow of late August Jarecki, died at the family residence, 622 State Street. She was 82 years of age.

²² Anon., *Erie Morning Dispatch*, Jan. 28, 1901.

²³ Anon., *Erie Morning Dispatch*, March 6, 1901.



Figure 5

Figure 5 is a picture of Ottomar Jarecki taken in the early 20th century. It shows his watch bob and chain, a small compass and his glasses which he purchased in the local 5 & 10 Store. He had separate glasses for reading which are hanging from his vest. Ottomar never purchased clothes from a commercial tailor, and as a result, never fit exactly. The suit he is wearing is a typical salt and pepper look suit which he probably purchased through the catalog services of Sears & Roebuck Company.

OTTOMAR IN RETIREMENT

Now that Ottomar was "retired" from the jewelery business, he and Amelia travelled to Europe every other year. Amelia was an international chess and bridge player and often engaged in tournaments in Europe and the middle east. Being a very thrifty person, when they would travel to Europe, Ottomar would bring his watch making equipment and travel to Paris to supplement his income by repairing watches. Ottomar and Amelia purchased a home in Daytona, Florida which they would visit each year in the wintertime. He enjoyed the warmer climate, and in 1917, purchased an Olds which he used for driving in Florida. He had a 1914 or 1915 Ford which he garaged in Erie. Six months before the end of World War I, on Wednesday, May 18, 1918, Amelia von Buseck Jarecki, died at the age of 66 years.²⁴

Ottomar continued to dabble in his hobbies but problems with cataracts caused him to go blind in the early 1920's. His great-nephew, Charles A. Curtze, lived two doors away on East Seventh Street. Charles A. Curtze got to know his great-uncle, Ottomar, quite well and often spent time reading to his uncle whose sight was failing. In return, Ottomar spent time with Charles Curtze explaining the function of all the available machinery. When Ottomar was in Florida, Charles Curtze had full use of the house.

With Ottomar's health failing more, he came to live with Antonia Jarecki Curtze in the 1920's. She would prepare breakfast and supper and launder his clothes. On Friday night, September 11, 1931, Ottomar Jarecki died.²⁵ Thus ended the career of a most interesting scholar and inventor - one of the first two high school graduates of the Erie High School.

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²⁴ Anon., *Erie Daily Times*, May 18, 1918.

²⁵ Anon., *Erie Daily Times*, Sept. 12, 1931.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTION OF 1896 IN ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA

by Keith A. Douglass

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article is a condensed version of Mr. Douglass' paper, "A Political and Economic Analysis of the Election of 1896 in Erie, Pennsylvania." The full length version discusses whether or not 1896 in Erie was a "critical election" as that term is used by political scientists and historians and analyzes the impact of religious affiliation on the Erie voter. The complete version is available at the Edinboro State College Library.

The period from the beginning of the Civil War to the entrance of the United States into the Spanish-American War must stand socially, economically and politically as some of the most turbulent in our nation's history. Though the memory of the Civil War had not yet waned, it and Reconstruction were being set aside in favor of current problems and projects. Economically, a new industrial order was being formed - business had become big business. Coinciding with this new industrial order and to a large extent because of it, new problems arose associated with modern society - overcrowding, the management of unmanageable cities, and to further complicate matters, the arrival of a large number of immigrants from Europe and Asia. Neither the Congress nor the Executive branch were able to exert concerted leadership to deal with the problems and the solutions thereof. As a consequence, the subsequent unrest manifested itself in labor disputes and the creation of minor political parties to right the wrongs of society.

Aside from the war years of the sixties, the decade of the nineties must be considered as the most crucial of that period. The 1890's was the culmination of the social, political, and economic upheavals of the latter 1800's - "the watershed of American history."¹ The decade of the nineties begun with control of the government by the republicans. the GOP took the opportunity to pass a high tariff bill in 1890. As a result, the electorate turned to the Democrats, electing their Presidential candidate in 1892. In 1893, however, a crippling depression struck and that, combined with dissension within the Democratic party, turned the electorate to the Republicans in 1894. By 1896 the frustration felt by many was ready to be vented. Gradually the currency issue became more intense so that by 1896 the machinery of the Democratic party was captured by those supporting the coining of silver. In 1896, for the first time since 1860, there was a clear difference between the two major parties.

The Presidential election of 1896 remains as one of the most curious and important in American history. It was the year in which the frustration of many groups within the electorate culminated. Those supporting the coinage of silver not only captured the machinery of the Populist part , supplanting other reforms urged by that group, but also captured the machinery of the Democratic party and nominated one of their own for the Presidency. It has been argued that as a result of the issues and stands of the two major parties that a polarization of the electorate occurred. Essentially, "haves" or those who were wealthy supposedly supported the Republican party and the "have-nots" gave their support to the Democratic cause. Further, it has been suggested that in 1896 a realignment occurred whereby each party received their support from groups which had not supported that party previously.

¹Henry Steele Ommager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation Of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 41.

Therefore, an examination of Erie will help determine whether or not this was the case.

The primary issue early in the 1890's lay in the tariff and its use as a revenue device and or for protection of industry. Since the tariff was the primary revenue of the United States at this time its use for providing revenue only and thus a measure of free trade or as a technique of protection for industry was a hotly debated issue. The tariff had sparked serious controversy in 1816 and again in 1832.² Traditionally, the Democratic party had supported a free trade-revenue only position while the Republicans urged a high tariff and thus protection for industry from foreign competition.³ The tariff once again became a major issue when in December, 1887 President Grover Cleveland submitted to the Congress a Tariff Message urging downward revision of the tariff.⁴ As the residential campaign moved on the tariff question was buried. In 1890, the Republicans, having control of the Congress and the Presidency, passed a stiff rise in the tariff. In the fall elections of 1890, however, the Republicans were soundly defeated in the House of Representatives.⁵

The tariff again became an issue in 1892 but in a somewhat different form. Former President Grover Cleveland had little difficulty in securing the Democratic nomination and President Harrison received the Republican nomination.⁶ The newly formed Populist party met in July and nominated former Greenbacker James B. Weaver.⁷ At a time when the tariff was being touted by the Republicans as the reason for the unparalleled prosperity in the country and for a labor's high wages, a confrontation occurred at the Carnegie Steel Works near Pittsburgh.⁸ The steel company had reduced the wages of the workers and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers went out on strike. The strike erupted into violence as the company brought in Pinkerton guards and strikebreakers. The state militia was called out to quell the violence and the strike was broken. As a result labor turned en masse against the tariff and the Republicans. Cleveland won the Presidency and the Democrats both Houses of Congress.⁹

Soon after Cleveland took the oath of office in March, 1893, the bubble burst and the country plunged into the most devastating depression yet experienced. From November, 1892, to August, 1893, thirty-three stocks lost over 400 million dollars in value.¹⁰ By the end of 1893, 642 banks closed their doors. Farm prices in 1893 fell lower than they were in the early 1880's.¹¹ By mid-1894, thousands of factories closed or slowed production; unemployment reached twenty per cent. President Cleveland responded by calling a

² For a discussion of the tariff controversies prior to the Civil War see, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945), pp. 95-96, 422-23.

³ John A. Garraty, *The New Commonwealth, 1877-1890* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 245.

⁴ For a discussion of the tariff battles of 1887-88, see Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1966), pp. 367-403, 414-42; and Garraty, *The New Commonwealth* pp. 292-304.

⁵ Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, p. 463.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 487-93.

⁷ John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmer's Alliance and the People's Party* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1931), pp. 229-37.

⁸ Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 499-502.

⁹ For a sectional analysis of the 1892 election see, Walter Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955); Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, p. 507.

¹⁰ H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877-1896* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), pp. 447-48.

¹¹ Stanley L. Jones, *The Presidential Election of 1896* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), p. 10.

special session of the Congress and urging that body to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 and to obtain reform of the McKinley Tariff Act.¹² It was the debate on these measures as well as other factors which led to the split in the Democratic party in the mid-1890's and set the stage for the election of 1896.

President Cleveland first called for the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, passed in 1890 to provide for the purchase of limited amounts of silver and at the behest of a small group of silverites. The demand for silver coinage came from the west and the south from those who sought an inflationary currency. By October, 1893 the President had his complete repeal.¹³ The debates revealed however not only the rising strength of the silver forces but the divisive character of the silver issue as the south and west were pitted against the east. In December, 1893, debate opened on the revision of the McKinley tariff. The bill had little difficulty in the House; the problem lay in the Senate, where Cleveland had antagonized many Senators by his refusal to recognize the demands of the silverites in appointments. This situation, combined with those Senators who did not wish a lowering of the tariff resulted in the Wilson-Gorman Act which did not materially affect the tariff schedules. Cleveland allowed it to become law without his signature on August 28, 1894.¹⁴ By now the Democrats were bitterly divided. There were those in the west that were firmly convinced that Cleveland and the Democratic party lay in the hands of the eastern business establishment. Perhaps typifying western reaction was Congressman William Jennings Bryan when he suggested that "if eastern interests continued to exploit the masses . . . 'the rest of the people of the country will drop party lines, if necessary, and unite to preserve their homes and their welfare'".¹⁵ More important however was the notion that the Republicans were pictured as united in the depression while the Democrats were portrayed as incompetent and untrustworthy.¹⁶

Other actions in the next two years were to widen the breach between Democrats on a sectional basis. The actions were brought by labor, the Supreme Court, and the Cleveland Administration. In May, 1894, the Pullman Palace Car workers near Chicago staged a walkout to protest low wages and poor living conditions.¹⁷ In June, the American Railway Union, headed by Eugene V. Debs, voted to support the strike. In July, violence erupted and in an unprecedented action, Attorney-General Richard Olney, on advice from railroad officials and with permission from Cleveland, issued a sweeping injunction against the strikers. Cleveland sent in federal troops ostensibly to protect interstate commerce and to move the mails. Protesting that action was Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois and four other governors. After Debs was arrested on conspiracy charges the strike

¹² For a discussion of the Sherman repeal see Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 523-28, 533-48; on the McKinley tariff see Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 563-69, and Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley*, pp. 72-88.

¹³ Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 538-40.

¹⁴ Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 572-86.

¹⁵ Gilbert C. Fite, "Election of 1896," in *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789-1968*, vol. II, ed: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1971), p. 1795.

¹⁶ Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley*, p. 476.

¹⁷ For a full discussion of the Pullman strike see Ray Ginger, *Altgeld's America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), pp. 143-67; and Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 611-28.

collapsed. Cleveland, however, lost the support of labor and had embittered Altgeld who had been instrumental in his nomination and carrying Illinois in 1892. Many southerners were upset over Cleveland's actions and his apparent blatant violations of a state's sovereignty over its internal affairs¹⁸ Other conditions and controversies heightened the anxiety in the nation. In March, 1894, one Jacob Coxey set out from Massillon, Ohio, on a march to Washington to protest the condition of the common man. Though the marchers numbered only three hundred when they reached Washington, the talk of an army frightened many. It collapsed when Coxey was arrested for trespassing.¹⁹ An attempt was made at this time to force the government to coin "the silver seigniorage and the loose bullion in the Treasury." Proponents argued that this bill would placate the silverites in Congress once and for all; Cleveland disagreed and vetoed the measure on March 29.²⁰ In an effort to bolster the sagging economy, the Administration issued four sales of bonds in return for gold. Eastern bankers quickly bought up each sale, only fueling the talk of a conspiracy between the administration and eastern bankers. The Supreme Court contributed to the growing rift. In January, 1895, the Court sided with the corporations in a suit brought by the Government charging restraint of trade under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act²¹ In May, 1895, the Court voided the income tax provision of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act²² One week later, the Court upheld the injunction and conviction of Eugene Debs in the Pullman strike²³ By late 1895, it was clear to many that the Administration and the business establishment was in league against the interests of the west.

A great deal of the growing rift between sections lay in the currency issue. In 1873, the Congress had passed the Demonetization Act in effect going on the gold standard. In passing the Bland- Allison Act in 1878 the government returned to a limited bimetallism.²⁴ By the late 1880's a small but vocal group urged a return to unlimited coinage of silver. The American Bimetallic League had been formed in 1889 to urge congressional action. By 1893 when the Sherman Act was repealed the debate had increased. William Harvey published **Coin's Financial School**, a tract which pitted a boy named Coin against all of the financial wizards of the day, whereupon Coin ably defended the merits of silver against the encroachments of gold.²⁵ In November, 1894, came the decision to form an independent silver party. With Democrats in the forefront, the National Bimetallic Union was formed in May, 1895.²⁶ A letter circulated in the House called for a new silver party; its author was William Jennings Bryan.²⁷ President Cleveland responded by suggesting in a letter to Chicago businessmen that "disguise it as we may, the line is drawn between the

¹⁸ Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 625-26.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 604-05.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 600-03; Seigniorage represents the gain which the government acquires when it purchases bullion at a price less than the value stamped on the metal when coined; it is the difference between a dollar's worth of raw silver, and a silver dollar.

²¹ *United States v. Knight (E.C.) Co.*, 156 U.S.1 (1895); Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, p. 671.

²² *Pollack v. Farmer's Loan & Trust Co.*, 158 U.S. 601 (1895); Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 667-71.

²³ *In Re Debs*, 158 U.S. 564 (1895); Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, p. 672.

²⁴ Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, p. 202.

²⁵ William H. Harvey, *Coin's Financial School*, ed: Richard Hofstadter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).

²⁶ Jones, *Presidential Election*, p. 38.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

forces of safe currency and those of silver monometallism.²⁸ In June, 1895, the National Democratic Bimetallic Union was formed. Its aim was to control the Democratic National convention in 1896 with silver as its platform. By early 1896, it was increasingly apparent to many Democrats that if the silver forces did not control the convention outright, at the very least they would be a potent force at the convention.

Throughout all of this the Republican party remained virtually intact. Only a few Republican Congressmen and Senators from the west supported silver as a matter of political survival. The Republicans however, had gained control of the Congress in 1894 as a result of the depression and the disunity of the Democrats. Prior to the convention in 1896 there was only one leading candidate for the nomination and that was William McKinley, former Congressman and author of the 1890 Tariff Act and Governor of Ohio for two terms. With the assistance and organizational skill of Marcus A. Hanna, an Ohio businessman who had taken a shine to politics and McKinley, McKinley had begun to put together a campaign organization soon after the 1892 convention.²⁹ Utilizing friends within regular state organizations, McKinley stayed away from states with legitimate favorite-sons. Considered a liberal Republican for his era, McKinley supported civil service reform, federal protection of voting rights, and some business regulation.³⁰ When the Republican convention opened in St. Louis on June 16 the McKinley forces were in complete control. McKinley was easily nominated on the first ballot.³¹ The only excitement came with the presentation of the platform. Upon the defeat of a minority plank calling for free silver, Senator Henry M. Teller and twenty or so others walked out of the convention.³² The Republican platform declared "unreservedly for sound money" and renewed the party's allegiance "to the policy of protection, as the bulwark of American development and prosperity." Further, the Democratic administration had "precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production, while stimulating foreign production for American market."³³

Unlike the Republicans, there was no clear cut favorite among the Democrats for the nomination. Perhaps the closest to a favorite was Richard P. Bland of Missouri, but other names were mentioned, such as Horace Boies of Iowa, John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, Joseph Sibley and Robert Pattison of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Tillman of South Carolina, and William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska. Even Senator Teller, the former Republican, was considered.³⁴ The silver Democrats were extremely effective prior to the convention, capturing delegation after delegation committed to silver.³⁵ Those Democrats who supported the gold standard found themselves in a

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²⁹ For a discussion of the McKinley-Hanna relationship, see Paul W. Glad, *McKinley, Bryan and the People* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1964), pp. 97-98.

³⁰ Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley*, pp. 483-85.

³¹ Fite, *American Presidential Elections*, pp. 1801-03.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 1803.

³³ Kirk H. Porter, and Donald B. Johnson, comps., *National Party Platforms, 1840-1964* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1966), pp. 107-08.

³⁴ Fite, *American Presidential Elections*, pp. 1804-05; J. Rogers Hollingsworth, *The Whirligig of Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 56-58.

³⁵ Jones, *Presidential Election*, pp. 191-203.

minority. The Democratic convention opened in Chicago on July 9.³⁶ Though the gold forces controlled the National Committee it was not long before the silverites secured control of the convention machinery, seating their own delegations. Aside from the nomination, the most exciting aspect of the convention was to be the debate on the currency platform. There were to be five speakers - two for the silver plank, three for the gold plank. Tillman of South Carolina condemned the Cleveland administration. The next three speakers, Senator David P. Hill, William F. Vilas and Governor William E. Russell of Massachusetts all defended the gold standard and the administration.³⁷ The final speaker for silver was William Jennings Bryan. While a great deal of emphasis has been placed on the general effect of his "Cross of Gold" speech and his subsequent nomination, Bryan's success lay in a number of unusual factors.³⁸ Even Bryan recognized that his nomination would take "an unusual combination of circumstances, including a generous amount of luck."³⁹ Prior to the convention he had not been a credited delegate; the credentials committee ruled in his favor. Once seated, he secured a position on the platform committee and determined that he would speak last on the currency plank; he also wrote much of the currency plank on silver. In his speech he said little that was new; rather, over the years he had just polished certain phrases to perfection. The forcefulness of his speech gave the delegates a picture of his own forcefulness. Yet it was not until the fifth ballot that he received the nomination. As he termed it, the "logic of the situation" determined his candidacy. The Democratic platform declared the money issue paramount.⁴⁰ A gold policy was "financial servitude to London," and "not only un-American, but anti-American." Denouncing any return to the McKinley tariff, they argued that the tariff was for revenue only, not for protection. In searching for labor support, the platform called for the restriction of "foreign pauper labor" so as not to compete with labor "in the home market.

There were still three other parties yet to meet. The Populist Party also convened in St. Louis on July 22. The party's hierarchy had earlier decided to support the free silver cause rather than pursue a broad-based reform effort. A split had developed as a result between those who urged a broad-based reform effort and those who supported free silver as the primary reform. The hope had been that neither party would nominate a silver candidate, thus leaving the Populist party to pick up the discarded silver forces. The action by the Democrats however, threw the Populist party into turmoil.⁴¹ After heated debate, the party sought a compromise. They nominated William Jennings Bryan as their presidential candidate and rather than accepting Sewall, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, they nominated Thomas Watson of Georgia. By this method, they were able to fuse and still maintain some semblance of independence.⁴² Though some fusion was accomplished on the

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-42; Glad, *McKinley, Bryan and the People*, pp. 132-41; Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 699-704.

³⁷ Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 701-02.

³⁸ Daniel Boorstin, ed., *The American Primer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 593-604.

³⁹ Fite, *American Presidential Elections*, p. 1806.

⁴⁰ Porter and Johnson, *National Party Platforms*, pp. 98-99.

⁴¹ Hicks, *Populist Revolt*, p. 350.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 358-66; Jones, *Presidential Election*, pp. 245-63; Glad, *McKinley, Bryan and the People*, pp. 155-60.

state and local levels, the fate of the Populist party as an independent party had been sealed once it accepted fusion on the national level. After the election it slipped into oblivion. The National Silver party also met in St. Louis at this time.⁴³ The party adopted a silver platform and endorsed the Democratic ticket. It was their hope that they could act “as independent, essentially nonpartisan force working for free silver.”⁴⁴ After the Democratic convention, there were those who felt that they could not support a silver platform nor a Bryan candidacy. In response to a call from the Honest Money League of Chicago to hold another convention - “to afford the Nation’s Democrats an opportunity to register their protest”⁴⁵ - the sound money Democrats met in early September in Indianapolis.⁴⁶ The National Democratic party, as the convention named their gathering, nominated Senator John W. Palmer of Illinois for President and former Confederate General Simon B. Buckner for Vice-President. The platform condemned the Chicago platform, called for a gold standard “and the maintenance of silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under suitable safeguards of law.”⁴⁷ It further called for a tariff for revenue only and applauded the administration of Grover Cleveland. The party’s hopes rested on neutralizing or directing as many votes to McKinley as possible, and secondly, to supplement the Republican campaign by sending out educational materials on the monetary issue.⁴⁸ Thus, the campaign of 1896 began with five separate parties, nominating three separate candidates and further with a general confusion over the basic issues of the campaign.

