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Big Steel in a Small Town

Newport, Kentucky in Alexander Swift's
Discordant Industrial and Personal Worlds

DONALD A. DEBATS

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Profile

Big Steel in a Small Town

Newport, Kentucky in Alexander Swift's Discordant Industrial and Personal Worlds

by
Donald A. DeBats, PhD

*Residential Fellow,
Virginia Foundation for
the Humanities,
University of Virginia*

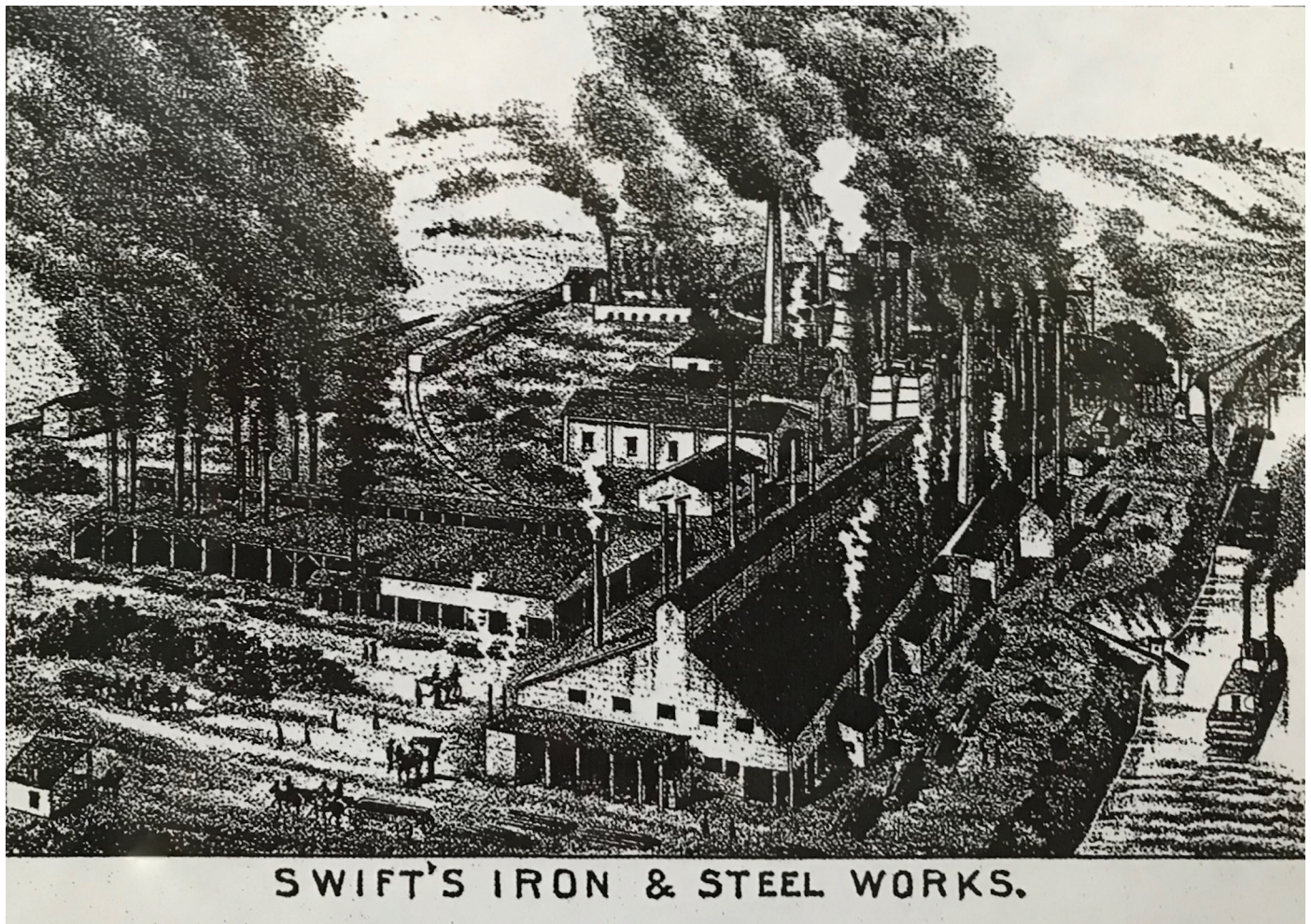
*Head, American Studies,
Flinders University, Australia*

If he had actually lived there, Alexander Swift would have been Newport's wealthiest resident in 1870. One would have expected him to have been a resident of Newport because he was the founder and president of the town's largest employer, a vast iron milling complex that became the Swift Iron and Steel Works.

Alexander Swift: The Absentee Industrialist

Swift, already a significant industrialist, built his iron works in the late 1850s in Newport, on the banks of the Licking River, a small tributary of the Ohio River. The mill flourished: a beneficiary of Union military contracts to supply iron plate and iron ships for Union forces during the Civil War. The good times continued for a while after the War and by 1870 the employee roster numbered 398, including 40 children under the age of 16 and seven women. Swift's accountants reported to the US Census Bureau that his workers took home a total of \$250,000 that year, twice the wages paid by Newport's next largest employer, the Gaylord Pipe Foundry.

But Swift never took up residence in Newport. He ran his varied industrial interests in Ohio, Michigan, and Kentucky from his Cincinnati office at 23 West Third Street, a few blocks from the Roebling Bridge, which from late 1866 provided connections over the Ohio River to Covington and Newport.¹ Nor did he belong to any Newport organization; he does not appear in any Newport mug books; his board memberships did not include any in Newport. He provided no local leadership. He never voted in Newport and he sought no political role in this town, the locus of his most important



Above and cover

Swift's Iron and Steel Works, insert from 1887 birds-eye view of Newport, CJ Paul. Swift's mill was strategically located along the Licking River in Newport, Kentucky and had direct access to the Ohio River. Founded as Alexander Swift and Company in 1858, the mill had easy access to both steamboats and railroad lines, allowing Swift to maximize production. By 1859, five years after construction on the mill began, Swift's mill already had 7 furnaces and 2 trains of rolls to produce sheet and plate iron. For unknown reasons, the name of Swift's mill changed to Swift's Iron and Steel Works around 1868. Seven years before the date of this lithograph appeared, Swift had sold the mill to Edward Harper of Cincinnati, but the name was retained.

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General James Taylor V (1769-1848). Taylor founded Newport, Kentucky in 1795 and the city was officially incorporated on February 24, 1834. He was involved in several businesses in Newport and in 1803 brought the military's Western Arsenal to the town. Taylor's involvement was crucial in Newport's rise to prominence along the Ohio River.

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investment. In the industrial strife that brought the Swift Iron and Steel Works (and Newport) to a standstill in 1874, Swift was viewed and behaved as the outsider he was. His strong-arm tactics, deployed from the beginning of the strike, of importing and perhaps arming strike-breakers, earned him only enmity. Not surprisingly, the deployment of local police power was always equivocal. In the end, the result was mob violence and a homicide.

James Taylor: The Ever-present Founder

Living at a distance insulated Swift from localized pressures and obligations. Perhaps the trade-off between influence and anonymity suited him, but this absentee relationship with Newport would have dismayed the town's founder, James Taylor—who for his lifetime was Newport's central advocate and the central influence on Newport's early development. Taylor owned all the land on which the city was built: he donated small plats of that land for education and government, he attended St. Paul's Episcopal Church on the Courthouse Square, he built (and rebuilt) his mansion—Bellevue—in the city's core in 1815 and died in it 43 years later. He was buried in the Taylor family plot in Evergreen Cemetery on a hill overlooking his city. Taylor provided the structure into which a town grew, became himself tremendously wealthy as he did so, but provided few jobs for Newport's residents. Swift, on the other hand, took advantage of the structure of the city that Taylor had created, developed an industrial plant that provided many jobs, but contributed nothing to the social structure of the city. The personal wealth Swift gained was lost in the financial collapse of the iron and steel works he had created.

