

Rockefeller down on the golf course to deliver a folded sheet with share prices. Aside from cash, railroad securities, U.S. bonds, and Wall Street loans, Rockefeller retained most of his money in Standard Oil companies and could quote the precise number of shares he held in each of his stocks, even when they ran to five digits.

Partial to old habits, Rockefeller continued to trade by buying each time a stock declined an eighth of a point or selling on each eighth-point rise. Having relinquished most of his money to Junior, he often borrowed up to twenty million dollars to execute these transactions and occasionally cadged loans from his son. “John,” he said to him one day, “I’ve been following the stock market carefully. I think that if I had a little money, I could use it to make some more. Do you believe you could lend me several hundred thousand dollars?” “Well father,” said Junior wryly, “do you think you are old enough to use it wisely?”<sup>3</sup>

The Rockefellers fared handsomely in the effervescent market of the Roaring Twenties. As the market soared, Junior more than doubled the \$450 million he had received, and his assets approached the billion-dollar mark. When the market crashed in October 1929, the Rockefellers were caught by surprise. Ivy Lee convinced Junior of the publicity value of a calming statement from his father. After buying a million shares of Standard of New Jersey, Rockefeller issued a press release that had been scripted by Lee: “These are days when many are discouraged. In the ninety years of my life, depressions have come and gone. Prosperity has always returned, and will again.” In his peroration, he said, “Believing that the fundamental conditions of the country are sound, my son and I have been purchasing sound common stocks for some days.”<sup>4</sup> When the comedian Eddie Cantor was informed that the Rockefellers had resumed buying stocks, he responded with the wisecrack, “Sure, who else had any money left?”<sup>5</sup>

After the crash, Junior and Tom Debevoise worried about the financial health of the Equitable Trust, which had operated under Rockefeller control since 1911. They plucked Abby’s brother, Winthrop Aldrich, from the law firm of Murray, Aldrich, and Webb and placed him in charge of the Equitable. A few months later, Aldrich orchestrated a merger with Chase National, creating the world’s largest bank and one henceforth referred to as “the Rockefeller Bank”—even though the descendants of James Stillman and William Rockefeller steered the rival National City Bank. Some years later, Aldrich also effected a merger of his old law firm with that of Bert Milbank

(Junior's old friend from the Browning School) to form the firm known today as Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy, which would be closely associated with the Rockefellers.



***A poetic picture of John D. Rockefeller taken on his ninety-first birthday at Pocantico Hills, July 8, 1930. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)***

Junior was dispatched to Chicago to salvage what he could from the wreckage of Edith's business affairs—which did not endear him to Edith, who saw this as more high-handed meddling. At Junior's behest, she moved from her Lake Shore mansion into a suite at the Drake Hotel, where she was provided with a family allowance. Then, in early 1930, she was diagnosed with cancer in her right breast and underwent a mastectomy and radiation therapy. While convalescing, she tried to stave off bankruptcy by selling her pearls and emeralds to Cartier for nearly one million dollars, begging Junior for a million-dollar loan for her real-estate business, and asking her father to buy the Villa Turicum for more than two million dollars. Having had more than enough, Rockefeller declined to advance her additional money.

In 1932, after she developed a chronic cough, doctors found a dark spot on Edith's lower ribs; she tried, to no avail, to cure this cancer through psychological techniques. Until the end, she promised that she would try to see her father, but these ritual assertions had become a polite fiction between them. Her children and even her ex-husband, Harold, made repeated visits to her bedside. On August 25, 1932, Edith died in her suite at the Drake Hotel. For all her unconventional ideas, Edith had never renounced the possibility that Harold would leave Ganna Walska and return; like an old-fashioned wife,

she had long kept his room at 1000 Lake Shore Drive untouched, with the furniture unchanged and his clothes hanging in the closet. It was a strange clutch of pallbearers who carried her coffin to the grave: Harold, Fowler, Junior, and Edwin Krenn. When Junior tried to exclude Krenn from the funeral, Harold, in deference to Edith, overrode his objections. In her will, Edith left more money to Krenn— five-twelfths of her estate—than to any of her three children. The Rockefeller lawyers furiously battled the bequest to Krenn until he capitulated and settled for a \$24,000 annuity for life. At the news of her death, James Joyce struck a belated note of forgiveness. “I’m sorry to learn of the death of Mrs. McCormick,” he told a friend. “She was very kind to me at a difficult moment and was a woman of considerable distinction.”<sup>6</sup>

For all his financial savvy, Senior was democratically dragged down in the crash along with lesser mortals and saw his rump fortune of \$25 million dwindle to a mere \$7 million, prompting grandson Winthrop to exclaim, “For grandfather, that was being practically broke!”<sup>7</sup> In 1932, in a passing, persnickety moment, Rockefeller told Debevoise that Junior should give him \$3.5 million as an “equitable adjustment” for all the money he had spent on the Rockefeller family office during the previous ten years. Rockefeller soon retracted his request, but his momentary pique showed that he was unnerved by his thin cushion of cash.

Junior also had unaccustomed money worries after the crash, as his net worth was slashed from almost \$1 billion in 1929 to less than \$500 million in 1934. The damage to his annual income was still more savage: From a peak of \$56.7 million in the 1920s, it dropped to \$16.5 million by the second year of the New Deal. Because he had made so many charitable pledges during the 1920s boom, his expenditures began to outpace his income by the early 1930s. Right before Roosevelt’s inauguration, Junior had to liquidate large positions in Standard of New Jersey and Indiana and borrow almost eight million dollars to meet prior commitments.

Throughout the Roosevelt years, the Rockefellers struggled with an ideological dilemma. As longtime donors to Republican causes, they found much of the New Deal abominable and feared, like many other rich Americans, that Roosevelt was giving away the country. At the same time, they had a patrician sense of obligation toward the poor. While Hoover was still president, Senior and Junior gave two million dollars to the Emergency Unemployment Relief, a private charity. When Roosevelt became president in

1933, Rockefeller was nudged by his son into issuing a patriotic statement in praise of “the courage and progressive leadership of President Roosevelt.”<sup>8</sup> (Setting an amusing example of austerity for the masses, he started to give out nickels instead of dimes.) In 1933, Junior even broadcast a radio appeal for the ultraliberal National Industrial Recovery Act. Yet despite the lip service paid to Roosevelt’s policies, the Rockefellers continued to prefer private charity to public-works programs. At Pocantico, Junior charted fifty miles of new carriage trails to create extra jobs and gave generously to the American Red Cross and other relief agencies. Senior quickly cooled on the New Deal, and when the Social Security Act was enacted in 1935 he was sure it would destroy America’s moral fiber.

As Junior’s net worth tumbled after the crash, he began to feel the financial strain of Colonial Williamsburg and a new real-estate project in midtown Manhattan that was at first known as Metropolitan Square. With this last project, Junior became entangled in the sort of high-stakes maneuvering that had distinguished his father’s career but had played no part in his own. The genesis of the project dated back to 1928 when the Metropolitan Opera Company decided to abandon its old quarters and create a new opera house on a site owned by Columbia University between Forty-eighth and Fifty-first Streets and Fifth and Sixth Avenues. Flanked by the Sixth Avenue elevated train and studded with speakeasies, pawnshops, bars, and other such sleazy haunts, the area was an unlikely choice for an opulent new opera house. Otto Kahn, a Kuhn, Loeb partner and chairman of the Metropolitan Opera Company, convinced Junior that he could render a community service and turn a tidy profit (an irresistible combination for a Rockefeller) by leasing the surrounding parcels from Columbia and building a showcase setting for the opera. After Charles O. Heydt canvassed five real-estate experts, Junior, seized by an impulse and without consulting a lawyer, authorized Heydt to close the deal with Columbia for a lease that would cost more than three million dollars per year.

The Metropolitan Opera could not fetch a high-enough price for its old building to construct a new one and suggested to Junior that he pay for half the cost of its new eight-million-dollar home. Feeling used and blackmailed, Junior turned them down, and when the Metropolitan Opera withdrew from the project, he was suddenly saddled with 229 shabby old brownstones amid the worsening economic environment. Without the opera, the development seemed to lose both its centerpiece and *raison d’être*, yet bills kept pouring in, and by the spring of 1930 Junior had paid out ten million dollars. Each year

he was liable for another four million dollars in leases and taxes, and the rentals scarcely covered a tenth of that amount. One option was simply to scuttle the development. But Junior had always had a nagging sense of being patronized by the business community, and perhaps he now saw a chance for vindication, a chance to prove that he was really his father's son. In his most audacious career decision, he decided that he would personally finance a new complex of office buildings and round up the corporate tenants himself. As he persevered, he endured gales of ridicule and was even mocked in a Broadway play, *As Thousands Cheer*, where the hapless Junior was depicted as trying to palm off Rockefeller Center as a birthday gift on his unsuspecting father.

As might be expected, Junior suffered dreadful tension and insomnia over the midtown project. "I walk the floor nights," he told architect Wallace Harrison, "wondering where I'm going to get the money to build these buildings."<sup>9</sup> A novel situation for a Rockefeller, indeed. In the spring of 1931, recognizing the telltale symptoms, doctors advised him to take a vacation with Abby in Arizona. At the Arizona Inn in Tucson, a lady sitting at a nearby table in the restaurant waved to Junior, and only later did he discover that it was Ida Tarbell. By the 1920s, her famous history of the Standard Oil Company could be found only in secondhand bookstores, and when reissued in 1925 it failed to sell.

Returning to New York, Junior endured a debilitating case of shingles, which the doctors blamed on nervous exhaustion. He was also suffering such frequent colds that tests were performed at the Rockefeller Institute to see whether a serum could be developed from his germs that might prevent future colds. Despite his medical problems, Junior displayed a new toughness in dealing with the midtown complex. First, he had to settle the vexed question of a name to supersede the now obsolete Metropolitan Square. Like his father, Junior hesitated to employ the Rockefeller name, but a team of advisers, from Ivy Lee to son Nelson to managing agent John Todd, convinced him that "Rockefeller Center" would be the most potent marketing tool—an indication of how far the family image had advanced since the dark days of the muckrakers. To lend the complex a forward-looking image, the managers decided to create a "radio city" as its linchpin. In July 1931, after RCA, NBC, and Radio-Keith-Orpheum (RKO) agreed to lease one million square feet of office space for \$3 million a year, Junior broke ground on the first of fourteen projected buildings.

Junior supervised Rockefeller Center with a command he had never shown

before in any moneymaking venture. Each morning, he arrived at work by eight o'clock, a golden five-foot ruler wedged into his back pocket. Taking huge blueprints off the table, he would unroll them on the floor and crawl about, taking measurements with his ruler. Construction during the Depression had distinct advantages, most notably in lower costs for labor and building materials, and Rockefeller Center provided work for 75,000 unionized building workers.

From the outset, Junior told John Todd that the cluster of buildings had to be architecturally distinguished and harmonious. Wallace Harrison, who had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and his colleagues turned to European modernism to endow Rockefeller Center with a sleek, futuristic look. Junior's one—and quite major—concession to contemporary taste had a canny commercial rationale behind it. Had the design of the complex been stodgy and old-fashioned, it would have undercut the Radio City marketing approach and the technologically advanced aura of the project. Ornamented with Art Deco motifs, the tapered towers of Indiana limestone, steel, glass, and masonry shot 850 feet into the air yet were spaced widely enough to create an airy sensation at plaza level. Though critics eventually labeled Rockefeller Center the world's finest skyscraper ensemble, they almost universally carped at it at its inception.

To lend added artistic distinction to the project, Diego Rivera was commissioned to paint a mural for the prestige spot in the RCA Building lobby. Despite his left-wing politics, Abby had bought Rivera's watercolors, exhibited his frescoes at MoMA, and invited him and his wife, Frida Kahlo, to 10 West Fifty-fourth Street. Nelson negotiated the coveted commission, and the Rockefeller Center overseers chose a suitably momentous and ostensibly noncontroversial theme: "Man at the Crossroads Looking with Hope and High Vision to the Choosing of a New and Better Future."<sup>10</sup> In the spring of 1933, Rivera began to sketch his vision of capitalist society as a diseased world of brutalized workers and scrofulous, card-playing capitalists, contrasting it with a hopeful, revolutionary world, symbolized by red flags and crowned by Lenin's saintly visage. His wife and assistants begged him to delete the head of the Bolshevik leader, but Rivera was determined to *épater les bourgeois*, and the press gloated over the Rockefeller predicament. "Rivera Perpetrates Scenes of Communist Activity for R.C.A. Walls—and Rockefeller Foots the Bill," one paper said.<sup>11</sup> After Rivera refused to delete Lenin's head, he was paid in full and dismissed from the job. He had told Nelson that he preferred the destruction of his piece to any tampering with it,

and his mural was in fact reluctantly dismantled. “The picture was obscene and, in the judgment of Rockefeller Center, an offense to good taste,” Junior hastily explained to his father. “It was for this reason primarily that Rockefeller Center decided to destroy it.”<sup>12</sup>

With the completion of the RCA Building in 1933, Junior moved the Rockefeller family offices from 26 Broadway to the fifty-sixth floor of the new skyscraper. Henceforth, room 5600 would be the seat of the Rockefeller empire, with several hundred employees. Nelson, who was still in his twenties, got a real-estate license and soon became a frenetic salesman for empty office space at Rockefeller Center. To woo tenants, he offered attractive rents and agreed to assume their old leases. Several companies in the Rockefeller fold—including Standard Oil of New Jersey, Socony–Vacuum, Standard Oil of California, and Chase National Bank—took space in the new midtown complex. In 1938, the first year it turned a profit, Nelson was named president of Rockefeller Center. By the time Junior hammered in the last of some ten million rivets in 1939, he had transformed the project from the butt of malicious jokes into one of the Depression’s outstanding business triumphs.

Even as his son created one city in midtown Manhattan and re-created another in Williamsburg, Virginia, Rockefeller remained curiously indifferent toward the urban complex that would so lastingly perpetuate his name. Amazingly enough, he probably never set foot in Rockefeller Center. “He wasn’t interested in things of that sort,” said Junior, “and I don’t think we ever discussed Williamsburg and seldom discussed Rockefeller Center. . . . He was broad-minded and tolerant but this kind of thing didn’t enter his life. He might conceivably have asked about questions of financing or labor troubles at Rockefeller Center or Williamsburg, but that would be the only type of question that he would be interested in.”<sup>13</sup> Senior might have followed its progress more closely than Junior realized, for Nelson remembered him waking from a nap, motioning him over to his Morris chair, and firing penetrating, detailed questions about the midtown project. Nevertheless, absorbed with his own creations, Rockefeller tended to screen out his son’s accomplishments and overlook what he himself had not initiated. For all that, Junior remained slavishly devoted to his father. A wire that he sent on the eve of a visit seems to sum up this reverence: “Am not coming because I think you need me but because I know I need you.”<sup>14</sup>

In his nineties, Rockefeller radiated the cheer of an elder statesman. The

spindly little man weighed less than one hundred pounds and looked as if he had been shrunk by a witch doctor. He was scarcely affected by the recrudescence of Rockefeller-baiting books that appeared in the left-wing atmosphere of the Depression. In such polemics as *The Robber Barons* by Matthew Josephson, critics returned to the view popularized by Henry Demarest Lloyd and Ida Tarbell that Rockefeller had been the greatest corporate brigand of his day and owed his success to his ruthlessness and dishonesty, not to his business acumen. Yet this resurgence of old resentments was short-lived. The surge of patriotic feeling that accompanied World War II led to a renewed appreciation of the iron men of American industry who had bequeathed such military might to the country—a view very much in evidence in the authorized two-volume biography of Rockefeller that was published by Columbia University historian Allan Nevins in 1940 and in revised form in 1953. Rockefeller was always either lionized or vandalized according to the temper of the times.