By 1896, the silver issue had become the symbol of “those who were demanding a redistribution of the nation’s economic power.”⁴⁹ Thus, the campaign of 1896 accelerated into a struggle between two ideologies, a struggle between two fundamental concepts of power, a struggle between one candidate who spoke for the new industrialism and another who harkened to the call of the masses. Both parties likened their crusades to the one in 1860. The free silverites viewed themselves in the role of the Republican party of that election, “riding on the wave of the future to great glory.”⁵⁰ The conservatives, seeing free silver as immoral, compared it to slavery, and therefore justifying violent action and personal sacrifice to rid the country of its influences. William McKinley deplored the preachings of Bryan - his “pitting of labor against capital, farmers against bankers and manufacturers, the poor against the rich.”⁵¹ It was Bryan’s campaign to speak for the masses, suggesting that an industrial prosperity rested upon a successful agricultural base. He therefore sought the support of both labor and farmers.

The two campaigns and organizations were antithetical. While Bryan undertook a series of grueling under-financed train trips, McKinley conducted his famous front porch campaign at his home in Canton, Ohio. While Bryan

⁴³ Jones, *Presidential Election*, pp. 262-63.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁴⁵ Hollingsworth, *Whirligig of Politics*, p. 73.

⁴⁶ Jones, *Presidential Election*, pp. 271-75.

⁴⁷ Porter and Johnson, *National Party Platforms*, pp. 101-03.

⁴⁸ Jones, *Presidential Election*, p. 275.

⁴⁹ Fite, *American Presidential Election*, p. 1815.

⁵⁰ Jones, *Presidential Election*, p. 339.

⁵¹ Fite, *American Presidential Election*, p. 1820.

was often poorly informed about local conditions and personalities, McKinley knew in advance the text of the spokesman's remarks and his own. In many cases, McKinley's writers wrote both speeches. The Democratic organization was spread between Chicago, Washington and New York, with a newcomer to national organization, Senator James K. Jones, as the new Democratic National Chairman. In contrast, the Republicans, under the guidance of Marc Hanna, established speakers' bureaus and writing staffs which were responsible for churning out millions of articles and pamphlets to newspapers and the general public. Hanna and McKinley tapped the vast resources of eastern Republican and Democratic businessmen by holding up the specter of a free silver victory. Bryan gave little thought to the details or broad strategy of the campaign; McKinley and Hanna supervised all aspects of their operation. In essence, the Republican organization was able to outspend the Democratic party.

McKinley won, carrying twenty-three states with 271 electoral votes. McKinley's strength lay in New England and the Old Northwest while Bryan carried the deep South and a majority of the states west of the Mississippi.⁵² Edgar E. Robinson had argued that the most striking feature of the election of 1896 "is found in the overwhelming lead for one or the other party in twenty-two of the forty-five states."⁵³ The election of 1896 thus marked a return to sectional politics not known since 1860.

The real issue in the election of 1896 lay in the amount of confidence the people had in either party. McKinley emphasized the "safe" issue, the tariff. His emphasis on the tariff did not lose him support, but rather allowed him to pick up borderline Democrats who would swallow their feelings on the tariff rather than support a silver candidate. The so-called "radicalism" of the Democrats their support of free silver, the youth of the candidate, and their association with the Populists, however slight, would not allow the people to place their full confidence in the party. McKinley reminded business and labor of his support for the protective tariff and warned labor of the loss of jobs if a free silver candidate were to win the election. Bryan sought to effect a coalition of labor and the farm as well as small businessmen, arguing that their problems and goals were the same. This coalition fell apart.⁵⁴ McKinley was looking ahead at the new industrial order; he had only to play on sympathies. Bryan had to change minds.

The election of 1896 gave the Republican party a mandate with which to govern, a mandate not disturbed until 1912. Free silver was destroyed as an election issue, as was the Populist party. The election and the candidacy of Bryan did give impetus to a growing number of reforms. By 1897, prosperity had returned. Bryan was not challenged for leadership of the party, but the Democratic coalition of the south and the west disintegrated as the Southern Bourbons returned to their old methods. McKinley's call for a raise in the tariff lost him some support he had gained from the Democrats in 1896 and efforts to woo back the silver Republicans failed. By 1898, however, the United States was well into foreign affairs and the Spanish-American war. Domestic politics were put aside.

⁵² For a detailed sectional analysis see, Jones, *Presidential Election*, pp. 342-47; Elmer E. Schattschneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1960), pp. 78-92; and Edgar E. Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), pp. 4-7.

⁵³ Robinson, *Presidential Vote*, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Hollingsworth, *Whirligig of Politics*, p. 9.

II

As a major state, Pennsylvania contributed a great deal to the national political scene in this period. In 1888, Mathew Quay, a power in the state Republican party, managed Benjamin Harrison's successful bid for the Presidency. William Harry, a Democratic leader did the same for Grover Cleveland's campaign in 1892. Two Pennsylvania men, former Governor Robert Pattison and former Congressman Joseph Sibley, were considered as candidates for the 1896 Democratic Presidential nomination. The Republican party in Pennsylvania generally followed the lead of the national party in its attitude toward the tariff and the currency question. The conservative Democratic party, followed the national leadership in the tariff and currency questions until 1896, at which time it was divided on the currency question.¹

The Republican party in Pennsylvania in the nineties was dominated by Mathew Stanley Quay, chairman of the state party and United States Senator. With very few exceptions, Quay was able to dictate the policy and nominees of the party. In 1890, his choice for the gubernatorial nomination was George W. Delameter of Crawford country, even though Delameter was not the first choice among many in the state.² The Democrats, sensing the disunity among the Republicans, united and nominated former Governor Robert Pattison.³

The campaign turned exceptionally bitter. Issues centered around state tax reform, the tariff, and Delameter's relationship both to Standard Oil and to Quay. A number of Republicans, angered over Quay's choice of Delameter, worked toward his defeat.⁴ Claiming that Delameter had shady dealings with Standard Oil, an independent Republican organization was formed. Pattison was not completely free of corruption charges. Late in the campaign he filed suit against Harrisburg and Philadelphia journalists who had accused him of mishandling funds while Governor.⁵ A labor representative gave Pattison a clean bill of health, while suggesting that Delameter's promises were not always in keeping "with his action" and therefore he was to be monitored carefully.⁶ Delameter supported the party's high tariff while Pattison argued for a lowered, revenue only tariff. Though the charges against either candidate were never proved, the accusations against Delameter generally worked against him. Pattison was elected by just over fifty per cent of the vote.

The issues in the 26th Congressional race (Erie and Crawford counties) centered on the McKinley tariff and the Republican candidate's relationship to Standard Oil. The Democrats nominated A. L. Tilden of Ft. LeBoeuf and the Republicans nominated Mathew Griswold of Erie. Tilden supported the Democratic stand on the McKinley bill. The Democratic convention had termed the bill a "masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense . . ." ⁷ Griswold supported the McKinley bill and the concept of protectionism. Both candidates passed a questioning by a local labor leader. Contrary to the swing

¹ Sylvester K. Stevens, *Pennsylvania, Birthplace of a Nation* (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 266.

² *Ibid.*, p. 262.

³ Sylvester K. Stevens, *Pennsylvania: The Heritage of a Commonwealth*, vol. II. (West Palm Beach, Florida: American Historical Co., 1968), p. 789.

⁴ *Erie Morning Dispatch*, 3 October 1890, p. -.

⁵ *Erie Daily Times*, 27-28 October 1890, pp. 1, 2.

⁶ *Erie Daily Times*, 13-14 October 1890, p. ; *Erie Morning Dispatch*, 10 October 1890, p. .

⁷ *Erie Daily Times*, 25 June 1890, p. 1.

against the Republicans that year, the Republican won, polling just over 51 per cent in Erie County.

By the summer of 1892 the two major parties in Pennsylvania were in difficulty. The Pattison administration was deeply involved in the labor disputes and controversies surrounding Homestead.⁸ The Quay machine was smarting from charges of corruption in the state offices held by Republicans revealed in 1891. The Quay organization initially supported William McKinley in the Republican convention that year, but reluctantly supported Harrison after his re-nomination.⁹ Erie Democrats were united in their support of Grover Cleveland.¹⁰ The state Populist party met in Franklin on June 23 and endorsed the principles enunciated by the national party at St. Louis in February.¹¹ The Populists voted to field candidates in each Congressional district.

The most interesting story of 1892 however is that of the 26th Congressional race. After disagreement as to which country the nominee would come from, the Republicans settled on Theodore Flood of Crawford county.¹² The Democrats agreed to support Joseph Sibley.¹³ Sibley however, was originally the nominee of the area Prohibitionist party; only later was he endorsed by the Democrats and also the Populist parties. Further, Sibley was not even a resident of the 26th District; he made his home in Franklin as a farmer. The issues in the campaign revolved around the tariff, Sibley, and the relationship of both candidates to Standard Oil. Flood endorsed the McKinley tariff and Sibley was apparently a free trader.¹⁴ The harshest criticism of the campaign was leveled at Sibley. Because of this support from three parties - he was called the "kite-candidate" - there was some question about his actual loyalties.¹⁵ Sibley was elected, in part because of his multi-faceted support, but also as the **Dispatch** suggested, the "result is not due to faith in the Democratic party so much as to the desire for a change of some sort."¹⁶

In 1894, Mathew Quay was forced to accept the nomination of Daniel Hastings for Governor on the Republican ticket.¹⁷ The Democrats nominated William Singerly, editor of the **Philadelphia Record**.¹⁸ Singerly argued that a low tariff meant prosperity and that the legislature should seek to control thrusts and syndicates. In contrast, Hastings felt that the Wilson-Gorman tariff of 1893 was detrimental to prosperity and a return to the McKinley tariff was in order.¹⁹ He suggested that all the voters had to do was compare the present economic conditions under a Democratic administration with those of 1892 under a Republican administration. Evidently, the people did just that because Hastings was elected with just over sixty per cent of the vote.

⁸ See p. 4; Stevens, **Heritage**, p. 790.

⁹ **Ibid.**, pp. 790-91.

¹⁰ Erie **Daily Times**, 30 March 1892, p. 1.

¹¹ William E Lyons, "Populism in Pennsylvania, 1892-1901," **Pennsylvania History** 32 (1965); 52-53; Hicks, **Populist Revolt**, pp. 123-25.

¹² Erie **Daily Times**, 6 April 1892, p. 1.

¹³ Erie **Daily Times**, 27 May 1892, p. 2.

¹⁴ Erie **Morning Dispatch**, 19 August 1892, p. ; Erie **Daily Times**, 27 September 1892, p. 2.

¹⁵ Erie **Daily Times**, 6 October 1892, p. 4.

¹⁶ Erie **Morning Dispatch**, 3 November 1890, p. 4.

¹⁷ Stevens, **Heritage**, p. 791

¹⁸ **Ibid.**

¹⁹ See p. 6.

In 1899, Erie County Democrats again supported Joseph Sibley for Congress.²⁰ The Populist party nominated Sibley on September 8, but it was not until October 10 that Sibley announced that if elected to Congress he would serve.²¹ Both men's records were examined in the campaign. Sibley had supported the income tax of the Wilson-Gorman bill; no statement could be found on the subject by Griswold. The independent Erie **Daily Times** was highly critical of Griswold, claiming that he rarely worked for his district particularly when it came to securing pensions. Sibley, however, "was a true representative of the people," who "worked for the common man," while Griswold represented only the rich interests.²² In the week prior to the election, Governor William McKinley visited Erie to lend support to Griswold's campaign and to lay the groundwork for his presidential bid two years later.²³ It was a Republican year and Griswold was elected.²⁴

In the months preceding the major political conventions of 1896 the major parties in Pennsylvania were generally undisturbed by the currency controversy. Both the Democratic and Republican rank and files were fairly conservative in their approach to the currency question and the coinage of silver. The Republican state convention opposed silver coinage though they did declare for international bimetallism. The convention also endorsed Matthew Quay as a favorite-son for the presidential nomination. The Democratic party in Pennsylvania at this point was also opposed to the coinage of free silver. In their convention they voted for the maintenance of the gold standard and "absolute opposition to the free coinage of silver." Former Governor Robert Pattison was endorsed as a Presidential candidate.²⁶ Former Congressman Joseph Sibley was also talked about as a presidential candidate. He was supported by many Pennsylvania Democrats who supported a silver cause. In fact, Sibley was also considered by the Populists as a possible Presidential contender. Sibley pulled out of contention however, and returned to become the Democratic congressional candidate for the 26th district.

Notwithstanding their initial opposition to McKinley's candidacy, the Republicans in Pennsylvania remained intact after the convention. The Democrats did not. On August 2 the gold Democrats met and renamed their party the Jeffersonian Democrats. They renounced the nomination of Bryan and the silver platform adopted at Chicago.²⁷ Delegates were selected to attend the convention of gold Democrats met on September 10 and endorsed the Bryan-Sewall ticket and the Chicago platform.²⁸ The split in the Democratic party alienated some major party figures, such as William Harry, now displaced as national party chairman. State chairman Robert E.

²⁰ Erie **Daily Times**, 3 September 1894, p. 4.

²¹ Erie **Daily Times**, 8 September 1894, p. 1.

²² Erie **Daily Times**, 29 October 1894, p. 4.

²³ Erie **Daily Times**, 2 November 1894, p. 1.

²⁴ See Appendix

²⁵ Sylvester K. Stevens, "The Election of 1896 in Pennsylvania," **Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography** 4 (April 1937): 68; Stevens, **Heritage**, p. 793; The Republican delegation gave Quay 58 of 68½ votes on the first ballot in the convention. Quay was given partial duties in the campaign, but quit in disgust early in the campaign.

²⁶ Stevens, **Heritage**, p. 794.

²⁷ **Ibid.**

²⁸ Stevens, "The Election of 1896 in Pennsylvania," 86.

Wright and Erie Mayor Robert Saltsman refused to support the silver cause.²⁹ Interestingly enough, Robert Pattison did not bolt the party.

The Populist party in Pennsylvania was forced to make the same decision as its national counterpart, whether to fuse with the Democrats or not.³⁰ At the state convention, the delegates voted to accept the St. Louis platform and the Bryan-Watson ticket.³¹ Fusion on the state level or for local candidates was a different matter. An emotional debate ensued between the two factions. A compromise was reached whereby a committee was empowered to effect fusion with the Democrats where possible. The platform demanded however that the Democrats purge their ranks of all gold supporters prior to the completion of any fusion. Even though this had been done voluntarily by the gold Democrats, large-scale fusion was not forthcoming and where it was accomplished, candidates did poorly in the election.³²

The congressional campaign in the 26th district was one of national importance, not only because of the issues but also due to the candidates. The campaign thus reflected the apprehensions and controversies surrounding the election of 1896. While the Republicans nominated John C. Sturtevant as their candidate, the Democrats turned once again to Joseph Sibley, the free silver champion. Of primary concern early in the campaign was the issue of free silver. Sibley of course supported the free silver cause while Sturtevant accepted the Republican view and rejected such a course. Yet by the middle of August, the Erie **Daily Times** suggested that “the tide of silver sentiment has reached its height and will now be found growing less and less daily ... The silver people have given up the idea of trying to carry Pennsylvania for the white metal.”³³ As Sibley commented on his candidacy; “the gold standard Republicans (would) rather see me beaten than any other man, for I have gone through the country for the past two years talking for silver.”³⁴

The thrust of the campaign soon turned away from the silver issue and became instead the effect that the issue of silver would have upon the business community. As was the case nationwide, many in Erie were concerned over the possible detrimental effect that the election of Bryan would have on the business community. Though the Democrats urged support of free silver and the low tariff to groups of labor, warnings went out from local businessmen to their employees suggesting that “men who wish for steady employment will vote for McKinley ...”³⁵ Letters from area businessmen to newspapers expressed their opposition to Bryan and their concern over the possible institution of free silver. On August 24, the Erie **Daily Times**, normally independent but anti-Bryan in 1896, suggested that “manufacturer’s and merchants in this city say that it is not a question of politics this year, but instead a question of business.”³⁶

Both parties, realizing the importance of the campaign poured money and

²⁹ Marian Silveus, “The Election of 1896 in Western Pennsylvania,” *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 16 (May 1933): 121.

³⁰ Lyons, “Populism in Pennsylvania, 1892-1901,” 57-59.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

³³ Erie **Daily Times**, 14 August 1896, p. 4.

³⁴ Erie **Daily Times**, 28 August 1896, p. 1.

³⁵ Erie **Daily Times**, 16 September 1896, p. 4.

³⁶ Erie **Daily Times**, 24 August 1896, p. 4.

speakers into the area. The Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan, stopped off in Erie on his way to New York. Bryan urged those assembled to elect a Congress favorable to free silver and the reforms which he supported.³⁷ Republican Governor Hastings opened the Republican campaign in Erie by terming the Democratic money plank as completely unsatisfactory. Further, Bryan's election would involve a "business revolution, disaster and ruin."³⁸ On September 3, a number of Erie Republicans traveled to Canton, Ohio to visit William McKinley on his famous front porch.³⁹

Sibley failed in his efforts as both he and Bryan were defeated and Pennsylvania delivered a three hundred thousand majority for McKinley. The Pennsylvania Democratic party was severely hurt by the split in 1896. The Democratic party in 1896 lost "what little chance it had to restore something of a more even balance of party power in the state ..."⁴⁰

In 1898, a severe challenge to the leadership of Matthew Quay was undertaken by the Philadelphia merchant-king, John Wanamaker.⁴¹ Some four hundred Republican leaders pledged their support. Though Wanamaker had to retire in favor of another candidate, the revolt showed that Quay's power in the state was diminishing. Though Quay's candidate won the nomination and the election, he did so with less than a majority vote; the Prohibitionist candidate received 13.5 per cent of the vote.

The congressional race in 1898 was extremely close. The Republican candidate, George H. Higgins, was tied into the Quay organization while Mr. Gaston, the Democratic candidate and a Crawford county farmer, was billed as the local candidate and a non-politician. Some discussion ensued as to whether or not Gaston had supported silver two years earlier, though no evidence seemed to support that charge. Gaston won the election by slightly less than fifty votes. Gaston carried the city of Erie while Higgins carried the county.

It is apparent then that with the exception of 1890 the Republicans were able to carry the state on a consistent basis and with increasing percentages of the vote. The power and organization of Matthew Quay lay virtually unchallenged in this period, and when it was, the challenge was not severe. For the most part, he was able to dictate the candidates and policy of the party. Only in 1892 and 1898 were Democratic candidates successful in the 26th Congressional races. To speak only of the success of various candidates however is not enough. It is necessary to further explore the trends and nuances of voting by examining returns and other data in order to ascertain how and why the electorate voted as it did.

³⁷ William Jennings Bryan, *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896* (Chicago: W. B. Conkey Co., 1896), p. 352.

³⁸ *Erie Daily Times*, 17 September 1896, p. 3.

³⁹ *Erie Daily Times*, 17 September 1896, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Stevens, *Birthplace*, p. 264

⁴¹ Stevens, *Heritage*, pp. 795-96.

III

In determining the political profile of Erie during this period, seven elective offices were chosen for study ranging from local and county positions to state offices and the two national elections held in this period.¹ In all, thirty separate sets of election returns have been analyzed.² The returns have been reduced to ward, city, county and state levels. on the city level three elections for Mayor were held (1890, 1893, and 1896). The Erie County Director of the Poor was an annual office. Elections for the 26th Congressional District (comprised of Erie and Crawford counties) were held every two years. Statewide, the Gubernatorial elections were held in 1890, 1894, and 1898; the State Treasurer was elected in 1891, 1893, 1895, and 1897. As a result of the 1890 Census, Pennsylvania was allotted two seats at-large in the House of Representatives - the first election being held in 1892. In addition, a special election was held in February, 1894 to fill a vacant at-large seat and this has been included. Finally, two Presidential elections; 1892 and 1896, have been included. Thus, a cross-section of elective offices, spanning all levels and years, has been achieved. Though each level may really be treated by themselves in any analysis, it is possible to roughly divide the period into three phases - 1890 through 1892, 1893 through 1896, and 1897 and 1898.³

In the first phase, the Democrats won in four of the ten elections under study, including the Governor's post in 1890 and the Presidency in 1892. In each of these three years the Democrats maintained a majority in the city, carrying four of the city's six wards on a consistent basis. In 1890 and 1891, the Democrats remained relatively close to the Republicans in the county by .3 per cent of the vote, the only time in this study that the Democrats outpolled the Republicans in the county. In 1890, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate won with just over 50 per cent of the vote, the only time the Democrats secured a statewide majority. Within this first phase the Democrats were a viable second party, demonstrating that on all levels the two parties were relatively close as to percentages.