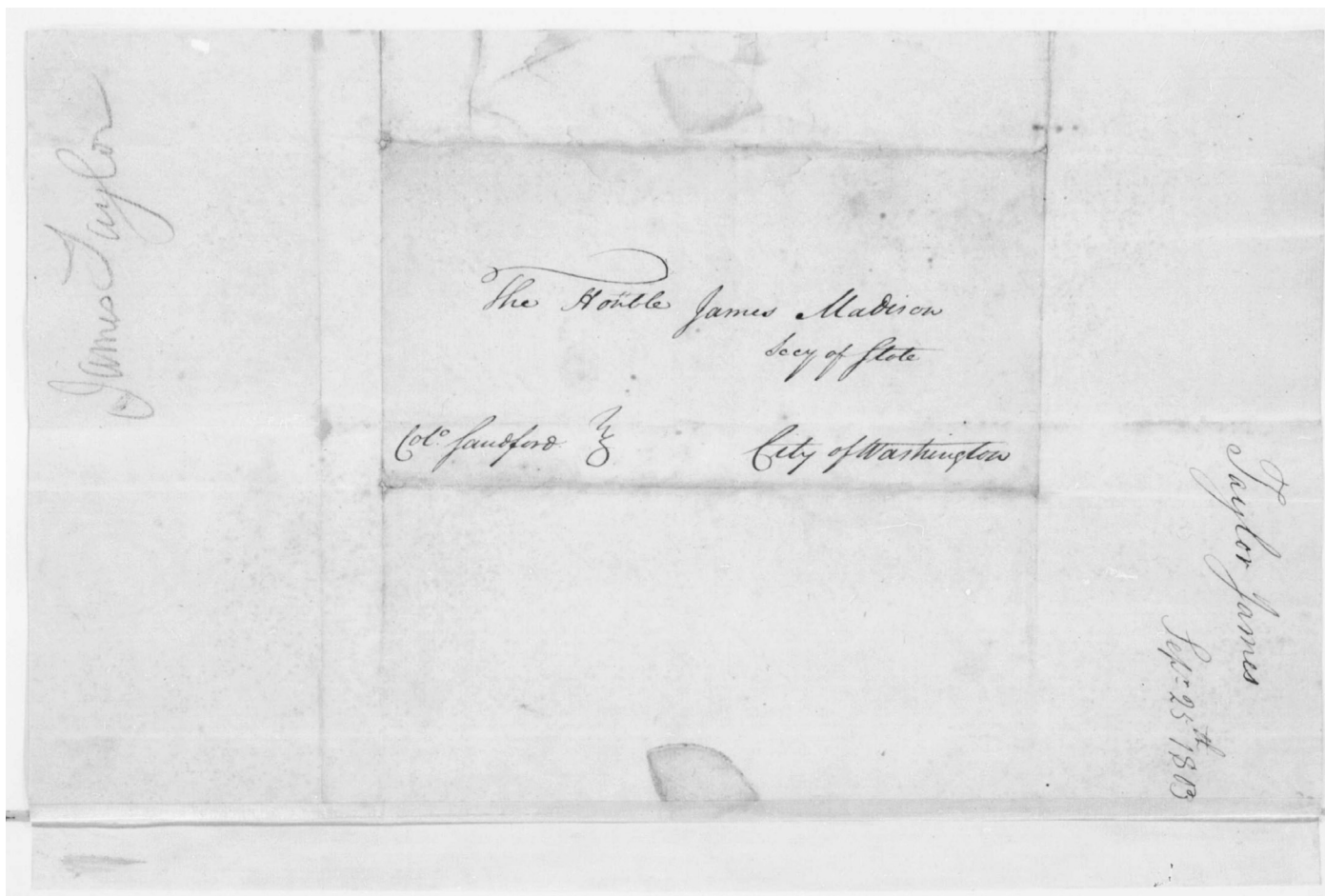
Taylor built his town to house industrial workers; Swift provided many of those jobs, but he did so remotely and without taking any interest in the town. This had consequences, not only the strike but also more widely. Swift's distant relationship with Newport, his absentee ownership, deprived the town of its potentially most prominent voice and sapped its independence, allowing it to be defined as an industrial suburb of Cincinnati whose fate could be externally determined. Newport's heritage of weak internal leadership would in the 1920s and 1930s give rise to the sorry story of a small town in the thrall of mob influence, which ended only in the 1960s when the federal government and the US Department of Justice intervened. That larger trajectory continues to weaken today's Newport, which still refers to itself as

a city whose heritage is not a powerful and proud iron-and-steel-making center but a town reeking of corruption with “girls, guns and gambling.” Taylor’s connections to Newport were as intimate as Swift’s were remote. The Taylors were powerful and long-established Virginian planters, based in Caroline County between Richmond and Fredericksburg since the late seventeenth century, but operating far more widely. The family mastered and leveraged its assets. The land on which James Taylor would build his town was given to him by his father and expanded via marriage.

Taylor family slaves travelled with a young James Taylor in 1792 to the chosen location for his new town, on the banks of the Ohio, at its confluence with the Licking River and directly across the Ohio River from the newly founded city of Cincinnati. The enslaved men who began clearing the land on which Newport would arise spoke to the centrality of slavery in all of the Taylors’ enterprises. In 1840, eight years before he died, Taylor owned 54 enslaved African-Americans.²

Taylor’s world was, like Swift’s, one of privilege, but the basis for Taylor’s wealth was inherited rather than created. A generation older than Swift, Taylor grew up in an old-line political family. He exploited the networks he inherited to establish his town, lobbying the Kentucky legislature to charter Newport, to incorporate it as a city, and to carve out Campbell County from already existing counties with his town as its seat. In 1803 he lobbied his cousin James Madison, then Secretary of State, to move Fort Washington from Cincinnati to Newport, selling to the US government for \$1 a four acre parcel of his land. He then became superintendent for the construction of the US Army Newport Barracks and held the contract for its three initial buildings.

While (unlike Swift) there was little self-made about James Taylor, he created Newport according to his vision and he remained loyal to it (unlike Swift). He saw Newport as an industrial town from the outset. In 1831, when there were only 715 residents, Taylor chartered the Newport Manufacturing Company on another 27 acres of his land along the Ohio River. The manufacturing transformations became increasingly complex, from rope works to brick kilns to blast furnaces. The image of this small town as an industrial center influenced the platting of the city, a matter entirely of Taylor’s purview. Platting was accomplished by small “additions,” containing just a few blocks,



September 25, 1803 Letter from General James Taylor to Secretary of State James Madison, Outer Fold. Taylor wrote his cousin, Madison, many times throughout their lives. In 1803 he lobbied Madison successfully to have the Western Arsenal moved from Fort Washington to Newport. Taylor was also appointed to superintend the construction of the arsenal by the Secretary of War on Madison's recommendation. The letter pictured, served as an introduction of Colonel Thomas Sanford to Madison. Sanford was to vouch for Taylor's progress on the building of the arsenal at Newport. Taylor also included an account of the construction: "I have the brick made for two of buildings, the stone nearly up for the whole of them, & also plank scantling &c. that will be requisite." For a full transcription of the letter, see <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/02-05-02-0461>.

Library of Congress

beginning with the original plat along the Ohio River. Taylor faced no competition in the release of land and his economic logic was simple and clear: plat the land section by section, bring it to market slowly, and release it when there was demand. This kept prices high or at least stable for his benefit and also the benefit of those who had already purchased land.³ Taylor built upon his inheritances; his rooted real estate acumen profited him far more than did Swift's absentee industrialism.

The lots within an addition varied in size, but many were intended to be purchased (and were purchased) by workingmen and their families. Most lots measured 25 by 100 feet and some near the Swift mill had frontages of only 17 feet. This would be a workingman's city, where the ties of people to their property would help ensure their loyalty to their employer and to the town's founder.

Swift's Entrepreneurial Might

Swift was born in Cincinnati, across the Ohio River from Newport, in 1813 and died there 77 years later. His parents, Eunice and Jedidiah, were migrants to the "Queen City of the West" from Wareham, Massachusetts, arriving around 1810 in the midst of a boom time for Cincinnati. Eunice and Jedidiah's family boomed too—producing eight children at two year intervals from 1805 to 1820.

Swift married Susan Cary in 1841 when he was 28. She had grown up in a large farming family whose land, *Clovernook*, was just north of Cincinnati. Alexander and Susan and their young family settled for a time in Oxford, Indiana where Alexander was a purchasing agent for the livestock trade to Cincinnati, probably working for his older brothers, Briggs and Abraham, who for many years from the 1840s onwards operated a meatpacking operation in Cincinnati, often in partnership with Ben Evans, the beginning of a long-lasting inter-family economic partnership.⁴ Twenty years later, Swift would form his first iron making partnership with Seth Evans, Ben's brother. Family ties were the essential backbone of all of Alexander Swift's successful enterprises. Entrepreneurial from an early age, Swift soon had his own tanning company, purchasing hides, bark, and lime from which to produce shoe leather. In the 1850 census, he listed himself as a tanner. The family lived in Ward One on the eastern fringes of Cincinnati, an area with a good many

other noisy and odorous enterprises. With a capital investment of \$20,000, including real estate valued at \$8000, Swift's operation was one of the larger in the ward, employing eight men and producing shoe soles to the tune of \$24,000. But Cincinnati was becoming a far more extensive and differentiated manufacturing city and Swift, like Taylor, saw the future in industrial terms.

Alexander was far closer to the Horatio Alger mold as a nineteenth century self-made man than was Taylor. Swift's grasp of manufacturing far exceeded Taylor's and he brought to early industrialism an enthusiasm for innovation and a facility for technology. He built from the ground up an industrial empire spanning three states. The move into iron and steel production was quick and decisive. In 1857 Swift and Seth Evans purchased an iron rolling mill in Cincinnati at 3 Front Street on the Ohio River; it was a bargain price, and timely too.⁵ The partners soon advertised a boiler and sheet iron manufacturing plant. Across the Ohio River in Newport, a rolling mill taking shape on the site of an earlier wrought iron pipe works was completed in 1857 and the Kentucky legislature chartered The Swift Iron and Steel Company the next year to operate coke ovens, blast furnaces, and an iron mill. It was the beginning of a vast undertaking at Newport's Ninth and Brighton Streets. By 1860, Swift identified himself an iron merchant with \$30,000 in real estate and \$5000 in personal estate.