Still vigorous, Rockefeller could send a golf ball sailing 165 yards down the fairway. In 1930, he marched through six holes in twenty-five shots. Then, his strength began to wane, and he gradually had to curtail his game. With typical precision, he reduced his number of daily holes from six to four to two; after contracting a severe cold in 1932, he had to abandon golf altogether. The ninety-three-year-old Rockefeller bounced back from this ill health with renewed good humor. One paper reported, “He was so delighted to be out in the warm sunshine again that once he stopped and sang a hymn as he gazed with twinkling eyes at the myriad of brilliant flowers and shrubs.”<sup>15</sup> He reiterated his wish to live to one hundred, viewing it as God’s final verdict on his life. “Many folks believe I’ve done much harm in the world,” he told Ormond Beach’s mayor, George N. Rigby, “but on the other hand I’ve tried to do what good I could and I really would like to live to be a hundred.”<sup>16</sup> As Rigby described it, Rockefeller grew even more detached from material things as he approached the end of life:

*I recall one day we were sitting on his front porch at Ormond watching a most elaborate yacht winding its way down the Halifax River toward Palm Beach. He expressed his wonder at the possible pleasure a man could get out of such show and pretension. Then, after a moment or two, the whole expression of his face changed and he asked enthusiastically, “Wasn’t that a beautiful rain we had last night?”<sup>17</sup>*

Rockefeller’s improbable love affair with the movie camera flourished. In



1930, he was invited to attend festivities in Cleveland to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of Standard Oil of Ohio. Too frail to go, he agreed to shoot a newsreel that would be shown at the celebration. Sitting on his sunlit porch as the cameras rolled, Rockefeller delivered a congratulatory message in a thin voice. "And the gesture of his removing his glasses when he finished reading and turned to regard me where I stood behind the camera revealed a natural actor," said his handpicked cameraman, Curt Engelbrecht. Two weeks later, when a Standard of Ohio executive flew down to Ormond Beach, Rockefeller was shot playing golf and greeting the executive as his plane alighted on the green. Showing surprising spunk, the ninety-one-year-old Rockefeller boarded the airplane and was eager to fly off, cameras rolling, when his vigilant valet, John Yordi, called off the flight as subjecting him to too much excitement. In a compromise, the monoplane taxied up and down the runway, with Rockefeller inside waving to the cameras. "You make me feel like a movie actor," Rockefeller told Engelbrecht.

Though free of self-pity, Rockefeller often seemed forlorn in the 1930s. Too proud to plead for visits from descendants, he dropped hints and tactful suggestions that he would like to see them more, but this did not seem to work. He craved some human warmth that he never fully got from his own family or perhaps had never really allowed to flower. Engelbrecht noted Rockefeller's strange fascination with a little girl named Lucille, who was the daughter of his chauffeur, Vincent Frasca.

*She somehow filled a tremendous gap for him, and it may be safely asserted that he demonstrated an affection for her that he was never known to manifest for one of his own blood. Never a day passed but she paid a visit to him or he came looking for her. In her presence everything else was forgotten. She was a charm for him. He talked with her and told her stories. His face brightened to her responses, and his eyes warmed in his glances in her direction.* <sup>18</sup>

As the Depression progressed, Junior found himself in the same uncomfortable position that his father had been in a generation before: His children were restive and wanted him to make some final disposition of his money. It infuriated them that they were now married grown-ups still living on allowances who had to go hat in hand to father for a new car or trip abroad. In May 1933, Junior heard the first murmurs of outright rebellion when his children complained in a collective letter that too much of their time with him was taken up with money squabbles that jeopardized family relations, and they petitioned him for larger allowances. To mollify his

mutinous offspring, Junior gave his three oldest children—Babs, John III, and Nelson—200,000 shares of Socony– Vacuum apiece, providing each with about \$3.2 million.

The following year, Congress sharply boosted tax schedules. Rates jumped for the top income bracket from 55 to 63 percent, while the estate tax soared from 45 to 60 percent for estates valued beyond \$50 million and the gift tax rose from 33 to 45 percent for sums beyond \$10 million. Junior decided to set up trusts for his wife and children before the steeper gift tax took effect at year's end. To safeguard this money, which would be managed by the trust department of the Chase National Bank, he stipulated that the children could draw income, but that principal withdrawals had to be approved by trustees. (Junior made an invidious exception for Abby and Babs, who could not touch principal under any circumstances.) Since the trustees included such intimates of Junior as Raymond Fosdick, Tom Debevoise, and Winthrop Aldrich, he did not forfeit total control. The largest single trust went to Abby, who received \$18.3 million and the full freedom to purchase modern art with her income. Babs, John III, and Nelson got \$12 million apiece and Laurance, Winthrop, and David smaller amounts. The following year, Junior added money to these last three accounts to equalize the trusts.

In all, Junior transmitted \$102 million—or more than \$1 billion in 1996 dollars—to his wife and children through the trusts. As he explained the operating philosophy behind them to Laurance:

*They have been created in accordance with the policy which your Grandfather Rockefeller adopted with his children and which I hope your children will ultimately follow. . . . As you know, Grandfather and I have always been keenly alive to the responsibilities inherent in the possession of wealth. He believes, as I do, that these responsibilities and the opportunities which they bring for useful living and unselfish service to mankind should be shared with those of the next generation when and as soon as they have reached such an age and attained such a maturity as justifies their being entrusted with them.<sup>19</sup>*

The \$102 million that Junior bequeathed to his heirs was a stupendous sum, yet it represented only a fraction of the money he had inherited. Between 1917 and 1960, Junior gave away \$537 million directly, plus another \$540 million indirectly through organized Rockefeller philanthropies. (Junior did not leave himself a pauper. He was left with about \$200 million in the 1950s,

while his descendants, wisely investing their inheritances, were worth more than \$6.2 billion in 1996.) He also paid \$317 million in taxes to federal, state, and local governments. So whatever Rockefeller's plunder, the great bulk of the gain was ultimately plowed back into worthwhile projects and the public purse. Such was the indignation aroused by Standard Oil, however, that perhaps only generosity on this extraordinary scale could have softened memories of the ravaging monopolist.

Rockefeller inspired many premature reports of his demise, and his habitual secrecy about his medical condition kept the press on high alert. In 1934, at ninety-five, he suffered a bout of bronchial pneumonia that threatened to thwart his goal of reaching one hundred, but he managed to recover. His weight dropped below ninety pounds, and he decided to abandon Kykuit for good. He loaded up a private railroad car with fruits, vegetables, cultured milk, and oxygen canisters and traveled to The Casements, where he settled permanently. Determined to eke out five more years, he drastically restricted his routine to conserve energy. No more golf, no more afternoon larks in the car, no more garden walks. He took off his expensive silver wigs, never to don them again. As his pace slackened, the servants marched to his slower tempo, and a twilight hush seemed to descend over the Ormond Beach house. Watchful and alert, the wizened little man sat for hours on the sunporch. To maintain muscle tone in his legs, he mounted a stationary bicycle in his room every day and slowly cycled. When he reached ninety-six on July 8, 1935, his insurance company, abiding by an old custom, had to pay him five million dollars, the face value of his policy. According to contemporary actuarial tables, only one person in 100,000 lived that long.

Always ready to embrace change, the old man liked to watch Hollywood movies at home, especially those with shapely blondes, such as Jean Harlow. His life, however, still revolved around religion, and when he was too weak to go to church, he listened to sermons on a bedside radio. His thoughts turned toward eternity. When Henry Ford was leaving one day, Rockefeller said to him, "Good bye, I'll see you in heaven," and Ford replied, "You will if you get in."<sup>20</sup> Yet Rockefeller seemed to know for certain that the Lord was not a radical critic of society and would reward him in the hereafter. He started a new routine, singing hymns accompanied by a violinist who came to the house. For all his religious certitude, however, death remained the one unmentionable subject for Rockefeller. "Never did he speak of death in relation to himself; rather did he speak always of life, of activity, of accomplishment," said Junior.<sup>21</sup>

In early 1937, as Rockefeller approached ninety-eight, his body was feeble, but his mind was lucid. "Father is very well," Junior wrote an old friend in March 1937, "better even than for the past year or two. We are having a delightful time here with him, and the weather is beautiful."<sup>22</sup> He still gambled in stocks and enjoyed his unvarying comedy routine with Mrs. Evans. On Saturday, May 22, he was taking the sunlight when Evans said to him, "Mr. Rockefeller, the sun has given you some color. You look so much better." When he just flashed a wordless smile, she added, "Mr. Rockefeller, you haven't said anything about how I look." In his chair, he made a chivalric bow and said, "Mrs. Evans, that is because I am never able to do the subject justice."<sup>23</sup> That same day, he paid off the mortgage of the institution that had so profoundly affected him: the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church.

Before the day was over, Rockefeller had a heart attack. At 4:05 A.M. on the morning of May 23, he lapsed into a coma and died in his sleep. The official cause of death was sclerotic myocarditis, a hardening and inflammation of the heart wall, although it is probably more accurate to say that he died of old age. Rockefeller drifted off peacefully, six weeks short of his ninety-eighth birthday. His placid end disappointed critics who were still hoping for some earthly retribution.

As news of Rockefeller's death spread, crowds gathered outside his compound and the sexton of the Union Baptist Church tolled the steeple bell. After a private funeral at Ormond Beach for staff and friends, a motorcycle guard accompanied the casket to the railroad station, where it was placed on a private car for the northward journey to Pocantico. When the train arrived at Tarrytown, Junior and his five sons were waiting on the platform in identical homburgs. On May 25, the Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick delivered a brief, touching eulogy at the Pocantico funeral while Dr. Archer Gibson played the Kykuit pipe organ. As a reminder that the deceased had never lacked detractors, state troopers scoured Pocantico Hills for trespassers as the service progressed. Around the world, employees in the offices of all Standard Oil successor firms observed five minutes of silence. On May 27, Rockefeller's body returned to Cleveland and was lowered into the earth between the two Baptist women who had so devotedly believed in him, Eliza and Cettie. Because of fears that vandals might desecrate the grave, Rockefeller's casket was placed in a bombproof tomb, sealed by heavy slabs of stone.

Having given away most of his money, Rockefeller left behind an estate of

\$26.4 million, showing that he had recouped his stock-market losses after the 1929 crash. Most of his estate took the form of U.S. Treasury notes, though he had retained, for sentimental reasons, one share of Standard Oil of California marked “Certificate No. 1.” The fabulous oil wealth of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait would be tapped within a year of Rockefeller’s death, ensuring the preeminent place of petroleum in the twentieth-century economy. Sixty years after their founder’s death, four of the Standard Oil successor firms—Exxon, Mobil, Amoco, and Chevron—numbered among the fifty largest companies on earth.

To an extent that would have seemed inconceivable in Ida Tarbell’s heyday, the newspaper obituaries dwelled on Rockefeller the benign philanthropist, not Rockefeller the ferocious trust king. He was “the world’s greatest philanthropist and organizer in the science of giving,” said one editorial.<sup>24</sup> Most striking was that the laudatory comments emanated from across the political spectrum and included those who had jostled with him in the past. Attorney Samuel Untermyer issued this paean to the elusive witness he had interrogated: “Next to our beloved President, he was our country’s biggest citizen. It was he who visualized as did no other man the use to which great wealth could wisely be put. Because of him the world is a better place in which to live. Blessed be the memory of World Citizen No. 1.”<sup>25</sup>

In truth, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., had left behind a contradictory legacy. An amalgam of godliness and greed, compassion and fiendish cunning, he personified the ambiguous heritage of America’s Puritan ancestors, who had encouraged thrift and enterprise but had also spurred overly acquisitive instincts. He had extracted mixed messages from his religious training as well as from his incongruously matched parents. Not surprisingly, he had served as an emblem of both corporate greed and philanthropic enlightenment.

Starting in the 1870s, Rockefeller’s stewardship of Standard Oil had signaled a new era in American life that had both inspired and alarmed the populace. His unequaled brilliance and rapacity as a businessman had squarely confronted the country with troubling questions about the shape of the economy, the distribution of wealth, and the proper relationship between business and government. Rockefeller perfected a monopoly that indisputably demonstrated the efficiency of large-scale business. In creating new corporate forms, he charted the way for the modern multinational corporations that came to dominate economic life in the twentieth century. But in so doing he also exposed the manifold abuses that could accompany untrammelled

economic power, especially in the threat to elected government. As architect of the first great industrial trust, he proved the ultimately fragile nature of free markets, forcing the government to specify the rules that would ensure competition and fair play in the future.

The fiercest robber baron had turned out to be the foremost philanthropist. Rockefeller accelerated the shift from the personal, ad hoc charity that had traditionally been the province of the rich to something both more powerful and more impersonal. He established the promotion of knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, as a task no less important than giving alms to the poor or building schools, hospitals, and museums. He showed the value of expert opinion, thorough planning, and competent administration in nonprofit work, setting a benchmark for professionalism in the emerging foundation field. By the time Rockefeller died, in fact, so much good had unexpectedly flowered from so much evil that God might even have greeted him on the other side, as the titan had so confidently expected all along.

Although Junior moved into Kykuit after Rockefeller's death, he knew that his father was inimitable, and so he decided to retain the *Jr.* after his name. As he was often heard to say in later years, "There was only one John D. Rockefeller."<sup>26</sup>

# NOTES

## ABBREVIATIONS

AN—Allan Nevins Papers, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, New York

CUOH—ABF—Columbia University Oral History Collection, Abraham B. Flexner interview

CUOH—PM—Columbia University Oral History Collection, Paul Manship interview

FSL—Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.

HDL—Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

IMT—Ida Minerva Tarbell Papers, Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, Drake Well Museum Collection, Titusville, Pennsylvania

RAC—Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York. Papers of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and other family members

RAC—CAS—Rockefeller Archive Center, Charles A. Strong Papers

RAC—FTG—Rockefeller Archive Center, Frederick T. Gates Papers

SOCMB—Standard Oil Company Minute Books, BP America, Cleveland, Ohio

UC—JDR—University of Chicago, John D. Rockefeller Papers

UC—UPP—University of Chicago, University Presidents' Papers

B = Box

F = File

## FOREWORD

1. Wells, *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind*, p. 454.

## PRELUDE: POISON TONGUE

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1062. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 916.

*Ibid.*, p. 375.

*Ibid.*, p. 962.

Ibid., p. 601.

Ibid., p. 493.

Ibid., p. 891.

Ibid., p. 1309.

RAC, III 2.H B30 F17.

RAC, III 2.H B9 F37.

*McClure's Magazine*, July 1905.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1648.

Ibid., p. 1650.

#### CHAPTER 1: THE FLIMFLAM MAN

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Hoster Manuscript."

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. I, p. 141.

Rugoff, *America's Gilded Age*, p. 97.

*The World*, November 1, 1903.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 151.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Richford."

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1665.

*The World*, November 3, 1903.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Interview with Mrs. John Wilcox."



Ibid.

Ibid., “Interview with S. H. Steele.”

IMT, B 4/14 T-293, “Report on Rockefeller Family.”

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, “Richford.”

Ibid.

Ibid., “S. H. Steele.”

*The World*, November 1, 1903.

*Cosmopolitan*, November 1908.

*The World*, November 1, 1903.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 233.

*The World*, November 1, 1903.

RAC, III 2.H B3 F15, letter from William O. Inglis to Ivy Lee, June 24, 1922.

*The World*, November 1, 1903.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 30.

## CHAPTER 2: FIRES OF REVIVAL

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, “Moravia.”

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. I, p. 48.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, “Tours to Owego and Moravia.”

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, pp. 34–35.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, “Interview with Peter Brown.”

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 39.

*The World*, February 2, 1908.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, “Early Training.”

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 42.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 40.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.13, “Interview Conversations—1929.”

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 46.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, “Miss Spelman’s Recollections.”

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, “Mrs. William C. Rudd.”

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1665.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 47.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, “Mrs. William C. Rudd.”

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 41.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, “On Mother’s Discipline.”

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 42.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 139.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 503.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, “Mr. Rockefeller and the Indigestion Myth.”

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 92.

RAC, III 2.2 B21, “Antecedents and Childhood.”

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 31.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, “Early Training.”

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, “Hoster Manuscript,” p. 20.

*The World*, March 1, 1908.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, “David Dennis.”

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 37.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 40.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 124.

*Ibid.*, p. 390.

*Ibid.*, p. 1651.

Russell, *Freedom Versus Organization*, p. 316.

Brutcher, *Joshua*, p. 10.

*Ibid.*, p. 95.

*Ibid.*, p. 138.

IMT, B 4/14 T-293, “Report on Rockefeller Family.”

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 50.

IMT, B 4/14 T-293, “Report on Rockefeller Family.”

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1649.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, 3.1.1, “William Avery Rockefeller Court Records.

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 19.

IMT, B 4/14 T-293, “Report on Rockefeller Family.”

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, 3.1.1, “William Avery Rockefeller Court Records.

RAC, Inglis interview, pp. 1648–49.

Lundberg, *The Rockefeller Syndrome*, p. 104.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller*, p. 238.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 9.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Owego."

Ibid.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller*, p. 44.

AN, B110 F15, letter to Eliza Rockefeller, July 18, 1885.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "William A. Smyth."

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 78.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "C. M. La Monte."

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Mrs. S. J. Life."

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 65.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Childish Customs."

*McClure's Magazine*, July 1905.

Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 40.

*Human Life*, April 1905.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Owego."

AN, B126, letter to J. O. Lacey, January 9, 1899.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 73.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 71.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Mrs. S. J. Life."

Ibid.

### CHAPTER 3: BOUND TO BE RICH

IMT, B 1/14, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, November 3, 1903.

Ibid.

AN, B126, letter to Mr. Spalding, August 16, 1923.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 104.

Ibid., p. 102.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 52.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, "Miss Spelman's Recollections."