By the beginning of the second phase, 1893, the Republicans were in control on all levels, though by a plurality on the city level. In February, 1893, the Republican Mayoralty candidate had won with 51.9 per cent of the vote. That fall, the Republican vote increased on all levels. In 1893 and 1895 all of the Republican vote increased on all levels. In 1894 and 1895 all of the Republican candidates won. In 1895, the Republicans carried all of the six wards, the only time they did this. 1895 proved to be the high point for the Republicans on the city and county levels; on the state level it was 1894.

Though 1896 falls within the confines of the second phase, it may actually be considered as a transitional year between the second and third phases. In February, 1896, the Democrats elected their Mayoralty candidate and that

¹ See Appendix A for the tables relating to the data in this section. Table G shows the party preference for each level based upon which party received a majority or plurality in that level. Table H shows the average Democratic/ Republican vote in that level, found by averaging the percentage of the vote for each election in that particular year. Tables K through O show the Democratic/ Republican vote for each office studied.

² Though thirty election returns have been tabulated, thirty-one elections were held in this period. There were no records available for the 1896 Mayoralty election.

³ See Appendix A, Table H for the average Democratic/ Republican vote by levels for each year.

fall they substantially increased their percentage of the vote, carrying two of the city's six wards. Though the Republican candidate for President, William McKinley, carried the state with 60.9 per cent of the vote, his city and county vote ran behind his statewide percentage. In contrast, the city and county percentages for Bryan, the Democratic nominee, ran ahead of his statewide vote.⁴ This factor, along with a comparison of his percentage vote with the minor candidates, helps to dispel the notion, at least in this case, that the candidacy of Bryan tended to hurt the candidacies of the local candidates. For example, while Bryan received 45.6 per cent of the city vote, the at-large candidates received 47.3 per cent and the Congressional candidate polled 49.2 per cent. Only the Democratic candidate for Poor Director received a smaller percentage of the city vote - 42.6 per cent. In the county vote, the Congressional candidate and the Poor Director candidate for Democrats outpolled Bryan; only the Congressional-at-large candidates received less than Bryan and this was only .6 per cent. Significantly, the same phenomena occurred with McKinley and the minor candidates. McKinley received 52.3 per cent of the city vote while the Poor Director candidate and the at-large candidates both received 57.3 per cent of the city vote. Only the Congressional candidate of the Republicans received a smaller percentage - 50.7 per cent. In the county vote, McKinley received 54.7 per cent, the Poor Director candidate received 55.4 per cent and the at-large candidates received 54.8 per cent. The Congressional candidate received 53.6 per cent of the county vote. It is evident then that Bryan's candidacy did not tend to affect adversely the candidacy of minor Democratic candidates.

Although the Republicans won both of the offices studied in 1897, the Democrats regained a majority in the city, carrying four of the city's six wards. The Democrats increased their percentage of the vote on the city and county level, but dropped slightly on the state level. The Republicans dropped precipitously on the state level, due to a strong showing by the Prohibitionist candidate for State Treasurer.⁵ In 1898, the Democrats won the congressional race, still controlling four of the city's six wards. The Democratic total dropped slightly in the county but increased by 5.1 per cent in the state.⁶ Again in 1898 the Prohibitionists made a determined effort to capture a state position as they received 12.9 per cent of the vote for Governor. By 1897 and 1898 the Democrats had regained a majority in the city. The trend was evident, however, in the critical year of 1896, a year in which the Democrats nationally were supposed to be in retreat.

In summarizing briefly the support the minor parties held in the county and the city is evident that they did somewhat better on the local level than on the state level. For example, in 1890 the state vote for the Prohibitionist candidate for Governor was 1.7 per cent; Erie County posted 3.5 per cent of the vote for him. The Populist Presidential candidate in 1892, James Weaver, polled only .8 per cent of the state, whereas Erie county gave him 3.5 per cent of the county total. Erie County polled 10.3 per cent of the vote in 1893 for the minor parties; the state vote was only 3.5 per cent. The Populists in this period tended to be stronger in the urban areas, while the Prohibitionists posted their totals in the surrounding rural areas. Thus, a strong Populist vote would

⁴ See Appendix A, Table O.

⁵ See Appendix A, Table H.

⁶ Ibid.

normally hurt the Democrats in the urban areas while a strong Prohibitionist vote would hurt the Republicans. In only a few cases did the minor parties make a significant difference in the vote totals, normally limiting one party to a plurality.

In the thirty-one elections studied within this period, the Democrats succeeded in winning only six, four in the first phase, one in 1896 and one in 1898. A clearer pattern emerges as to the wards and which party they supported. The first and second wards were generally Democratic. The first ward was carried by the Republicans from 1893 through 1895, though in 1896 it was carried by the Democrats. In those two phases when the Democrats controlled the city, the first ward went Democratic. The same was true of the second ward, but only in 1895 was the second ward carried by the Republicans. The third and fourth wards were consistently Republican; at no time did the Democrats threaten control of either of these two wards. The fifth and sixth wards were "swing wards", that is, their allegiance would change back and forth from party to party. In the first phase when the Democrats carried the city, the fifth and sixth wards were carried by the Democrats. From 1893 through 1896 these two wards were carried by the Republicans. Finally, in 1897 and 1898, when the Democrats again regained control of the city the fifth and sixth wards went Democratic. The most significant trend within this period however, is to note that there was a Democratic resurgence in 1896, beginning in February when the Democrats elected a Mayor.

Essentially, the basic argument about 1896 is that because of Bryan's candidacy and the issues of the campaign the Democrats suffered at the polls. It is also believed that minor candidates of the Democratic party tended to suffer at the hands of the national ticket. Neither of these conditions appeared in 1896 in Erie. Not only did the minor candidates of the Democratic party tend to receive a larger percentage of the vote, but the Republican minor candidates received a larger percentage than the popular and successful McKinley. By 1897, the Democrats had regained control of the city.

V

One of the arguments relating to the election of 1896 is that there was a polarization of the electorate. Those who were considered well-to-do or "wealthy" were thought to have supported the Republican party and those who were "poor" backed Bryan and the Democratic party. Through use of economic variables and a quantitative technique known as the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient, it is possible to determine the relationship, if any, of the "wealth" of a ward and its support of the Republican party. The economic data that will be utilized are the total salaries per ward, the tax on occupations per ward, the total value of the real estate per ward, and the ward's value of the personal property.¹ Each of these factors will be determined by year and then correlated with the average Republican vote of that year by ward, each on a "highest to lowest" basis. The resulting coefficient, as determined by the Spearman process, will reveal whether any correlation existed between the wealth of a ward and its support of the

¹ The economic data for this section has been taken from Thomas B. Cochran, comp., *Smull's Legislative Handbook and Manual of the State of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: State Printer) and S.B. Nelson and Benjamin Whitman, eds., *Nelson's Biographical Directory and Historical Reference Book of Erie County, Pennsylvania* (Erie: S.B. Nelson, 1896).

Republican party.² Each of the economic variables have been divided by the number of taxables in each ward. The assumption is that use of taxables rather than the total population of each ward eliminates those who are unproductive in a given population and confines the study to allegedly the head of each household.

In analyzing the data in this section it is desirable to place upon the economic variables a ranking as to their importance in relation to one another, to place each of them in perspective. The two most important factors would be the total value of the real estate in each ward and the total salaries by ward. The occupation tax and the value of the personal property would follow next in importance. The total value of the real estate and the total value of the salaries would tend to cut across all segments of the population. These two indicators would tend to reflect more accurately certain trends in the values of the coefficients. The occupation tax and the personal property values would not necessarily do so, in that in some areas the amount of personal property might be very low, the majority of the property being manufacturing firms.

The Table below gives the coefficients for each year for the salaries of each ward. Again, the total amount for the salaries has been divided by the number

TABLE A
COEFFICIENTS FOR SALARIES

| Year | Coefficient | Year | Coefficient |
|------|-------------|------|-------------|
| 1890 | +.600 | 1895 | +.486 |
| 1891 | +.600 | 1896 | +.429 |
| 1892 | +.672 | 1897 | +.258 |
| 1893 | +.715 | 1898 | +.829 |
| 1894 | +.600 | | |

of taxables in each ward and then correlated on a highest-to-lowest basis with the ward's average Republican vote for that year.

Until 1895, there appears to be at least some significance of the coefficients. From 1890 through 1894 there was at least some correlation between the level of the salaries paid in each ward and the support it gave the Republican party. Thus, it would follow that the highest salaries were paid in the third and fourth wards - the most consistent Republican. 1893 proves to be the high-point of the coefficients, in part due to the swing to the Republicans in this year because of the onset of the depression of that year. The more significant year is that of 1896. There appears to be little connection between the level of salaries and the level of Republican support in the wards. If, in fact, the election of 1896 tended to alienate the electorate due to the candidates and issues involved then it would follow that people would have voted according to the level of their salaries. This seems not to be the case in Erie in 1896. The lowest coefficient is in 1897 and the highest in 1898.

² For further information see A. L. O'Toole, *Elementary Practical Statistics* (MacMillan Co., 1964), pp. 247-60, and Russell Landley, *Practical Statistics* (New York: Drake Publishers, 1971), pp. 199-211. A number of cautionary notes must be made in this section. In the case of having only six pairs with which to work, the Spearman coefficient must be very high in order to register significance. For example, the probability is only 0.10 for six pairs that the coefficient would be +.829 (the coefficients range is from -1.00 to +1.000, therefore the greater the plus coefficient the higher the correlation between the two factors). Even though +.829 is the coefficient which is the minimum for showing significance with six pairs, a coefficient of +.600 would still be regarded as showing some significance. Further, it must be noted that the economic data that has been used is not complete in that the values for 1890 through 1895 are those of 1895. 1895 values are also used for 1896 and 1897.

TABLE B

COEFFICIENTS FOR REAL ESTATE

| Year | Coefficient | Year | Coefficient |
|------|-------------|------|-------------|
| 1890 | +.943 | 1895 | +.886 |
| 1891 | +.943 | 1896 | +.943 |
| 1892 | +.900 | 1897 | +.829 |
| 1893 | +1.000 | 1898 | +.658 |
| 1894 | +.943 | | |

Table B clearly demonstrates a correlation between the value of the total real estate in a ward and its support of the Republican party. In every year except 1898 the coefficients fall within the accepted range of the coefficient value of correlation. The peak is measured again in 1893, demonstrating the swing toward the Republicans in that year because of the depression. Contrary to the table before this one, there seems to be a definite swing to the Republicans of real estate holders, 1896 measuring the coefficient plus .943. It is possible to assert that some sort of polarization did occur, in that 1896 measured a decided swing to the Democrats. This would account for a lowered level of the salary level. At the same time it is possible that those wards with real estate voted for the Republicans. The value of the real estate in relation to the amount of support for the Republican party fell in the next two years. The value of the real estate in each ward obviously correlated directly to the amount of support to the Republican party. Again it must be surmised that the more valuable real estate lay in the third and fourth wards, followed by the fifth and sixth wards. The third and fourth wards were always carried by the Republicans and the fifth and sixth wards were the swing wards.

TABLE C

COEFFICIENTS FOR OCCUPATION TAX

| Year | Coefficient | Year | Coefficient |
|------|-------------|------|-------------|
| 1890 | +.558 | 1895 | +.472 |
| 1891 | +.558 | 1896 | +.772 |
| 1892 | +.586 | 1897 | +.200 |
| 1893 | +.700 | 1898 | +.315 |
| 1894 | +.558 | | |

In only two years, 1893 and 1896, it is possible to claim any correlation between the amount of occupation tax per taxable and the degree to which the Republican party was supported. The other coefficients fall below even the minimum necessary for a clear correlation. In this table the peak year is 1896. This might be explained by the observation that in 1896 the third ward recorded the highest Republican vote. As will be seen later this ward had a large laboring population and not many people living within its boundaries. A small number of taxables but a large occupation tax would account for the coefficient being high in that the numbers would be somewhat inflated.

A somewhat similar problem occurs in the Table below, that of Personal Property. The inconsistency is somewhat difficult to explain, but perhaps can be traced to a "sensitivity" of the coefficients for the personal property to which ward received more Republican percentage of the vote and the ranking

of the total personal property per taxable. Thus the coefficient would depend to some extent upon which ward ranked first or generally upon the ward rankings as to Republican support. The coefficient might be low if a large number of taxables lived in a ward with comparatively small amount of

TABLE D

COEFFICIENTS FOR PERSONAL PROPERTY

| Year | Coefficient | Year | Coefficient |
|------|-------------|------|-------------|
| 1890 | +.943 | 1895 | +.743 |
| 1891 | +.772 | 1896 | +.486 |
| 1892 | +.929 | 1897 | +.600 |
| 1893 | +.886 | 1898 | +.429 |
| 1894 | +.772 | | |

personal property. For example, in 1896 the coefficient is relatively small. In this year the third ward registered a higher average Republican vote yet there were many taxables in this ward. Still it would follow that the Republican support would be high. Yet the coefficient for 1896 is low, thus suggesting that in this critical year there was not a high correlation between the amount of personal property held and one's support of the Republican party.

As is evident by the analysis so far the only economic variable which demonstrates a consistent correlation between the Republican vote and support is that of the total value of real estate (Table B). In that crucial year of 1896, there is a clear correlation between the amount of real estate and the degree to which the Republican party was supported. In looking at the coefficient for personal property for the same year it only registers plus .486, well below any possible correlation between the two factors. Thus, the high correlation between land and Republican support must lie in the suggestion that there was not a great deal of personal property in the third ward and to some extent in the fourth ward. The low coefficient for the salaries may be explained in that there were a great many workers or businessmen in the first and second wards which were carried by the Democrats in 1896. In fact, the Democrats scored heavy gains in all of the wards in 1896. Thus, the evidence that a realignment occurred in 1896 is somewhat mixed. If it is assumed that real estate is the basis upon which a ward's wealth is measured then clearly there is correlation and a relationship between the "wealth" of the ward as established by real estate and the ward's support of the Republican party. If salaries are used as a basis for determining wealth then there seems to be a lower support of the Republican party on the basis of the salary level. This may certainly be explained by the resurgence of the Erie Democrats in 1896. To assert however that a definite realignment or no realignment occurred in 1896, whereby the electorate became polarized on account of wealth, though not impossible, is not safe. If in fact a realignment had occurred then it would be expected that all of the coefficients would have registered relatively high and therefore there would have been a clear correlation between the economic variables and support of the Republican party. That this did not occur is indication that Erie did not follow what has been assumed to be the national pattern.

The evidence is clear then that Erie, the county, and the state did not follow what has been suggested happened nationally. There was no overwhelming

movement on any level by the Republicans in 1896; that movement had come three years earlier in 1893 and in essence, on the state level, the Republicans had secured a majority in Pennsylvania in 1891. Only in 1893 had that majority become overwhelming. In the city of Erie, contrary to the national trend, the Democrats gained in strength in 1896, foreshadowing their return to a majority the next year. There is no overwhelming evidence that the city of Erie voted by classes in 1896. Rather, the evidence is to the contrary. A portion of the laboring class in Erie supported the Republicans, but a portion also supported the Democrats. Finally, the thesis that people tended to vote according to religious affiliation has some validity in Erie. It is safe to conclude then that the city of Erie, Pennsylvania in 1896 tended not to follow what has been purported to be the national trend in that year of people voting on a class or wealth basis, rather than by their traditional voting habits on a party basis.

•

Table G

Party Preference for Wards, City, County, and State, 1890-1898

| | 1890 | | | | | | | | | 1891 | | | | | | | | | 1892 | | | | | | | | | 1893 | | | | | | | | | 1894 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | A | B | C | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | A | B | C | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | A | B | C | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | A | B | C | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | A | B | C | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| President | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | D | D | R | R | D | D | D | R | R | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Congressmen-at-large | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | D | D | R | R | D | D | D | R | R | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | R | D | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R |

Table G

Party Preference for Wards, City, County, and State, 1890-1898

| | 1895 | | | | | | | | | 1896 | | | | | | | | | 1897 | | | | | | | | | 1898 | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | A | B | C | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | A | B | C | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | A | B | C | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | A | B | C |
| President | | | | | | | | | | D | D | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Congressmen-at-large | | | | | | | | | | D | D | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | | | | | | | | | | D | D | R | R | D | D | D | R | R |
| Congress | | | | | | | | | | D | D | R | R | R | R | R | R | - | | | | | | | | | | D | D | R | R | D | D | D | R | - |
| Governor | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | D | D | R | R | D | D | D | R | R |
| State Treasurer | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | | | | | | | | | | D | D | R | R | D | D | D | R | R | | | | | | | | | |
| Mayor | | | | | | | | | | ** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Director of the Poor | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | R | - | D | D | R | R | R | R | R | R | - | D | D | R | R | D | D | D | R | - | D | D | R | R | D | D | D | R | - |

D-Democratic, R-Republican; *A special election was held in February, 1894 to fill a vacant at-large seat; **No figures are available for the 1896 Mayoralty election.

A—City; B—County; C—State

Table H
Average Democratic-Republican Voting Percentages in Wards, City, County, and State, 1890-1898

| Year | Wards | | | | | | City | County | State |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | | |
| 1890 | 57.1/42.7 | 63.9/35.9 | 45.9/53.9 | 44.4/55.5 | 56.3/43.6 | 56.4/43.4 | 53.8/46.0 | 45.6/50.7 | 50.0/48.2 |
| 1891 | 63.4/36.5 | 67.0/32.9 | 39.4/60.5 | 47.3/52.5 | 62.0/37.9 | 60.7/39.1 | 57.6/42.3 | 44.9/46.9 | 45.3/52.2 |
| 1892 | 59.2/39.4 | 63.2/35.0 | 41.4/55.1 | 45.8/52.5 | 57.4/40.3 | 58.7/39.4 | 54.5/43.7 | 49.0/48.7 | 45.1/51.5 |
| 1893 | 47.7/49.0 | 51.0/44.5 | 34.6/62.4 | 35.4/60.9 | 44.1/52.2 | 45.1/49.7 | 47.7/48.9 | 33.8/55.8 | 39.4/56.8 |
| 1894 | 45.9/51.6 | 53.5/45.1 | 31.3/68.0 | 33.6/62.4 | 46.3/52.2 | 44.0/54.8 | 42.7/55.6 | 34.6/58.9 | 35.6/60.4 |
| 1895 | 42.3/55.1 | 47.7/53.9 | 29.6/69.0 | 27.5/70.6 | 39.3/58.1 | 37.9/60.9 | 36.4/61.6 | 27.4/62.5 | 36.7/59.3 |
| 1896 | 52.6/46.8 | 60.1/39.4 | 35.9/63.2 | 38.6/60.7 | 48.1/51.2 | 40.7/58.8 | 46.1/53.2 | 43.1/54.6 | 35.9/61.1 |
| 1897 | 55.2/43.2 | 66.2/32.2 | 39.3/58.5 | 43.6/54.3 | 58.4/40.3 | 54.2/44.4 | 53.1/45.1 | 44.6/50.1 | 32.1/49.3 |
| 1898 | 54.0/44.6 | 63.0/35.4 | 37.1/61.0 | 38.2/60.3 | 53.9/45.2 | 53.2/45.2 | 50.4/47.9 | 43.2/51.0 | 37.2/52.6 |

Table I
Democratic/ Republican Voting Percentages for Mayor, 1890-1898

| Year | Wards | | | | | | City |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| 1890 ¹ | 58.6/41.3 | 69.3/30.6 | 57.4/42.5 | 52.2/47.7 | 69.7/30.2 | 68.0/31.9 | 61.3/38.6 |
| 1893 ² | 52.5/47.4 | 54.7/45.2 | 37.6/62.3 | 36.3/60.6 | 51.2/48.7 | 54.6/45.3 | 48.0/51.9 |
| 1896 ³ | | | | | | | |

¹Erie Daily Times, 19 February 1890, p. 1; ²Erie Daily Times, 23 February 1893, p. 1; ³No returns could be located. However, by referring to the Union City Times, 20 February 1896, p. 2, it was ascertained that the Democratic candidate was successful by a 285 vote majority.