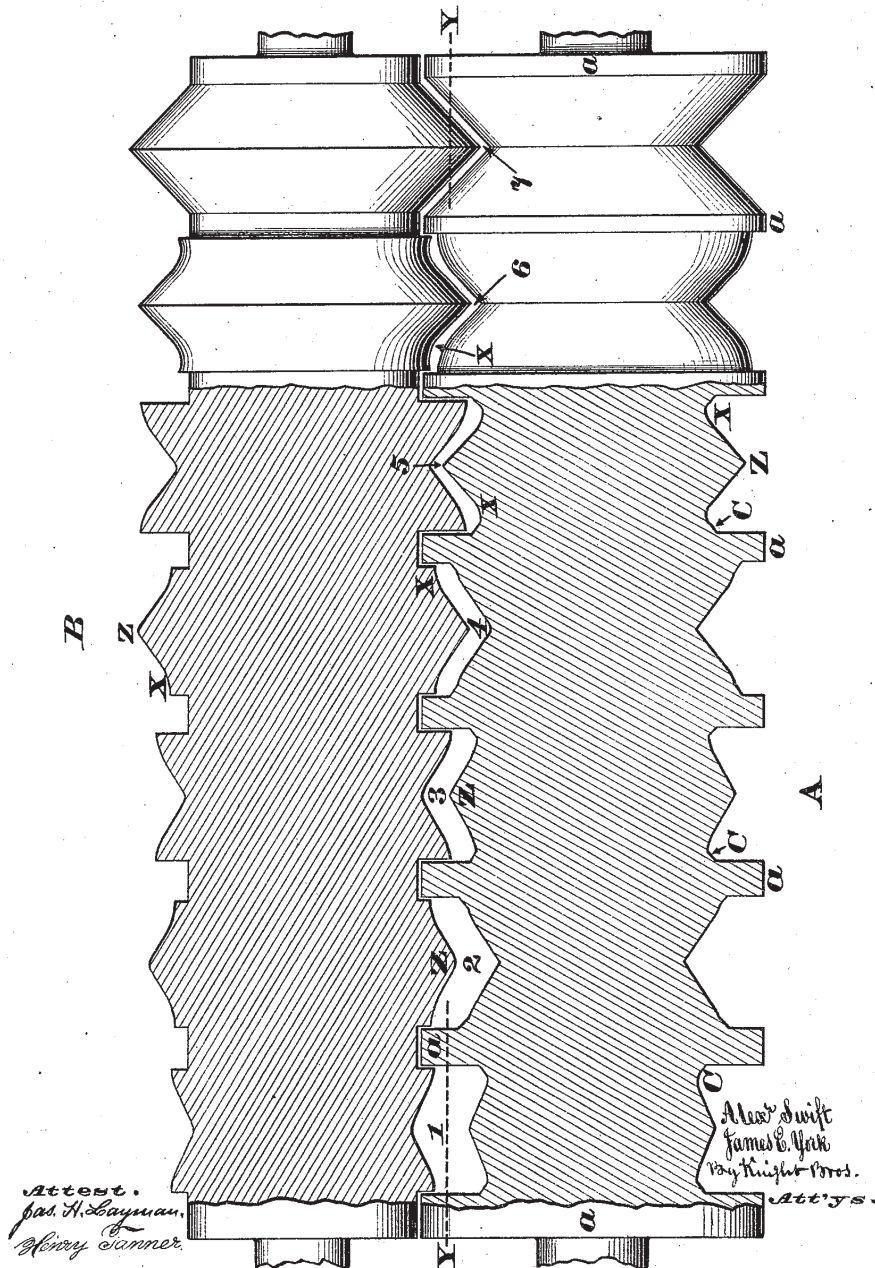
Following the war, Swift turned his attention turned to his own substantial rolling mill across the river in Taylor's Newport. He was now a wealthy man as a result of the success of the combination of the Swift's partnerships with both Seth Evans and the Niles Works in Cincinnati and his new mill in Newport in contracting with the US military to produce plate armor and eventually to build fighting ships for the US Navy. Swift's mill, to which Swift directed much of the military work, quickly became the largest manufacturing operation in Newport, producing iron bar and plate and even developing its own civilian ship-building capacity.

Whether in agriculture or industry, Swift's mechanical skills quickly led to patented inventions. The first was in his original agricultural pursuits, a patent for separating flour from bran in 1862, and then in 1875 at the high point of his manufacturing career, another in the manufacturing of angle iron.⁶

A. SWIFT & J. E. YORK.
Roll for Rolling Angle-Iron.

No. 159,978

Patented Feb. 16, 1875.



THE GRAPHIC CO. PHOTO-LITH. 39 & 41 PARK PLACE, N. Y.

Roll for Rolling Angle-Iron, US Patent Number 159978. Patented by Alexander Swift and James E York in 1875, this new roller improved the process of iron being formed into angles. Prior to Swift and York's roller, the legs of angles were prone to weakness and cracking. The patented roller prevents cracking by thickening areas of the angle legs.

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Death: A Family Theme in Prose and Poetry

Swift's personal and family life, by contrast, was dominated by sorrow: death was a persistent visitor. Alexander was the fifth of eight children; several of his siblings died young and he outlived all but one. With his marriage to Susan Cary he entered a lineage even more marked by death than his own. The Carys were a hard-working farming family on land just seven miles north of Cincinnati given to Robert's father for service in the Revolution.⁷ It was a large family, like Swift's, and Elizabeth Cary bore nine children, all two years apart, from 1814 to 1831. Susan was the third child. Robert and Elizabeth were poor and could not provide a full education for their brood, but they did value literature, philosophy, and politics and encouraged their children in these pursuits. Family life was busy and happy and warm.

The Cary farm, Clovernook, stood near a community known as Mt Healthy—misleading monikers that heralded neither peaceableness nor health for the Cary family. From that sad place of sorrow and strife came two of young America's first female poets (and suffragettes), Susan's younger sisters, Alice and Phoebe. The tragic turn for this family coincided with the construction of a two story brick pillared house, the result and reward from years of rural toil, following the birth of Elizabeth's last child, Elmina, in 1832.

Alice records standing with her parents in the old house, looking toward the new one, and seeing an apparition that foretold the death of two of her and Susan's sisters, Rhonda, 15, and Lucy, 4. They did die the following winter, one month apart, of typhoid fever. Two years later Elizabeth, their mother, died of consumption (tuberculosis). Alice, now 15, had lost the two women she idealized, her mother and her older sister. These events had a profound effect on the family and especially on Alice, and Phoebe too, both of whom already possessed considerable literary ability. Now death and sorrow became hallmarks of their writing. Alice is quoted by her biographer as saying the apparition was a tragic marker: from then, "never for one year has our family been free from the shadow of death."⁸ It was a shroud that remained over her entire literary career and that of her younger sister Phoebe.

Susan's father re-married two years after Elizabeth's death. But the marriage to Anna Lewis, a wealthy German-born widow who lived nearby, ushered in unrestrained conflict between the surviving children and the step-mother, who

had no children of her own and struggled with a household of seven children, two of whom were teenagers pre-occupied with what she regarded as pointless scribbling about a dead mother and a dead sister. This intense struggle split the family. After two years of marriage and intense conflict between his new wife and his children, Robert built an adjoining house on the property and moved into it with Anna, leaving Alice, Asa, Warren, Phoebe, and Elmina to live on their own in the house built in 1832. It was a strange arrangement, but one that suited Alice and Phoebe in particular. Alice began sending her poems to Cincinnati newspapers and her troubled thoughts appeared in 1838 in *The Sentinel*. It was three years after her mother's death and one year after her father's remarriage and she called her poem "The Child of Sorrow."

The Family—Only Philanthropist

Alice's reputation grew. *The Sentinel* began paying for her poetry; her first national audience came with a poem in *The National Era*, an abolitionist paper that first published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a serial. John Greenleaf Whittier was an associate editor and wrote to her; suddenly Alice was a celebrated writer. Alice and Phoebe's poetry was included in Rufus Griswold's, *The Female Poets of America*. Edgar Allan Poe, reviewing the anthology in early 1849, said Alice's "Pictures of Memory," was "decidedly the noblest poem in the collection."⁹ Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*, came to visit the sisters at Clovernook in the summer of 1849. The following year brought a new triumph: Moss and Brother in Philadelphia (encouraged by Griswold), published *The Poems of Alice and Phoebe Cary*, "two sisters of the west."

Alexander and Susan had married at a time when her family was experiencing great turmoil and their three children were born during the years when Alice and Phoebe began to realize literary careers. The connection between the two families grew closer: Susan named her daughter for her sister Alice and these two Alices became dear to each other. Death was Alice's theme and the death of Susan and Alexander's first son from dysentery in 1849, three weeks shy of his third birthday, must have strengthened the bond with her young niece.

Perhaps encouraged by both Susan and his father-in-law, Alexander now undertook a new role in assisting the well-being and success of the Cary girls. He did so well before he was their wealthy brother-in-law.