*The Atlanta Georgia*, February 12, 1922.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 131.

IMT, B II, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, December 10, 1903.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 51.

Ibid., p. 61.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, "Miss Spelman's Recollections."

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 51.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller*, p. 74.

Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller*, p. 10.

Ibid.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. I, p. 83.

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 45.

*The World*, March 1, 1908.

Ibid.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller*, p. 82.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Cleveland—First Employment."

RAC, III 2.H B2 F11.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 10.

RAC, III 2.H B3 F14.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 18.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 96.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 43.

RAC, III 2.H B3 F16, letter from William O. Inglis to Ivy Lee, September 25 1926.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 18.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 11.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 104.

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 25.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 34.

Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, p. 22.

Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, p. 123.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 18.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 44.

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 39.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 103.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 11.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 46.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 107.

IMT, B 2/14, memo from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, n.d.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 105.

Ibid., p. 111.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 14.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 22.

*New York Herald*, n.d. [1897].

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 65.

*The New Yorker*, January 22, 1927.

AN, B126.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 16.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 124.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 43.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller*, p. 249.

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 232.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, pp. 119–20.

IMT, B 1/14, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, October 26, 1903.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Cleveland."

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Hoster Manuscript," p. 71.

IMT, B 1/14, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, October 26, 1903

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Cleveland."

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller*, p. 249.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 52.

Ibid., p. 55.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 121.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 395.

Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth*, p. 114.

Swanberg, *Whitney Father, Whitney Heiress*, p. 71.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Early Giving."

*The New York Times*, October 20, 1907.

Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, p. 14.

Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, p. 53.

Ibid., p. 17.

Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth*, p. 26.

Stampp, *America in 1857*, p. 231.

Ibid., p. 232.

Ibid., p. 235.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 390.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Self-Reliance."

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 25.

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 16.

Dreiser, *The Financier*, p. 29.



RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Getting His First Job."

*Los Angeles Tribune*, March 25, 1917.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 46.

Ibid.

#### CHAPTER 4: BAPTISM IN BUSINESS

Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller*, p. 44.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 113.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 125.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 28.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 10.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 40.

Ibid., p. 50.

Ibid.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Early Training."

AN, B126.

RAC, III 2.H B2 F11.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. I p. 131.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "First Years in Cleveland."

*The World*, June 7, 1925.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 54.

*The World*, June 14, 1925.

Ibid.

Ibid.

*New York Herald*, November 29, 1908.

*The World*, June 7, 1925.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 18.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, "On Arrogance."

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 50.

RAC, III 2.H B2 F11.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 135.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 463.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 49.

*Yakima (Wash.) Herald*, January 14, 1920.

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 51.

Ibid., p. 52.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 101.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 271.

*Woman's Home Companion*, January 1907.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller*, p. 20.

AN, B133, "Interview with Frank Rockefeller's Daughters."

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 14.

## CHAPTER 5: THE AUCTION

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1264.

*New York Herald*, November 29, 1908.

Ibid.

*The World Mirror*, January 1909.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Comments on T. J. Gallagher."

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 389.

Ibid., p. 1300.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 42.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "On Early Economies."

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, "Interview with Mrs. William C. Rudd."

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 33.

Ibid.

*New York Herald*, November 29, 1908.

Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 43.

AN, B130, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Allan Nevins, April 9 1937.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 900.

Ibid., p. 96.

Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, p. 69.

Dolson, *The Great Oildorado*, p. 43.

*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 5, 1902.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1472.

Winkelman, *John D. Rockefeller*, p. 42.

Dolson, *The Great Oildorado*, p. 31.

Ibid., p. 132.

Ibid.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 62.

Dolson, *The Great Oildorado*, p. 60.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 27.

RAC, III 2.H B2 F11.

RAC, Inglis notes, III 2.H B4 F20, p. 5.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. I, p. 133.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 251.

RAC, III 2.H B2 F11.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 183.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 261.

IMT, “Documents to Be Catalogued,” letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, October 8, 1903; and B 14/15, “Interview with James Clark.”

RAC, Inglis notes, III 2.H B4 F20, p. 4.

RAC, III 2.H B2 F11.

Dolson, *The Great Oildorado*, p. 177.

Ibid., pp. 180–81.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, pp. 34–35.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 187.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 188.

Ibid., p. 189.

Ibid.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 59.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 190.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 36.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 260.

Ibid., p. 367.

*The New York Times*, March 13, 1915.

Ibid.

RAC, III 1S B1 F56, letter from Harvey B. Spelman to “Esteemed Cousin,” April 6, 1879.

*In Memoriam: Mrs. Lucy Henry Spelman*, p. 71.

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 46.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 79.

Ibid., p. 17.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, “Miss Spelman’s Recollections.”

*The New York Times*, March 13, 1915.

RAC, III 1. SL B2 F11, “1855 Valedictory Address.”

Ibid.

RAC, III 1.SL B1 F8, letter from Laura Spelman to Mrs. Hawley, May 16, 1858.

RAC, III 1.SL B2 F11, unidentified article, March 18, 1859.

RAC, III 2.Z B20.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11.

RAC, III 1.SL B1 F8, letter from Laura Spelman to Mrs. Hawley, April 30, 1860.

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 68.

*The World*, March 1, 1908.

Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller*, p. 67.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 115.

IMT, uncataloged material. Letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, August 6 1903.

#### CHAPTER 6: THE POETRY OF THE AGE

Mellon, *Thomas Mellon and His Times*, p. 238.

Twain and Warner, *The Gilded Age*, p. 87.

Rugoff, *America's Gilded Age*, p. 42.

Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, p. 589.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 131.

Dolson, *The Great Oildorado*, p. 138.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Bad Temper."

AN, B120, "Interview with John T. Sencabaugh."

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, "On Training Executives."

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, pp. 156–57.

Dolson, *The Great Oildorado*, p. 99.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1086.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, "H. C. Folger vs. Tarbell."

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Early Standard Oil History."

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1477.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. I, p. 208.

RAC, III 1.2 B36 F270.

Brady, *Ida Tarbell*, p. 11.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 272.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 59.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1.

AN, B130.

Inglis, "Impressions of John D. Rockefeller," p. 22.

RAC, III 2.H B2 F11.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 528.

*Ibid.*, p. 406.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 52.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 10.

*Boston Herald*, July 3, 1927.

Flynn, *Men of Wealth*, p. 73.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, "Interview with P. S. Trainor."

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 32.

*Ibid.*, p. 52.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Charles M. Higgins Interview."

David Leon Chandler, *Henry Flagler*, p. 18.

Ibid.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 22.

David Leon Chandler, *Henry Flagler*, p. 43.

Ibid., p. 44.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 77.

*The Cleveland Leader*, March 4 and 5, 1867.

*The New York Daily Tribune*, December 23, 1906.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 22.

Ibid., pp. 23–25.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Charles M. Higgins Interview."

David Leon Chandler, *Henry Flagler*, p. 260.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 211.

David Leon Chandler, *Henry Flagler*, p. 82.

RAC, Inglis interview, pp. 176–77.

RAC, III 2.H B2 F11.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 189.

*Philadelphia Press*, February 2, 1896.

AN, vol. 4, no. 26, B118, letter from Henry M. Flagler to Mr. Rutter, April 30, 1878.

RAC, vol. 220, no. 227, letter to Mr. Barstow, April 3, 1907.



*McClure's Magazine*, July 1905.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 256.

AN, B113 F 28, letter to W. H. Thompson, May 2, 1885.

RAC, III 1.2 B36 F270, letter to Laura S. Rockefeller, August 19, 1868.

*McClure's Magazine*, July 1905.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 3.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, pp. 93–94.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1446.

*McClure's Magazine*, July 1905.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1657.

*Ibid.*, p. 973.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 264.

## CHAPTER 7: MILLIONAIRES' ROW

Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, p. 71.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Mr. Rockefeller's Humor."

Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller*, p. 87.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Cleveland."

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Joe Davidson."

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Rockefeller on Aloofness."

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 32.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 838.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.13, "Golf with Rockefeller."

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Hoster Manuscript," p. 32.

AN, B131, "Interview with Aunt Lute."

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 9.

*Chicago Sunday Tribune*, October 6, 1907.

AN, B131, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Allan Nevins, January 9 1937.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 80.

*The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, February 12, 1922.

IMT, unmarked box, "Conversation with Mr. Southard."

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 232.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

*The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, February 12, 1922.

Ibid.

Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, p. 10.

Ibid., p. 11.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 101.

Jones, *The Correspondence of Mother Jones*, p. 138.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 32.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 70.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 80.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 14.

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 195.

## CHAPTER 8: CONSPIRATORS

RAC, Inglis interview, pp. 97–98.

Ibid., p. 1063.

Ibid., p. 96.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 230.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 2.

Ibid., p. 1647.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 82.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1399.

IMT, “Documents to Be Catalogued,” “Interview with John Prindle.”

*Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch*, November 3, 1918.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1557.

Ibid., p. 460.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 51.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 68.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 27.

SOCMB, 1870–1885.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. I, p. 100.

Ibid.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1306.

AN, B128.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 15.

Flynn, *Men of Wealth*, p. 444.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 19.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 321.

Ibid., p. 115.

RAC, III 1.2 B36 F270, letter to Laura S. Rockefeller, November 30, 1871

Ibid., December 1, 1871.

Ibid., January 25, 1872.

Ibid., December 1, 1871.

Ibid., January 20, 1872.

RAC, III 1.2 B36 F270.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 86.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 164.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 47.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 71.

*The Courier*, February 28, 1872.

*Pittsburgh Commercial*, March 1, 1872.

Dolson, *The Great Oildorado*, p. 265.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 85.

AN, B120, "Interview with Joseph Seep."

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller*, p. 30.

Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, pp. 23–24.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1369.

Ibid., p. 115.

*American Magazine*, November 1910.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 339.

RAC, III 1.2 B36 F270, letter to Laura S. Rockefeller, March 15, 1872.

Ibid., March 21, 1872.

Ibid., March 22, 1872.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 98.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 94.

Ibid., p. 96.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 203.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 130.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 65.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 384.

Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller*, pp. 112, 114.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 157.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 364.

IMT, uncataloged material, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, October 20, 1902.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 63.

IMT, B AB-1, "Interview with J. W. Fawcett."

Ibid.

IMT, B 1/14 T-082, "J. W. Fawcett interview."

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 21.

IMT, B AB-1, "Interview with J. W. Fawcett."

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. II, p. 330.

Ibid., p. 1037.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 135.

RAC, III 2.H B3 F17.

Russell, *Freedom Versus Organization*, p. 317.

RAC, III 2.H B2 F11.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 30.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 141.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 319.

*The New Yorker*, January 29, 1927.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 159.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1215.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, pp. 159–60.

IMT, uncataloged material, "Affidavit of John D. Rockefeller," in *Standard Oil v. William S. Scofield et al.*

Wilson, *Famous Old Euclid Avenue*, p. 149.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Genesis of Standard Oil."

*The New York Sun*, March 6, 1872.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 559.

Ibid., p. 1383.

Ibid., p. 50.

*The New York Herald*, November 29, 1908.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1582.

Ibid., p. 1210.

Ibid., p. 200.

Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, pp. 95, 91.

Ibid., p. 88.

RAC, III 2.H B9 F37.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 401.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 555.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 373.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 601.

Ibid., p. 299.

Ibid., p. 1589.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Hoster Manuscript," p. 34.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 195.

Ibid., p. 274.

Ibid., p. 257.

Ibid., p. 1217.

Ibid., p. 244.

## CHAPTER 9: THE NEW MONARCH

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, pp. 104–5.

Ibid., pp. 105–6.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 575.

Ibid., p. 134.

Ibid., pp. 526, 757.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, p. 125.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 175.

Ibid., p. 99.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 174.

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 117.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 16.

RAC, 1.2 B71 F528, letter from William G. Warden, November 22, 1884.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 271.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 388.

RAC, 1.2 B63 F468, letter from Charles Pratt, October 4, 1881.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1611.

AN, B130, “Interview with Mr. Ellis.”

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1589.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 118.

*The World*, March 31, 1890.



Moore, *John D. Archbold*, p. 98.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, October 21, 1911.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 348.

RAC, 1.2 B51 F377, letter from John D. Archbold, January 23, 1878.

*Ibid.*, January 31, 1878.

Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, p. 74.

Summers, *Johnson Newlon Camden*, p. 174.

*Ibid.*, p. 175.

RAC, 1.2 B54 F401, letter from J. N. Camden, March 20, 1878.

*Forbes*, September 29, 1917.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Hoster Manuscript," p. 33.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1031.

*Ibid.*, p. 802.

*The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1881.

RAC, III 2.4 B3 F14.

Manning, *The Standard Oil Company*, p. 21.

## CHAPTER 10: SPHINX

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 153.

*Middletown (Connecticut) Press*, April 23, 1922.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, October 21, 1911.

*Ibid.*, May 23, 1925.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 158.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 190.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 201, and Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 70.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 91.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Mr. Rockefeller on Concentration."

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 328.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, October 21, 1911.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 154.

RAC, III 2.H B9 F37, "Inglis impressions."

IMT, "Documents to Be Catalogued," "Interview with John Prindle."

AN, B120, "Interview with John T. Sencabaugh."

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 44.

Lundberg, *The Rockefeller Syndrome*, p. 115.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, October 21, 1911.

Flynn, *Men of Wealth*, p. 448.

AN, B11 F19, letter from John D. Archbold, September 25, 1881.

Ibid.

AN, B113 F32, letter from F. T. Barstow, September 13, 1886.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 328.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "How to Develop Executives."

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 327.

AN, B126, letter from Frederick T. Gates to William O. Inglis, April 7, 1920.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 67.

Beer, *Hanna*, p. 249.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 290.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. I, p. 74.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Owego."

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 67.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, "The Red Notebook."

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 281.

AN, B129.

Moore, *John D. Archbold*, p. 118.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 237.

*The New York Sun*, November 30, 1878.

*Nation's Business*, April 1931.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1300.

Packard, "Informal History of the Standard Oil Company (Ohio)," p. 65.

*The New York Herald*, November 29, 1908.

## CHAPTER 11: THE HOLY FAMILY

*McClure's Magazine*, August 1905.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. II, p. 164.

AN, B108 F6, letter to H. M. Sinclair, November 5, 1877.

RAC, III 2.Z B20 F3, letter from Laura Spelman Rockefeller to John D.

Rockefeller, Jr., August 10, 1909.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

RAC, III 2.Z B20, letter from Laura Spelman Rockefeller to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., January 29, 1896.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 30.

Ibid., p. 8.

RAC, III 2.Z B44, letter from Kate Strong Sewall to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., December 21, 1925.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, pp. 8–9.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 13.

*Middletown (Connecticut) Press*, April 23, 1922.

AN, B131, “Interview with Dr. Biggar.”

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, February 12, 1922.

Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, p. 10.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 81.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 39.

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, February 12, 1922.

RAC, III 2.Z B44.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 343.

AN, B110 F15, letter to the Reverend J. E. Clough, June 13, 1885.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12.

Russell, *Freedom Versus Organization*, p. 314.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 642.

*The Dunbar News*, April 23, 1930.

*The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, February 12, 1922.

Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller*, pp. 104–5.

RAC, III 1.S B1 F6, letter from Harvey B. Spelman to Mr. F. Spelman, May 26, 1878.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, “Recollections of Father.”

AN, B110 F15, letter to Eliza Rockefeller, June 8, 1885.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 26.

Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller*, p. 21.

AN, B128, “Interview with Mr. Murray.”

RAC, III 1.2 B36 F273, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Bessie Otis, October 18, 1890.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 337.

AN, B128, “Interview with James C. Jones.”

Flynn, *God’s Gold*, p. 160.

HDL, reel 27, “Frank Rockefeller testimony, 1876, before a House of Commerce Committee.”

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 201.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, “Washington Gladden.”

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, p. 377.

IMT, B 1/14 T-082, “Fawcett Interview.”

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 71.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, p. 166.

## CHAPTER 12: INSURRECTION IN THE OIL FIELDS

RAC, 1.2 B62 F458, letter from Daniel O'Day, October 24, 1879.

AN, B127.

AN, B133, memo by S.C.T. Dodd.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, "Theodore M. Towl."

*The New York Sun*, November 30, 1878.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 297.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 741; Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 235.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 116.

*Ibid.*, pp. 119–20.

*The New York Sun*, November 4, 1878.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 111.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1303.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 82.

AN, B132, "Interview with William M. Potts."

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, p. 194.

AN, B108 F3, letter from J. N. Camden to A. C. McGregor, February 17, 1876.

AN, B108 F6, letter to J. N. Camden, February 4, 1878.

AN, B108 F3, letter from J. N. Camden, July 18, 1876.

*Ibid.*, letter from J. N. Camden to A. McDonald, November 28, 1876; Summers, *Johnson Newlon Camden*, p. 181.