Table J
Democratic/Republican Voting Percentages for Director of the Poor, 1890-1898

| Year | Wards | | | | | | City | County |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | |
| 1890 | 58.8/41.1 | 61.3/38.6 | 40.7/59.2 | 41.8/58.1 | 53.4/46.5 | 55.4/44.5 | 51.6/48.3 ¹ | 43.5/52.8 ¹ |
| 1891 | 62.9/37.0 | 65.6/34.3 | 45.7/54.2 | 46.7/53.2 | 61.0/38.9 | 60.9/39.0 | 56.9/43.0 ² | 42.0/46.3 ³ |
| 1892 | 57.8/41.8 | 62.4/37.1 | 41.2/57.4 | 44.8/54.8 | 56.6/43.0 | 59.1/40.3 | 53.6/45.7 ³ | 47.3/49.4 ³ |
| 1893 | 45.0/50.3 | 49.1/44.4 | 33.8/62.0 | 35.3/60.7 | 40.7/54.0 | 40.6/51.6 | 40.9/53.8 ⁴ | 34.1/55.5 ⁴ |
| 1894 | 52.1/47.8 | 55.2/44.7 | 34.1/65.8 | 35.2/64.7 | 50.2/49.7 | 46.5/53.4 | 45.4/54.5 ⁵ | 38.4/58.1 ⁵ |
| 1895 | 43.0/56.9 | 47.8/52.1 | 31.7/68.2 | 29.9/70.0 | 41.3/58.6 | 39.5/60.4 | 38.6/61.3 ⁶ | 27.9/62.4 ⁷ |
| 1896 | 52.6/47.3 | 59.5/40.4 | 36.3/63.6 | 36.4/63.5 | 48.0/51.9 | 25.8/74.1 | 42.6/57.3 ⁸ | 43.0/55.4 ⁹ |
| 1897 | 55.8/43.8 | 67.6/31.9 | 44.2/54.5 | 44.7/54.6 | 59.4/40.4 | 55.5/43.7 | 54.2/45.1 ¹⁰ | 47.1/49.6 ¹⁰ |
| 1898 | 54.0/45.9 | 63.8/36.1 | 36.9/63.0 | 39.0/60.9 | 54.2/45.7 | 53.6/46.3 | 50.4/49.5 ¹¹ | 46.7/53.2 ¹² |

¹Erie Morning Dispatch, 6 November 1890, p. 5; ²Erie Morning Dispatch, 5 November 1891, p. 5; ³Erie Daily Times, 8 November 1894, p. 4; ⁴Erie Daily Times, 6 November 1895, p. 8; ⁵Erie Morning Dispatch, 11 November 1895, p. 8; ⁶Erie Daily Times, 4 November 1896, p. 1; ⁷Erie Daily Times, 9 November 1896, p. 2; ⁸Erie Morning Dispatch, 6 November 1897, p. 6; ⁹Erie Daily Times, 10 November 1898, p. 4; ¹⁰Erie Daily Times, 9-10 November, p. 1.

Table K
Democratic/Republican Voting Percentages for Congress, 1890-1898

| Year | Wards | | | | | | City | County |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | |
| 1890 | 50.2/49.7 | 60.6/39.3 | 38.8/61.1 | 40.1/59.8 | 46.2/53.7 | 43.8/56.1 | 47.7/52.2 ¹ | 45.1/51.2 ² |
| 1892 | 62.5/35.8 | 65.3/31.7 | 46.9/52.1 | 50.0/48.3 | 60.3/36.3 | 58.7/39.2 | 57.2/40.6 ³ | 52.9/46.0 ⁴ |
| 1894 | 55.9/43.7 | 57.9/41.7 | 35.5/64.2 | 36.7/62.9 | 52.3/47.5 | 46.6/52.7 | 47.3/52.3 ⁵ | 41.8/56.1 ⁶ |
| 1896 | 54.0/45.9 | 62.7/37.2 | 37.9/62.0 | 41.6/58.3 | 49.8/50.1 | 47.4/52.5 | 49.2/50.7 ⁷ | 45.2/53.6 ⁸ |
| 1898 | 55.1/44.8 | 64.6/35.3 | 38.9/61.0 | 41.2/58.7 | 56.2/43.7 | 55.3/44.6 | 52.0/47.9 ⁹ | 44.7/50.6 ¹⁰ |

¹Erie Morning Dispatch, 6 November 1890, p. 5; ²Smull's Legislative Handbook (1891), p. 263; ³Erie Morning Dispatch, 12 November 1892, p. 5; ⁴Smull's Legislative Handbook (1893), p. 596; ⁵Erie Daily Times, 8 November 1894, p. 4; ⁶Smull's Legislative Handbook (1895), p. 560; ⁷Erie Daily Times, 4 November 1896; ⁸Smull's Legislative Handbook (1897), p. 632; ⁹Erie Morning Dispatch, 10 November 1898, p. 6; ¹⁰Smull's Legislative Handbook (1899), p. 769.

Table L
Democratic/Republican Voting Percentages for State Treasurer, 1890-1898

| Year | Wards | | | | | | City | County | State |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | | |
| 1891 | 63.9/36.0 | 68.4/31.5 | 33.1/66.8 | 48.0/51.9 | 63.0/36.9 | 60.6/39.3 | 58.3/41.6 ¹ | 47.9/47.6 ² | 45.3/52.2 ³ |
| 1893 | 45.8/49.3 | 49.4/44.0 | 32.4/63.1 | 34.7/61.6 | 40.6/53.9 | 40.3/52.2 | 41.0/54.4 ⁴ | 33.5/56.1 ⁴ | 39.4/56.8 ⁵ |
| 1895 | 41.7/53.3 | 47.6/55.7 | 27.5/69.8 | 25.1/71.3 | 37.4/57.6 | 36.4/61.4 | 34.3/61.9 ⁶ | 26.6/63.4 ⁶ | 36.7/59.3 ⁷ |
| 1897 | 54.7/42.7 | 64.8/32.5 | 34.5/62.6 | 42.6/54.0 | 57.4/40.3 | 53.0/45.2 | 52.1/45.2 ⁸ | 42.1/50.7 ⁹ | 32.1/49.3 ⁹ |

Erie Morning Dispatch, 6 November 1891, p. 5; ²Smull's Legislative Handbook (1892), pp. 504-04; ³Smull's Legislative Handbook (1892), p. 462; ⁴Smull's Legislative Handbook (1894), pp. 598-99; ⁵Smull's Legislative Handbook (1894), p. 553; ⁶Smull's Legislative Handbook (1896), pp. 516-17; ⁷Smull's Legislative Handbook (1896), p. 463; ⁸Smull's Legislative Handbook (1898), pp. 683-84; ⁹Smull's Legislative Handbook (1898), pp. 683-84; ⁹Smull's Legislative Handbook (1898), pp. 642-43.

Table M
Democratic/Republican Voting Percentages for Governor, 1890-1898

| Year | Wards | | | | | | City | County | State |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | | |
| 1890 | 61.1/38.8 | 64.6/35.3 | 47.0/52.9 | 43.5/56.4 | 55.9/44.0 | 58.5/41.4 | 54.9/45.0 ¹ | 48.2/48.1 ² | 50.0/48.2 ² |
| 1894 | 47.8/47.7 | 50.4/43.8 | 32.3/67.6 | 32.5/63.5 | 43.2/50.0 | 41.9/53.6 | 41.1/54.0 ³ | 31.5/58.9 ⁴ | ³⁴⁹ /60.3 ⁴ |
| 1898 | 53.0/42.4 | 59.7/34.7 | 36.1/57.0 | 33.0/61.7 | 51.9/40.0 | 51.9/42.6 | 49.1/45.0 ⁵ | 39.8/48.4 ⁶ | 36.8/49.0 ⁶ |

¹Smull's Legislative Handbook (1891), p. 200; ²Smull's Legislative Handbook (1891), pp. 166-167; ³Smull's Legislative Handbook (1895), pp. 476-77; ⁴Smull's Legislative Handbook (1896), pp. 451-52; ⁵Smull's Legislative Handbook (1899), pp. 680-81; ⁶Smull's Legislative Handbook (1899), pp. 627-28.

Table N
Democratic/Republican Voting Percentages for Congressmen-at-large, 1890-1898¹

| Year | Wards | | | | | | City | County | State |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | | |
| 1892 | 58.8/39.8 | 62.8/35.6 | 43.1/55.3 | 45.0/52.9 | 56.7/41.3 | 60.7/36.6 | 54.2/44.0 ³ | 42.9/49.8 ⁴ | 45.2/51.6 ⁴ |
| 1894 ² | 31.9/68.0 | 51.2/48.7 | 21.6/73.3 | 30.8/69.1 | 39.8/60.1 | 42.0/57.9 | 37.5/59.9 ⁵ | 30.8/62.2 ⁶ | 37.0/60.4 ⁶ |
| 1894 | 48.9/51.0 | 53.0/46.9 | 30.8/69.1 | 33.1/66.8 | 46.2/53.7 | 43.3/56.6 | 42.5/57.4 ⁷ | 30.9/59.3 ⁸ | 35.0/60.5 ⁸ |
| 1896 | 52.4/47.5 | 60.2/39.7 | 35.4/64.5 | 39.7/60.2 | 47.7/52.1 | 45.3/54.6 | 47.3/54.6 ⁹ | 41.9/54.8 ¹⁰ | 35.7/61.3 ¹⁰ |
| 1898 | 54.2/45.6 | 64.2/35.5 | 36.6/63.3 | 39.9/59.9 | 53.3/46.5 | 52.3/47.5 | 50.4/49.5 ¹¹ | 41.6/51.9 ¹² | 37.7/56.2 ¹² |

¹As a result of the 1890 Census, Pennsylvania was allowed to elect two at-large Congressmen, starting in 1892; ²A special election was held in February, 1894 to fill a vacant at-large seat; ³Erie Morning Dispatch, 12 November 1892, p. 5; ⁴Smull's Legislative Handbook (1893), pp. 488-89; ⁵Erie Morning Dispatch, 24 February 1894; ⁶Smull's Legislative Handbook (1895), pp. 425-26; ⁷Erie Daily Times, 8 November 1894, p. 4; ⁸Smull's Legislative Handbook (1895), pp. 435-37; ⁹Erie Daily Times, 4 November 1896; ¹⁰Smull's Legislative Handbook (1897), pp. 463-68; ¹¹Erie Morning Dispatch, 10 November 1898, p. 6; ¹²Smull's Legislative Handbook (1899), pp. 636-37.

Table O
Democratic/Republican Voting Percentages for President, 1890-1898

| Year | Wards | | | | | | City | County | State |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | | |
| 1892 | 57.8/40.4 | 62.3/35.6 | 42.5/55.7 | 43.7/54.2 | 56.1/40.9 | 56.4/41.5 | 53.1/44.8 ¹ | 42.3/49.7 ² | 45.0/51.4 ³ |
| 1896 | 51.7/46.6 | 58.2/40.6 | 34.1/62.7 | 36.9/60.9 | 46.9/50.9 | 44.3/54.0 | 45.6/52.3 ⁴ | 42.5/54.7 ⁵ | 36.2/60.9 ⁶ |

¹Smull's *Legislative Handbook* (1893), pp. 525-26; ²Smull's *Legislative Handbook* (1893), p. 484; ³Smull's *Legislative Handbook* (1893), p. 459; ⁴Smull's *Legislative Handbook* (1897), p. 537; ⁵Smull's *Legislative Handbook* (1897), p. 539; ⁶Smull's *Legislative Handbook* (1897), p. 446.

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THE UNMADE HOUSE CALL

by

J. M. Walsh, M.D.

EDITORIAL NOTE: This article is a slightly revised and expanded version of a talk given to the Erie County Historical Society in March, 1976 by Dr. Walsh. Dr. Walsh has made a very valuable contribution to Erie County History by delving into the life of Seth Reed as a physician.

“And there the embattled farmers stood, and fired the shot heard round the world”. Emerson was using poetic license when he wrote these memorable words. Of course they were not literally correct. The sounds of battle in Lexington were not heard in Concord nor were the musket and rifle shots in Concord audible in Lexington. Yet, eventually the causes and effects of these skirmishes were to resound in Boston, England and the European continent.

Now we know that our knowledge of the important events leading to the American Revolution was not originally obtained from the text books of history, but rather from letters, manuscripts, local publications and other writings of the times. These documents were made by the actual participants and others, and handed down from one generation to another. In addition there were tales and stories told by parents to their children and then put down in a journal or a diary and thus preserved for our study. One of the most important functions of the Erie County Historical Society and similar organizations is to collect and preserve such valuable material which will be so useful so many centuries from now. Dr. Walsh’s effort here reflects his research at the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Uxbridge Public Library. We hope the readers of the **Journal** enjoy the results of his research and his attempt to capture the spirit of the age.

Early morning, June 17, 1775, outside of Boston, and across the river, Charlestown, and those two hills dominating the locality, five volunteer physicians and surgeons were already there when Colonel Seth Reed of the Massachusetts Militia led his weary regiment across the neck of land to the camp site. On the long march up from Uxbridge he often wondered whether he should remain with his regiment as their leader or be of more use as a physician to help with the battle casualties, in case there would be a battle. There were two events which gave him an answer.

While still some distance from Boston a message reached him requesting that he prepare a plan for the care of the casualties, and advising that another Colonel Reed from New Hampshire would assume command of his men. The orders were signed by Dr. Joseph Warren, Major General of the Massachusetts Militia and the ranking officer in the area. As a friend and Lodge Brother Reed welcomed the opportunity. He knew that he must follow the orders. Explaining the situation to his men he walked around the base of the smaller hill and introduced himself to the group of medical men who were busily examining papers and booklets spread on a small table in front of a marquee tent. Dr. William Eustis, younger than the others, said that he understood that Dr. Reed would head the unit. Working in their shirt sleeves

they began to formulate methods and means for the care of the injured because it was now certain there would be a battle. Three medical students from Harvard College and two of their Professors soon joined the meeting.

A copy of the book "Dr. Ranby's Instruction For Military Surgeons" had been smuggled out of the lines from Boston and Dr. Reed, after a quick study, mentioned the pertinent portions to his colleagues, "Wounds to be cleansed with dry or moist lint, bandage firmly, remove in 3 days and if infected apply bread and milk poultice. Use a finger to remove a rifle ball as some instruments could be dangerous. Before operation give soldier a grain of opium and 3 ounces of Rum, if obtainable. The concluding sentence was emphasized, "In all manner you are not to be affected or distracted by the cries, groans and complaints of your patients".

It was decided to erect the Main Field Hospital at the foot of the smaller of the two hills, Bunker's Hill, as most of the fighting would take place on the larger Breed's Hill. Arrangements were also made for the occupation of several houses in nearby Cambridge, and here the surgical treatment would take place. The thirty-one year old soldier surgeon realized that this would take him further away from his friends from Uxbridge.

Ascending Breed's Hill he noticed how furiously the men were digging entrenchments, farmers, tradesmen, laborers, shopkeepers, clerks, and many others, now united to give battle to the world's greatest army. Halfway up the hill a voice called. As Reed turned, there was Dr. Joseph Warren, a Lodge friend and colleague, but also Major General of the Massachusetts Militia and the ranking military officer on the site. A physician patriot, beloved by patients and greatly admired by the Sons of Liberty, he was a resplendent figure, tall, slim, wearing a handsomely tailored blue coat, white waistcoat, white satin breeches and gleaming black boots. He was of about the same age as the fellow officer from Uxbridge. He told Reed that he too had to make an important decision earlier in the day. Colonels Prescott and Putnam had offered him command of the forces because of his superior rank. Instead he had chosen to serve with a soldier's rifle under their command. The friends shook hands. The one went back up the hill, never to descend alive, the other on to Cambridge, to help make medical military history.

In that little town, three suitable houses were obtained, the occupants readily agreeing to vacate in order to make them into rude hospitals. Beds, chairs, tables and stretchers were quickly found, as well as small stoves and cut wood, pails and pans for boiling the water.

It was not quite noon, but the hot summer sun beating down from a clear blue sky made the work an increasing burden. Although the boom of cannon on the British warships could be clearly heard for some hours, it was midafternoon before the first patient was carried on a litter to the nearest of the little houses. One look at the limp soldier and Dr. Reed knew that the trip here was in vain. Aaron Barr was already dead. There was time for the Chief Surgeon to again review the outlines of treatment which should be followed. Remove every tourniquet and attempt to locate the bleeding vessel, if not possible reapply the tourniquet loosely and apply a small padding over the area. In every case remove the constricting leather thong at frequent intervals. Never apply lard or similar substance to open wounds. Never bleed where the patient is pale and the pulse is poor. It would be over a century before the tourniquet rule would be a worldwide standard procedure.

Soon more casualties began to arrive. First a few and then in increasing numbers, some walking, or on litters, or draped across the backs of oxen or horses. Clouds of dust obscured the length of the line of wounded. Various types were distributed according to the location and gravity of the injury. Soon, along with the others, Dr. Reed was actively engaged in the surgical work which would save many lives. Without his skill and directions more would have been lost. The intense heat of the stifling small rooms was withering and soon the patients, attendants, orderlies and the medical men were soaking hot. The other Doctors were inspired as they hastily looked at the leader, the solidly built man, with stained apron, brown wet, curly hair and the perspiring handsome face, working in the middle of the room, giving orders, while at the same time suturing and bandaging.

All through the steaming New England night, with the feeble light of a few lamps and candles, the heroic Medical Corps worked ceaselessly. Propped up doors, and furniture made into crude beds for the operative cases, those on the bare wideboarded floors, some on the porches or on tents outside. The smell of spent gun powder was everywhere. The shrieks, cries and moans would haunt the physicians for years.

General Wahington's report to Congress, dated July 10, 1775, Cambridge, Massachusetts, is as follows: killed or missing in action 145, wounded 304. These figures are a real indication of the task Dr. Reed and his assistants faced.

Historical authorities on Erie County history are generally in agreement that Colonel Seth Reed was the first settler in what is now the City of Erie in 1795 or twenty years later. What had happened from the close of the Revolutionary War in 1783 to 1795 when he became the first settler in Erie?

We are not certain as to the exact date that Colonel Reed settled in Central New York State at Geneva, but we do know that he was living there in 1788, five years after the signing of the Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolution. Turner, in his book, **The Phelps & Gorham Purchase and Morris Reserve**, refers to Seth Reed and Peter Ryckman as Indian traders.¹ Conover, in his history of Ontario County, says, "...² in the fall of 1788, Geneva became a village of some note and was the center of operations for land speculators, explorers, the Lessee Co. and its agents and the principal seat of the Indian trade."

Peter Ryckman and Colonel Reed had good relations with the Indians as they were able to persuade the Indians to go to Albany and confer with the New York State Land Commissioners in 1788 and enter into a treaty for the sale of some of their land. Reed and Ryckman received a grant of 16,000 acres along the lake near Geneva from the State of New York for their services. Reed was also owner of some 2,000 acres to the north of Geneva. Unfortunately these land titles were based on the old incorrect Preemption Line surveyed in 1788 and 1789 instead of the new correct Preemption Line of 1792 and became valueless. New York State and Massachusetts, in order to settle conflicting land claims, had agreed to a Preemption Line from Sodus Bay through Seneca Lake to the Pennsylvania border. Massachusetts received the lands west of Seneca Lake and ten townships lying between the Owego and Chenango

¹ O. Turner, **Phelps & Gorham Purchase & Morris Reserve**, p. 245.

² George J. Conover, **History of Ontario County** (New York, p. 260.

Rivers. New York won title to all land east of the line and eventually political sovereignty over the area in dispute

Jared Boughton,³ an inhabitant of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, who traveled from Stockbridge by sleigh in February, 1790 to Vistor in Ontario County, tells us that part of the time he and his family traveled with Colonel Reed's family.

"We traveled thirteen miles the day we left Col. Hanforth's. Col. Reed's family and mine, fourteen in number, camped that night under a hemlock tree, built a camp of hemlock boughs, had a warm brush fire - made chocolate - and although my wife had a young child, we had a comfortable time of it."

The morning of the third day following he reports " . . . we went home with Mrs. Reed and family - found Col. Reed at home, waiting for the arrival of his family. His house stood on the bank of the lake in Geneva; the place then contained ten or twelve families."

Joshua Fairbanks⁴ who resided at Lewiston made his first visit to Western New York in the winter of 1791. He had recently been married to Miss Sophis Reed, the daughter of Col. Seth Reed, at Uxbridge, Massachusetts. In February, 1791, Mr. Fairbanks set out with his wife to join Col. Reed. He remained at Geneva until the fall of 1793.