Clovernook Farm, Cary Cottage, North College Hill, Ohio, 1852. Robert Cary built the central, pillared portion of the home for his family in 1832. Ten years later the perpendicular addition that serves as the face of the home was constructed. The Cary children, including Alice, Phoebe, Susan, and Almira grew up in the home. The two sisters, Alice and Phoebe, began their writing career within its walls. Alexander Swift purchased the home in honor of these two pioneering poets and his sisters-in-law in 1881. M Louise Thomas, a Cary family friend, owned Clovernook from 1895 to 1903 when William S Proctor purchased the farm and cottage for Georgia and Florence Trader's Home for Blind Women. When it first opened, the Trader's residential and occupational home housed only a handful of young women, but over time they expanded their campus to include new buildings on the original Cary property. The Clovernook Center still exists today; providing residential, educational, and employment training to the visually impaired

Courtesy of The Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Joseph S Stern, Jr. Cincinnati Room

Success spurred on the sisters—particularly Alice, who glimpsed a chance for a future far from Clovernook and her unhappy and divided family. In the late 1840s, while still in Oxford, Indiana, Alice and Phoebe, and perhaps others of the Cary children, had stayed with the Swifts. In early 1850 Swift facilitated a separation of the three remaining Cary daughters, Alice, Phoebe and Elmina, from their father and stepmother, financing a three month trip for the three sisters to explore the opportunities of the East—a trip on which he accompanied them. They visited literary figures in New York City and Boston, increasing in this way Alice’s confidence in her own capacities. Whittier wrote a poem about their visit to his home:

*Years since (but names to me before),
Two sisters sought at eve my door;
Two song-birds wandering from their nest,
A gray old farm-house in the West.*

...

*Timid and young, the elder had
Even then a smile too sweetly sad;
The crown of pain we all must wear
Too early pressed her midnight hair.¹⁰*

Emboldened, Alice left Clovernook for New York City on her own in November, 1850, joined in the spring by Phoebe and Elmina. All three lived at Daniel Bixby’s American Hotel, a suitably literary setting for the young writers that was likely financed by Swift. Here Alice published her first book, 35 short stories under the title of *Clovernook*; or, *Recollections of our Home in the West*.¹¹

Death intervened once again. Swift’s wife Susan fell ill and in November Elmina returned to the Swift household in Cincinnati to care for her, in what proved to be a terminal illness, and to help look after Edwin, eight, and Alice, six. Susan died of tuberculosis, like her mother and father, on January 10, 1852, at the age of 32.

On May 23 the following year Alexander, 39, and the youngest sister, Elmina, then 22, married: it was a short and tragic pairing. Mary Clemmer says in her



Alice and Phoebe Cary, Miner Kilbourne Kellogg, c1850. Alice (left) and Phoebe (right) had their portraits painted by Kellogg shortly after their arrival in New York City. The portraits are now displayed in their childhood home, Cary Cottage. It was there that the sisters honed their craft and became well known and popular as poets from the west.

Public Domain



Phoebe Cary, c1850-1860, Mathew Brady. After becoming a published poet Phoebe Cary sat for her photograph. Mathew Brady, who would rise to prominence for his photographs documenting the Civil War, was the photographer. Phoebe's portrait is one of many that Brady composed in the years prior to the war

Library of Congress

1876 Memorial to the Cary sisters that Elmina was “married in early girlhood” to Swift and that “in her health very soon showed symptoms of the family fate. Marked by death at twenty she lingered for eleven years.”¹²

As her illness deepened Elmina left Cincinnati, and her husband, to re-join her sisters in New York City, taking with her Swift’s daughter, Alice. Alexander left the house in Cincinnati’s Ward 1 in which he had lived with Susan and their two surviving children;

THE STATE OF OHIO, Hamilton County,	} SS.	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">No.</div>
<p>Personally appeared before me, the undersigned, JUDGE OF THE PROBATE COURT, within and for the County of Hamilton, <u>Alexander Swift</u></p> <p>who being duly sworn, depose and saith, that he is more than twenty-one years of age, and has no lawful wife living.</p> <p>And that <u>W Carey</u></p> <p>is more than eighteen years of age, and has no lawful husband living; that she is a resident of the County of Hamilton aforesaid;</p> <p>and the said <u>Alexander Swift</u> further says,</p> <p>that said <u>W Carey</u> and affiant</p> <p>are not of nearer relation to each other than that of second cousin; and that he knows of no legal objection to the marriage contemplated between them. And further this deponent saith not.</p> <p>Sworn to and subscribed before me</p> <p>this _____ day of _____ 18____</p> <p><u>J. B. Warren</u></p> <p style="text-align: right;">Probate Judge.</p> <p>By _____ Deputy Clerk.</p>		
MARRIAGE RETURN.		
<p>MARRIED, on the <u>24th</u> day of <u>May</u> A. D., 18<u>53</u></p> <p><u>Alexander Swift</u> and <u>W Carey</u></p> <p>by me a <u>Minister of the Gospel</u></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><u>A A Livermore</u></p>		

Marriage Record for Alexander Swift and Elmina Cary, May 24, 1853, Hamilton County, Ohio. Alexander and Elmina’s marriage certificate is still on file in Hamilton County, Ohio. Swift’s second marriage and Elmina’s first was performed by Abiel Abbot Livermore in May of 1853, only a year after the death of Susan Cary Swift, his first wife and Elmina’s sister.

Courtesy of the Hamilton County, Ohio Probate Court



A. Forbriger, Lith.

Onken's Lithography, Walnut Str. betw. 5th & 6th, Cincinnati, O.

BURNET HOUSE HÔTEL BURNET
CINCINNATI, OHIO.

Burnet House, A. Forbriger for Onken's Lithography, c1850-1860. The Burnet House was one of Cincinnati's finest hotels and had many distinguished guests. Abraham Lincoln stayed in the 304-room hotel and delivered a speech from a balcony while travelling to his inauguration in Washington, DC. Ulysses S Grant and William T Sherman met in one of the parlors to strategize during the Civil War. Alexander Swift chose to stay in this fine hotel for extended periods in both the 1860s and the 1870s when he appears not to have owned a house.

Library of Congress

in 1860 he was living alone in the Burnet House, a large and refined hotel of 324 rooms on Third and Vine Streets in downtown Cincinnati. He was by this time established as an iron merchant with offices in downtown Cincinnati and assets of \$35,000. His daughter Alice, now 16, remained in New York City with Alice and Phoebe Cary and Elmina Swift, assisted by two Irish servants, in a house on 20th Street that Swift bought for them. In December 1862, Elmina, a long-time invalid, died at that home, at 31.

The Deadly Toll

The tie between the Swift and Cary families was strong and deeply felt, crafted by marriage and intensified by the deaths that occurred, exactly as Alice Cary had said: every year. Though there were critical reviews of the poetry's preoccupation with sorrow and death, Alice and Phoebe's careers flourished during the Civil War, until Alice's health failed. She became increasingly incapacitated and died in 1870, also of tuberculosis, just 50. Phoebe, haunted by despair and weighed down by depression, died the next year, 46, of hepatitis. That same summer of 1871 Alexander and Susan's son Edwin died, of tuberculosis, age 28. Alice, the last surviving child of Susan and Alexander had married George Clymer in 1868.¹³ She gave birth to a son the day after her brother died: she named him Edwin. Another son came along just 13 months later, on July 25, 1872; the young mother died seven months later, on February 14, 1873. Her baby, George Alexander, named for her husband and her father, drew his last breath on May 1.

And so Alexander Swift endured a deathroll of nine close family members in 25 years: two wives, all his children (two sons and a daughter), two sisters-in-law, a brother, and a grandson. Seven of the nine were in the prime of life, between 25 and 50. He was driven inward, even as his wealth and power expanded outward. His focus and his wealth remained fixed on family, searching there for continuity and perhaps a legacy.

Even his philanthropy was focused inward. In 1881, by now a very wealthy man indeed, Alexander bought the Clovernook property as a memorial to the sad past. At the dedication of the grounds the guests sang "Our Old Brown Homestead," Alice's paean to the house in which she and all the children had lived together with both parents. They sang Phoebe's poem, "Nearer Home"

that had been set to music in 1876. Alexander pledged to restore the original two story brick house that his father-in-law had built in 1832 and where Alice and Phoebe and Elmina, his two wives and his sister-in-law, had discovered their literary vocations.¹⁴ Never did his philanthropic eye fall upon Newport, the source of his greatest and most long lasting businesses success.

War: A Temporary Respite

The Civil War was a bonanza for Swift. He eagerly sought military contracts, writing General John C Fremont, Lincoln's Commander of the Western Armies, on September 11, 1861, requesting the contract to produce five Batus Rifled Cannon at a cost of \$9800, promising the first in 30 days and all five in 60, including a penalty clause of \$500 a day if he failed to deliver. "We know that we can make a no.[number] one article and should be glad to have the job."¹⁵ Swift's operation in Cincinnati, the partnership with Seth Evans, first advertised as a boiler making and a sheet iron manufacturing enterprise, quickly turned to military contracting.¹⁶ Sub-contracts came from the Eads works in Illinois for iron cladding to wooden-hulled river gun boats in the City class.