AN, B128, letter to J. N. Camden, March 11, 1878.

RAC, 1.2 B54 F401, letter from J. N. Camden, December 21, 1877.

AN, B113 F52, letter from Daniel O'Day to John D. Archbold, August 7, 1886.

RAC, 1.2 B62 F459, letter from Daniel O'Day, May 29, 1880.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 128.

RAC, 1.2 B54 F461, letter from J. N. Camden to H. M. Flagler, July 17, 1878.

RAC, 1.2 B51 F377, letter from John D. Archbold, December 28, 1877.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 129.

RAC, 1.2 B62 F458, letter from Daniel O'Day, January 14, 1878.

Ibid., letter from Daniel O'Day, March 23, 1878.

Beer, *Hanna*, p. 70.

AN, B108 F6, letter from H. M. Flagler to J. H. Devereux, December 31, 1877.

Akin, *Flagler*, p. 81.

AN, B109 F8, letter from H. M. Flagler to H. J. Hewett, April 25, 1878.

Ibid., letters from A. N. Cole, March 4 and May 14, 1878.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 205.

Martin, *Florida's Flagler*, p. 74.

Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield*, p. 1025.

RAC, 1.2 B62 F458, letter from Daniel O'Day, October 25, 1879.

RAC, 1.2 B56 F414, letter from H. M. Flagler, May 10, 1879.

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 124.

AN, B110 F13, letter to Captain J. J. Vandergrift, December 2, 1879.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 319.

Ibid., vol. I, p. 331.

AN, B131, letter from O. H. Payne, March 1, 1879.

Ibid., letter to O. H. Payne, March 5, 1879.

Wall and Gibb, *Teagle of Jersey Standard*, p. 20.

AN, B110 F11, letter to Captain J. J. Vandergrift, May 19, 1879.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 141; Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 141.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 219.

*American Heritage*, December 1964.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 218.

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 125.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 150.

RAC, 1.2 B62 F459, letter from Daniel O'Day, March 11, 1880.

### CHAPTER 13: SEAT OF EMPIRE

Beer, *Hanna*, p. 124.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 99.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 323.

*The New York Sun*, November 30, 1878.

Ibid.



*The Boston Herald*, July 3, 1927.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 34.

RAC, III 1.2 B36 F273, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., January 20, 1888

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 83.

*Truth*, July 1891.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 37.

*The New York Daily Tribune*, December 23, 1906.

Lawson, *Frenzied Finance*, p. 5.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 229.

Schreiner, *Henry Clay Frick*, p. 135.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, October 21, 1911.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 413; Hawke, *John D.*, p. 171.

*Nation's Business*, April 1931.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, "Joseph Seep."

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, pp. 30–31.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1581.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 13.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 191.

*Ibid.*, p. 388.

Carr, *John D. Rockefeller's Secret Weapon*, p. 48.

RAC, Inglis interview, pp. 66–67.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 392.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1290.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. I, p. 505.

Amory, *The Last Resorts*, p. 335.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.13, “Interview Questions 1929.”

Flynn, *Men of Wealth*, p. 451.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 36.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1107.

RAC, III 2.H B1 F8, “Taylor History.”

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. I, pp. 502–3.

Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, October 4, 1906.

*Leslie’s Weekly*, February 2, 1905.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 84.

*Reader’s Digest*, April 1927.

*The New York Tribune*, n.d. [1906].

Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, p. 14.

Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth*, p. 26.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 91.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 19.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 37.

IMT, B 1/14 T-020, letter from Vinnie C. Hicks to Ida Tarbell, June 29, 1905.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 87.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 39.

RAC, III 2.Z B44, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Kate Strong, January 18, 1888.

AN, B131, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Allan Nevins, January 8, 1937.

*The Metropolitan Magazine*, December 1904.

AN, B113 F32, letter to Benjamin Brewster, August 3, 1886.

AN, B114 F34, letter to George Rogers, June 8, 1887.

Ibid.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 194.

Ibid., p. 95.

AN, B112 F24, letter to Mr. Dowling, December 1, 1883.

AN, B110 F15, letter to Rev. Edward W. Oakes, April 27, 1885.

Brumberg, *Mission for Life*, p. 187.

Rose, "Why Chicago and Not Cleveland?"

AN, B112 F26, letter to Mr. Reynolds, March 8, 1884.

Read, *The Story of Spelman College*, p. 64.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, pp. 373–74.

AN, B115 F37, letter to Dr. Morehouse, August 25, 1888.

RAC, III 1.CO B30 F233, letter from Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles, December 29, 1883.

Read, *The Story of Spelman College*, p. 82.

Ibid.

AN, B110 F15, letter to Dr. Morehouse, April 25, 1885.

Rose, "Why Chicago and Not Cleveland?"

RAC, III 2.Z B30 F233, letter from S. B. Packard and H. E. Giles, November 7, 1888.

#### CHAPTER 14: THE PUPPETEER

AN, B112 F26, letter to Mr. Barstow, July 12, 1884.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, pp. 122–23.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 10.

*Business Week*, July 17, 1995.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 135.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 10.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. II, p. 184.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 147.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 115.

RAC, 1.2 B51, letter from John D. Archbold, July 13, 1892.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 66.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 627.

Ibid., p. 582.

AN, B117 F68, letter to President Charles Eliot, December 31, 1914.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 992.

Ibid., p. 727.

AN, B110 F15, letter to A. J. Cassatt, March 29, 1881.

RAC, 1.2 B69 F513, letter from W. P. Thompson, February 15, 1886.

RAC, 1.2 B69 F570, letter from W. P. Thompson, January 31, 1885.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 6.

AN, B112 F23, letter to Oliver H. Payne, May 3, 1883.

*The New York Herald*, December 31, 1906.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 50.

AN, B110 F16, letter to Oliver H. Payne, March 18, 1881.

Carr, *John D. Rockefeller's Secret Weapon*, p. 69.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 259.

RAC, 1.2 B69 F508, letter from W. P. Thompson, May 23, 1881.

AN, B128, "Charles M. Higgins interview."

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1409.

RAC, 1.2 B69 F508.

Ibid., letters from W. P. Thompson, May 23, 1881, and May 15, 1882.

RAC, 1.2 B69 F508.

AN, B112 F23, letter to O. H. Payne, January 30, 1883.

RAC, 1.2 B51 F379, letter from John D. Archbold, December 9, 1891.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, October 21, 1911.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1402.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, October 21, 1911.

Ibid.

AN, B120, "Interview with Joseph Seep."

AN, B131, letter to H. C. Folger, September 21, 1885.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 224.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 194.

AN, B133, letter from Henry Demarest Lloyd to George Rice, November 20, 1891.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, December 7, 1907.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1407.

RAC, 1.2 B69 F513, letter from W. P. Thompson, February 3, 1886.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1555.

Ibid., p. 531.

AN, B110 F15, letter to Colgate Hoyt, July 17, 1882.

*The Tribune*, February 28, 1888.

Baldwin, *Edison*, p. 137.

AN, B115 F37, letter from G. A. Shelby, October 17, 1888.

RAC, 1.2 B62 F461, letter from Daniel O'Day, October 16, 1886.

AN, B113 F32, letter from Daniel O'Day to Henry M. Flagler, July 7, 1886.

AN, B114 F35, letter from Charles Foster, January 4, 1888.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 213.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. II, p. 63.

RAC, 1.2 B66 F487, letter from anonymous Bradford producer, May 12, 1887.

AN, B114 F33, letter from anonymous oil producer, May 12, 1887.

AN, B115 F38, letter from P. O. Laughner, June 10, 1888.

RAC, Inglis interview, pp. 1210–11.

Ibid., p. 181.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 194.

AN, B130.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 527.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, “Lewis Emery, Jr.”

Ibid.

RAC, 1.2 B51 F379, letter from John D. Archbold, July 13, 1892.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. II, pp. 70–71.

RAC, 1.2 B68 F507, letter from W. P. Thompson, November 21, 1879.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1059.

RAC, 1.2 B54 F404, letter from W. H. Tilford, October 15, 1885.

Ibid., letter from L. T. Rosengarten to W. H. Tilford, October 10, 1885.

*The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1881.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 333.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1302.

AN, B114 F35, letter to Rev. H. S. Lloyd, March 9, 1888.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, "William W. Clark."

*The World*, March 29, 1890.

*Truth*, July 1891.

Packard, "Informal History of the Standard Oil Company (Ohio)," pp. 107, 144.

AN, B114 F34, letter from William G. Warden, May 24, 1887.

Ibid.

RAC, vol. 13, p. 356, letter to William G. Warden, May 31, 1887.

#### CHAPTER 15: WIDOW'S FUNERAL

*The World*, March 1, 1908.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

*The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 30, 1937.

*The World*, February 2, 1908.

*The World*, March 1, 1908.

Ibid.

Ibid.



Ibid.

Ibid.

RAC, vol. 19, no. 191, letter to an unnamed cousin, March 28, 1889.

RAC, vol. 3, no. 244, letter to Frank Rockefeller, March 30, 1882.

RAC, vol. 19, no. 168, letter to Frank Rockefeller, February 10, 1889.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, "J. W. Slaght Interview."

AN, B115 F38, letter to Uncle Egbert Rockefeller, April 18, 1889.

*The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 30, 1937.

RAC, III 1.2 B36 F273, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Bessie Otis, October 18, 1890.

Ibid.

RAC, III 2.C B59 F466, letter to Frank Rockefeller, September 28, 1898.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, "J. W. Slaght Interview."

IMT, T-057, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, August 6, 1903.

IMT, T-054, B1/14, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, May 2, 1903.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, "J. W. Slaght Interview."

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 23.

AN, B111 F21, letter from Oliver H. Payne, March 15, 1882.

AN, B110 F15, letter from Frank Rockefeller, April 3, 1884.

AN, B112 F23, letter from Frank Rockefeller, April 8, 1883.

AN, B110 F15, letter to Frank Rockefeller, November 18, 1884.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 23.

AN, B115 F38, letter from Frank Rockefeller, May 17, 1887.

RAC, 1.2 B64 F471, letter from Frank Rockefeller, September 3, 1886.

RAC, 1.2 B64 F472, letter from Frank Rockefeller, December 10, 1886.

Ibid., letter from Frank Rockefeller, February 19, 1887.

Packard, "Informal History of the Standard Oil Company (Ohio)," p. 126.

## CHAPTER 16: A MATTER OF TRUST

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 97.

RAC, 1.2 B51 F378, letter from John D. Archbold, September 24, 1885.

*The New York Herald*, October 15, 1922.

RAC, 1.2 B51 F377, letter from John D. Archbold, September 25, 1884.

RAC, vol. 191, no. 134, letter to Charles Pratt, September 17, 1888.

Packard, "Informal History of the Standard Oil Company (Ohio)," p. 131.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 557.

RAC, III 2.H B1 F8, "Taylor History."

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 557.

*The New York Herald*, May 5, 1891.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 29.

*Collier's*, July 2, 1927.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 21.

AN, B113 F32, letter from Daniel O'Day, July 17, 1886.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 163.

Baldwin, *Edison*, p. 48.

*The World*, June 6, 1890.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 100.

*Ibid.*, p. 101.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 165.

RAC, 1.2 B51 F379, letter from John D. Archbold, December 9, 1881.

Swanberg, *Whitney Father, Whitney Heiress*, p. 79.

*Ibid.*, p. 53.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. II, p. 103.

Swanberg, *Whitney Father, Whitney Heiress*, p. 39.

Swanberg, *Pulitzer*, p. 89.

AN, B110 F15.

Swanberg, *Whitney Father, Whitney Heiress*, p. 79.

RAC, vol. 232, no. 166, letter to H. C. Folger, October 24, 1910.

RAC, 1.2 B54 F403, letter from J. N. Camden to H. M. Flagler, January 17 1881.

*Ibid.*, January 29, 1881.

*Ibid.*, March 16, 1882.

*The World*, May 19, 1887.

Moore, *John D. Archbold*, p. 109.

*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, July 7, 1907.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 61.

RAC, 1.2 B69 F513, letter from W. P. Thompson, April 27, 1886.

RAC, 1.2 B69 F570, letter from W. P. Thompson, January 26, 1888.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 861.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 144.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, pp. 283–84.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 214.

Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, p. 28.

RAC, Inglis interview, pp. 69–70.

*The New York Herald Tribune*, March 17, 1940.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 861.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller*, p. 224.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. II, p. 123.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. II, p. 131.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 223.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, pp. 206–7.

RAC, 1.2 B51 F378, letter from John D. Archbold, August 15, 1888.

AN, B113 F28, letter from M. A. Hanna, August 31, 1885.

*The New York Weekly World*, April 2, 1890.

## CHAPTER 17: CAPTAINS OF ERUDITION

AN, B115 F38, letter to Mr. Potter, n.d.

*The Philadelphia Press*, December 22, 1906.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 161.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 156.

Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, October 7, 1906.

RAC, vol. 13, no. 347.

Sandage, "I Do So Long to Save My Husband," p. 2.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 109.

AN, B111 F21, letter to Mr. Edward Judson, November 29, 1892.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 312.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. I, p. 342.

UC–JDR, B1 F2, letter from Dr. Augustus H. Strong, November 26, 1887.

IMT, B 1/14, letter from V. C. Hicks to Ida Tarbell, June 29, 1905.

McCormick, *George Santayana*, p. 283.

Ibid.

Wacker, *Augustus H. Strong*, p. 84.

Ibid., p. 101.

AN, B130, letter from Dr. Augustus Strong, January 4, 1887.

Ibid., editorial note from T. W. Goodspeed.

McCormick, *George Santayana*, p. 282.

Santayana, *The Letters of George Santayana*, p. 22.

UC–JDR, B1 F2, letter from Dr. Augustus H. Strong, November 26, 1887.

Ibid., letter from W. R. Harper, January 11, 1887.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, pp. 112, 116.

*The New York Tribune*, September 21, 1890.

AN, B130, letter from William Rainey Harper to T.W. Goodspeed, November 7, 1887.

AN, B115, letter to Rev. D. W. Hulburt, July 30, 1888.

AN, B113 F31, letter to W. H. Doan, March 12, 1886.

RAC–FTG, B4 F80, letter from Frederick T. Gates to H. L. Morehouse, October 9, 1888.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 170.

RAC, Inglis notes, “Hoster Manuscript,” p. 54.

Ibid.

AN, B130, letter from W. R. Harper to T. W. Goodspeed, November 5, 1888.

Storr, *Harper’s University*, p. 28.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 107.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 106.

RAC–FTG, B3 F57.

Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, p. 123.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. II, p. 228.

RAC–FTG, B4 F80, letter from F. T. Gates to Dr. Augustus Strong, November 18, 1890.

AN, B125, Frederick T. Gates, autobiography manuscript, p. 211.

Jonas, *The Circuit Riders*, p. 17.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, pp. 92–93.

AN, B117 F59, letter from F. T. Gates, April 24, 1905.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.13, “Interview Questions 1929.”

*Forbes*, September 29, 1917.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 119.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 181.

AN, B130, letter from F. T. Gates to T. W. Goodspeed, January 9, 1915.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. II, p. 220.

AN, B130, letter from T. W. Goodspeed to W. R. Harper, January 22, 1889.

Storr, *Harper’s University*, p. 24.

AN, B115 F37, letter to W. R. Harper, January 15, 1889.

AN, B130, letter to W. R. Harper, January 11, 1889.

UC–JDR, B1 F11, letter of August 6, 1890.

Storr, *Harper’s University*, p. 47.

UC–JDR, B1 F10, letter from W. R. Harper, June 13, 1890.

*Ibid.*, letter from F. T. Gates, July 29, 1891.

RAC–FTG, B4 F80, letter from F. T. Gates to W. R. Harper, April 27, 1891.

*Ibid.*, letter from F. T. Gates to Dr. Stephens, January 10, 1891.

RAC–FTG, B4 F80, letter from F. T. Gates to W. R. Harper, April 27, 1891.

*The World*, June 14, 1925.

AN, B115 F38, letter to Mr. Severance, June 14, 1889.

*The New York Times*, May 24, 1937.

Storr, *Harper's University*, p. 31.

Brown, *Rockefeller Medicine Men*, p. 35.

RAC–FTG, B4 F80, letter from F. T. Gates, June 30, 1892.

Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, October 7, 1906.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., June 11, 1891.

AN, B132, letter to J. D. Archbold, June 17, 1891.

AN, B130, letter from F. T. Gates to T. W. Goodspeed, February 23, 1892.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 88.

UC–JDR, B11 F6, letter from W. R. Harper, May 7, 1892.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 193.

*The Chicago Times Herald*, November 3, 1895.

Ibid.

Destler, *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, p. 370.

AN, B130, letter from F. T. Gates to W. R. Harper, May 29, 1893.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, and *The Dial*, July 16, 1896.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 50.