Mr. Fairbanks had brought along with him a few goods to trade with the Indians. An old bill of a part of the goods he brought to Geneva indicated they were bought of "Reed & Rice, Brookfield". A few of the articles and prices are noted below:

"11 yds. Ratteen, 4s pr. yd.
30 yds. Cotton Cord, ribbed, 8s 4d.
7½ yds. Corduroy, 5s.
63 yds. Shalloon, 2s 4d.
25lbs. Bohea Tea 2s 8d."

Until 1795 Northern and Central Ohio, as well as Erie County, Pennsylvania were not safe for American settlement. The Western Indians had twice defeated American armies under General Harmar and St. Clair in Ohio in 1790 and 1791. The British still had possession of six forts on American soil and encouraged the Indians to resist the advancing American frontiersmen as well as furnishing them with guns and ammunition from their forts.

General Anthony Wayne decisively defeated a force of some 2,000 Indians which included some Iroquois as well as Canadian militia from Detroit at the Battle of Fallen Timbers (near Toledo) in August, 1794. The Battle took place on the banks of the Maumee River and near the British Fort Miamis. Wayne's forces destroyed or burned all houses and corn fields above and below the Fort including the houses, stores and property of Cola McKee, the British Indian Agent. The British garrison were unwilling spectators to this devastation.

Wayne's victory caused the six nations to enter into the Pickering Treaty with the Federal Government at Canandaigua, New York, in November, 1794 by which Pennsylvania's claim to the Erie Triangle was acknowledged. Moreover, the British in the same month signed Jay's treaty by which they

³ Turner, O. F. *Pioneer History of the Holland Land Purchase of Western New York*, pp. 378 and 379.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 319, 320.

agreed to give up all of their six forts on American soil by 1796. In November 1795 the Western Indians finally gave up their claim to most of Ohio at the Treaty of Greenville.

Most of Ohio and Erie County were now relatively safe for settlement. The settlement of Erie was made doubly sure by the sending of a detachment of the American army to Erie under Captain Bissell and the building of an American Fort on Garrison Hill in the spring of 1795. Additional safety was provided when a detachment of Pennsylvania militia under Captain Grubb was sent to Erie to protect a group of surveyors under Andrew Ellicott and General Irvine to survey the town of Erie.

Colonel Reed, along with other frontiersmen of his day, immediately grasped the possibilities offered in the opening of Erie County for settlement. Reed had apparently been successful as a trader and merchant at Geneva, but had been unfortunate in his dealings in land. As the first settler in Erie he would become its first trader or merchant and hotel keeper.

The Warner & Beers 1884 **History of Erie County** was the first Erie County History to be financed by the publication of a short biography of prominent individuals or their families. We are indebted to the biographical sketch⁵ of the Reed Family - probably prepared by them - to be found for the events which brought him to Erie.

Becoming impressed in some way with the favorable location of the new town of Erie, and believing that it would grow to be an important place, he sold out his Ontario Co. estate, and, with his wife and sons — Charles John and Manning — left for the frontier. At Buffalo he fell in with James Talmadge, who had fitted out a sailboat to run between that place and Erie, with whom a contract was made to bring the party and the few goods they had along to their destination. They reached the harbor of Erie on the evening of the last day of June or first day of July, 1795, and camped on the peninsula for fear of the Indians. Thos. Rees and a company of State militia under the command of Capt. John Grubb, with some friendly Indians, were quartered upon the Garrison ground. On seeing the fire in Mr. Reed's camp they were greatly alarmed, thinking a hostile band had landed there, preliminary to an attack. Sentinels were kept on watch all night, and the troops were ordered to be ready at any moment to meet the expected foe. In the morning a boat, with men well armed, carrying a flag of truce, and accompanied by a canoe-load of friendly Indians, was sent over to the peninsula to ascertain the cause of alarm. On landing, which they did with extreme caution, they were surprised to find a white man and his family, who were, if possible, worse scared than themselves. Mutual ex-

⁵ Warner, Beers & Co., **History of Erie County**, pp. 941 and 942.

planations ensued, and both parties were agreeably disappointed to find that those they had mistaken for foes were in reality friends. Soon after his arrival, Col. Reed proceeded to the erection of a place of shelter for his family. This, the first building on the site of Erie, was a one-story log cabin, covered with bark, and located at the mouth of Mill Creek. It had no floor, and strips of bark were used for carpets. Col. Reed concluded to open a public house, and labeled his cabin the "Presque Isle Hotel." Martin Strong, who visited Erie about this time, says the house was provided "with plenty of good refreshment for all itinerants that chose to call." In Sept., Col. Reed's sons — Rufus S., and George — came by way of Pittsburgh, with Mrs. Thos. Rees and Mrs. J. Fairbanks. The Colonel remained at the mouth of Mill Creek until the ensuing season, when, after putting up another and better building, which he placed in charge of Rufus, he moved to a farm that he had located on the flats of Walnut Creek, on the present site of Kearsarge. Here he remained, in a rough cabin, until his death on the 19th of March, 1797, at the age of fifty-three. His house was about forty rods west of the Waterford road, in the rear of Capt. Zimmerly's brick residence. The body of Col. Reed was buried on the farm at Walnut Creek, there being no regular place of internment in the county. The remains were removed three times — first to the United Presbyterian graveyard, at the corner of 8th and Peach streets; second, to the Episcopal graveyard, and lastly, to the family lot in the Erie Cemetery. Hannah, his wife, died Dec. 8, 1821, in her seventy-fourth year.

Less than a mile away from the Reed compound in 1796 was Fort Presque Isle, and in that Fort in November and December of 1796 the Ranking General of the United States Army was in a critical medical condition. General Anthony Wayne, bedfast, suffering the agonies of acute Osteomyelitis, and later Peritonitis from Appendicitis, was dying. What had brought him to Erie?

As commanding officer of the Army of the United States, General Wayne returned to Ohio in late spring of 1796 to finish the work of assuming command of the British posts, Fort Miamis and Detroit, soon to be given up by the terms of Jay's Treaty. On August 7 he received the official surrender of Fort Miamis. On August 13 he arrived at Detroit and received a warm

⁶ Richard C. Knopf, *Anthony Wayne*, p. 478.

welcome. On September 29 he notified the Secretary of War McHenry that "official and complete possession of all the posts on the American side of the line of demarcation" had taken place.

Knopf, in his book, **⁶Anthony Wayne: A Name in Arms**, has this summary in the Preface to Wayne's correspondence for 1796 of the events from his last official letter written from Detroit, November 12, 1796 to his death on December 15, 1796.

Wayne's last official letter was written from Detroit, November 12. In it he mentioned his plans to make his headquarters at Pittsburgh for the winter. The next day, on board the Detroit, he sailed out into the broad waters of Lake Erie, bound for Presqu'ile where he arrived on the eighteenth. Tired from the journey, he planned to spend a few days here before going on to Pittsburgh. Then, the recurring gout struck again. He suffered in agony for nearly two weeks. No physician was at hand and, when the general's condition appeared critical, Dr. John Wallace was summoned from Fort Fayette. Dr. George Balfour, a long-time army doctor, also came.

There in the Presqu'ile blockhouse, Major General Anthony Wayne, commander-in-chief of the Legion of the United States, died on the morning of December 15, 1796. His mission was accomplished and Wayne had truly won for himself "A Name in Arms".

Benjamin Whitman,⁷ the main author of the Warner & Beers History of Erie County, has a slightly different version.

Gen. Wayne's mission being fulfilled, in the fall of 1796 he embarked in a small vessel at Detroit for Presque Isle, now Erie, on his way homeward. During the passage down the lake, he was attacked with the gout, which had afflicted him for some years, and been much aggravated by his exposure in the Western wilds. The vessel being without suitable remedies, he could obtain no relief, and on landing at Presque Isle was in a dangerous condition. By his own request, he was taken to one of the block houses on the garrison tract, the attic of which had been fitted up as a sleeping apartment. Dr. J. C. Wallace, who had served with him as a surgeon during his Indian campaign, and who was familiar with his disease, was then stationed at Fort Fayette, Pittsburgh. The General sent a messenger for the doctor, and the latter started instantly for Erie, but on reaching Franklin was astonished to learn the news of his death, which occurred on the 15th of December, 1796. During his illness every attention was paid to the distinguished invalid that circumstances would permit. Two days after his death the body was buried, as he had directed, in a plain coffin, with his uniform and boots

⁷ Warner, Beers & Co., *History of Erie County*, pp. 210 and 211.

on, at the foot of the flagstaff of the block house. Among those who helped to lay out and inter the remains was Capt. Daniel Dobbins, long one of the best known citizens of Erie. The top of the coffin was marked with the initials of his name, "A. W.," his age and the year of his decease in round-headed brass tacks, driven into the wood.

As a medical doctor of the 1970's I do not accept the diagnosis of gout as the cause of General Wayne's death. Instead I believe that the main cause was appendicitis.

I also fail to understand why couriers were dispatched to Fort Detroit and Fort Pitt for medical help when Col. Reed, a physician in his own right, was less than a mile away or at most a few miles away in Kearsarge. It would seem that an old army surgeon could have opened the increasing abdominal swelling on the lower right side and evacuated the deadly infection and possibly saved the General's life.

Certain reasons may have existed for Dr. Reed not being called.

1. It was not the policy of the army to call in civilian Doctors.

2. Dr. Reed's presence was not known.

3. Dr. Reed was not near his trading post, but in failing health he was probably in his warmer, drier cabin in Kearsarge.

The third theory seems the most likely. Captain Bissell, the commander of the American fort, must have been aware of the existence of Col. Reed and that he was a physician. Col. Reed followed General Wayne in death some 3 months later. This is undoubtedly the reason Dr. Seth Reed did not make a house call on General Wayne in the blockhouse.

In beautiful Erie Cemetery, in Reed Circle C, beneath a towering granite monument, and shaded by a wide-spreading colorful cut leaf maple tree is the marker: Colonel Seth Reed 1744-1797.

And close beside it that of his wife, Hannah, together now as they were two centuries ago.

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MERCYHURST COLLEGE — THE FIRST DECADE

by

Gary Leon Bukowski

EDITORIAL NOTE: Fall, 1976, marks the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Mercyhurst College. Mr. Bukowski's article, which was completed in 1973 as his senior thesis at the College, studies the College's early years in depth.

I

One of the first owners of the 75 acres that Mercyhurst College now inhabits was a man by the name of David Wallace. The Wallaces were one of Erie's original frontier families. It was in the year 1854 that the Wallaces decided to sell their 75 acres. In fact, to be more accurate, it was on April 1, 1854 that the transaction was carried out.¹

The buyer of the land was Sebastian Rinderle who paid a grand total of \$2,150 for the 75 acres.² Rinderle turned the acreage into a farm which he eventually sold to a Morrow B. Lowry on April 1, 1871 for the price of \$15,000.³

Of all the previous owners, Morrow B. Lowry probably had the most interesting history. At the time, Lowry was supposed to be one of Erie's greatest characters. He was an outspoken man and fighter; he meant what he said at all times, and in all places. He was a close friend of Abraham Lincoln, so close in fact that Lowry and a friend of his, General Kane, went to Washington and practically kidnapped Lincoln, and had him in the woods near Kane, Pennsylvania, for nearly five days. They wanted the Great Emancipator to get away from his troubles. Also, Morrow B. Lowry had a lot to do with Lincoln winning the election in 1860.⁴

In Morrow B. Lowry's will he gave his grandchild, Annie Lyon, Mercyhurst's 75 acres.⁵ Annie Lyon was the owner until the Sisters of Mercy of Titusville and Crawford County purchased the land in the early 1920's.

The Sisters purchased the property because they were thinking of building a college for women in Erie. But first, they had to get permission from Bishop Gannon and that they did in 1921.⁶

The Sisters chose Erie because Father Gaston, the founder of Boston College, had advised them to build their proposed college in a large city and on a hill overlooking the water.⁷ So it was that Mother Borgia, Superior of the

¹ Erie Court House, **Deed Book I**, February 6, 1854, p. 438.

² *Ibid.*

³ Erie Court House, **Deed Book 41**, May 31, 1871, p. 345.

⁴ Obtained from a newspaper story by Tom Sterrett. This clipping is contained in a book of newspaper clippings about Erie personalities in the Reference Room of the Erie Public Library.

⁵ Erie Court House, **Will Book G**, March 1875, p. 549.

⁶ Some of the Sisters of Mercy in personal interviews expressed the view that Bishop Gannon originally did not want to grant permission to the Sisters of Mercy because Villa Maria College had recently started. The Bishop reportedly reasoned that the city did not need another girls' college, and tried to persuade the Sisters to build a High School but eventually gave way before their determination.

⁷ Father Gaston was giving a retreat in Titusville to the Sisters of Mercy when the subject of a new college came up.

Titusville Motherhouse, accompanied by Sister Collette, Treasurer; and Mother Pierre, Assistant Supervisor; came to Erie in search of a site for their perspective institution of learning.

The Sisters began their search by securing the service of Mr. T. O. Andrews, a real estate agent, who was beginning a million dollar development in Glenwood Hills. During the year, Mr. Andrews took the Sisters around the city looking for the proper site, but the search was in vain. Then one day, Sister Pierre's cousin took the Sisters to the Annie Lyon farm, whose name was now Annie Cornillier through marriage. The farm had a beautiful view of the lake and it was on a hilltop.

Mother Borgia, however, was afraid that the site was too far away from the city of Erie. It must be remembered that in 1920, the city limits ended around 26th Street and the Cornhillier farm was in Millcreek. There were only two buildings on the property at the time of purchase. One of them was the Home Management House which still stands today and a barn which was situated in the area where today's main entrance to the Administration Building is located.⁸ All the surrounding area were barren fields.

Nevertheless, the more the Sisters looked at the site, the more it interested them. Finally, they bought the land and the deed was signed on September 30, 1922, at 11:47 a.m.⁹ The Sisters had only \$65,000.00, and Sister Borgia had a difficult time deciding whether she should spend all the money on the land or save some for the building. The Sisters, with an eye for the future finally decided to buy all 75 acres for the total price of \$51,000.00¹⁰

The big step had been taken--the Sisters of Mercy had the land, now they had to build a college.

In looking for an architect, Reverend Gaston was once again a decisive figure, for it was he, who suggested the architect to design Mercyhurst College. The architect was F. Ferdinand Durang of Philadelphia, who was one of the country's foremost designers of educational buildings. Father Gaston had warned the Sisters that they must choose only the best, for they would have to live with their choice for a long time.

F. F. Durang finished the design of the main building in 1922, and the Sisters spent two years studying the results. Opinions of all the Sisters were sought. In fact, a small model of the plans were placed in the Sisters' recreational area. For two years, they were studied and re-studied.¹¹

The original plans consisted of a complex which contained a dorm, classrooms, and an administration area (now the area encompassed in Old Main and Egan Hall). Because of the additional cost, plans for a chapel were temporarily shelved. The original plans also called for a six or seven story tower, but this idea was finally abandoned because of Erie's high winds. The present tower was not even started until 1932.

The H. J. Conrath Company of Erie was selected as the general contractors, and ground breaking ceremonies finally took place on September 8, 1924.

⁸ There is some dispute as to the exact location of the barn. According to Harvey Lorei, a member of the Mercyhurst maintenance team, the barn was situated near the front entrance to Old Main. Mr. Lorei's uncle was a farmer on the Mercyhurst property before the Sisters of Mercy arrived.

⁹ Erie Court House, **Deed Book 268**, September 30, 1922, p. 400.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ **The Merciad**, March 5, 1943, p. 3.

Msgr. Cauley, pastor of Saint Patrick's Church, taking Bishop Gannon's place, who was in Europe, turned the first shovel of earth in the area that is now called Old Main. Mother Borgia Egan was given the spade and it was passed down to the other Sisters who shared this historic moment. It was estimated that it would take eighteen months to finish the project, and the opening date was scheduled for September of 1926.

That first winter brought problems, for it was an early, as well as a harsh one. The workers had hardly begun work on the digging for the huge foundation when the winter slowed them up and eventually forced them to quit work until spring.

When work was resumed in the spring, much of the earlier work had to be redone. Not until August of 1925 did the building start to take shape.

It was during August that the laying of the cornerstone took place. The exact spot of the placement was the extreme north corner of Egan Hall, (near the present cafeteria entrance). The principal speaker at the cornerstone ceremony was the Rev. William J. Kirby, S.T.L., professor of sociology at the Catholic University of America. Besides Msgr. Kirby were Rt. Rev. John Mark Gannon who officiated, as well as Rt. Rev. Msgr. Peter Cauley and Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward Hasse.¹²

Rev. Kirby characterized Mercyhurst as "a new outpost of eternity and a new spiritual laboratory."¹³ To add to the occasion, Bishop Gannon presented the Sisters with a check for \$5,000.00, and then F. F. Durang presented one for \$2,000.00. Over 5,000 people were present for the laying of Erie's first College Cornerstone.

The contract had called for completion of the building by the Spring of 1926. But Mr. Conrath needed another six months. Even by the time summer rolled around, there was grave doubt among the contractors as to whether the school could be opened on the scheduled date.

More workers were brought to Mercyhurst in a valiant effort to meet the deadline. In fact, there were two shifts working--one during the day, the other at night. Prospects were brightened; it looked as though they might make it in the two weeks that remained when a sudden strike halted all the work.

What was so ironic about this situation was no union principle had been violated on the Mercyhurst property. The difficulty had occurred miles away when H. J. Conrath's son used non-union workers to build a garage. In retaliation, all Conrath workers went on strike to bring the son to terms.¹⁴

The determined Sisters then took matters into their own hands to insure that Mercyhurst would open its doors as scheduled on September 7, 1926.

Time was running out, for the opening was only ten days away, so Sister Borgia called in all the Sisters from chapter houses who were skilled in the use of paint and varnish brushes.

This determined crew viewed the condition of the strike delayed building

¹² Sisters of Mercy Motherhouse Archives, "Articles on Mercyhurst College." This Archives contains newspaper articles, documents, personal letters, pictures, and individual stories written by various Sisters. Many of the articles, as well as the newspaper clippings, have no reference or footnotes, and in many cases, no author is named. They are valuable, however, since they often contain personal recollections of the pioneer Sisters, and also records unavailable elsewhere.

¹³ *The Lake Shore Visitor*, October 8, 1926, Section Three, p. 7.

¹⁴ Personal interview with Sister Mary Rachel Weber, October 13, 1972. Sister Mary Rachel was a distant relative of Conrath and was familiar with the incident.

with dismay. The most pressing need were the floors of the dorm which had to be sanded and varnished. With advice from the idle strikers, the Sisters set to work with huge sanding machines on the floors of Egan Hall.

Work continued day and night from the Superior, Sister Borgia Egan, right down to the youngest novice. In those days there were no elevators nor men to carry furniture from the receiving area which was in the serving room of the present cafeteria. As soon as one crew of Sisters put the furniture together, another carried it up the stairs to its destination.

Although the strike ended on Thursday, September 2, the classrooms were still unfinished, and only a few days remained before the opening. When the whistle blew at 12 noon on the Saturday before Labor Day, the Sisters immediately took up where the workmen had left off. They worked into the evening applying coats of varnish to the present floors of Old Main.¹⁵ After such yeoman efforts, the doors of Mercyhurst opened in time to meet its grade and high school students. Since College Registration was scheduled for September 20, the workmen had time to finish the college classrooms and labs on the second floor. The third floor of Old Main, however, wasn't finished until much later.

A total of 21 freshmen were enrolled in Mercyhurst's first class. Four sophomores were also accepted. So, with 25 students, Mercyhurst College began its existence.

Those first students were of the same pioneer stock as the Sisters. On the first day, the front campus was just one large mass of mud with a huge hole near the present entrance to Old Main. The students had to walk over planks to get into the building, and a tractor stood near-by to pull unfortunate vehicles out of the mud.

The Sister's troubles weren't over yet. While the Tudor-style main building looked beautiful, there were some serious problems with the exterior brick work. In fact, when it rained, towels had to be placed around the first floor windows because of leaks. There was also another problem. The cement between the bricks was starting to crumble.¹⁶ Until something was done about these situations, the Sisters refused to make the final payment to the contractor, H.J. Conrath. Durang also refused to issue a certificate stating that the building had been finished until Conrath made corrections. The whole matter finally ended in court.