Swift sought out the opportunity to draw and build iron gun-boats but did not have the design expertise. This was solved in Swift's major Civil War partnership with Niles Works of Ohio, the largest machine shop in the west. Swift wrote to

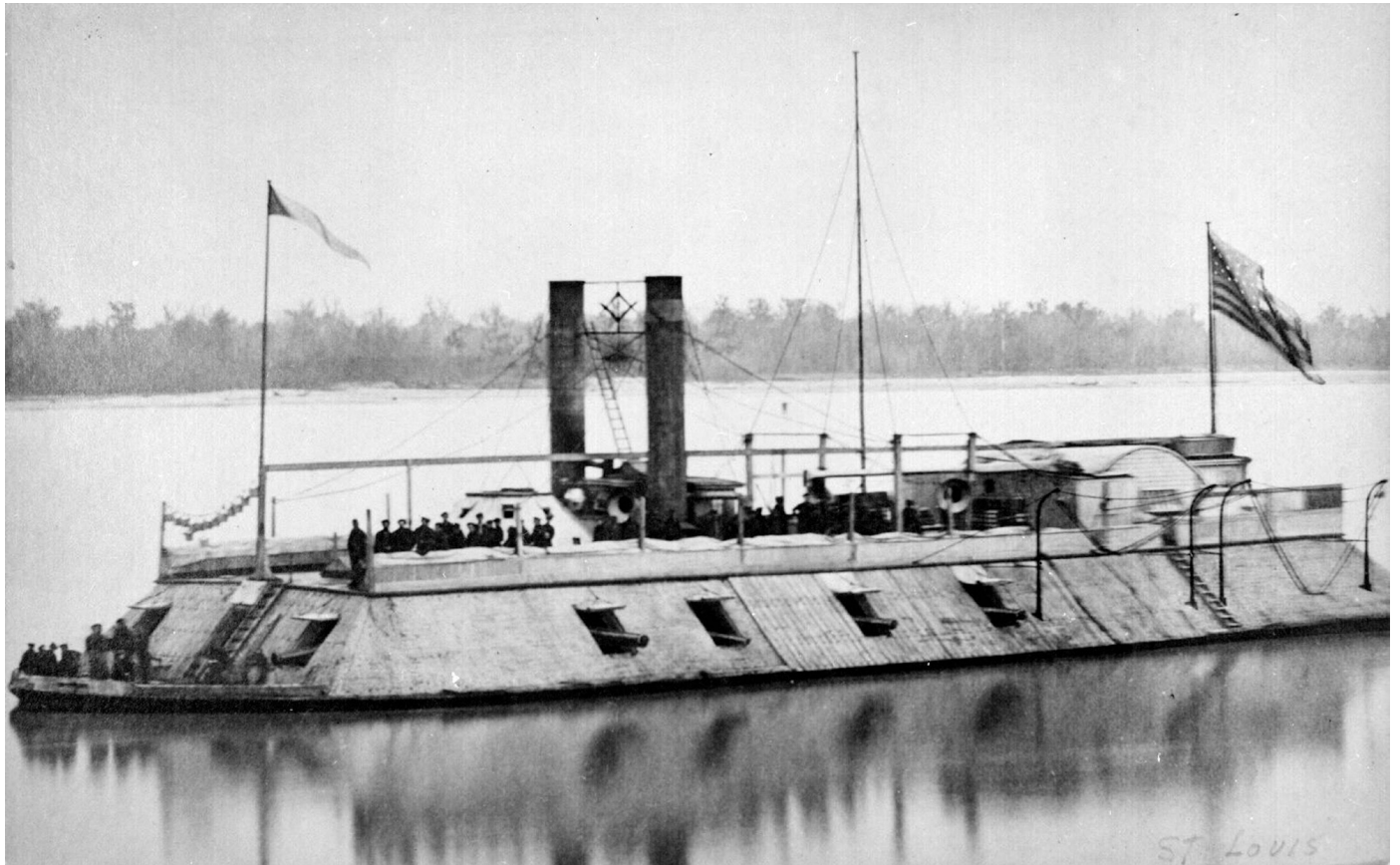
Opposite, top to bottom

USS Baron DeKalb, c1862. During the Civil War, the Union ordered the construction of several armored gunboats, commonly referred to as Eads Gunboats, to serve as the Western Gunboat Flotilla on the Mississippi. The original name of the *USS Baron DeKalb* was the *USS St Louis*—the name change came less than a year after the Union commissioned it in 1862. Eads Gunboats were one of the two major classes of monitors used by the Union during the Civil War, the other being the Canonicus-class monitor. Alexander Swift and Company held two contracts for the construction of two of the latter class of monitors.

Library of Congress

Monitor Mahopac on the Appomattox River, 1864. The *USS Mahopac* is one of the Union Navy's Canonicus-class monitors. Alexander Swift and Company built two of this class of monitors during the Civil War, the *Catawba* and the *Oneota*. Both were constructed under a partnership involving Swift's mill and the Niles Works, at a newly constructed shipyard in Cincinnati along the banks of the Ohio River. Swift's mill provided the plate iron for the project while the Niles Works did the foundry work. Construction began on both monitors in 1862 with both ironclads launched in 1864. The *Catawba* and *Oneota* remained in reserve service until the end of the war. In 1867 the Navy gave Swift the opportunity to repurchase the monitors, which had fallen into disrepair. Swift was able to refit the monitors for sea travel and sold them both to the Peruvian Navy.

National Archives



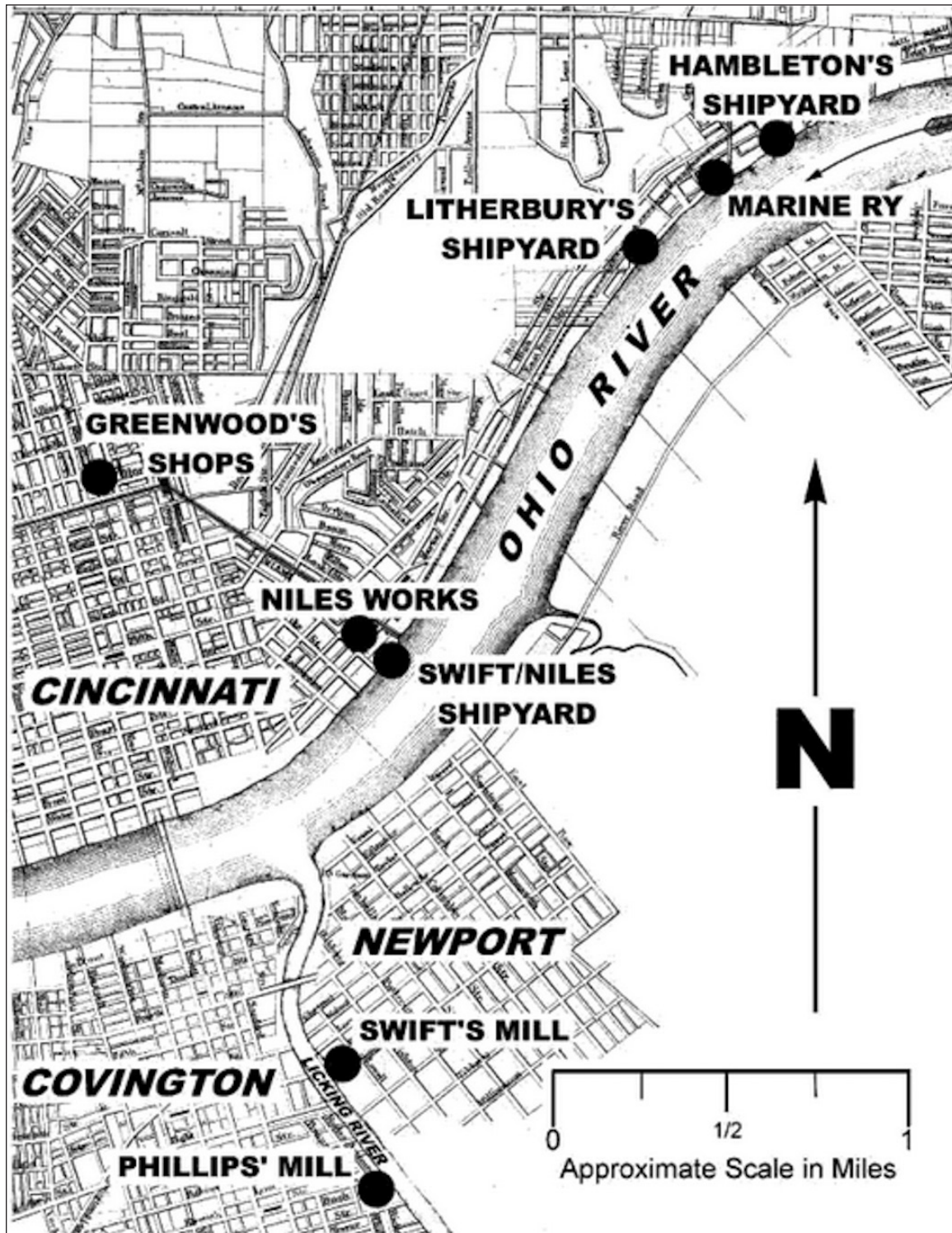
Secretary of the Navy Wells in early 1862 offering to join with the Niles firm “to make some Gun Boats...for the Western waters or the coast.” He specifically mentioned monitors and in short order the partnership had a contract to build two Tippecanoe class monitors.¹⁷ Swift and Niles constructed an entirely new shipyard that allowed the two monitors to be constructed sequentially, so as to re-use key structural elements used in the building process. The result was two of the largest Tippecanoe class iron monitors, the *Catawba* and the *Oneonta*.¹⁸ Swift, who had begun his industrial career producing shoe leather, now produced the most technologically advanced instrument of modern warfare.