RAC, vol. 217, no. 423, letter to Frederick T. Gates, April 14, 1905.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1664.



Ibid., p. 1259.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 308.

AN, B128, "Interview with Mr. Murray."

RAC-FTG, B2 F30, letter from F. T. Gates to Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, April 6, 1908.

Storr, *Harper's University*, p. 268.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 265.

## CHAPTER 18: NEMESIS

AN, B115 F41, letter from Frank Rockefeller, May 8, 1890.

Carr, *John D. Rockefeller's Secret Weapon*, p. 82.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 230.

AN, B116 F43, letter from M. A. Hanna, April 7, 1891.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 301.

Burr, *The Portrait of a Banker*, p. 119.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 648.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 121.

Moody, *The Masters of Capital*, p. 58.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 200.

AN, B126, letter to Laura S. Rockefeller, September 2, 1893.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Help to End Panics."

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 326.

Ibid., and Burr, *The Portrait of a Banker*, p. 117.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. II, p. 586.

Destler, *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, p. 292.

Ibid., p. 295.

HDL, reel 8, letter from Robert Louis Stevenson to Mr. Iles, December 14, 1887.

Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, p. 64.

AN, B133, letter from H. D. Lloyd to H. M. Hyndman, January 14, 1895.

Destler, *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, p. 238.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, "Interview with Dr. H. A. Cuppy."

Destler, *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, p. 248.

HDL, reel 27.

AN, B131, letter from H. D. Lloyd to Samuel Jones, August 7, 1899.

Destler, *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, p. 454.

Ibid., p. 9.

Ibid., p. 170.

HDL, reel 8, letter from H. D. Lloyd to Mrs. Ford, September 8, 1896.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 103.

AN, B130, letter from W. D. Howells to H. D. Lloyd, November 2, 1894.

*The American Historical Review*, April 1945.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1237.

HDL, reel 8, letter from H. D. Lloyd to Mrs. Ford, September 8, 1896.

RAC–FTG, B3 F57, “The Secret of Mr. Rockefeller’s Character and Success.

AN, B116 F50, letter to J. D. Archbold, June 4, 1896.

AN, B126, letter to Cyrus McCormick, September 20, 1897.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 44.

Akin, *Flagler*, p. 255.

*The New York Daily Tribune*, December 23, 1906.

Chandler, *Henry Flagler*, p. 99.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 241.

RAC, 1.2 B56 F416, letter from H. M. Flagler, March 8, 1889.

AN, B130, letter to W. R. Harper, February 28, 1898.

RAC, III 2.Z B20, letter from Laura S. Rockefeller to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 28, 1900.

## CHAPTER 19: THE DAUPHIN

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 45.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 47, and RAC, III 2.Z B46.

AN, B133.

RAC, III 2.Z B49 F24, “Profit Sharing as a Remedy for Industrial Ills,” by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

HDL, reel 10, letter from Henry Demarest Lloyd to Morley Roberts, August 23, 1899.

Ernst, “*Dear Father*”/“*Dear Son*,” p. 11.

RAC, III 1.2 B36 F273, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., September 27, 1893.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 51.

Ibid., p. 41.

RAC, III 2.Z B44, letter from William B. Peck to Charles Towne, April 9, 1953.

RAC, III 2.Z B49 F25.

RAC, III 2.Z B44, "The College Career of Johnny Rock," by Charles Towne.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 75.

Ibid., p. 64.

Ibid., p. 61.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 85.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

*McClure's Magazine*, February 24, 1905.

Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, p. 4.

*Time*, September 24, 1956.

Ernst, "Dear Father"/"Dear Son," pp. 14–15.

Ibid., p. 16.

Ibid., p. 81.

RAC, III 2.Z B20, letter from Laura S. Rockefeller to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., June 28, 1897.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 214.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 83.

RAC, III 2.Z B49 F25, "Interview with Charles O. Heydt."

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 107.

Fosdick, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., p. 90.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 215.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 89.

RAC, III 2.Z B20, letter from Laura S. Rockefeller to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., October 3, 1897.

Ibid., letter from Laura S. Rockefeller to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., July 23, 1899.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 100.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 77.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 100.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 79.

Ibid., p. 3.

RAC, 2.Z B49 F23, letter from Abby Aldrich Rockefeller to Lucy Green, March 24, 1915.

*The Oakland Enquirer*, August 27, 1901.

*Town Topics*, August 24, 1901.

Aldrich, *Old Money*, p. 24.

AN, B130.

## CHAPTER 20: THE STANDARD OIL CROWD

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 164.

Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, p. 1.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 15.

Ibid., p. 16.

Ibid., p. 74.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Jonas, *The Circuit Riders*, pp. 24–25.

RAC–FTG, B3 F57, letter from F. T. Gates, January 18, 1892.

RAC–FTG, B3 F62, speech given at the tenth anniversary of the RIMR.

Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller*, p. 174.

RAC–FTG, B3 F57, F. T. Gates memo of December 31, 1926.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 240.

Ibid., p. 241.

AN, B130, quoted in a letter from F. T. Gates to W. R. Harper, November 30 1889.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 109.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 210.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 293.

AN, B122, “Everett Colby interview.”

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 160.

Storr, *Harper’s University*, p. 135.

RAC–FTG, B4 F80, letter from F. T. Gates to Brother Sunderland, April 20, 1891.

RAC–FTG, B1 F14, letter from F. T. Gates, January 2, 1924.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 163.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 131.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 168.

Ibid., p. 169.

Ibid., p. 173.

AN, B116 F46A, letter from George Rogers, July 25, 1893.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 240.

AN, B117 F66, letter from F. T. Gates to A. S. Ochs, January 18, 1912.

*The New York Daily Tribune*, February 17, 1907.

RAC, vol. 215, no. 266.

AN, B128, "Interview with Starr Murphy."

AN, B116 F50, letter from F. T. Gates to W. W. Huntington, June 6, 1896.

Gates, *The Truth About Mr. Rockefeller and the Merritts*, p. 16.

AN, B130, "Interview with Henry Cooper."

AN, B117 F67, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., October 23, 1913.

RAC–FTG, B3 F57, letter from F. T. Gates, May 6, 1907.

AN, B117 F65, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., January 31, 1911.

AN, B117 F67, letter to Bertram Cutler, December 31, 1913.

RAC–FTG, B3 F49, "Frederick T. Gates Speech in 1911 to the Missouri

Pacific Board.”

Henry Clews, *50 Years on Wall Street*, pp. 745–46.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, “Hoster Manuscript,” p. 46.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 90.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 993.

AN, B126, “Interview with William T. Sheppard.”

RAC, B114 F33, letter to William Rockefeller, March 26, 1887.

AN, B130.

RAC, 1.2 B56 F416, letter from H. M. Flagler, February 7, 1897.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, pp. 285–86.

Elmer, *Cinderella Rockefeller*, p. 4.

Ibid.

AN, B116 F55, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 26, 1901.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, “Hoster Manuscript,” p. 47.

AN, B128, “Interview with C. M. Higgins.”

*The Evening Post*, May 19, 1909.

Lawson, *Frenzied Finance*, dedication.

Ibid., pp. 294, vi.

Ibid., p. 35.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 347.

Ibid., p. 291.



AN, B116 F58, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., July 26, 1904.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Miss Tarbell, etc."

AN, B126, "Interview with William T. Sheppard."

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 335.

Twain, *The Autobiography of Mark Twain*, p. 258.

Ibid., p. 257.

Twain, *Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers*, p. 5.

Kaplan, *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain*, p. 323.

Twain, *Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers*, p. 466.

Twain, *Mark Twain in Eruption*, p. 83.

Ibid., p. 99.

Lash, *Helen and Teacher*, p. 209.

Ibid., p. 210.

Ibid., p. 355.

Ibid., p. 588.

AN, B130, "Interview with Charles Schwab."

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 80.

HDL, reel 27, "Opening Statement of Henry E. Harris in Alfred Merritt vs. John D. Rockefeller."

AN, B126, letter to Laura S. Rockefeller, September 2, 1893.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 80.

AN, B116 F49.

Ibid.

AN, B116 F46a, letter from Frederick T. Gates to Frank Rockefeller, April 7, 1893.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 85.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 262.

Wall, *Andrew Carnegie*, p. 600.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 274.

Wall, *Andrew Carnegie*, p. 170.

Schreiner, *Henry Clay Frick*, p. 134.

AN, B132, letter to F. Barstow, July 21, 1896.

Schreiner, *Henry Clay Frick*, p. 146.

Lyon, *Success Story*, p. 175.

Ibid., p. 176.

Chernow, *The House of Morgan*, pp. 103–4.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, pp. 268–69.

Allen, *The Great Pierpont Morgan*, p. 143.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 350.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 269.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 105.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 270.

Ibid.

RAC, III 2.Z B20, letter from Laura S. Rockefeller to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., March 5, 1901.

AN, B126, "Interview with William Sheppard."

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 271.

Schreiner, *Henry Clay Frick*, p. 188.

AN, B116 F55, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., March 12, 1901.

Ibid., March 16, 1901.

Ibid., March 15, 1901.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 274.

AN, B117 F60.

AN, B120.

RAC, 2.C B60 F470, memo of George Rogers, October 20, 1894.

Ibid., letter to Stevenson Burke, November 19, 1894.

IMT, B 4/14 T-298, "Notes on Interview with Frank Rockefeller."

AN, B116 F49, letter to James Corrigan, April 24, 1895.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 416.

RAC, III 2.C B59 F464, "Memo of February 29, 1896."

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 24.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 66.

RAC, III 2.C B60 F468, letter to William Rockefeller, September 20, 1901.

Hawke, *John D.*, p. 204.

## CHAPTER 21: THE ENTHUSIAST

*The New Era*, June 11, 1897.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1615.

*McClure's Magazine*, August 1905.

*Middletown (Connecticut) Press*, April 3, 1922.

RAC–FTG, B3 F57, “The Secret of Mr. Rockefeller’s Character and Success.

*Middletown (Connecticut) Press*, April 3, 1922.

RAC, III 2.H B3 F15, “Interview with Elias M. Johnson.”

Ibid.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 133.

RAC, III 2.H F18, “Golf with John D. Rockefeller.”

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.13, “Golf with Rockefeller.”

*Memphis (Tennessee) Commercial Appeal*, October 21, 1918.

RAC, vol. 214, no. 98.

AN, B126, letter to Laura S. Rockefeller, September 2, 1893.

RAC–FTG, B3 F57, “The Secret of Mr. Rockefeller’s Character and Success.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 34.

AN, B126, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Everett Colby, September 24, 1900.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 293.

RAC, vol. 212, no. 472, letter to Laura Rudd, November 29, 1904.

AN, B117 F60, expense account, January–February 1906.

Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 37.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 37.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 291.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 228.

AN, B132, letter from George D. Rogers to Laura S. Rockefeller, March 11, 1892.

Ernst, “*Dear Father*”/“*Dear Son*,” pp. 86–87.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1414.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 116.

Biggar, *Compiègne and Personal Reminiscences*, p. 97.

RAC–FTG, B1 F21, letter from Charles Eliot to Frederick T. Gates, December 23, 1910.

*The New York Herald*, October 3, 1907.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.14, “Ira Warner Memo.”

Ernst, “*Dear Father*”/“*Dear Son*,” p. 139.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, “Miss Tarbell, etc.”

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, “Bad Temper.”

RAC, vol. 213, no. 307, letter to Watson Van Duyne, March 27, 1905.

Ernst, “*Dear Father*”/“*Dear Son*,” p. 23.

RAC, vol. 217, no. 355, letter to George Rogers, March 31, 1906.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 23.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1267.

RAC, vol. 213, no. 307, letter to Watson Van Duyne, March 27, 1905.

RAC, III 2.Z B22, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., quoted in an Associated Press article, attached to a letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., May 15, 1935.

RAC, vol. 235, no. 464, letter to Dr. Henry Moeller, November 15, 1911.

RAC, III 1 SL B2 F10, Laura S. Rockefeller diary, March 1901.

AN, B133.

*McClure's Magazine*, August 1905.

RAC, vol. 216, letter to Edith Rockefeller McCormick, November 1, 1905.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Hoster Manuscript," pp. 31–32.

AN, B130, letter from Laura S. Rockefeller to W. R. Harper, September 24, 1892.

RAC, III 1 SL B2 F10, Laura S. Rockefeller diary, April 1904.

RAC, III 2.A B32 F250, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, March 14, 1915.

AN, B128, "Interview with H. V. Sims."

Ibid.

Ibid., letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Allan Nevins, February 8, 1940.

RAC, III 2.Z B20, letter from Laura S. Rockefeller to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., June 17, 1895.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 58.

RAC–CAS, II, letter from Charles A. Strong to William James, December 6, 1895.

Elizabeth de Cuevas, interview with author.

RAC, vol. 219, no. 6, letter to Reverend Charles Aked, February 18,

1907.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 450.

William James, *Selected Unpublished Correspondence*, p. 382, letter from William James to Macmillan Company, October 22, 1901.

RAC–CAS.

William James, *The Letters of William James*, vol. II, p. 229, letter from William James to his wife, May 13, 1905.

Lewis, *The Jameses*, p. 545.

William James, *The Correspondence of William James*, vol. III, p. 225, letter from William to Henry James, January 29, 1904.

AN, B131, letter from William James, June 1, 1909.

RAC, III 2.2 B49 F23, letter from Bessie Strong to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., March 12, 1904.

RAC–CAS, II, letter from Charles A. Strong to William James, October 1903.

McCormick, *George Santayana*, p. 553.

Ibid.

Lewis, *The Jameses*, p. 546.

*The Chicago Daily News*, March 12, 1931.

RAC, III 2.Z B49 F23, letter from Harold McCormick, September 28, 1895.

*The New York Evening Journal*, August 31, 1932.

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 137.

RAC, vol. 223, no. 102, letter to Harold McCormick, April 20, 1908.

*The New York Evening Journal*, August 31, 1932.

Ibid.

RAC, III 2.Z B49 F23, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, October 11 1905.

RAC, vol. 215, no. 462, letter to Cyrus McCormick, October 17, 1905.

AN, B116 F56, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., November 19, 1902.

AN, B116 F57, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., January 26, 1903.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F253, letter from Harold McCormick, January 10, 1919.

AN, B117 F64, letter from Frederick T. Gates, November 11, 1910.

RAC, III 2.Z B49 F23, letter from Alta Rockefeller to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., November 2, 1889.

RAC, III 2.Z B49 F25.

RAC, III 1 SL B2 F10, Laura S. Rockefeller diary, July 1912.

AN, B122, "Talk with Everett Colby."

RAC, III 2.Z B20, quoted in letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Laura S. Rockefeller, June 25, 1895.

RAC, III 2.Z B49 F23, letter from Alta Rockefeller to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., March 31, 1900.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, pp. 76–77.

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 156.

RAC, R62 B31 F237, letter from Alta Rockefeller, February 4, 1915.

RAC, III 2.Z B49 F23, letter from Harold McCormick, April 25, 1915.

RAC, III 2.A B32 F250.

## CHAPTER 22: AVENGING ANGEL



*The World*, October 12, 1898.

Ibid.

RAC, Inglis interview, pp. 1463, 1624.

*The World*, October 13, 1898, and *The New York Herald*, October 13, 1898

*The New York Herald*, March 18, 1899.

Ibid.

Bringhurst, *Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly*, p. 26.

AN, B132, letter from Frank Monnett to Henry Demarest Lloyd, January 19, 1899.

Bringhurst, *Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly*, p. 27.

Manning, *The Standard Oil Company*, p. 20.

AN, B117 F61, letter to Harold McCormick, June 29, 1907.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 121.

Ibid., p. 89.

AN, B126, letter to Andrew White, November 28, 1900.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1115.

Miller, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 147.

Bringhurst, *Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly*, p. 121.

Chandler, *Henry Flagler*, p. 236.

Bringhurst, *Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly*, p. 123.

Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 227.

Chandler, *Henry Flagler*, p. 236.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 381.

Bringhurst, *Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly*, p. 129.

RAC, III 2.Z B46, "Interview with John D. Rockefeller, Jr."

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 415.

Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 350.

AN, B126, letter to Mr. Baer, May 14, 1900.

Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, p. 203.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 24.

Ibid., p. 83.

Ibid., p. 99.

Brady, *Ida Tarbell*, p. 91.

*The World*, n.d. [1905].

Lyon, *Success Story*, p. 146.

Ibid., p. 117.

Ibid., p. 199.

Ibid., p. 152.

Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, p. 361.

Ibid., pp. 392–93.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, p. ix.

IMT, "Documents to Be Catalogued," letter from W. W. Tarbell to Ida Tarbell, April 14, 1893.

Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, p. 45.

Ibid., p. 207.

Brady, *Ida Tarbell*, p. 123.