Clarence Conrath, a relation of the late H. J. Conrath (who died on February 24, 1927), brought suit against the College for final payment in May of 1928. In his suit he stated that the Mercyhurst building was completed on October 1, 1926, in strict accordance to plans and specifications, and since the building had been completed he was entitled to a certificate of approval from the architect.¹⁷

Conrath insisted that the work had been done in strict conformity to the plans and orders of the architect. He also said that H. J. Conrath had told F. F. Durang that the mortar would crumble and fall out under Erie's wet

¹⁵ Sisters of Mercy Motherhouse Archives, "Articles on Mercyhurst College", and from the personal recollections of Sister Angelica Cummings, R.S.M., August 23, 1972.

¹⁶ Personal interviews with Sister Eustace Taylor and Sister Jane Frances Raffeto, September 4, 1972.

¹⁷ Erie Court House, *Statement of Claim*, May 2, 1928. Clarence F. Conrath, Plaintiff, versus Sisters of Mercy, Defendant, May Term 315, Section 9, 13, 14, pp. 2, 3.

weather, but Durang had insisted that his mixture be used.¹⁸ Conrath concluded by insisting that the Sisters pay the \$22,599.73 owed on the building, plus all interest that had accumulated since January 13, 1928.¹⁹

The Sisters, however, told a different story.

They were prepared to fight for what they paid for -- a structurally sound building! In the final amended affidavit of defense, the Sisters denied they were indebted to Conrath for \$22,599.73, and they also denied that Conrath had complied with provisions of the written contract.²⁰ They charged that he had not used the correct mixture of cement; that the mixture should have consisted of one part of cement, three parts of sand, and ten per cent of lime paste.²¹ Conrath, the Sisters stated, had used more than ten per cent lime paste, with the result that the mortar crumbled easily. In addition, the windows leaked, and there was an assortment of other problems. The Sisters concluded that Conrath owed them \$8,345.29, since the necessary repairs would cost over \$30,000.00²²

The case was apparently never settled in court. The original hearing was discontinued until the next term of court because a juror withdrew. When the court session resumed, the case never re-appeared. From all indications, the case was settled out of court, with all three parties -- the Sisters, Conrath, and Durang -- paying a share of the cost of repairs.²³ Apparently, Conrath got at least some of his \$22,000.00 and the Sisters succeeded in forcing some repairs. Old Main and Egan, however, bear the evidence of the bitter argument, since different portions of the building require re-pointing almost yearly. One building contractor commented several years ago, that the College would have to repair the crumbling mortar until the entire brick of the original building had been replaced.

The next building the College needed was a Chapel, both for the Sisters and the students. The temporary Chapel was the present home of the Business Office.²⁴ It might have remained the Chapel for some time, but as one account has it, a wealthy woman, Mrs. Orva O'Neil, was attending services at Mercyhurst one day and to her dismay, had to kneel out in the hall. After this uncomfortable experience, Mrs O'Neil suggested that the Sisters build a real Chapel with enough seats for all.

Mrs. O'Neil was in a position to help the Sisters, since her husband, Mr. James E. O'Neil, had two Sisters in the Mercy Order: Sister M. Regis and Mother M. Xavier, both of whom were stationed at Mercyhurst. The O'Neil family had been raised in near-by Titusville.²⁵

A genial, ambitious man, Mr. O'Neil, eventually became the President and

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Section 16 and 17.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Section 22. Apparently, Mr. Conrath had a point because the Sisters who worked on the building during the strike, had actually occupied the building. Therefore, it was an act of acceptance before the proposed date. Because of this, the Sisters in later buildings waited for the official word before occupying them.

²⁰ Erie Court House, *Amended Affidavit of Defense*, July 1928, Par. 13, p. 5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Par. 16, p. 6; par. 17, p. 7.

²² *Ibid.*, Par. 27, p. 14.

²³ In October of 1930, the case was discontinued until the next term of court. But the next term of court never materialized. From all evidence, there may have been an agreement between Mercyhurst, Conrath and Durang. The actual details of the settlement are unknown.

²⁴ It should be noted that the original plans of Old Main called for a Chapel, but the available money wasn't adequate at the time Old Main was completed.

²⁵ *The Lake Shore Visitor*, October 8, 1926, Section Three, p. 3.

General Manager of Prairie Oil and Petroleum Company, which was the largest and most important oil company in the mid-west during the twenties. Mr. O'Neil received a \$50,000.00 annual salary plus his stock options.²⁶ Unfortunately, however, his friends became involved in the nationally famous Teapot Dome Scandal.

Thomas A. Bailey, a well-known historian, described the Teapot Dome Scandal in this manner:

“Loose morality and get-rich quickism of the Harding Era manifested themselves spectacularly in a series of scandals . . . Most shocking of all was the Teapot Dome Scandal; an affair which involved priceless naval oil reserves at Teapot Dome (Wyoming) and Elk Hills (California). In 1921, the Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall, induced his colleague, Secretary to the Navy Denby, to transfer these valuable properties to the Interior Department. President Harding indiscreetly signed the secret order. Fall then quietly leased the lands of oilmen Harry F. Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny; but not until he had received a bribe (“Loan”) of \$100,000.00 from Doheny and about three times that amount in all from Sinclair.

Teapot Dome finally came to a whistling boil. Details of the crooked transaction gradually began to leak out in March, 1923, two years after Harding took office. Fall, Sinclair, and Doheny were indicted the next year, but the case dragged through the courts until 1929.²⁷

James O'Neil had first become involved with Sinclair when he and John F. Overfield, the famous Pittsburgh capitalist, helped Sinclair get started in the oil business.²⁸ He continued his association with Sinclair in several business ventures, including the formation of a holding company (Continental Trading Company), a venture which netted O'Neil and his friends over a \$2,000,000.00 profit. When the Teapot Dome affair finally broke in 1924, O'Neil left the country to take up residence in Cannes, France, not far from the French Riviera. He knew he would be called to testify against his friend Sinclair, and he did not want to do this; nor was he up to the strain of courtrooms with his serious heart condition. He knew that the United States Government could not force him to testify as long as he was in France. The Government, however, sent Secret Service agents to find both him and H. M. Blackmer, an oil business associate, who had also gone into exile in France.²⁹

John Starr, and M.R. Werner in their book **Teapot Dome** have stated:

The French Police, cooperating with J. E. Murphy, the Secret Service man assigned to find Blackmer and O'Neil, turned up a bewildering variety of rumors about their whereabouts. They were reported to be on an extended automobile trip in the Balkans. O'Neil was said to be hiding in the Swiss Alps, and Blackmer to be living in a

²⁶ **High Cost of Gasoline and Other Petroleum Products**, “Hearings before a subcommittee of the committee on manufactures, United States Senate, Sixty-seventh Congress, Second and Fourth Sessions, Pursuant to S. Res. 295. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923) Volume I, p. 18.

²⁷ Thomas Bailey, **The American Pageant**, (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1961). pp. 784-785.

²⁸ Hartzell Spence Ed., **A Great Name in Oil-Sinclair Through Fifty Years**, (F. W. Dodge Company and McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1966), p. 14.

²⁹ Werner and Starr, **Teapot Dome**, (New York: The Viking Press, 1959), pp. 51-54, 182, 187.

Sultans' palace in Morocco. Another report said that O'Neil entered a monastery in Spain and had taken the vow of silence.³⁰

The Secret Service eventually found Blackmer, but not O'Neil, who seemed to have vanished into thin air.

Where O'Neil actually was remained a question for some time. It was reported that he crossed the border many times and hid in San Remo, Italy, to avoid being served a summons to testify.³¹ Starr and Werner reported:

O'Neil could not be found. His son, Wayne O'Neil, had bought the Villa San Patrizio in Bordighera, Italy, and his wife had been found in Cannes, but neither of them could be forced to give the whereabouts of the father and husband. The Government advertised in the Paris edition of the **New York Herald** with a picture of Mr. O'Neil but it got only false alarms in return.³²

Mr. O'Neil had a different story. He said that he made no effort to hide but insisted that he had registered under his own name at the Grand Hotel in Cannes, France. He said that no effort was made to serve him with a subpoena, though the government agents knew where he was 'at every hour of the day'.³³

Another picture of O'Neil, besides that of a fugitive, appeared during the trial. Mr. W. S. Fitzpatrick, Chairman of the Board of Prairie Oil and Gas Company, offered the following remarks about O'Neil:

We all loved Mr. O'Neil, and love him yet, and I would do as much for Mr. O'Neil — he made all of us, brought us up and gave us the positions we now have. He taught us the business, and this is the only thing that anyone of us ever knew or ever heard of in connection with him that might be questioned, and we love him and will do as much for him, all of us, as we would do for our own family.³⁴

In October of 1919, O'Neil openly stated that he had no relevant testimony to offer and, therefore, say no reason for such surveillance as the United States Government had provided. He never did testify in the case and continued to reside in Cannes, France. In 1931, he sent for his two sisters, Sister Regis and Mother Xavier, both of whom resided at Mercyhurst College. The Sisters received the letter in the early part of 1931. The letter contained a travel check for \$2,000.00, and an invitation to visit O'Neil at his French Villa. Sister Regis and Mother Xavier accepted the invitation and it was during their visit that they suggested to their brother that he help build a Chapel for Mercyhurst. He replied that he "would think about it."

The Sisters later reported that their brother wished to return to the United States but was too sick to make the trip. They recalled that to celebrate the 4th of July, Mr. O'Neil fixed up his house with American flags, and held a party to celebrate the Declaration of Independence. During their visit, James O'Neil

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³¹ *The New York Times*, August 25, 1931, p. 31.

³² Werner and Starr, p. 228.

³³ *The New York Times*, August 25, 1931, p. 31.

³⁴ Werner and Starr, pp. 256-257.

also remarked, that he hoped to return to the States to die. His wish was never granted; for two moths later in August, 1931, he passed away of pneumonia. Before he died, however, he made it clear to his wife, Mrs. Orva O'Neil, that he would finance the building of a Chapel and Tower at Mercyhurst.³⁵

A year later, in October of 1932, the ground was broken for Mercyhurst,' second building, and on November 5, 1932, the cornerstone of the Tower was laid in the presence of Mrs. O'Neil and her daughter, Mary. The Tower consisted of four floors; a reception hall on the first, a library room on the second, an assembly area on the third, and sleeping quarters on the fourth. The Chapel contained room for 500 people plus one main altar and two side altars.

The architect was Walter T. Monahan and the Contractor, H. Platt Company, both of Erie. Since it was the Depression Period, the Sisters announced that they would hire only local help. The Tower and Chapel were expected to be completed in eight to ten months.³⁶

The financial arrangements called for Mrs. O'Neil to give the Sisters \$175,000.00 in three checks to pay for the building. The cost of the handsome edifice was estimated at \$100,000.00 and the furnishings (organ, etc.) at \$75,000.00³⁷

The Chapel and Tower were completed in 1933, but it was then decided to add a "Queen's Chapel." This Chapel was an exact replica of a Chapel that Mrs. O'Neil had seen in England which impressed her greatly. Mrs. O'Neil wanted this Chapel to be a burial vault for herself and her family. She stated in her will that if she died in the United States, she was to be buried at Mercyhurst in the "Queen's Chapel" and her husband's body was to be brought from France to rest beside hers. In addition, Mrs. O'Neil's two sisters in law, Sister Regis and Mother Xavier, were also to be buried in the Chapel.

The four Chapel vaults have never been used. Since Mrs. O'Neil died in France, and not in the United States, she was buried next to her husband in the Church "Notre Dame des Pins" at Cannes, France, where she and her husband still rest. Sister Regis and Mother Xavier preferred to be buried with the other Sisters in Saint Catherine's Cemetary in Titusville, and that is where they now repose.

Over the years, the beautiful Queen's Chapel has increasingly become the subject of ghost stories that tell of the restless souls of the O'Neil's still seeking to return to America and Mercyhurst.³⁸

Starting a college requires more than just constructing buildings; it also involves securing the necessary charters of authorization from the proper authorities. It is interesting to note that even before ground was broken for Old Main, Mother Borgia and Sister Pierre Wilbert called on the State Department of Education regarding a charter for Mercyhurst. They were informed at the time that the State did not normally grant full authorization until the first class had been graduated.

This was a serious handicap for the young college because it meant that the

³⁵ Personal interview with Sister Eustace Taylor, October 7, 1972.

³⁶ **The Lake Shore Visitor**, November 11, 1931, p. 1.

³⁷ Personal interview with Sister M. Benedicta, October 2, 1972. She was the Treasurer of the College while the Tower and Chapel were built.

³⁸ The most common of these stories can be found in the Appendix C.

students attending Mercyhurst were doing so without any assurance that their degrees might be formally recognized. The Sisters realized they had to obtain a charter as soon as possible for Mercyhurst.

In the summer of 1928, they improved the school facilities by finishing the third floor of Old Main adding new dormitory rooms, a social room, and an art studio. Then they petitioned the State again for a charter before their first students graduated in 1929.

The State Department of Education finally replied by requesting that Mercyhurst representatives appear in Harrisburg to present the College's Charter petition on October 5, 1928. Some of the more important provisions of the original charter were as follows:

The undersigned, all of whom are citizens of Pennsylvania and residents of the County of Erie, in said Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, having associated themselves together for the purposes and upon the terms and by the name hereinafter set forth, to the end that they may be duly incorporated, according to law, hereby certify:

FIRST: The name of the intended corporation is MERCYHURST COLLEGE.

SECOND: The purposes for which the said corporation is formed are as follows:-

The establishment and conduct of a college for women, with power to confer degrees in art, pure and applied science and literature.

EIGHTH: The number of directors is fixed at five, and the names and residences of those who are chosen directors for the first year are as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Sr. M. Borgia Egan | Erie, Pennsylvania |
| Sr. M. Pierre Wilbert | Erie, Pennsylvania |
| Sr. Collette Brown | Erie, Pennsylvania |
| Sr. Mercedes Prendergast | Erie, Pennsylvania |
| Sr. M. Evangelista Forsythe | Erie, Pennsylvania |

NINTH: The amount of assets in the possession of the subscribers hereto which is to be devoted to the purpose of establishing and conducting said college is One Million Six Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$1,600,000.00) in land and buildings; Thirty Nine Thousand Dollars (\$39,000.00) by the capitalization of contributed services of twelve professors at Twenty Five Hundred Dollars (\$2,500.00) per year, and six instructors at Fifteen Hundred Dollars (\$1,500.00) per year, and in addition thereto the contributed earnings of One Hundred and Twenty Five (125) persons not capitalized. The minimum number of persons whom it is intended to regularly employ as members of the faculty of said corporation is eighteen.

WITNESS our hands and seals this tenth day of March 1927.

Sister M. Borgia Egan
Sister M. Pierre Wilbert
Sister M. Collette Brown

Sister M. Mercedes Prendergast

Sister M. Regis O'Neil³⁹

So Mother Borgia, Sister Pierre Wilbert, Reverend William L. Sullivan and Michael J. Relihan set out for the ten - twelve hour drive to Harrisburg on October 4. On the 5th of October, the four Mercyhurst representatives arrived at the Pennsylvania Educational Building at 10:00 a.m. Their meeting was with the State Council which had 15 members chosen from various colleges in Pennsylvania. In front of each council member was a copy of the second Mercyhurst Catalogue.

Mother Borgia opened the Mercyhurst presentation by stating the College policies, the recent improvements, and the future plans of the institution. The other three Mercyhurst representatives also spoke and were questioned by the council members. The final consensus was that Mercyhurst had progressed so well that their Charter should be granted immediately. It was a great moment for Mercyhurst. Mother Borgia quickly relayed the message to Erie by wire, and the triumphant four left from Harrisburg around three o'clock. They arrived in Erie around three o'clock in the morning and as they entered the Mercyhurst driveway, all the lights in the school were turned on. When Mother Borgia and her group emerged from the car, they were met with applause from the students and faculty. Despite the lateness of the hour, a small party was immediately held as the College celebrated its "official birth."⁴⁰

A few days later, on October 10, 1928, the Mercyhurst community celebrated the historic occasion by planting a Charter Oak (which died in the first winter). Later the event was recalled by annually holding a Charter Day.⁴¹ The first Charter Day was held in 1935 on October 10, which was Mother Borgia's Feast Day. The purpose of Charter Day was to remind students for years to come of the day's importance to them and to the school. Each year a program was presented which recounted the founding of the college, the obtaining of the Charter, and the planting of the Charter Oak. Mother Borgia's Feast Day was also celebrated on Charter Day, even though it was five days later than the original Charter date⁴².

On Wednesday, June 4, 1929, less than six months after the Charter was received, Mercyhurst College graduated its' first Senior Class consisting of twelve students. Included in that historic class were: Eleanor Frances Krah, Margaret Mary Reese, Mary Ann Robaskiewicz, Mary Ellen Wilbert, Sister Mary Claudia Rich, Sister Mary Elizabeth Behr, Sister Mary Eustace Taylor, Sister Mary Inelda Brown, Sister Mary Jane Frances Raffetto, Sister Mary Jerome Allen, Sister Mary Suzanne Eimer, Sister Mary Victorine Monahan-

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The pioneer faculty of Mercyhurst was a hand-picked one. Years before the College was built, Mother Borgia took steps to insure that the future faculty received the best graduate training. Younger Sisters with intellectual promise

³⁹ Application for a Charter for Mercyhurst College. Submitted to the Court of Common Pleas of Erie County, Pennsylvania. No. 249, May Term 1927, Book 15, pp. 328-330, (Prothonotary Office). The complete original Charter Petition can be found in Appendix A.

⁴⁰ Sisters of Mercy Motherhouse Archives, "Articles on Mercyhurst College."

⁴¹ The Lake Shore Visitor, October 19, 1928, p. 1.

⁴² The Merciad, October, 1935, p. 1.

⁴³ The Erie Daily Times, June 5, 1929, p. 1.

were sent off to such schools as Notre Dame, Catholic University, Michigan, and the University of Pittsburgh.

The first faculty consisted of 18 teachers and 2 administrators. Two of the first faculty are still actively in service at Mercyhurst: Sister Angelica of the Art Department, and Sister Mary Jane Frances, who first was assigned to the Music Department and now works in the Library. The other faculty and administrators were: Sister Pierre Wilbert, (Biology and Sociology); Sister Fidelis O'Connor, (Chemistry and Physics); Michael J. Relihan, (Education); Sister Philippa Kinnan, (English); Sister Mercedes Prendergast, (Romance Languages); Sister Mary Suzanne Eimer, (German); Sister Mary Anna Clark, (History); Sister Collett Brown, (Home Economics); Ruth Whalen (Home Economics); Sister Agatha Hogan, (Latin and Greek); Sister Liguori Robinson, (Library Science); Sister Clotilda Sullivan, (Mathematics); Sister Evangelista Forsythe, (Music); Reverend William L. Sullivan, (Philosophy and Religion); Sister Mary John Brown, (Music); Sister Claudia Rich, (Music). The two chief administrators were the Dean, Mother M. Borgia Egan, and Sister Mary Alice Weber, the Registrar.⁴⁴

Table I summarizes the faculty data for Mercyhurst's first decade of existence. The figures show that the faculty increased by almost 33% in the first ten years, but that the salaries and educational preparation changed very little. The Depression years, plus the fact that the faculty were almost all religious who returned their pay to the school, probably accounts for the lack of growth in faculty salaries.

TABLE I⁴⁵
MERCYHURST FACULTY 1926-1936

| | 1926 | 1936 |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Full Time | 14 | 24 |
| Part Time | 6 | 3 |
| B. A. | 8 | 10 |
| M. A. | 10 | 12 |
| Ph.D. | 2 | 3 |
| Salary Range | \$1,600.00-\$3,500.00 | \$1,600.00-\$3,500.00 |

The enrollment of the school also grew steadily from 1926-1936. The first entering class consisted of 21 Freshmen and 4 Sophomores, but Table II shows that by 1931, there were four times as many students attending Mercyhurst, and by 1936, eight times as many.

⁴⁴ *Praeterita*, (Yearbook Published by the Senior Class), 1939, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Data obtained from duplicates of the annual reports sent to Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction in Harrisburg, from 1928 to 1936; annual report sent into National Catholic Education Association in Washington in 1934; annual reports sent to National Welfare Conference in Washington D.C. for 1928, 1931-32, 1933-34, 1935-36. (Duplicates of these reports can be found in the files of the Registrar's Office at Mercyhurst College).