The iron for these ships was contracted from Swift’s new mill in Newport, another hint that Swift was the dominant partner in the arrangement with Niles.¹⁹ The Cincinnati area was fully committed to wartime shipbuilding and in the competition for skilled workers, Swift experienced his first labor difficulties. Still the *Catawba* was launched before a crowd of thousands on April 13, 1864 and the *Oneonta* five weeks later.

The military contracts continued with the light draft river monitors, the *Klamath* and the *Yuma*. Swift had contracts in 1863 worth \$920,000 and the value of his iron works increased by 50 percent over the next year.²⁰ Swift’s monthly assessments for his iron works under the new federal excise tax rose from \$420 in 1863 to \$450 in 1864 to \$750 in 1865 to \$825 in 1866.²¹ The Swift-Niles naval construction firm was the best capitalized operation in the west, its credit never questioned.²²

Alexander’s son, Edwin, returned to Cincinnati after his very short—one month—military service, September 2, 1862 to October 2, 1862, as a private with Company B of the Ohio 11th Infantry Regiment. He returned to his father perhaps ill, perhaps wounded. Father and son both became long-term guests at the elegant 340 room Burnet House, where Lincoln had twice stayed, first campaigning and then on his way to Washington to assume the presidency. Legacy-planning was in the works and Edwin joined the Swift management as a clerk in the Cincinnati company offices.

The end of the war brought major changes and ushered in an interval that, for a while, must have seemed to Swift his best professional, and perhaps personal, years. The arrangement whereby the Niles/Swift consortium purchased its iron



Map of the Cincinnati, Ohio area showing locations of monitor contractors' shipyards and iron—works (adapted from Gilbert & Hickenlooper's—map for Williams' *Cincinnati Guide*, 1866), in Roberts, William H, *Civil War Ironclads: The US Navy and Industrial Mobilization*. p 61, Fig 3.2 © 2002 The Johns Hopkins University Press. Reprinted with permission of Johns Hopkins University Press. Swift's mill, located near the confluence of the Licking and Ohio Rivers, was one of several companies in the region with contracts to construct monitors for the Union Navy.

Courtesy of Johns Hopkins University Press

from Swift's Newport mill left the operation in solid financial shape when the war and military contracts ended.

By 1866 the Cincinnati iron mill in partnership with Evans had disappeared and the Swifts concentrated on the Newport mill: father and son working together. Alexander and Edwin left the hotel, settling into a new home at 59 West Eighth Street, next door to Briggs Swift, Alexander's older brother. Swift's mill became the Swift Iron and Steel Works. Profiting greatly from the demands generated by Civil War, Swift deployed his new capital to expand his industrial connections into Michigan for both timber-harvesting and salt-mining, purchasing three lumber mills in Saginaw County, and converting them to steam power, while also becoming a large producer of salt in the area. By 1870, while he still described himself as an iron merchant, his real estate holdings had grown to \$400,000 and the personal estate to \$100,000.

The ship-building business he had launched with the monitors for Farragut's navy continued for a while after the war. In 1871, Swift's works produced an iron sternwheeler, *The John T Moore*, for the Red River service and then in 1873 an iron steamship, the extremely expensive (\$65,000) and immodestly christened *The Alexander Swift* to haul Swift iron on the Ohio River, pioneering enterprises at a time when there were only two iron steamboats working the western rivers.

Even when shipbuilding declined, and the collaboration with Niles also ended, Swift continued to expand and develop. His technological acumen and the confidence to move into new areas and succeed, both displayed so effectively during the Civil War, were now reflected in his expansion into electricity generation. In 1881 he became president of the Swift Electric Light Company of Saginaw (Michigan) and the Saginaw Gas Light Company. Swift's investment strategy in Michigan mirrored his experience in Ohio and Kentucky: begin with an extractive primary industry (tanning in Ohio, lumber and salt in Michigan) and from that base transit into a far more technologically advanced area (iron and steel production and ship building in Ohio and Kentucky, commercial production and distribution of energy and light in Michigan). There is no doubting Alexander Swift's industrial abilities or his embrace of innovation. He was at the top of his game in these early post-War years—planning, innovating, and expanding.

Even Swift's personal and family life seemed shiny at that moment. In July 1868, just a month after his daughter Alice married George Clymer, who had deep connections to the Pennsylvania iron and steel industry, Alexander himself married again. Almira Hubbard was his third wife in 27 years. In 1871 Alexander, now 60, and his son were very much in succession mode. Edwin, promoted to treasurer of the Swift Iron and Steel Works, and Alexander, still president, worked together at the company office and Edwin continued to live with his father, and his father's new wife, in their West Eighth Street home. And in June, Alice gave birth to a grandson, Edwin.

But Swift could not escape the family curse. Even in the midst of his embrace of the new there were the many dear departed to consider. After Robert Cary, Swift's first father-in-law, died in February 1866, a decision was made to re-locate most of the family graves. And so perhaps not too surprisingly, in a lineage which has been so fixated on death, Alexander worked with his first brother-in-law William Cary, to bring the remains of seven members of the Swift and Cary families from Clovernook to the Spring Grove cemetery in Cincinnati, a distance of about six miles. On December 10, 1867 the bodies of Susan's parents, Robert and Elizabeth, two of their children, Rhonda and Lucy, a sister-in-law, Alexander's first wife, Susan, and their son, Alexander, Jr. were reburied, the Cary's in Section 53 and the Swift's in Section 47. Left behind were the remains of Anna, Robert's second wife, the locus of the deep division in the Cary family.²³

And tragedy was only temporarily held at bay: Edwin, so obviously intended as the heir to the Swift Iron and Steel Works and his father's industrial ambitions, died at the 59 West 8th Street House on June 15, 1871, age 28, from tuberculosis, the same disease that had killed his grandparents and his mother. He was buried in a brick-lined grave, the only member of the Swift and Cary families laid to rest in this manner. Not quite two years later, Alice died, as had her infant son.

With the death of his son, Alexander turned to his in-laws, the Hubbards and the Clymers, in a final effort to ensure family continuity in the control of his enterprises. In 1869, just a year after his wedding, Swift had hired his new brother-in-law, Lysander T. Hubbard, as the bookkeeper for the Swift Works. Hubbard, who did live in Newport, had been a local schoolteacher

and administrator. In 1872 he was listed as a foreman and by 1874 he was the manager of the Works. Four years later, in 1878 he was both superintendent and secretary. Hubbard was the first, belated, effort to establish a Swift family presence in Newport itself.²⁴ In 1872, a year after his son's death, Swift appointed George Clymer, his son-in-law, as vice president of the Swift Works; father and son-in-law now worked together in the Work's Cincinnati office, as had father and son. In 1874, after Alice's death, George and young Edwin moved to Newport. The Swift family was finally in Newport.

But these efforts to build links and influence in Newport came too late: events in 1874 augured the end of Swift's industrial might and the family legacy.

The Strike: The Beginning of the End

Labor unrest at Swift's Iron and Steel Works grew in late 1873 following the nation-wide financial collapse, the Panic of 1873, which began in late September. As the economy slowed abruptly, demand for iron collapsed. Owners needed to reduce prices and therefore costs: wage cuts and changes to working conditions followed.²⁵ Effective January 1, 1874, Swift imposed a new wage structure that meant a drastic cut in the wages of his skilled iron workers. What happened at the Swift mill mirrored what owners imposed in many Ohio Valley iron mills as the first global depression took hold. Many workers accepted the cuts. But the most highly skilled workers, especially puddlers, rollers, and heaters, who under a traditional model of production in iron mills, had functioned as bosses, hired their own work teams and set conditions, went on strike rather than accept the new wage limits and new limits on their autonomy and powers.²⁶

Edward Evans, a roller in the Swift mill, explained the system to a reporter for the Cincinnati Commercial: his "old wage" had been based on producing with a gang of seven workers about ten tons of boiler plate iron a day, for which he received \$5.00 per ton. From that amount he paid the workers whom he hired—two catchers, three roughers, one screwer and one furnace man—a total of \$37.90, giving him a profit of \$12.10 for the day's work. But the new system was based on iron at \$4.50 a ton and he was now forced to hire one additional hand—a shearer—which reduced his daily wage for producing ten tons of iron to \$1.40.²⁷

Swift's moves against the strikers at his mill, led by the most highly skilled, won him no local allies. Newport's city government was not inclined to give *carte*

blanche support to Swift's demands for police intervention and many Newport residents actively sought to thwart his efforts to break the strike. Swift's first action was to hire 60 skilled workers from Wheeling mills. But these men did not show up for work, perhaps because they had cottoned on to the high level of local hostility. Local landlords, sometimes willingly, sometimes as a result of threats, refused to rent accommodation to the strike-breakers whom they termed "black sheep."