Ibid., p. 129.

Ibid., p. 130.

Destler, *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, p. 353.

Brady, *Ida Tarbell*, p. 132.

Twain, *Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers*, p. 478.

Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, p. 211.

Ibid., p. 212.

Ibid., p. 10.

Ibid., p. 220.

Ibid.

RAC, III 2.H B14 F87, letter from William T. Sheppard to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., June 16, 1937.

AN, B131, "Interview with John D. Rockefeller, Jr."

Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, p. 227.

IMT, "Documents to Be Catalogued," "Memo of a conversation with Mr. Flagler."

Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, p. 219.

AN, B126, "Interview with William T. Sheppard."

Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. II, p. 126.

Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, p. 230.

Ibid., p. 26.

Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. II, p. 287.

Ibid., p. 101.

IMT, B 1/14, "Interview with Henry H. Rogers."

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 68.

Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 204.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. II, p. 50.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. I, p. 206.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, pp. 71–72.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. II, p. 51.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. II, p. 94.

AN, B114 F36, letter from J. D. Archbold, May 2, 1888.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1091.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. II, p. 85.

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, vol. II, p. 110.

Lyon, *Success Story*, p. 213.

Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, p. 202.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 102.

IMT, B 1/14 T-057, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, August 6, 1903.

Brady, *Ida Tarbell*, p. 145.

Ibid., p. 143.

IMT, B 1/14, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, n.d.

*The American Magazine*, November 1910.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Reminiscences."

IMT, B 1/14, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, June 15, 1903.

Ibid.

Ibid., letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, October 26, 1903.

Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, p. 234.

Ibid., p. 235.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 236.

*McClure's Magazine*, August 1905.

Ibid.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, "Myths as to Rockefeller's Boyhood."

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 403.

IMT, B 1/14, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, January 8, 1904.

IMT, "Documents to Be Catalogued," T-066, "Memo of Interview with Frank Rockefeller, January 22, 1904."

IMT, B 4/14 T-298, "Notes on Interview with Frank Rockefeller."

IMT, "Documents to Be Catalogued," T-066, "Memo of Interview with Frank Rockefeller, January 22, 1904."

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, "J. W. Slaght."

Ibid.

Ibid.

*The Cleveland Press*, n.d. [ca. 1905].

Brady, *Ida Tarbell*, p. 137.

IMT, B 4/14 T-288, "Memo on Corrigan case."

RAC, vol. 214, no. 347.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 28.

RAC, vol. 213, no. 348, letter to F. T. Gates, April 3, 1905.

*McClure's Magazine*, July 1905.

Hughes, *Music Is My Life*, p. 71.

Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, p. 239.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 13.

Ibid., p. 1457.

Ibid., p. 1430.

RAC, vol. 215, no. 49, letter to J. D. Archbold, July 29, 1905.

*The Detroit Tribune*, July 24, 1905.

*The Philadelphia Ledger*, July 21, 1905.

RAC, III 2.Z B46, "Interview with John D. Rockefeller, Jr."

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 232.

IMT, B 1/14 T-053, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, April 28, 1903.

Ibid.

IMT, "Documents to Be Catalogued," letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, April 30, 1903.

IMT, B 2/14, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, n.d.

IMT, B 1/14, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, September 22, 1903.

IMT, "Documents to Be Catalogued," T-066, "Memo of Interview with Frank Rockefeller, January 22, 1904."

Rugoff, *America's Gilded Age*, p. 162.

Swanberg, *Pulitzer*, p. 187.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, "Interview with J. W. Slaght."

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

*The World*, August 11, 1907.

Ibid., February 2, 1908.

*The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 30, 1937.

Ibid.

Ibid.

*The New York Times*, February 3, 1908.

*The World*, March 1, 1908.

Ibid.

## CHAPTER 23: FAITH OF FOOLS

*The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 8, 1936.

AN, B122, letter from F. T. Gates to George B. Atwood, April 4, 1921.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 104.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "On Gratitude and Giving."

AN, B114 F33, letter to Frank Rockefeller, December 24, 1886.

*Farm and Fireside*, January 6, 1917.

*Forbes*, September 29, 1917.

Storr, *Harper's University*, p. 143.

AN, B116 F58, letter from F. T. Gates to Dr. Osler, April 13, 1904.

Storr, *Harper's University*, p. 144.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 421.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., et al., "Addresses to Honor the Memory of Frederick Taylor Gates," privately printed, RAC, p. 15.

Mencken, *My Life as Author and Editor*, p. 276.

Flexner, *An American Saga*, p. 403.

Fosdick, *Chronicle of a Generation*, p. 218.

RAC-FTG, B1 F21, letter from Charles W. Eliot to F. T. Gates, December 23, 1910.

AN, B128, "Simon Flexner Interview."

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. II, p. 479.

CUOH-ABF, p. 36.

RAC, vol. 233, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., January 14, 1911.

*Forbes*, September 29, 1917.

RAC-FTG, B1 F21, letter from F. T. Gates to Charles W. Eliot, December 30, 1910.

Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, p. 85.



RAC, vol. 223, no. 47, letter to Lucy Fuller, January 17, 1908.

RAC, vol. 226, no. 41, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., February 19, 1909.

Corner, *A History of the Rockefeller Institute*, p. 105.

*The Outlook*, December 17, 1910.

Wall, *Andrew Carnegie*, p. 832.

RAC–FTG, B1 F21, letter from F. T. Gates to Charles W. Eliot, December 30, 1910.

AN, B119, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., March 11, 1919.

Brown, *Rockefeller Medicine Men*, p. 122.

Jung, *Modern Psychology*, p. 71. Lectures given by Jung at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zurich.

Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, December 7, 1919.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 180.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 116.

RAC–FTG, B2 F33, letter from F. T. Gates, January 26, 1911.

*The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 8, 1936.

#### CHAPTER 24: THE MILLIONAIRES' SPECIAL

Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism*, p. 129.

*The World*, April 28, 1901.

Lewis, W.E.B. Du Bois, p. 271.

Read, *The Story of Spelman College*, p. 139.

AN, B132, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Robert C. Ogden, April 25, 1901.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 117.

Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism*, p. 27.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 134.

RAC–FTG, B4 F80, letter from F. T. Gates to Dr. Augustus Strong, May 14, 1891.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 118.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, letter from Abraham Flexner to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., October 23, 1940.

AN, B126, letter from A. Flexner to Allan Nevins, August 25, 1950.

Abraham Flexner, *Autobiography*, p. 141.

Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, p. 75.

Brown, *Rockefeller Medicine Men*, p. 55.

Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, p. 75.

Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism*, p. 241.

Du Bois, *Autobiography*, p. 223.

The General Education Board, *The General Education Board: An Account of Its Activities*, p. 220.

Abraham Flexner, *Autobiography*, p. 131.

Morris, *Those Rockefeller Brothers*, p. 140.

Ettling, *The Germ of Laziness*, p. 102.

Sullivan, *Our Times*, vol. III, p. 324.

RAC, vol. 228, no. 230, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., October 22, 1909.

Ettling, *The Germ of Laziness*, p. 107.

RAC–FTG, B1 F21, letter from F. T. Gates to Charles W. Eliot, December 30, 1910.

Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism*, p. 153.

Ibid., pp. 151–52.

RAC–FTG, B2 F34, letter from F. T. Gates, August 10, 1914.

AN, B117 F65, letter from F. T. Gates, October 23, 1911.

Brown, *Rockefeller Medicine Men*, pp. 144–45.

Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, p. 93.

CUOH–ABF, p. 19.

Abraham Flexner, *Autobiography*, pp. 109–10.

“Addresses to Honor the Memory of Frederick Taylor Gates,” RAC, p. 8.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, “On Stewardship.”

RAC–FTG, B3 F72, “The Ten Million Gift.”

IMT, B 1/14, T-056, letter from J. M. Siddall to Ida Tarbell, June 24, 1903.

Storr, *Harper’s University*, p. 359.

AN, B131, letter from F. T. Gates to W. R. Harper, February 11, 1905.

AN, B117 F59, letter to W. R. Harper, February 16, 1905.

UC–UPP, 1889–1925, B56 F1, letter from W. R. Harper, February 22, 1905.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. II, p. 625.

Storr, *Harper’s University*, p. 366.

RAC, vol. 217, no. 76, letter to Harry Pratt Judson, January 26, 1906.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. II, p. 181.

RAC–FTG, B3 F72, “The Ten Million Gift.”

RAC, vol. 225, no. 459, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., February 3, 1909.

AN, B117 F63, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., November 5, 1909.

RAC–FTG, B3 F72, letter from F. T. Gates, November 24, 1909.

RAC, vol. 232, no. 374, letter to University of Chicago, December 13, 1910.

Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, p. 7.

*The World*, August 20, 1905.

Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, p. 528.

RAC, vol. 218, no. 460, letter to George Rogers, October 6, 1906.

Wells, *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind*, p. 461.

RAC–FTG, B3 F58, letter from F. T. Gates to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., October 19, 1911.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 205.

RAC–FTG, B3 F67.

AN, B116 F57, letter from F. T. Gates to T. W. Todd, n.d. [October–November, 1903].

RAC–FTG, B2 F48, letter from F. T. Gates, n.d.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 201.

*The New York Herald*, March 29, 1905.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1048.

*Harper’s Weekly*, April 8, 1905.

New York *Daily News*, n.d., IMT.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller*, vol. II, p. 546.

## CHAPTER 25: THE CODGER

*The American*, November 1910.

Pyle, *Pocantico*, p. 103.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 198.

Inglis, "Impressions of John D. Rockefeller," typescript in AN, p. 24.

*Chicago Record-Herald*, December 12, 1906.

*Cosmopolitan*, May 1902.

RAC, 2.Z B21, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., May 12, 1913.

RAC, III 2.Z B20.

Ernst, "Dear Father"/"Dear Son," p. 30.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 37.

RAC, vol. 230, no. 238, letter to Mr. Ailes, May 9, 1910.

RAC, vol. 227, no. 65, letter to Dr. Paul Allen, June 5, 1909.

RAC, vol. 228, no. 266, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., October 30, 1909.

*The New York Evening World*, April 27, 1901.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 192.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 60.

Ernst, "Dear Father"/"Dear Son," p. 22.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 193.

Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, p. 6.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Ibid.

Ibid.

AN, B133, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Senator Aldrich, August 14, 1903.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 281.

New York *Daily News*, August 27, 1901.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

UC–UPP, 1889–1925, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to W. R. Harper, October 7, 1902.

Twain, *Mark Twain in Eruption*, p. 83.

RAC, vol. 214, no. 296, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., June 27, 1905.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 197.

RAC, III 2.Z B44, letter from Dr. W.H.P. Faunce to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., September 12, 1905.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 115.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., January 4, 1907.

Ernst, “*Dear Father*”/“*Dear Son.*” pp. 35–36.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 111.

Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, p. 4.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 407.

*The New York Times*, May 21, 1905.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 289.

RAC, III 2.Z B20 F4.

AN, B132, "Interview with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., January 1940."

RAC, III 1.SL B2 F10, Laura S. Rockefeller diary, October 1908.

*Ibid.*, p. 37.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 121.

RAC, vol. 226, no. 308, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., April 17, 1909.

RAC, vol. 229, no. 194, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., January 11, 1910

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 45.

#### CHAPTER 26: THE WORLD'S RICHEST FUGITIVE

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 107.

RAC, vol. 212, p. 400, letter to President Theodore Roosevelt, November 9 1904.

*Ibid.*

Carr, *John D. Rockefeller's Secret Weapon*, p. 134.

IMT, 14/15, "Interview with Mr. Wickersham, May 7, 1924."

Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, p. 66.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 335.

Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 421.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 359.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 108.

Ibid.

AN, B117 F60, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., March 13, 1906.

*The New York Herald*, June 23, 1906.

AN, B117 F60, letter from John D. Archbold, July 5, 1906.

Ibid., quoted in a letter from George Rogers, June 25, 1906.

AN, B117 F59, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., December 5, 1905.

*The New York Herald*, February 13, 1906.

Bringhurst, *Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly*, p. 92.

Ibid., p. 244.

RAC, vol. 217, no. 44, letter to William Rudd, January 18, 1906.

AN, B117 F60, letter to John D. Archbold, April 24, 1906.

RAC, vol. 217, no. 262, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., March 15, 1906.

RAC, vol. 217, no. 285, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., March 19, 1906.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 322.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 100.

AN, B128, letter from F. T. Gates to W. O. Inglis, January 12, 1922.

RAC, vol. 214, no. 79, letter to F. T. Gates, May 12, 1905.

AN, B117 F59, letter from S. Murphy, August 16, 1905.

RAC, vol. 217, no. 480, letter to Mrs. Watson Van Duyne, May 1, 1906.

AN, B117 F59, letter to Bessie Strong, December 20, 1905.

RAC-CAS, III, "Letters 1906-1907."



Santayana, *The Letters of George Santayana*, p. 86.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Hoster Manuscript," p. 4.

Ibid., p. 5.

Ibid., p. 19.

Ibid., p. 8.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 424.

Ibid., p. 423.

McCormick, *George Santayana*, p. 284.

Ibid.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Hoster Manuscript."

AN, B131.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Hoster Manuscript," p. 27.

AN, B117 F60, letter from George Rogers, July 9, 1906.

RAC-CAS, III, "Letters 1906-1907," letter from Charles A. Strong to William James, July 23, 1906.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. II, p. 567.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.12, "Hoster Manuscript," p. 72.

*The New York Herald*, July 30, 1906.

RAC, III 2.H B112 F846, telegram from Charles A. Strong, November 14, 1906.

Ibid., telegram to Charles A. Strong, November 14, 1906.

RAC-CAS, III, "Letters 1902-1905," letter from Charles A. Strong to William James, October 19, 1902.

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 232.

RAC, III 2.Z B20 F3, letter to Edith Rockefeller McCormick, April 15, 1910

RAC, III 2.H B112 F846, letter from Charles A. Strong to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., April 16, 1908.

RAC, III 2.Z B20 F3, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Laura S. Rockefeller, March 11, 1909.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F252, letter to Harold McCormick, May 25, 1917.

RAC, vol. 218, no. 332, letter to Harold McCormick, September 1, 1906.

*Leslie's Weekly*, May 16, 1907.

*The Woman's Home Companion*, January 1907.

AN, B117 F62, letter to Edith McCormick, June 11, 1908.

RAC, III 2.H B1 F2.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 1.

*Ibid.*, p. 19.

*Ibid.*, p. 118.

*Ibid.*, p. 94.

*Chicago Record-Herald*, April 25, 1909.

Twain, *Mark Twain in Eruption*, p. 101.

Twain, *Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers*, p. 577.

Twain, *Mark Twain in Eruption*, p. 102.

## CHAPTER 27: JUDGMENT DAY

AN, B117 F60, letter to John D. Archbold, November 13, 1906.

RAC, III 2.H B1 F8, "Taylor History."

AN, B131, "Interview with Mr. Brown."

AN, B130, "Interview with Charles T. White."

Giddens, *Standard Oil Company (Indiana)*, p. 110.

*The Sun*, July 7, 1907.

Ibid.

Ibid.

AN, B128.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 703.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 147.

Kaplan, *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain*, p. 323.

*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 4, 1907.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 426.

RAC-FTG, B2 F39, letter from F. T. Gates, August 9, 1907.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 58.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 432.

Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 481.

RAC, vol. 221, p. 374, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 31, 1907.

Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 367.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Help to End Panics."

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 429.

John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, p. 5.

Ibid., p. 88.

AN, B130.

AN, B117 F61, letter to George Rudd, October 26, 1907.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 428.

Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism*, p. 124.

Bringhurst, *Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly*, p. 135.

Ibid., p. 136.

Ibid., p. 140.

Carr, *John D. Rockefeller's Secret Weapon*, p. 147.

Hidy and Hidy, *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, p. 635.

Ibid., p. 634.

RAC, vol. 230, p. 7, letter to H. C. Folger, March 14, 1910.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 414.

Ibid.

*The Morning Telegraph*, November 20, 1908.

Cincinnati *Times-Star*, November 20, 1908.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 277.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.10, "John D. Archbold."

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 56.

Ibid., p. 57.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 355.

Ibid.

*Hearst's Magazine*, June 1912.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 353.

Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst*, p. 228.

Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller*, p. 215.

Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst*, p. 260.

Ibid., p. 261.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 435.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Ibid.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 137.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 105.

McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, p. 197.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 436.

RAC, vol. 226, p. 488, letter to H. C. Folger, May 20, 1909.

Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft*, p. 660.

RAC, vol. 228, p. 23, letter to Harold McCormick, August 27, 1909

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 378, and Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 109.

Ernst, "Dear Father"/"Dear Son," p. 46.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 109.

AN, B126.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 59.

Bringhurst, *Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly*, p. 173.

Ibid.

Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft*, p. 665.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 445.

*Bradstreet's*, September 2, 1911.

Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism*, p. 194.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 113.

Schreiner, *Henry Clay Frick*, p. 135.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 157.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 383.

RAC, vol. 235, p. 107.

AN, B126, "Interview with Dr. W. M. Burton."

## CHAPTER 28: BENEVOLENT TRUST

RAC, III 2.H B9 F37, "Inglis Impressions."

*The New Yorker*, January 29, 1921.

*The New York Herald*, January 6, 1905.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 65.

Brown, *Rockefeller Medicine Men*, p. 48.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 82.

Gates, *Chapters in My Life*, p. 20.

Ibid., p. 209.

AN, B117, letters from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., February 10 and 12, 1908.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 9.

Ibid., p. 121.

Brown, *Rockefeller Medicine Men*, p. 169.

Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft*, pp. 661–62.

Ibid., p. 663.

Butt, *Taft and Roosevelt*, p. 615.

RAC, III 2.Z B20 F24, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Laura S. Rockefeller, April 25, 1911.

*The Sun*, January 11, 1914.

RAC–FTG, B4 F78, letter to F. T. Gates, August 19, 1912.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., April 17, 1917.

Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, p. 59.

## CHAPTER 29: MASSACRE

AN, B117 F59, letter from Frederick T. Gates, December 2, 1905.

AN, B116 F57, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to F. J. Hearne, October 27, 1903.

McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, p. 53.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, “On Profit-Sharing and Unionism.”

RAC–FTG, B1 F9, “Capital and Labor.”

AN, B117 F66, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to L. M. Bowers, May 21, 1913.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 419.

McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, p. 98.

Ibid., p. 111.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 110.

McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, p. 135.

Ibid., p. 136.

AN, B117 F67, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to W. B. Wilson, November 19, 1913.

Ibid.

Ibid., letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to L. M. Bowers, December 26, 1913.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, pp. 198–99.

Ibid., p. 201.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 115.

AN, B117 F68, letter to E. B. Thomas, April 11, 1914.

McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, p. 232.

Ibid.

Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre*, p. 23.

Hiebert, *Courtier to the Crowd*, p. 99.



McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, p. 239.

Lash, *Helen and Teacher*, p. 428.

Pickersgill and Forster, *The Mackenzie King Record*, vol. III, p. 144.

McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, p. 278.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 7, 1914.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 152.

Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre*, p. 20.

McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, p. 257.

AN, B117 F68, letter to Harold McCormick, May 11, 1914.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 144.

Dawson, *William Lyon Mackenzie King*, p. 229.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Dawson, *William Lyon Mackenzie King*, p. 229, and Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 132.

Ibid.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 133.

Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre*, p. 64.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 133.

Ibid.

*Hearst's International*, July 1923.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 116.

Hiebert, *Courtier to the Crowd*, p. 97.

Ibid., p. 100.

RAC, III 2.H B1 F3, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Walter C. Teagle, June 25, 1918.

Hiebert, *Courtier to the Crowd*, pp. 4–5.

Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre*, p. 59.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 130.

Dawson, *William Lyon Mackenzie King*, p. 237.

Hiebert, *Courtier to the Crowd*, p. 104.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, p. 318.

Ibid.

RAC, Inglis interview, pp. 332–33.

*The New Republic*, January 30, 1915.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 158.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, pp. 138–39.

Jones, *Autobiography of Mother Jones*, p. 201.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 201.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 151.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 162.

AN, B128, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Allan Nevins, April 3, 1939.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 165.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 151.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.8, "Mrs. S. J. Life."

Pickersgill and Forster, *The Mackenzie King Record*, vol. III, p. 360.

#### CHAPTER 30: INTROVERT AND EXTROVERT

Jones, *The Correspondence of Mother Jones*, p. 134.

Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, vol. II, p. 676.

RAC, III 1 SL B2 F10, Laura S. Rockefeller diary, December 1909.

Ibid., September 25, 1913.

Flynn, *God's Gold*, p. 463.

RAC, III 2.Z B49 F25.

Ernst, "Dear Father"/"Dear Son," p. 49.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 426.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F257, letter to Edith Rockefeller McCormick, September 12, 1922.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 233, and Inglis notes, 4.9, "Rockefeller and Cleveland."

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Rockefeller and Cleveland."

*The New York Tribune*, March 15, 1915.

RAC, III 1 SL B2 F13, letter from M. S. Richardson to John D. Rockefeller, Jr. August 12, 1915.

Ibid.

*The Detroit Free Press*, January 3, 1916.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 190.

*The New York Evening Journal*, August 30, 1932.

Ibid.

Dedmon, *Fabulous Chicago*, p. 315.

Burnham, *Jelliffe*, p. 247.

Ibid., p. 245.

Jung, *Modern Psychology*, p. 71.

Jung, *Nietzsche's Zarathustra*, p. 583.

Ibid.

Noll, *The Aryan Christ*, p. 207.

Ibid.

RAC, III 2.A B32 F249, letter from Harold McCormick, December 28, 1913.

RAC, III 2.A B32 F250, letter to Harold McCormick, December 30, 1915.

*Spring* 52, 1992.

RAC, III 2.A B32 F250, letter from Harold McCormick, September 1, 1915.

Noll, *The Aryan Christ*, p. 215.

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 192.

RAC, III 2.A B32 F250, letter from Harold McCormick, June 18, 1915.

Noll, *The Aryan Christ*, p. 216.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F252, letter from Harold McCormick, August 25, 1917.

RAC, III 2.A B32 F250, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick,

October 22, 1915.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F252, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, June 22, 1917.

Ibid., letter to Edith Rockefeller McCormick, July 27, 1917.

RAC, III 2.A B32 F251, letter from Harold McCormick, February 16, 1916.

RAC, III 2.A B32 F259, letter to Harold and Edith McCormick, January 26, 1916.

Noll, *The Aryan Christ*, pp. 230–31.

RAC, III 2.A B32 F250, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, September 4, 1915.

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 201.

Ibid.

Noll, *The Aryan Christ*, pp. 225–26.

Ibid., p. 232.

Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 422.

Ibid., p. 469.

Noll, *The Aryan Christ*, p. 231.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F233, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, March 24, 1919.

*Spring* 52, 1992.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Walska, *Always Room at the Top*, p. 24.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F254, letter to Harold McCormick, January 27, 1920.

RAC, III 2.Z B22, letter to Edith Rockefeller McCormick, April 9, 1921.

RAC, RG2 B34 F262, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, April 17, 1931.

*The Chicago Daily News*, March 12, 1931.

RAC, RG2 B34 F259, letter to Edith Rockefeller McCormick, December 27, 1923.

Birmingham, *The Grandes Dames*, p. 140.

RAC, RG2 B34 F259, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, January 14 1924.

#### CHAPTER 31: CONFESSIONAL

RAC, III 2.Z B22, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., October 11, 1926.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 196.

RAC, III 2.H B9 F37, "Inglis Impressions."

William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*, p. 250.

AN, B128, letter from George N. Rigby to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., April 27, 1940.

*The Salt Lake City Tribune*, April 27, 1919.

Strickland, *Ormond's Historic Homes*, p. 57.

*The New York American*, February 5, 1927.

Engelbrecht, *Neighbor John*, p. 98.

Chandler, *Henry Flagler*, p. 301.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., March 15, 1916.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.11, "John S. Sargent Interview, November 27,

1922.”

CUOH–PM, p. 23.

RAC, III 2.H B9 F37, “Inglis Impressions.”

David Rockefeller, interview with author.

Engelbrecht, *Neighbor John*, p. 148.

*The Brooklyn Citizen*, March 4, 1923.

RAC, Inglis interview, pp. 363–64.

Ibid., p. 1061.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.7, 3.1.1, letter from Ivy Lee, February 11, 1915.

RAC, III 2.H B3 F17, letter from Ivy Lee, October 14, 1915.

RAC, III 2.H B3 F18, “Meeting Mr. Rockefeller.”

Ibid.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 237.

RAC, III 2.H B3 F14, letter from W. O. Inglis to Ivy Lee, March 25, 1918.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 343.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., September 28, 1917.

Brady, *Ida Tarbell*, p. 231.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 23.

Ibid., p. 1313.

RAC, III 2.H B1 F8, “Taylor History.”

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1280.

Yergin, *The Prize*, p. 183.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 1252.

Ibid., p. 105.

Ibid., p. 1647.

Ibid., p. 149.

Ibid., p. 1396.

Ibid., p. 1264.

Ibid., p. 1291.

RAC, Inglis notes, "John D. Rockefeller Biography," letter from William Allen White to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., May 21, 1925.

RAC, III 2.Z B46, "Interview with John D. Rockefeller, Jr."

RAC, III 2.Z B44, "Memo of William G. Rose, March 10, 1953."

## CHAPTER 32: DYNASTIC SUCCESSION

Mencken, *Prejudices: Fifth Series*, p. 287.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 136.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 177.

RAC, III 2.H B3 F14, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to W. O. Inglis, February 19, 1918.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 334.

Ibid.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., May 25, 1915.

David Rockefeller, interview with author.



Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 158.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "What Mr. Rockefeller Gave to Win the War."

RAC, III 2.Z B21.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 411.

RAC, Inglis interview, p. 239.

David Rockefeller, interview with author.

Chase, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 47.

Ibid., p. 85.

Ibid., p. 120.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 208.

Chase, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 59.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 208.

Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, p. 116.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 228.

Pyle, *Pocantico*, p. 180.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 419.

Chase, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 32.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, pp. 172–73.

Chase, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 46.

*The New Yorker*, November 4, 1972.

RAC, III 2.Z B64.

RAC, III 2.H B9 F37, "Inglis Impressions."

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, July 16, 1938.

CHAPTER 33: PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

AN, B128, "Interview with James C. Jones."

AN, B131.

Nevins, *Study in Power*, vol. II, p. 419.

FSL, JDR, B23, letter to Henry Clay Folger, June 28, 1922.

Ibid., letter to Henry Clay Folger, January 1, 1923.

*The Evening World*, November 30, 1926.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 254.

Wells, *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind*, p. 462.

AN, B126, "William T. Sheppard Interview."

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 47.

Engelbrecht, *Neighbor John*, p. 42.

Pyle, *Pocantico*, p. 111.

AN, B119, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., February 28, 1928.

AN, B126.

Engelbrecht, *Neighbor John*, p. 102.

AN, B128, letter from George N. Rigby to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., April 27, 1940.

Engelbrecht, *Neighbor John*, p. 107.

*The World*, May 20, 1923, and *Hearst's International*, July 1923.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.9, "Mr. Rockefeller and Alcohol."

Winkler, *John D.*, p. 189.

RAC, III B36 F273.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 355.

Fosdick, *Chronicle of a Generation*, p. 223.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 206.

Fosdick, *The Living of These Days*, p. 146.

*Ibid.*, p. 178.

Schenkel, *The Rich Man and the Kingdom*, p. 222.

*The Jacksonville Times-Union*, November 15, 1935.

Roberts, *Mr. Rockefeller's Roads*, p. 6.

Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, p. 278.

*Ibid.*, p. 292.

*Ibid.*, p. 297.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 389.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 172.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 110.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 283.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, p. 102.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 219.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 262.

Ibid., p. 304.

Ibid., p. 283.

Ibid., p. 284.

Ibid., pp. 418–19.

Ibid., p. 377.

#### CHAPTER 34: HEIRS

Noll, *The Aryan Christ*, p. 208.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F257, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, October 20, 1922.

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 236.

*The Chicago Journal*, October 25, 1921.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F252, letter to Mathilde McCormick, January 28, 1922.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F256, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, January 28, 1922.

Ibid.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F258, letter to Edith Rockefeller McCormick, April 19, 1923.

RAC, III 2.A B33 F256, letter from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, October 23, 1922.

RAC, RG2 B34 F261, letter from Mathilde Oser, July 3, 1929.

Ibid., telegram from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, May 27, 1929.

McCormick, *George Santayana*, p. 288.

Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, p. 16.

Stasz, *The Rockefeller Women*, p. 244.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 102.

Ibid., p. 254.

Ibid., p. 90.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 227.

Ibid., p. 228.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, pp. 246, 248.

Winkler, *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*, p. 207.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 261.

Ibid., pp. 258, 261.

Ibid., p. 274.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 366.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 246.

Morris, *Those Rockefeller Brothers*, p. 56.

Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, p. 247.

Ibid., p. 59.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 60.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 199.

RAC, III 2.Z B22, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., August 1, 1932.

*Newsweek*, April 28, 1958.

RAC, III 2.Z B20 F4, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Laura S. Rockefeller, July 30, 1910.

RAC, III 2.Z B22, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., February 28, 1934.

Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, p. 29.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 52.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 220.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 366.

RAC, III 2.Z B21, letter from Winthrop Rockefeller to John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and Abby Aldrich Rockefeller.

Winthrop Rockefeller, *A Letter to My Son*, pp. 83–84.

*Ibid.*, p. 85.

*The Saturday Evening Post*, July 16, 1938.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 9.

Harr and Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, p. 391.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 256.

AN, B119, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., December 28, 1927.

David Rockefeller, interview with author.

Morris, *Those Rockefeller Brothers*, p. 30.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 430.

## CHAPTER 35: SEE YOU IN HEAVEN

AN, B126.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 71.

AN, B128.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 172.

Chernow, *The House of Morgan*, p. 319.

Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 469.

Winthrop Rockefeller, "A Letter to My Son," p. 88.

RAC, III 2.Z B22, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., June 28, 1933.

Manchester, *A Rockefeller Family Portrait*, p. 118.

Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*, p. 357.

*Ibid.*, p. 360.

Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, p. 111.

RAC, III 2.Z B46.

*Time*, September 24, 1956.

*The New York Evening Post*, February 9, 1932.

AN, B128, letter from George N. Rigby to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., April 27, 1940.

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.*, p. 71.

Collier and Horowitz, *The Rockefellers*, p. 204.

RAC, Inglis notes, 4.14, "Ira Warner Memo."

AN, B129.

RAC, III 2.Z B44, letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Kate Sewall,  
March 20, 1937.

Winthrop Rockefeller, "A Letter to My Son," p. 86.

*The Argonaut*, June 16, 1937.

Winkelman, *John D. Rockefeller*, p. 4.

Pyle, *Pocantico*, p. 189.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It has taken the kindness of many strangers to explore the labyrinth of materials now available on John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

Because Rockefeller died in 1937, there are few people today who can provide information from either firsthand experience or hearsay, which made me especially grateful to the family members who spoke with me. David Rockefeller not only sat for an interview but graciously offered a sneak preview of the chapter on his grandfather in his forthcoming memoir. Other descendants of figures discussed in this book—including Nelson Aldrich, Jr., Elizabeth de Cuevas, John de Cuevas, James T. Flexner, Abby O'Neill, Spelman Prentice, Ann Rockefeller Roberts, J. Stillman Rockefeller, and O. Stillman Rockefeller—added shading and nuance to many events. Peter Johnson, the resident historian at the Rockefeller family office, reacted to all of my requests for information in a fine, collegial spirit.

My foremost debt is to the staff of the Rockefeller Archive Center, which is situated on the family estate in Sleepy Hollow (formerly North Tarrytown) but is operated by a team of professional archivists under the very able direction of Darwin Stapleton. The center, first opened to researchers in 1975, is a division of the Rockefeller University. I am especially grateful to Tom Rosenbaum, who expertly guided me through the vast trove of documents and had stimulating things to say about so many of them. His help was invaluable and always graciously rendered. Ken Rose was especially adept when it came to Cleveland history, while Valerie Komor was indispensable in elucidating the mystery of Charles and Bessie Strong. Michele Hiltzik and Robert Battaly did yeoman's work in helping me with the photos. I salute the professionalism of the entire staff and the exemplary work it performs each year for so many scholars.

Among other Samaritans who supplied aid and comfort, I would like to single out Jean Ashton and the staff of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University, which houses the voluminous collection of Rockefeller material in the Allan Nevins papers; Meredith Nevins Mayer, who permitted me to quote from her father's papers; Ronald Grele and the Columbia University Oral History Project; Barbara T. Zolli, Beth Davidson, and the staff of the Drake Well Museum in Titusville, Pennsylvania, which contains Ida Tarbell's extensive files on Standard Oil; Caroline Tarbell Tupper, who gave permission to quote from the papers of her grandaunt Ida Tarbell; Harold Miller and the staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, which made available the papers of Henry Demarest Lloyd by inter-library loan; John Grabowski and the staff of the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland; William Massa, Jr., of the Manuscripts and Archives Collection at the Yale University Library, who tracked down some critical letters; Daniel Meyer and the Department of Special Collections at the University of Chicago Library; and Letitia Yeandle and Theresa Helein of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., who provided Rockefeller's correspondence with Henry Clay Folger.