TABLE II⁴⁶
MERCYHURST ENROLLMENT PATTERNS

| | 1926 | 1931 | 1936 |
|---------------------|------|------|------|
| Total Enrollment | 25 | 104 | 198 |
| Freshmen Enrollment | 21 | 29 | 57 |

The growth in Freshmen from 1931 to 1936 is especially surprising since the Depression kept many students from attending college. One explanation for the large increase might be the increasing popularity of Mercyhurst among Public School Graduates. In 1931, only 15 of the 29 Freshmen were from Public Schools, whereas in 1936, 35 of the 57 were from Public Schools.⁴⁷ The costs for attending Mercyhurst did not change much throughout the first ten years.

TABLE III⁴⁸
MERCYHURST FEES

| | 1926 | 1931 | 1936 |
|--------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Matriculation Fees | 5.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| Tuition | 150.00 | 200.00 | 200.00 |
| Room & Board | 350.00 | 350.00 | 450.00 |
| Other Fees | 20.00 | 20.00 | 25.00 |

The original Mercyhurst curriculum was essentially one of the traditional Arts and Sciences. Home Economics was the only specialize program available. There was no Elementary Education or Business Departments. By 1936, however, Business had been added to the program, and as Table IV shows, it was largely responsible for the College growth in enrollment. Home Economics had also tripled its original size by 1937. While the College called itself a Liberal Arts School in the Catalogue, the figures indicate that over half the College was enrolled in vocational areas.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Data obtained from Mercyhurst College Catalogues from 1926-27, p. 3; from 1930-32, p. 7; from 1936-37, p. 8.

TABLE IV⁴⁹
MAJOR AREAS OF CONCENTRATION

| | 1931-32 | 1936-37 |
|-------------------|---------|---------|
| Arts and Sciences | 76 | 82 |
| Business | -- | 74 |
| Home Economics | 11 | 31 |
| Others | 17 | 11 |
| | 104 | 198 |

The Library, after a slow start, also experienced a rapid growth by 1936, especially after the Chapel and Tower were completed which made Room 206 (Old Main) available as a Library. Table V shows the growth in numbers of volumes in the Mercyhurst Library.

TABLE V⁵⁰
MERCYHURST LIBRARY HOLDINGS

| | 1929-30 | 1936-37 |
|---------|---------|---------|
| Volumes | 8,500 | 13,000 |

Today, the present Learning Resource Center houses five times the number of books available in 1936-37.

While Mercyhurst's first decade had revealed substantial growth in all areas from students and faculty to library books and courses, there was also a corresponding strong development of the College's social and cultural life.

One of the more important formal events in school calendar was Bishop Gannon's annual visit which usually took place in October or November. One of the first recorded visits was on Tuesday, November 26, 1927. At this time, a play was performed entitled: "The Shepherd of His Flock," which was followed by a Mass, dinner, and the singing of the School Song. The evening concluded with an address by the Bishop to the assembled students and Sisters.

Mercyhurst also had its share of clubs and organizations. At various times from 1926-36, there was in addition to Student Government, a Great Books Club, English, an Art Club, International Relations Club, Sodality, Science Club, Order of Good Accountants Sorority, Glee Club, Janus Club, Math Club, Roost Club, Athletic Associations, Home Economics, Pegasus Club,

⁴⁹ Data gathered from duplicates of reports sent to Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction in Harrisburg, from 1928 to 1936-37.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Latin Club, Le Cercle Francais and Jane Adams Society. One of the more interesting aspects of the College program in the first decade was the number of outside speakers brought to the Campus. Perhaps the best known was Mayor La Guardia, who spoke at Mercyhurst on February 4, 1931. At the time, La Guardia spoke of the importance of women in politics, and cited as an example the influence of the daughter of William Jennings Bryan. On the way home, he excited the College by having his plane fly over Mercyhurst and dip the wings in salute.⁵¹

Another speaker who graced Mercyhurst with a visit was Rt. Rev. Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen. He gave a speech in Christ the King Chapel, in March of 1936, about the dangers of Communism.⁵²

The Mercyhurst Theatre also received its start at this time. One of the first plays produced by the College was the operetta, **The Wild Rose**, which took place at the Colonial Theatre on April 26 & 27, 1929. Some of the leading players included Nellie Guilfoyle, (who played the lead); Eleanor Krah, Margaret Reese and Barbara Wilbert. The Society page in the **Erie Dispatch Herald** had high praise for **The Wild Rose**:

It was . . . without a doubt, one of the most pleasing productions ever given in Erie by a group of students; from the raising of the curtain until the finale. The charming play was filled with bright song hits, clever lines and some really fine dancing. Especially commendable was the ensemble dancing, which showed excellent training.⁵³

The next year, the College switched to a musical comedy: **Maid of Toyko**, with a cast of 100 girls--almost the entire College.

Surpassing on every count, their last year's show, **Maid of Tokyo**, presented Thursday night at the Park Theatre, was as glittering, lively, and colorful a review as one might expect from many a professional company.

Indeed, it was the tempo of the performance more than anything else, which made it seem less amateur and more professional.⁵⁴

Mercyhurst College even had its own sorority formed by the non-resident students in 1930. The name of it was **Kappa Chi**, and its object was the stimulation of interest in College. It also cited as objectives, ". . . the promotion and encouragement of the mental and social developments of its members together with the cultivation of friendship, good fellowship, charity and helpfulness."⁵⁵

In fact it was this group that initiated the Father-Daughter Weekend, which is still a popular event at Mercyhurst. There was even a Mother-Daughter Weekend initiated in June of 1930. However, this event did not have the lasting power of Father-Daughter Weekend and soon faded away. Unfortunately, the **Kappa Chi Sorority** died out in 1934 because of a loss of interest.

⁵¹ *The Merciad*, February 1931, p. 3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, April 1936, p. 1.

⁵³ *Erie Dispatch Herald*, April 27, 1929, p. 8.

⁵⁴ *The Erie Daily Times*, May 16, 1930, p. 13. Some other plays the College produced in that first decade included **Sally Ann**, **More Samples**, **Mignonette**, **Huckleberry Finn**, and **Step This Way**.

⁵⁵ *The Merciad*, June 1930, p. 11.

For the more athletic-minded Mercyhurst girls, the school provided active sports program after 1930. One of the first sports was field hockey, which was played behind the present outdoor tennis courts, on the area now called Tullio Field.

The first field hockey game was against Edinboro and Mercyhurst lost 5 - 0. Girls basketball was started in 1930 also. Scores of those first games in 1930-31 were:⁵⁶

| | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|------------------|----|
| Mercyhurst College | 27 | -- | General Electric | 42 |
| Mercyhurst College | 23 | -- | Argonauts | 13 |
| Mercyhurst College | 26 | -- | Armory Girls | 31 |
| Mercyhurst College | 22 | -- | General Electric | 35 |
| Mercyhurst College | 22 | -- | Argonauts | 19 |
| Mercyhurst College | 31 | -- | Comets | 11 |

A real athletic rivalry developed with Edinboro and by 1931, the motto of the College was "Beat Edinboro." The 1931 Field Hockey game with Edinboro was considered so important that it was played in the newly built Academy Stadium, which seated over 10,000 people. There are no records of how many people were present as Edinboro beat Mercyhurst once again by the same score of the previous year 5-0. The second basketball season was an improvement over the first one, as the girls won four and lost five under "Coach Miss Heil." The scores of the 1931-32 season indicate that the 'Hurst was better on defense than on offense as they never scored more than 28 points, and once only scored 7!⁵⁷

It wasn't until 1936 that Mercyhurst really arrived as an athletic power. In that year, the 'Hurst beat Edinboro in field hockey for the first time, and then followed up by defeating them in basketball 45-22 before a jammed house in the Mercyhurst gym. Thirty-six years later, in 1972, Mercyhurst beat Edinboro again only this time it was the Mercyhurst males who won the game -- something which the 'Victors of 1936' would have found hard to imagine!

Besides field hockey and basketball, the College sponsored swimming and tennis activity. Tennis was played on courts which were located behind the Chapel, and where the lawn of Zurn Hall is now situated.

One of the most important parts of Mercyhurst social history was the creation of the 'Roost' in 1934 as a campus social center. Under the helpful guidance of Doctor Donatelli, an old chicken house in the back campus, was transformed into a little student union. It was a place where students could socialize--and even smoke. It was the only place on campus where a girl was allowed to smoke, and Mercyhurst was one of the few Catholic Women's Colleges that permitted smoking at all. The interior of the 'Roost' was described by one enthusiastic student in this manner:

The Roost, as a place, came into being as the result of the collegians' insistent requests to Mother Superior for a place of

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, February and March 1931, p. 4. and p. 4.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, March 1932, p. 3. The scores of the 1932-32 season were:

| | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|------------------|----|
| Mercyhurst College | 21 | -- | Erie Tech | 20 |
| Mercyhurst College | 23 | -- | Buffalo Falcons | 20 |
| Mercyhurst College | 17 | -- | Red Robins | 34 |
| Mercyhurst College | 20 | -- | First Baptist | 17 |
| Mercyhurst College | 11 | -- | General Electric | 26 |
| Mercyhurst College | 16 | -- | Comets | 15 |
| Mercyhurst College | 15 | -- | General Electric | 29 |
| Mercyhurst College | 24 | -- | Erie Teachers | 26 |
| Mercyhurst College | 7 | -- | First Baptist | 14 |

recreation outside of the school buildings.

During the autumn of 1936, several of the most enthusiastic Roosters decided to band together, redecorate the interior, and establish the Roost on the basis of an organization. Our Dean, Mother Borgia, heartily approved of the idea, stimulated our interests, and donated the striking red and black linoleum which now covers the floor. We all worked hard. Cans of black and red paint, brushes, mops, and yards of chintz flourished for the entire week preceding Alumnae Weekend, for which the occasion our work was completed. The result was stupendous! Recreation in a rustic yet modern environment was made possible. A great fire roared in the white-washed brick fireplace. Red chintz curtains hung at the windows, and lamps of all types illuminated the beamed ceiling. Patsy Morin decorated the walls with pastel profiles of the members. The Alumnae were charmed and the Roosters preened their feathers. Officers were elected, rules and memberships established, and committees designated. We are proud to say that the past year has seen the Roost Club become one of the most popular and progressive societies in the college.⁵⁸

Eventually the Home Economics Department under Miss Whalen, provided food service in the "Roost." For years, the cozy "Roost" was a favorite campus hangout until it was destroyed by fire in early February of 1951.

Mercyhurst, like every new school, had a School Song, but each year after 1929, there was an annual class competition to add new school songs like this typical one:

"Here we are from near and far,
Our colors proudly fly,
We call on you
our classmates true,
To hold them ever high. CHORUS

Then to Mercyhurst, dear old Mercyhurst
Here's our pledge of loyalty
By our confidence in you,
All our dreams and hopes come true
Then to Mercyhurst, dear old Mercyhurst,
True to you we'll ever be,
so fight - fight - sight,
For the glorious Green and White.
Of dear Mercyhurst
To your goal so rare and fine,
Our pledge will urge us on,
To keep our standards ever high,
And long our colors fly!"⁵⁹

Unfortunately, however, no one song really caught on and Mercyhurst has no official school song today.

One of the biggest social occasions of the time was the annual May crowning. Each year a Senior girl was picked to be the Queen to place her

⁵⁸ *Praeterita*, (Yearbook published by Senior Class), 1937. p. 34.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, November 1931, p. 4.

crown on the Blessed Mother statue in the grotto. The Queen was first herself crowned on the front campus, and then the whole college community marched to the grotto for the crowning. People from all over Erie area came to watch the colorful event. Every girl wore a special dress and it was considered the greatest honor to be chosen as the Queen. This tradition existed right up until 1967, when the last May crowning was held.

There are many persons who played an important role in developing Mercyhurst in that first decade, but there are two who deserve special attention for their contributions -- Mother M. Borgia Egan and Doctor Michael Relihan.⁶⁰

Mother Borgia was born in DuBois, Pennsylvania, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Egan. She received her elementary and secondary schooling in DuBois and her college degrees from Catholic University and Duquesne University.

Mother Borgia had entered the Order in 1891 at a very early age of 15, and after taking her perpetual vows, she became an inspiring teacher.⁶¹

Her first leadership post was as principal of Saint Catherine School in DuBois in 1906. And it was under her tenure as principal that Saint Catherine's became the first fully accredited parochial school in the State. While she was principal, she also started a night school for immigrants and adults interested in furthering their education.

Mother Borgia was the principal at DuBois until 1918 when she was elected to Mother Superior. As Mother Superior, she left DuBois for Titusville, where the central convent of the Mercy Order was located.⁶²

One of the first problems that faced Mother Borgia in her new post was the need for a larger convent and school. Always a 'builder', she immediately began planning for new facilities. At this point, Bishop Gannon entered the picture. As Mother Borgia later recalled the situation:

Our first thought was to add a wing to the existing building and an architect had been engaged to draw up plans that would house at least one hundred Sisters.

Before these plans could be executed, Bishop Gannon, on a visit to Titusville, said to Mother Borgia, "Instead of building here, why don't you raise \$150,000.00 and come to Erie?" The invitation was proposed to the members of the corporation the following summer and most of the senior members seemed to favor the suggestion. In the first place our headquarters in the Episcopal city would be advantageous. However, ideas came rapidly. Instead of competing on the high school level with the Communities already well established in Erie, it was suggested that we consider the opening of a college for young girls. At that time there were no colleges in Erie.

A consensus of opinion was that we lay our proposed plan before his

⁶⁰ Beside Mother Borgia and Doctor Relihan, there are two important people that deserve to be mentioned. Sister Pierre Wilbert is one who came up with Mother Borgia in various visits to Erie to talk to Bishop Gannon and find the exact site of the future college. She was an industrious, likable, congenial type of person who pushed her students to go as far as possible. She herself was a builder, for she supervised over the labor in these early years. It was because of her that Mercyhurst developed a biology department and moved onward in education. One of her most important achievements is the roof that exists on Old Main. Because of her hard work and her sense of elegance, Mercyhurst received its present gabled roof.

Another person who should be mentioned is Reverend William Sullivan, who was the first Chaplain at Mercyhurst. In his short stay of four years, he landscaped and designed the campus grounds. To his achievements, we must mention the building of the Grotto and the stately boulevard that we find on entering the school through the main gates.

⁶¹ Sisters of Mercy Community Register, p. 22.

⁶² The Erie Daily Times, February 12, 1962, p. 4.

Excellency. This was done by Mother Borgia, then Superior. The Bishop decided to present the plan to his consultor. In a letter addressed to the Superior some weeks later he approved the idea of moving our headquarters to Erie, opening a high school as a means of support and later opening a college for girls. The plan was received favorably by the consultors and permission was given to begin the search for a suitable location and to have plans drawn up.

Because of this wide experience in building for the Sisters of Mercy of Philadelphia, Mr. Ferdinand Durang, architect of Philadelphia, was selected to draw the plans. These were later approved with minor changes, and a group of buildings to carry on the work planned and to provide a sizable income for the community was approved. It provided facilities for both high school and college classes. The estimated cost was approximately five hundred thousand dollars.⁶³

Moving to a new city, and finding the right location for a school was only the beginning of Mother Borgia's problems. Securing the necessary financing was the next large hurdle. With the help of a banker friend, Mr. Frank Wallace, Mother Borgia arranged for Mercyhurst to float some bonds. As Mother Borgia explained in her memoirs:

In her eagerness to get started, the Community accepted a suggestion of Mr. Frank Wallace, the President of the Second National Bank of Erie, that we float a bond issue of four hundred thousand dollars that would pay four percent interest. He would personally assume responsibility for the bonds, i.e. guarantee their payment

Because of the low rate of interest it was not easy to interest the public in a four percent bond, so they had to be sold through friendly channels. This entailed approaching individual purchasers instead of having the entire issue sold through a bond company. Sales came slowly. It was largely due to the untiring efforts of Sister M. Collette Brown, Sister M. Monica Fisher, Sister M. Pierre Wilbert, and Sister M. Celestine Weber that we were able to dispose of a small portion (\$100,000.00) of the bonds. This meant constant and tiresome walking on the streets of Erie and other cities, wherever a prospective buyer could be found. The balance of the issue, \$300,000.00 were used as collateral for bank loans which we had to contract to meet the monthly payments of the contractors as they became due.⁶⁴

Another example of Mother Borgia's financial astuteness, without which the college could not have survived in those early years is the story of how Mercyhurst acquired some very valuable stock -- climax molybdenum.

Molybdenum is an alloy that is used in hardening and toughening iron and steel. Nothing was known about this metal until the World Wars. It was found that the heavy artillery of the Germans stood up much better than that of the United States. And after much investigation, it was found that the Germans had used a metal called molybdenum to toughen their steel for long barrages.

⁶³ Dictated memoirs by Mother Borgia to Sister Mary John Bosco in August, 1958, Sisters of Mercy Motherhouse Archives, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

This is about the time that John and Samuel Weber, brothers to Sister M. Regina Weber, and uncles to Sister M. Celestine Weber, became interested in Climax Colorado. It was because of their interest in prospecting that they found the ore that contained molybdenum. These men formed a company to handle the processing of the ore and they named it "Climax Molybdenum."

Sam and John, however, needed capital to develop their company. Meanwhile, the Sisters of Mercy had started to build Mercyhurst and the Weber Brothers wanted to help the Sisters. A few years earlier, they had persuaded Mother M. Pierre, Bursar of the Community and Mother M. Borgia, Superior, to invest in their gold mines.

As Mother Borgia later remembered:

The gold mine shares could be had for \$150.00 a share, and it so happened that the two skeptical nuns decided to risk \$600.00 they had made on a money-raising activity and to secure four shares. However, the gold mine, like so many of the Weber projects, did not come through as quickly as expected, and for the moment, the \$600.00 was looked upon as an unwise investment.⁶⁵

Over the years, however, molybdenum rose in value and John Weber urged the Sisters to exchange the four gold certificates for five hundred shares of Climax Molybdenum, which was then selling at \$1.00 a share. The Sisters followed his advice and 500 shares of Climax Molybdenum stock replaced the gold shares in the safe. As the need for war materials ceased, so did the need for molybdenum.

Then in 1933, the unexpected happened. A letter was received by Mother Borgia from a broker by the name of Jr. J. S. Fitzsimmons, who said he was a close friend of John Weber. He explained that the stock certificate of molybdenum had never been registered under the Sisters corporate title and still bore John Weber's name as legal owner. Since John had died, Mr. Fitzsimmons advised the Sisters to consult their broker and register their stock certificates. He also said that the old stock was being called in and issuing three shares for each of the old. The Sisters consulted their old friend, Mr. Frank M. Wallace, of the Second National Bank of Erie, and he sent the stock to Mr. Fitzsimmons with the instructions to register it in the name of the Sisters of Mercy of Crawford and Erie Counties.

It wasn't long before investors discovered that the Sisters of Mercy possessed fifteen hundred shares of stock, the biggest stocks held by any one except the owners. Soon the Sisters were being pressed to sell their stock and Mother Borgia later admitted that the many offers were tempting.

At this time the O'Neil Memorial Chapel was being built and the last ten thousand dollars of the donation was frozen in the Second National Bank of Erie according to Government orders. The temptation therefore to sell the molybdenum stock was hard to resist.⁶⁶

Recognizing the potential value of the stock, Mother Borgia pleaded with Mother M. Xavier, Mother Superior, not to sell, and with her permission, laid the story before Bishop Gannon, who was not familiar with Climax Molybdenum. After he discovered its value, he told Mother Borgia that none

⁶⁵ Memoirs by Mother Borgia on "The Story of Molybdenum and How it Came into the Possession of the Sisters of Mercy," Sisters of Mercy Motherhouse Archives, (Date unknown) estimated date 1956, p. 2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

of the stock was to be sold without his authorization.⁶⁷

So eager were brokers to buy this stock that one time Mother Borgia traveled to Saint Louis, and after the train arrived, she was immediately paged by some perspective buyers. Mother Borgia, armed with the Bishop's injunction, refused to sell.

It was a very wise move, for later, Mother Borgia received another letter from Mr. Fitzsimmons saying that Climax Stock was rising at an unbelievable rate and was selling at \$24.00 a share. He advised the Sisters to hold on to every share, and they did. It is still in the possession of the Sisters of Mercy and has paid rich dividends through the years.⁶⁸

As Dean of Mercyhurst, however, she demonstrated that she had more than just financial ability. Mother Borgia always insisted on a high standard of intellectual and cultural achievement for 'her girls'. In fact, it was Mother Borgia herself who directed the school's first musicals -- **The Wild Rose** and **Maid of Toyko**.