In mid-January a second category of men went on strike: the contract workers to the production bosses: the roughers, catchers, rundowns and hook-ups refused to return to work "until their bosses agreed to work and obtained the old price."²⁸ Special police employed under the city police department were posted at the mill. Swift refused to pay for these additional forces, a stance which led to a legal action by the Newport City Council against Swift. Without the key skilled iron-makers, and their subsidiary laborers, production declined rapidly; by mid-February there were fewer than 200 workers at the mill, far below the 700-man labor force when full production prevailed. The strikers, without any means of support, became increasingly desperate; food kitchens were established by local charities and over 50,000 meals were served.²⁹ The area in front of the mill, known as "The Bottom," became an arena of increasingly violent conflict.

Swift found himself in the midst of a public relations disaster. The *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* voiced management's views: that the mill could not function "without more efficient protection from the police" and that it was "suicidal to their business to concede the prices demanded by the striking workmen."³⁰ This was not the view of the Newport City Council which met on Friday, February 20, giving its own Committee on Retrenchment and Reform a further week "on the salary reduction question" and refusing to appoint a special police force to control "alleged [emphasis added] mob demonstrations on the part of the employees of the Swift Iron and Steel Works."³¹

The key to forcing the mill back open was replacing the skilled workers. On Sunday morning, February 22, Swift's own steamboat, *The Alexander Swift*, arrived from Pittsburgh with 24 iron rollers aboard. The *Swift*, fitted out to provide accommodation to the striker-breakers, moored on Licking River adjacent to the mill, thwarting the local housing boycott. On Monday morning, the mill re-opened, with five special police on hand. The first riot broke out at

10am, near Speck's saloon, when one of the strike breakers ventured out of the mill, was set upon, and was beaten by 50 to 75 men who "used him up pretty badly with fists, feet and missiles."³² The local police observed—but did not intervene. The *Gazette* said that, "Mr. Swift's opinion is that it is next to useless to look to the city for city for police protection...The hearts of our city officials are evidently not in the businesses of keeping order in that part of the city."³³

Another riot broke out on early Tuesday afternoon, February 24, as workers, all residents—or more likely, boarders in adjoining Covington—left the mill after their shift. While under a police escort, they were attacked by supporters of the strike who called them "black sheep" and threw stones and other missiles. As the mob closed in, one of the strike-breakers drew and fired his pistol into the attackers, hitting instead a bystander, Frederick Boss, a 19 year old butcher's apprentice who was watching the melee. A crowd of outraged residents and strikers, estimated to be between two and three hundred, gave chase but failed to catch the shooter.³⁴ Later that Tuesday afternoon, Swift was warned by the Newport police that his steamship, on which others of the strike-breakers were housed, was under threat of attack. At midnight the *Swift* moved to the Cincinnati shore with its skilled workers aboard.

The apprentice boy's funeral on Thursday, February 26, became the focal point of the strike:

A large crowd of the neighbors of the deceased congregated at an early hour at the corner of Elm and Brighton streets [outside of the parents' home] and some 350 or 400 men from the mills in Covington and Newport assembled, and formed in line along Elm street, east of Brighton, awaiting the moving of the cortege. The body of the deceased.... was brought down to the sidewalk [from an upper room of the house] and deposited on two chairs. At this moment the Newport [Army] Barracks Band, which was stationed on the opposite sidewalk, struck up the exquisitely solemn strains of the Dead March in [Handel's] *Saul*, and the process marched in open order and with uplifted hats by and around the corpse. The body was placed in the hearse, and the whole procession with the band preceding it, and formed with the pedestrians in front and a line of 25 or 30 carriages and other vehicles in the rear, took up the line of march for the church.... Before reaching [St. John's Lutheran Church]...the pedestrian

part [of the procession] halted and the hearse and carriages
marched through and took the lead.³⁵

With the town's election annual local election only four days away, Mayor Hayman prohibited "unusual and unnecessary" assemblies on the city streets and ordered all bar rooms closed—"not only the front door, but every door," on Sunday March 1 and Monday March 2, the day before and the day of the city election.³⁶ Turnout was heavy and the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* commented it was "heavier by fully 200 than any previous vote," but that there were still "two or three hundred votes" that remained "unpolled" [eg men who did not vote].³⁷

The strike continued but, after Boss's killing, now faced a much more organized opposition. Preston Leslie, the Governor of Kentucky, offered military assistance, acting under his authority as the state's commander-in-chief. Mayor Hayman replied that he would not request troops unless there were further violent demonstrations.³⁸ As Swift's mill prepared to re-open on Friday, March 6, Mayor Hayman ordered 20 special city police to The Bottom and requested from Governor Leslie the urgent dispatch of state militia troops. Twenty-five armed state militia troops arrived from Lexington on Monday, March 9 and departed, without incident, on Thursday. On Friday, Swift's attorneys brought three legal actions of \$20,000 each against the two bosses of work teams who had been identified as leaders of the strike: Patrick Shield, age 29, a roller, and John Phillips, 30, a heater. Both these men were immigrants. Shields and his wife Joanna were of Irish birth while Phillips and his wife Margaret were English. Each family had four young children. Phillips, charged in one action, had taxable assets of \$5510 and a declared wealth of \$3800; Shield, charged in two actions, had taxable assets of \$1000 and a declared wealth of \$1000. Swift's allegations were detailed:

The plaintiff says substantially that it has been doing business since 1866 ; that it employs sometimes as many as 700 men, that the defendants , Philips and Shields, were employed as bosses up to December 1, 1873, when they became dissatisfied and abandoned their employer; that combining with other persons they enticed and procured many of the others of the plaintiff's workmen to abandon work at the plaintiff's mill, these later by the advice etc of [the] defendants afterward refused employment under [the] plaintiff; that since December 1, 1873, [the] plaintiff

procured and employed still other hands, some of whom began work; and that [the] defendants, by intermeddling, interferences, annoyances, hootings, offensive names, epithets, intimidation, threats, and acts of violence, by themselves and others, persuaded, forced, and drove away said workmen, and compelled the plaintiff to close up his establishment for a long time, doing damages as foresaid.³⁹

The workers at the Bottom dismissed the suits as “buncombe” and told reporters that “nobody is at all scared.”⁴⁰

The workers may not have been scared, but the strike gradually faded. Both Patrick Shield and John Phillips fled the city. Shields returned to Newport in time for a grand ball in aid of “the brethren” and survived the lawsuits against him. In 1880 he and Joanna, with two more children, were living in Covington where he worked in Rolling Mill Number 6. John Phillips and Margaret and their four children disappeared from the area.

The disquiet with Swift on the City Council was clear, as was the continuing hostility shown by many city residents toward his strike-breakers. Hostility increased further after Swift refused to pay the city’s bill of \$117 for the special police provided by the city to protect those strike breakers.⁴¹ At the same meeting where this refusal was publically revealed, the Council began talking about offering inducements to attract a new rolling mill to Newport.⁴²

The strike ended on May 1, 1874. According to the *Covington Daily Commonwealth*, “the men went to work at lower rates than the company offered them at the outset.”⁴³

SISW survived the strike, but the brutal economic pressures were intense. By 1876 Swift’s operation was the only steel mill still operating in Newport or Covington. The price of the conflict may have been high even for Swift, who no longer resided at his Cincinnati house on West Eighth Street. Perhaps he had been forced to sell it, for in 1877 he was residing alone at the new Grand Hotel; in 1878 he was at his old haunt, the Burnet Hotel, and then back at the Grand Hotel in 1880.

Ultimately, however, the failure of Swift’s Newport plant was at least as much associated with the loss of family control of the business as with the hard

economic times, or even the strike. Edward L. Harper, a pig iron merchant in Cincinnati who was not related to the Swifts, the Carys, the Hubbards, or the Clymers, became treasurer of the Swift Works in 1878, the first non-family member to hold a strategic position in the company. In 1880 Harper bought the mill and the next year Swift was living again in a house at 298 West Fourth Street. Harper, who owned another steel mill on the Cincinnati side of the Ohio, then became president of the SISW. In what must have been a colossal defeat, the 67 year old Swift lost his greatest industrial achievement, which now consisted of a blast furnace, 32 puddling furnaces, two iron mills and a rail mill. Swift was separated from the Works and moved from its office back to his workplace at 26 W Third Street, presumably now associated only with his business interests in Michigan. Clymer and Hubbard remained as vice-president and superintendent/secretary under Harper, for a while.

Hubbard appeared in Cincinnati's city directories of 1884 and 1886 with no listed occupation. The last mention of the Swift Iron and Steel Works came in 1886; the Swift family story in Cincinnati and Newport was rapidly coming to a close.

The family's attention was now focused on the far smaller operations in Michigan: Alexander remained president of the Saginaw Light Company and in 1887 Hubbard assumed the office of vice president. Swift retained his old office at 26 West Third until 1889 when he had no listed office.

By then Harper had lost the Swift Iron and Steel mill, the fall-out of a failed effort to corner the Chicago wheat market in the summer of 1887. Harper was arrested, tried for fraud and sentenced to ten years in the Ohio penitentiary at Columbus, later to be pardoned by President Benjamin Harrison.⁴⁴ The Newport mill was caught up in the court action and became inactive. It was sold on the steps of the Newport Courthouse to a local consortium and then sold again, under the name of the Newport Iron and Steel Company. In 1891, after yet another local consortium failed to keep the mill as a viable operation, the entire sprawling eight-acre industrial plant was sold to Joseph and Albert Andrews for \$249,000.