She also developed one of Erie's first major cultural series and brought in the best speakers, musicians, and writers she could find. All her contemporaries remember her love of elegance and her insistence that Mercyhurst stand for quality and excellence.

Her interest in the finer things of life can be seen in the beautiful furniture that exists in the Foyer, the room just outside of the Chapel.

She also firmly believed that every Mercyhurst graduate should always represent the perfect lady. In fact, Mother Borgia used to give monthly speeches on good etiquette, and she personally supervised ceremonies such as May Day, the Christmas Dinner, and Graduation, to insure that they were done to perfection.

It was after the 1956 graduation, in fact, that Mother Borgia suffered her stroke which finally led to her death six years later in her home town of DuBois on February 11, 1962.⁶⁹ Even after her stroke, she retained the title of Dean and was always consulted by Sister Mary Esther, who was the "Acting Dean." Mercyhurst always came first for Mother Borgia. The college was never far from her thoughts.

As an Administrator, she had a talent for identifying the right persons for each job. She also had an imposing quality about her that may have been due to her tallness. She dominated situations easily, and she also worked easily with everybody -- from bankers to bricklayers. While Mother Borgia was very firm in her opinions, she tolerated differences of opinion, and encouraged her faculty to be liberal.

While students were often in awe of Mother Borgia, they all recognized her great contributions to the college. Their feelings, and the attitude of the general college community, was summarized in this 1937 Yearbook Dedication:

Whose vision and objectives in the field of education, resurgent courage in the presence of difficulties, vital and compelling personality, and genius for inspiring loyalty have crystallized, in a definite and durable form, the spirit of corporation which has fashioned the walls and the soul of Mercyhurst, we dedicate this the first volume of

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Some of this stock has been very useful as collateral for the building of Zurn and Baldwin Halls.

⁶⁹ The Erie Daily Times, February 12, 1962, p. 4.

Praeterita. Mercyhurst today is a monument to her vision, dedication, and ability.⁷⁰

Doctor Relihan was a member of the pioneer faculty in 1927. He came to Mercyhurst with experience from D'Youville College, in Buffalo (where he had also been a member of their first faculty), and from Seton Hill College in Greensburg. At both Seton Hill and D'Youville, Doctor Relihan had organized the first Education Departments. Moreover, at Seton Hill, Doctor Relihan had also organized professional education courses for the Sisters in the Pittsburgh area so that they might become certified according to the new state law.⁷¹

His school for Sisters was set up in 1921 with the help of Most Reverend Hugh C. Boyle, Bishop of Pittsburgh. Not only had the Bishop helped Relihan but the Supreme Council on the Knights of Columbus also came to his aid.

They donated a building, which housed the Knights of Columbus Evening School or Ex-Service Men. The courses were free to the Sisters, who had little money, and the teachers, mostly from Seton Hill, also taught free of charge. All classes were taught on Saturday and in 1921, the school received State Department approval.⁷²

When Relihan came to Mercyhurst in 1927 from Seton Hill, he was still in charge of the project in Pittsburgh, and spent his weekends in that city directing the Sisters school until 1945, when its work was completed. Relihan's school had helped 8,350 teachers receive their state certificates from 1921 to June of 1945.⁷³

Relihan's experience and reputation in state education circles was a great help to Mercyhurst in the early years, especially when Mercyhurst was seeking their charter. For twenty-eight years, he was Director of Teacher Training at Mercyhurst. With no children of their own, Doctor and Mrs. Relihan were like 'second parents' to many of the Mercyhurst girls.

Doctor Relihan once said: "I'm always proud of Mercyhurst girls. They are outstanding. An impeccable personal appearance, a faultless and sincere courtesy, and a priceless 'savior-faire' distinguish them."⁷⁴

His former student's feelings about him are reflected in the 1938 **Praeterita**:

To Michael James Relihan, M.A., L.L.D., Head of the Department of Education at Mercyhurst College and Director of Teacher Training, whose unfailing sympathy, friendly guidance, tolerant wisdom, gentle understanding and ever-present humor have been unstintingly ours during four years of college life, we the Senior Class of 1938, dedicate this, the Second Volume of **Praeterita**.⁷⁵

Doctor Relihan was very active professionally for Mercyhurst. He attended numerous conventions, served on many state committees, and wrote a weekly column entitled "Your Child in School" in the **Lake Shore Visitor**. For his great contributions to Catholic Education, he was

⁷⁰ **Praeterita**, (Published by Senior Class) 1937, p. 6.

⁷¹ **The Merciad**, October 29, 1964, p. 3.

⁷² **The Pittsburgh Catholic**, January 3, 1946, p. 8.

⁷³ **Ibid.**

⁷⁴ **The Merciad**, October 29, 1964, p. 3.

⁷⁵ **Praeterita**, (Published by the Senior Class) 1938, p. 6.

awarded a Honorary Doctrate from Saint Vincent College of Latrobe in 1934.⁷⁶

His classes were very popular at Mercyhurst especially because he always stressed practical classroom situations. He believed that a 'Good Teacher Could Teach Anything' and insisted that Liberal Education was the test preparation for teaching. He also taught Latin and Greek in addition to Teacher Evaluation.

Doctor Relihan's kind and gentle personality, his love of students and teaching, and his great contributions to the college made him Mercyhurst's "Mr. Chips." It was a sad day for the college in 1959 when ill health forced him to write his letter of resignation:

January 3, 1959

Rev. Mother Eustace
President, Mercyhurst College
Erie, Penna.

Dear Mother Eustace:

It is with sincere regret that I feel compelled, because of illness, to submit herewith, as of ever dates, my resignation as a member of the Mercyhurst College Faculty.

May God continue to bless the Sisters of Mercy in their promotion of Catholic education at Mercyhurst.

Very sincerely yours,
Michael J. Relihan⁷⁷

The reply of President Mother Eustace summarized the gratitude of the college for his services:

January 14, 1959

Dr. Michael J. Relihan
2909 French Street
Erie, Pennsylvania

Dear Doctor Relihan:

After receiving your note of resignation, dated January third, I called a special meeting of the Board of Trustees to acquaint them with the contents of the note. Each member accepted it with comments of regret and of appreciation for the long years of service you have given to Mercyhurst.

With very real earnestness, I confirm their sentiments and say that the good that flowered from your mind and heart these many years into the lives of hundreds of Mercyhurst girls flows on and on into other lives whom they are fashioning as teachers or mothers. The awareness of this great good is, I dare say, some comfort in the sorrow you feel as you bring to an end your classes at Mercyhurst. In spirit you will always be in and out of these halls. In this as in all the acts of your life, may God keep

⁷⁶ The Merciad, February 11, 1959, p.3.

⁷⁷ Relihan, Michael, letter to Reverend Mother M. Eustace, January 3, 1959. In Sisters of Mercy Motherhouse Archives.

you in His Mighty Hand.

Regretfully and sincerely,
Mother M. Eustace⁷⁸

Doctor Relihan died six months later -- and an era in the college history died with him.

APPENDIX A

Recorded: October 21, 1958 @ 1:56 P.M.

IN THE MATTER OF THE APPLICATION FOR A CHARTER FOR MERCYHURST COLLEGE.

In the court of Common Pleas of
Erie County, Pennsylvania. No. 249,
May Term 1927

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

To the Honorable, the Judges of said Court:

Agreeably to the provisions of the Act of the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania, entitled, "An Act to Provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of Certain Corporations", approved the 29th day of April A. D. 1874 and the several supplements thereto, the undersigned, all of whom are citizens of Pennsylvania and residents of the County of Erie, in said Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, having associated themselves together for the purposes and upon the terms and by the name hereinafter set forth, to the end that they may be duly incorporated, according to law, hereby certify:

FIRST: The name of the intended corporation is MERCYHURST COLLEGE.

SECOND: The purposes for which the said corporation is formed are as follows:-

The establishment and conduct of a college for women, with power to confer degrees in art, pure and applied science and literature.

THIRD: The business of the corporation is to be transacted in the City of Erie, Erie County, Pennsylvania.

FOURTH: The corporation shall have perpetual succession by its corporate name.

FIFTH: The yearly income of the corporation from sources other than real estate, shall not exceed the sum of fifty thousand (50,000.00) dollars.

SIXTH: Said corporation shall have no capital stock.

SEVENTH: The names and residences of the subscribers are as follows:

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Sr. M. de Sales Preston | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Borgia Egan | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Nolasco Hughes | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Pierre Wilbert | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Clare Connelly | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Collette Brown | Erie, Pa. |

⁷⁸ Eustace, Mother M., letter to Doctor Relihan, January 14, 1959. In Sisters of Mercy Motherhouse Archives.

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Sr. M. Neri Hopkins | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Austin Kratzer | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Basil O'Brien | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Teresa Wuenschell | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Joseph Reinsel | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Agnes Reid | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Sebastian Aaron | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Antonia Ferrick | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Patricia McLaughlin | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Vincent Aaron | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Aquino Joyce | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Xavier O'Neill | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Bertrand Doyle | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Mercedes Prendergast | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Agatha Hogan | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Loyola Dillon | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Regis O'Neill | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Ildefonse Madlehner | Erie, Pa. |
| Sr. M. Callista Mahoney | Erie, Pa. | Sr. M. Evangelista Forsythe | Erie, Pa. |

EIGHTH: The number of directors is fixed at five, and the names and reisdences of those who are chosen directors for the first year are as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Sr. M. Borgia Egan | Erie, Pennsylvania |
| Sr. M. Pierre Wilbert | Erie, Pennsylvania |
| Sr. M. Collette Brown | Erie, Pennsylvania |
| Sr. M. Mercedes Prendergast | Erie, Pennsylvania |
| Sr. M. Evangelista Forsythe | Erie, Pennsylvania |

NINTH: The amount of assets in the possession of the subscribers hereto which is to be devoted to the purpose of establishing and conducting said college is One Million Six Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$1,600,000.00) in land and buildings; Thirty Nine Thousand Dollars (\$39,000.00) by the capitalization of contributed services of twelve professors at Twenty Five Hundred Dollars (\$2,500.00) per year, and six instructors at Fifteen Hundred Dollars (\$1,500.00) per year, and in addition thereto the contributed earnings of One Hundred and Twenty Five (125) persons not capitalized. The minimum number of persons whom it is intended to regularly employ as members of the faculty of said corporation is eighteen.

TENTH: That attached hereto and made a part hereof and marked Exhibit "A" is a brief statement of the requirement for admission and of the course of study to be pursued in said college.

WITNESS our hands and seals this tenth day of March 1927.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| Sister M. Borgia Egan | (SEAL) |
| Sister M. Pierre Wilbert | (SEAL) |
| Sister M. Collette Brown | (SEAL) |
| Sister M. Mercedes Prendergast | (SEAL) |
| Sister M. Regis O'Neil | (SEAL) |

APPENDIX B

BIRTH OF MERCYHURST

(This was dictated by Mother Borgia to Sister Mary John Bosco early in August, 1958.)

The Initial Financing of Mercyhurst College

The original Motherhouse at Titusville, Pennsylvania, which has served as the Community Headquarters since 1870, was no longer large enough to house all the Sisters, so it became quite evident to the Superiors that they would have to build. Our first thought was to add a wing to the existing building and an architect had been engaged to draw up plans that would house at least one hundred Sisters.

Before these plans could be executed Bishop Gannon, on a visit to Titusville, said to Mother Borgia, "Instead of building here, why don't you raise \$150,000.00 and come to Erie?" The invitation was proposed to the members of the corporation the following summer, and most of the senior members seemed to favor the suggestion. In the first place, our headquarters in the Episcopal city would be advantageous. However, ideas came rapidly. Instead of competing on the high school level with the communities already well established in Erie, it was suggested that we consider the opening of a college for young girls. At that time, there were no colleges in Erie.

A consensus of opinion was that we lay our proposed plan before his Excellency. This was done by Mother Borgia, then Superior. The Bishop decided to present the plan to his consultor. In a letter addressed to the Superior some weeks later, he approved the idea of moving our headquarters to Erie, opening a high school as a means of support and later opening a college for girls. The plan was received favorably by the consultors and permission was given to begin the search for a suitable location and to have plans drawn up.

Because of his wide experience in building for the Sisters of Mercy of Philadelphia, Mr. Ferdinand Durang, architect of Philadelphia, was selected to draw the plans. These were later approved with minor changes, and a group of buildings to carry on the work planned and to provide a sizable income for the community was approved. It provided facilities for both high school and college classes. The estimated cost was approximately five hundred thousand dollars.

After studying carefully the income of the Community, it was shown to the satisfaction of the Bishop that the Community could handle this indebtedness. To make the burden of debt as easy as possible, the Bishop insisted that we pay not more than four per cent interest. This was a difficult rate to get as money was very tight at the time. Banks asked six percent as a minimum. In our eagerness to get started, the Community accepted a suggestion of Mr. Frank Wallace, the President of the Second National Bank of Erie, that we float a bond issue of four hundred thousand dollars that would pay four per cent interest. He would personally assume responsibility for the bonds, i.e. guarantee their payment.

It is customary to have a bank assume this responsibility, but National banks are not permitted by law to assume such debts. Hence, his suggestion

that he personally assume it. Because of the low rate of interest, it was not easy to interest the public in a four per cent bond, so they had to be sold through friendly channels. This entailed approaching individual purchasers instead of having the entire issue sold through a bond company. Sales came slowly. It was largely due to the untiring efforts of Sister M. Collette Brown, Sister M. Monica Fisher, Sister M. Pierre Wilbert, and Sister M. Celestine Weber that were able to dispose of a small portion (\$100,000.00) of the bonds. This meant constant and tiresome walking on the streets of Erie and other cities, wherever a prospective buyer could be found. The balance of the issue \$300,000.00 was used as collateral for bank loans which he had to contract to meet the monthly payments of the contractors as they became due. These bank loans, thanks to Mr. Wallace who negotiated them, were made at five per cent interest.

It was always the intention of the officials of the Sisters of Mercy of Titusville that once the building was completed, they would seek an insurance company that would take over the mortgage and let the Sisters have the money on long-term mortgage. But insurance companies are not as a rule interested in construction loans. They want the building completed. Their terms are always convenient for religious organizations. They require payments on the principal at stated intervals and annual payment of the interest.

It soon became apparent to the Sisters that some other arrangements would have to be made to meet the monthly payroll. So in consultation with the Bishop, it was decided to borrow on short payment loans from Pittsburgh and other local banks. Through the efforts of Mr. Frank Wallace, this was arranged. The unsold bonds were given as collateral for these loans.

As soon as the work was completed, negotiations were begun with several insurance companies. Many of them were interested in giving a long-term loan, but most of them required a large bonus for the privilege of having the money.

Mr. Joseph Weber, at this point, became interested in our negotiations and began to look into the matter. In conversation with a representative of one of the companies, he learned that the Massachusetts Life Insurance Company was interested in this particular loan and was willing to begin negotiations as soon as the owners were ready. They even volunteered to forego the usual five to six percent bonus and because of the nature of the institution, to set the sum of \$7,000.00 as the required bonus. The New York Life was willing to dispense with the bonus completely if Bishop Gannon would use his signature in the transaction. This meant putting the entire Diocesan property as security for the loan. After much consideration, it was decided by the finance committee, that the conditions for such a favor were too involved to make appeal to the Community.

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ERIE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWS

The period since the Spring issue of this **Journal** came off the press has been a busy one in connection with the Bicentennial and our own regular activities.

On May 13th the annual joint dinner meeting of the History Department of Mercyhurst College, the Erie County Historical Society and the Sons of the American Revolution was held in the dining room of the College.

After a very tasty dinner, the program was presented by three history seniors of the College.

Patti Bonito summarized her "Study of the Pennsylvania 83rd Regiment of the Civil War." Among other aspects of the war, she detailed some of the problems of organizing its military units; various reactions of the public to the war including a note that little Waterford, with a population of only 800, contributed 80 volunteers; and specified geographical areas in which various units served.

The second speaker, Jack Daly, gave an "Analysis of the Centennial and Bicentennial." He referred particularly to the Revolutionary Period itself in which he discussed the ideological background of the time with various viewpoints and interpretations of the Declaration of Independence.

Gary Bukowski reviewed the "First Decade of Mercyhurst." He recounted the problems of money to be raised; land to be purchased; problems with labor in the building process with a strike and the finishing of the work by the Sisters themselves to the point when, in 1926, an opening deadline was met with 21 freshmen and four sophomores enrolled the first year.

Mrs. C. B. Andrews, in her review of activities "From the Cashier's House" which was distributed to the members of the Society, referred to many of the activities in such detail that only brief mention of some of them will be made here.

Of special interest was the A. A. U. W. Heritage Trail for some 8000 fourth, fifth and sixth grade pupils and teachers who visited the Cashier's House between March 16th and May 30th, having come from not only Erie but from numerous nearby communities.

On June 3rd the A. A. U. W. sponsored a lunch in honor of the French Consul and his wife from New York in celebration of Lafayette Commemorative Days.

The Society cooperated with the Metropolitan Transit Authority in a series of daily historical tours around Erie during a period of several weeks.

We have had so many gifts and loans of books, pictures, letters, documents and other items, that space in this **Journal** does not permit us to list all of them with the donors. We appreciate such generous cooperation

in making the Society a significant historical center for the use of all interested persons. However there are two items which we do wish to mention. They are both beautiful specimens of the old type square piano and they look almost identical.

One of the pianos is on loan from Mrs. Paul S. Daum, formerly Elizabeth Rilling Wright. This was received about a year ago but has not been mentioned in any previous news column. It is a Chickering with rosewood finish, shipped from the famous Boston piano manufacturer in 1856.

The other piano, a gift from Mrs. T. J. Danner of Franklin, Pa., is also finished in rosewood. It was built about the same time, apparently the product of an Erie manufacturer. It bears the name Wm. Willing, Erie, Pa. In the 1860-61 City Directory we find the reference: "Willing, William, Prof. of music, music store and manf'r of pianos and melodeons..."

A project of last Spring and early Summer was the repair of a beautiful black walnut secretary on loan from Mr. Graham T. Marsh. It is a cabinet with two doors on the lower section, two glass doors above, one having the original wavy glass in it, and between the upper and lower sections, a desk section which can be drawn forward, having a front cover that folds down to form the desk itself. It was built by David Sterrett and Elias Brecht some time before 1865, in Cumberland County, Pa. Mr. David Sterrett's brother, Robert T. Sterrett, had a daughter, Eliza, who married Hon. Samuel E. Woodruff, who, for many years, owned and lived in the "Cashier's House." So the Sterrett secretary has come to rest in a house once occupied by a Sterrett descendant.

Another project has been the repair of a showcase having an upper shelf for the display of beautiful small objects like jewelry, and space below for larger objects. One such beautiful small object for possible display is a silver coin 1½ inch in diameter, struck by the Franklin Mint, commemorating, on March 22, 1972, the 250th anniversary of the founding of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. It was a gift of the Pennsylvania Bar Association.

A third project has been the making of a series of about 100 slides, black and white, photographed from old newspapers, magazines, books, advertisements, from anything having a picture which represented some interesting phase of early Erie life. Historical notes accompany each slide so that anyone could give an illustrated lecture on early Erie history. Such talks can be arranged through the Historical Society.

George S. Brewer

NOTICE TO READERS

At the request of the Director of the General von Steuben Papers project, located at the University of Pennsylvania, the Editorial Board calls its readers' attention to the following notice:

The General von Steuben Papers project, located at the University of Pennsylvania, is preparing a definitive microfilm edition of the Steuben papers to be published under the auspices of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. We are interested in all correspondence to and from the general and all other materials concerning him. Information and inquiries should be directed to:

General von Steuben Papers
Van Pelt Library
University of Pennsylvania
3420 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19174

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Journal of Erie Studies
Mercyhurst College
501 E. 38th Street
Erie, Pennsylvania 16501

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Date _____ 19____

I hereby apply for membership in the Erie County Historical Society.

Name (Mr., Mrs., Miss) _____
(please type or print)

Address _____
(Street) (City or Town) (State) (Zip)

Occupation _____

Type of Membership requested is checked below; a bill in that amount will be honored by the undersigned:

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Mail to **Erie County Historical Society, Cashier's House, 417 State Street, Erie, Pennsylvania 16501**