Swift died at home in May the following year and Almira, his third wife, became president and treasurer of the Saginaw Gas Light Company, the only legacy and the only survivor of Alexander Swift's life-long effort to connect his industrial and personal worlds.⁴⁵ ■

Endnotes

- 1 He was, however, chosen as a director of the Newport and Maysville Railroad at a meeting held in Newport in the summer of 1878.
- 2 Taylor stipulated that his slaves would serve his children and then, at age 30 for men and 28 for women, they would be freed. He made special provisions for 14 of these enslaved people, believing they were loyal servants.
- 3 Taylor's disreputable and incompetent son, who was executor of the Taylor estate, immediately violated almost all of these principles after his father's death, giving rise to familial lawsuits and legal actions. See Superior Court of Cincinnati, Civil Action, George T. Williamson and Jane M. Williamson vs James Taylor, et. al. March 12, 1855. Taylor's heirs also fought against the provisions of their father's will granting lands to several of the freed slaves, conceding only in 1891 after two of the slaves brought successful suits against the estate. See Kentucky State Journal, June 9, 1891.
- 4 Jesse S Birch, "The Cary Sisters in Oxford," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 20 (2, 1924): 187-193.
- 5 William H. Roberts, *Civil War Ironclads: The U.S. Navy and Industrial Mobilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press): 52-4.
- 6 *Scientific American*, 6 (1862): 174; US Government, *Specifications and Drawings of Patents Issued from the US Patent Office* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1875): 708-9.
- 7 Robert Cary was, like James Taylor, a soldier in the War of 1812; both were part of General Hull's disastrous Detroit campaign. Taylor was captured by the British but as an officer was quickly paroled. Cary was with Hull at his ignominious surrender of Fort Detroit.
- 8 Quoted in William H Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley: Historical and Biographical Sketches* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1891): 483.
- 9 Edgar Allan Poe, *Southern Literary Messenger* (February, 1849).
- 10 John Greenleaf Whittier, *The Singer* (1871).
- 11 In the 1920s when she was in her sixties, Laura Ingalls Wilder, assisted by her daughter Rose, perfected this genre in her *Little House on the Prairie* stories. Alice and Phoebe's poems appeared in *Harpers*, *Atlantic monthly*, *New York Ledger*, *New York Weekly*, *Scribner's Monthly*, *Galaxy*, and *Putnam's Magazine*. Alice wrote two more recollections of her life in the west: *Clovernook Children* (1854), and *Pictures of Country Life* (1859).
- 12 Mary Clemmer, *The Poetical Works of Alice and Phoebe Cary, With a Memorial to Their Lives* (Cambridge: Hurd and Houghton, 1876): 46. Clemmer may have been referring to tuberculosis.
- 13 Clymer was from a Pennsylvania steel making family and would ultimately become vice president of the Swift Iron and Steel Works, based in Newport. A Princeton graduate, he had mining and railroad experience as well as being part of a family-owned iron mill in Temple, Pennsylvania.
- 14 The Cary Cottage as it is now known is on the National Register of Historic Places. The house and surrounding land were purchased by William Proctor and given in trust for the use of the visually handicapped, now the Clovernook Center for the Blind and Visually Impaired.
- 15 Alexander Swift to General J C Fremont, September 11, 1861. United States, Union Provost Marshals' Papers, 1861-1867. See Margaret Walsh, *The Rise of the Midwest Meatpacking Industry* (Lexington University of Kentucky Press, 1982): 65, 102.
- 16 Swift's brother, Abraham, was a partner with Seth Evan's brother, Benjamin, in the meat packing business under the name of Swift, Evans, and Company, advertising as "Pork Packers and Commission Merchants." Briggs Swift, Alexander's other brother, also had a business with the Evans family. The partnership between Abraham Swift and Benjamin Evans in the meatpacking business ended the same year, 1865 that Alexander's iron manufacturing partnership with Seth Evans ended. Swifts two brothers, Abraham and Briggs, took over the meat-packing company.
- 17 William H. Roberts, *Civil War Ironclads: The U.S. Navy and Industrial Mobilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 55-62. Quotation on p. 55.
- 18 See Jon Scharf and Rick Stager, "It All Started with Steamboats: The Niles Works and the Origins of Cincinnati's Machine Tool Industry," *Queen City Heritage* 4 (Spring, 1996) 34-48; reference, p. 46. See also *Cincinnati Civil War Round Table*, Gary Q. Johnson, "The Monitor Class Ironclads at the Dawn of Industrialized Warfare," talk given January 21, 2010.

- 19 Roberts, *Civil War Ironclads*, 70.
- 20 Roberts, *Civil War Ironclads*, 142.
- 21 Based on the 22 months for which we have been able to locate tax records.
- 22 Roberts, *Civil War Ironclads*, 142-144, 181. The US Navy paid Swift \$1,250,000 for the Catawba and the Oneota; after the war he bought them back, slightly used, for 755,000 and sold them to the Peruvian Navy where they had new names: the *Atahualpa* and the *Manco Capac*.
- 23 Anna was buried with her first husband.
- 24 Hubbard and his family lived in Newport by the summer of 1866 where he was employed as a superintendent of a public school. George W Bond, who lived in neighboring Covington, had been the manager of the Swift's Newport mill; in dismissing Bond and appointing Hubbard in early March, as the strike neared its peak, Swift made clear the premium he placed on family ties, especially in troubled times.
- 25 For background and context, see Herbert Gutman, "An Iron Workers Strike in the Ohio Valley, 1873-1874," *Ohio Historical Quarterly*, 68(October, 1959): 353-370.
- 26 For details on the prevailing system of work teams in steel mills see James J. Davis, *The Iron Puddler: My Life in the Rolling Mills and What Became of It* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1922), esp 85-113; John A Fitch, "Unionism in the Iron and Steel Industry," *Political Science Quarterly*, 24 (March, 1909): 57-79; Michael Santos, "Between Hegemony and Autonomy: The Skilled Iron Workers' Search for Identity, 1900-1930," *Labor History*, 35 (June, 1994): 399-423; and Anne Knowles, *Mastering Iron: The Struggle to Modernize an American Industry, 100-1868* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2013): 63-110.
- 27 *Cincinnati Commercial*, February 26, 1874.
- 28 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, January 19, 1874.
- 29 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, March 9, 1874.
- 30 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, February 25, 1874.
- 31 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, February 21, 1874.
- 32 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, February 24, 1874.
- 33 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, February 24, 1874.
- 34 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, February 25, 1874. Three men from Covington were eventually arrested in connection with the shooting—Jeremiah Healy, Daniel Miller, and F. M. Weaver—all of Covington but working in the Swift mill. Healy said he was threatened with death if he did not quit the Swift mill but said the wages were fair and he had a family to support.
- 35 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, February 27, 1874. That the US Army Band from the Newport Barracks join the funeral procession for the young boy killed by Swift's armed strike-breakers was another, poignant, reminder of the community hostility Swift encountered as he sought to break a strike against his massive economic investment in a town where he had no physical presence, few social ties and no political networks.
- 36 Proclamation February Cincinnati Daily Gazette, February 25, 1874.
- 37 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, March 4, 1874; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, March 5, 1874 gave the estimate of the "unpolled" as three to four hundred.
- 38 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, March 2, 1874.
- 39 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, March 18, 1874.
- 40 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, March 18, 1874.
- 41 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, March 7, 1874.
- 42 *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, March 18, 1874.
- 43 *Covington Daily Commonwealth*, June 1, 1881.
- 44 *New York Times*, June 23, 1887; December 14, 1888; January 13, 1891.
- 45 Edwin Swift Clymer, Alexander Swift's only surviving grandchild, prepared for a career in the steel industry; he worked as a laborer in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, probably in the steel industry and in 1894 wrote his senior thesis at Lafayette College in Easton on "Spinal in Blast Furnace Slag." Instead of continuing along this line he studied art at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and became a noticed painter with works at the Art Institute of Chicago.

Voting Viva Voce

UNLOCKING THE SOCIAL LOGIC OF PAST POLITICS

Voting Viva Voce

Unlocking the Social Logic of Past Politics

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Two mid-nineteenth century cities—Alexandria, Virginia and Newport, Kentucky—shared a common voting arrangement: both states required all votes in all elections to be cast in public by voice (viva voce). The poll books provided an official written record of every voter's spoken declaration. Professor Don DeBats presents and analyses this data on the website.

Public Voting. This project reveals the world of American politics at a time when every citizen's vote was public knowledge, and shows how social identity influenced votes.

Alexandria, Virginia | 1850s. On the Potomac just opposite Washington DC, Alexandria was a thriving commercial city based on slave labor in the late 1850's as the secession crisis loomed.

Newport, Kentucky | 1870. On the Ohio just opposite Cincinnati, Newport was, as the Panic of 1873 crashed down, a thriving industrial city based on immigrant labor.

Colophon

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