Sir David Simon, the former chairman of British Petroleum, took a special interest in this project and arranged for me to examine the original minute books of Standard Oil of Ohio, which was absorbed by British Petroleum in the 1970s. Dorothy Jankowski, Barbara Rutigliano, and George Dunn served as gracious hosts during my Cleveland visit. Robert Craig Brown, the chairman of the University of Toronto history department, went beyond the call of duty in showering me with information about William Lyon Mackenzie King. I enjoyed the cheerful, efficient help of two delightful people at Spelman College—Tanya Sharpe, the interim director of the archives, and undergraduate Darsheika Giles—who sifted through many unexplored files pertaining to early Rockefeller history. Dr. Deborah

Dependahl Waters kindly escorted me on a tour of the Rockefeller rooms at the Museum of the City of New York. Richard Warshauer, George Picon, and John Nesimi allowed me a glimpse of the old Standard Oil offices at 26 Broadway. Cynthia Altman, Carol Moberg, and David Lyons were knowledgeable guides on a stroll around Rockefeller University, while Vicki Manning filled in blanks about the Judson Memorial Church. Peter Kraus of the New York Public Library provided statistical tables for converting figures into contemporary dollars. Jennifer Shaw extracted many interesting articles for me from local libraries. Susan Sacharski, archivist of the Northwestern Memorial Hospital in Chicago, and William Beatty, professor of medical bibliography emeritus at Northwestern University, counseled me in tracking down that phantom, Dr. Charles Johnston. Dr. Josef Jelinek and Alice DeLury provided some needed guidance on Rockefeller's alopecia.

Three people in Lakewood—Deborah Kern, chairwoman of the Lakewood Heritage, her husband, Jerome Kern, and Judith Robinson of the Lakewood Public Library—helped to re-create that colorful phase of Rockefeller's life. Laurel Auchampaugh and Ann Townsend of the Cayuga-Owasco Lakes Historical Society in Moravia, New York, passed along some piquant folklore about Rockefeller's childhood and secretly initiated me, in a back room, into the mysteries of *Joshua: A Man of the Finger Lakes Region*. I was delighted to receive unsolicited aid from George Plimpton, a descendant of General Adelbert Ames, who rounded up background materials on a trip to Ormond Beach. Leslie Bottarelli of the Ormond Beach Community Enrichment Center sent additional information. Jean S. Hoefler of the Stephenson County Genealogical Society and Michael Cline of the Oakland Cemetery in Freeport, Illinois, helped to unravel the mystery of Dr. William Levingston's last days in that town.

The generous Deirdre Bair, now working on a biography of Carl Jung, gave me a road map of Jung scholars who might be of assistance in unearthing the story of Edith and Harold McCormick in Switzerland. William McGuire of Princeton University, the editor of Jung's Collected Works, dipped into his formidable database on several occasions and came up with splendid discoveries. James Hillman, formerly the director of the Jung Center in Zurich, introduced me to the hilarious memoir of Edith's chauffeur, Emile Ammann.

James A. Smith and Kathleen McCarthy helped to locate Rockefeller in the broad stream of philanthropic history. Alan Brinkley provided a timely perspective on the often-tangled question of business corruption in American political history. Judith Goldstein deepened my understanding of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s conservation work on Mount Desert Island. Other friends who offered welcome advice, referrals, stories, and suggestions include Robert Caro, Jonathan Coss, Andrew Delbanco, Paula Giddings, Robert C. Kochersberger, Jr., the late J. Anthony Lukas, Vincent McGee, John Rousmaniere, Willie Ruff, Tom Ryley, and Scott Sandage.

Both the research and writing stages of this book proved unexpectedly rich in medical emergencies, and I would like to express special thanks to some superb physicians. Dr. Eric Rackow, chief of medicine at Saint Vincent's Hospital, and Dr. Jay Weinstein helped to rescue me from a nasty brush with a blood clot. They consulted closely with my brother, Dr. Bart Chernow, now a vice dean at the Johns Hopkins Medical School. I would also like to thank Dr. Dennis Fabian of Saint Vincent's for operating on my knee and Dr. Jonathan Deland of the Hospital for Special Surgery for operating on my foot.

Alberto Vitale, Harold Evans, and the other Random House executives generously supported this project from the outset. I would like to extend special thanks to S. I. Newhouse, Jr., for his early encouragement. My editor, Ann Godoff, found time in her busy schedule to combine fine, tough, old-fashioned editing with her usual bountiful enthusiasm. I am grateful to her assistant, Enrica Gadler, for many small favors performed over the years. Gaby Bordwin created the outstanding cover for the book, while Jim Lambert did his usual fine work on the interior design. Benjamin Dreyer was the soul of patience in supervising the copyediting process, and Timothy Mennel did an outstanding job copyediting the manuscript. Melanie Jackson continues to define my notion of the ideal agent. Each year, she improves just when I thought that she had already attained perfection. My parents were, as usual, unstinting in both their love and support. The single most important figure in the creation of this

book was my wife, Valerie, who again endured the prolonged periods of insanity that overtook her obsessed husband. More than just a lovely martyr, she was my dinner-table muse, bedtime confidante, and most perceptive critic. Her editorial contribution to this biography cannot be overstated, for she enabled me to find that often elusive voice—neither too sympathetic nor too sharp—that would best capture the complexities of Rockefeller's character. *Chapeau*, my dear.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.

Akin, Edward N. *Flagler: Rockefeller Partner & Florida Baron*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1988.

Aldrich, Nelson W., Jr. *Old Money: The Mythology of America's Upper Class*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988.

Allen, Frederick Lewis. *The Great Pierpont Morgan*. Reprint. New York: Harper and Row, 1949 [1948].

Allen, William H. *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol*. New York: New York Institute for Public Service, 1930.

Amory, Cleveland. *The Last Resorts*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948.

Axel-Lute, Paul. *Lakewood-in-the-Pines: A History of Lakewood, New Jersey*. Self-published. South Orange, N.J. Copy in Lakewood Public Library.

Baldwin, Neil. *Edison: Inventing the Century*. New York: Hyperion, 1995.

Beer, Thomas. *Hanna*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929.

Biggar, Hamilton F. *Compiègne and Personal Reminiscences: A Souvenir of a Very Pleasant Trip to France with Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller and Party Summer 1906*. Privately printed copy in RAC.

Birmingham, Stephen. *The Grandes Dames*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982. Brady, Kathleen. *Ida Tarbell: Portrait of a Muckraker*. New York: Seaview/Putnam, 1984.

Branch, Taylor. *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988.

Bringhurst, Bruce. *Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly: The Standard Oil Cases, 1890–1911*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Brown, E. Richard. *Rockefeller Medicine Men: Medicine & Capitalism in America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979.

Brumberg, Joan Jacobs. *Mission for Life*. New York: The Free Press, 1980.

Brutcher, Charles. *Joshua: A Man of the Finger Lakes Region: A True Story Taken from Life*. Privately printed. Syracuse, N.Y., 1927. Copy in Cayuga-Owasco Lakes Historical Society (Moravia, N.Y.).

Burnham, John C. Jelliffe: American Psychoanalyst and Physician. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Burr, Anna Robeson. *The Portrait of a Banker: James Stillman, 1850–1918*. New York: Duffield and Co., 1927.

- Butt, Archie. *Taft and Roosevelt: The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt, Military Aide*. Vol. 2. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1930.
- Carr, Albert Z. *John D. Rockefeller's Secret Weapon*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962. Chandler, Alfred D., Jr. *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1990.
- . *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Empire*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1969.
- Chandler, Alfred D., Jr., and Richard S. Tedlow. *The Coming of Managerial Capitalism: A Casebook in the History of American Economic Institutions*. Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, 1985.
- Chandler, David Leon. *Henry Flagler: The Astonishing Life and Times of the Visionary Robber Baron Who Founded Florida*. New York: Macmillan, 1986.
- Chase, Mary Ellen. *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller*. New York: Macmillan, 1950.
- Chernow, Ron. *The House of Morgan: An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1990.
- Cigliano, Jan E. *The Euclid Avenue Elite*. Master's thesis, Oberlin College, May 1978. Copy in Western Reserve Historical Society.
- Collier, Peter, and David Horowitz. *The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.
- Corner, George W. *A History of the Rockefeller Institute 1901–1953: Origins and Growth*. New York: Rockefeller Institute Press, 1964.
- Dawson, R. MacGregor. *William Lyon Mackenzie King: A Political Biography, 1879–1923*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958.
- Dedmon, Emmett. *Fabulous Chicago*. New York: Random House, 1953.
- Delbanco, Andrew. *The Death of Satan: How Americans Have Lost the Sense of Evil*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995.
- Destler, Chester McArthur. *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.
- . *Roger Sherman and the Independent Oil Men*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- Diggins, John Patrick. *Max Weber: Politics and the Spirit of Tragedy*. New York: Basic Books, 1996.
- Dolson, Hildegard. *The Great Oildorado: The Gaudy and Turbulent Years of the First Oil Rush: Pennsylvania, 1859–1880*. New York: Random House, 1959.
- Dreiser, Theodore. *The Financier*. Reprint. New York: Penguin, 1981 [1912].
- Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century*. New York: International Publishers, 1968.
- Ellmann, Richard. *James Joyce*. New and revised edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Elmer, Isabel Lincoln. *Cinderella Rockefeller*. New York: Freundlich Books, 1987.

- Ely, Richard T. *Monopolies and Trusts*. London: Macmillan, 1912.
- Engelbrecht, Curt E. *Neighbor John: Intimate Glimpses of John D. Rockefeller*. New York: Telegraph Press, 1936.
- Ernst, Joseph W., ed. "Dear Father"/"Dear Son": Correspondence of John D. Rockefeller and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. New York: Fordham University Press, 1994.
- . *Worthwhile Places: Correspondence of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Horace M. Albright*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1991.
- Ettling, John. *The Germ of Laziness: Rockefeller Philanthropy and Public Health in the New South*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776–1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Flexner, Abraham. *An Autobiography*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960.
- Flexner, James Thomas. *An American Saga: The Story of Helen Thomas and Simon Flexner*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.
- . *Maverick's Progress: An Autobiography*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1996.
- Flynn, John T. *Men of Wealth: The Story of Twelve Significant Fortunes from the Renaissance to the Present Day*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1941.
- . *God's Gold: The Story of Rockefeller and His Times*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1932.
- Fosdick, Harry Emerson. *The Living of These Days: An Autobiography*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956.
- Fosdick, Raymond B. *Chronicle of a Generation: An Autobiography*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.
- . *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.: A Portrait*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956.
- . *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1989.
- Franklin, Benjamin. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. Reprint. Roslyn, N.Y.: Walter J. Black, 1941 [1818].
- Garden, Mary, and Louis Biancolli. *Mary Garden's Story*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951.
- Gates, Frederick Taylor. *Chapters in My Life*. New York: The Free Press, 1977.
- . *The Truth About Mr. Rockefeller and the Merritts*. Privately printed. Copy in RAC.
- Gay, Peter. *Freud: A Life for Our Time*. Reprint. New York: Anchor Books, 1989 [1988].
- The General Education Board: An Account of Its Activities, 1902–1914*. New York: GEB, 1930.
- Gibb, George Sweet, and Evelyn H. Knowlton. *The Resurgent Years, 1911–1927*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956.
- Giddens, Paul H. *Standard Oil Company (Indiana): Oil Pioneer of the Middle West*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955.

Gitelman, H. M. *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre: A Chapter in American Industrial Relations*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.

Gladden, Washington. *Recollections*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909.

Goldstein, Judith S. *Crossing Lines: Histories of Jews and Gentiles in Three Communities*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1992.

Goodspeed, Thomas Wakefield. *A History of the University of Chicago: The First Quarter Century*. Reprint. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972 [1916].

Goulder, Grace. *John D. Rockefeller: The Cleveland Years*. Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1972.

Grant, Ulysses S. *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*. Ed. E. B. Long. New York: Da Capo, 1982 [1885].

Hannah, Barbara. *Jung: His Life and Work*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976.

Harr, John Ensor, and Peter J. Johnson. *The Rockefeller Century*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988.

———. *The Rockefeller Conscience: An American Family in Public and in Private*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1991.

Harris, Leon. *Upton Sinclair: American Rebel*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1975.

Hawke, David Freeman. *John D.: The Founding Father of the Rockefellers*. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Hays, Samuel P. *The Response to Industrialism: 1885–1914*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.

Hidy, Ralph W., and Muriel E. Hidy. *History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey): Pioneering in Big Business, 1882–1911*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955.

Hiebert, Ray Eldon. *Courtier to the Crowd: The Story of Ivy Lee and the Development of Public Relations*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1966.

“A History of the Rise and Fall of the South Improvement Company.” Report of the Executive Committee of the Petroleum Producers' Union. Lancaster, Pa., 1872. Typescript in HDL.

Howells, William Dean. *The Rise of Silas Lapham*. Reprint. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1982 [1885].

Hoyt, Edwin P. *The Whitneys: An Informal Portrait, 1635–1975*. New York: Weybright and Talley, 1976.

Hughes, Adella Prentiss. *Music Is My Life*. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1947.

Inglis, William O. “Impressions of John D. Rockefeller.” Typescript in AN.

*In Memoriam: Mrs. Lucy Henry Spelman—1810–1897. Funeral Services at Forest Hill, September 9, 1897*. New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1898.

Innes, Stephen. *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1995.

- James, Henry. *The American Scene*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946 [1907].
- James, William. *The Correspondence of William James*. Vol. 3, *William and Henry*, 1897–1910. Ed. Ignas K. Skrupskelis and Elizabeth M. Berkeley. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994.
- . *The Letters of William James*. Vol. 2. Ed. Henry James. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1920.
- . *Selected Unpublished Correspondence, 1885–1910*. Ed. Frederick J. Down Scott. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1986.
- Johnson, Arthur M. Winthrop W. Aldrich: Lawyer, Banker, Diplomat. Boston: Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1968.
- Johnson, Paul E. *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1978.
- Jonas, Gerald. *The Circuit Riders: Rockefeller Money and the Rise of Modern Science*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1989.
- Jones, Mary Harris. *Autobiography of Mother Jones*. Ed. Mary Field Parton. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Co., 1925.
- . *The Correspondence of Mother Jones*. Ed. Edward M. Steel. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985.
- Jowett, John Henry. *My Daily Meditation for the Circling Year*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1914.
- Joyce, Henry. *Tour of Kykuit: The House and Gardens of the Rockefeller Family and a Property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation*. Blauvelt, N.Y.: Historic Hudson Valley Press, 1994.
- Jung, C. G. Letters. Selected and ed. Gerhard Adler and Anieda Jaffé. Trans. R.F.C. Hull. Vol. 2, 1951–1961. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- . *Modern Psychology*. Notes on Lectures Given at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zurich, October 1933–February 1934. Comp. and trans. from shorthand notes by Elizabeth Welsh and Barbara Hannah. Multigraphed typescript. Zurich, 1934–1942.
- . *Nietzsche's "Zarathustra": Notes of the Seminar Given in 1934–1939*, Vol. 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Kaplan, Justin. *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain: A Biography*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966.
- Kert, Bernice. *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller: The Woman in the Family*. New York: Random House, 1993.
- Kolko, Gabriel. *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900–1916*. Reprint. Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1967 [1963].
- Lash, Joseph P. *Helen and Teacher: The Story of Helen Keller and Anne Sullivan Macy*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1980.
- Lawson, Thomas W. *Frenzied Finance*. New York: Ridgway-Thayer, 1906.
- Lewis, David Levering. *W.E.B. DuBois: Biography of a Race*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1993.
- Lewis, R.W.B. *Edith Wharton: A Biography*. Reprint. New York: Fromm International, 1985 [1975].



———. *The Jameses: A Family Narrative*. New York: Anchor Books, 1991.

Link, William A. *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880–1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Lloyd, Henry Demarest. *Wealth Against Commonwealth*. Reprint. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice, Hall, 1963 [1894].

Lottman, Herbert R. *The French Rothschilds: The Great Banking Dynasty Through Two Turbulent Centuries*. New York: Crown, 1995.

Lundberg, Ferdinand. *The Rockefeller Syndrome*. Secaucus, N.J.: Lyle Stuart, 1975.

Lyon, Peter. *Success Story: The Life and Times of S. S. McClure*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963.

Manchester, William. *A Rockefeller Family Portrait: From John D. to Nelson*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1958.

Manning, Thomas G. *The Standard Oil Company: The Rise of a National Monopoly*. Revised by E. David Cronon and Howard R. Lamar. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962.

Marcus, George E., with Peter Dobkin Hall. *Lives in Trust: The Fortunes of Dynastic Families in Late Twentieth-Century America*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992.

Marten, Hans-Georg. *Rockefeller: L'Homme le Plus Riche du Monde*. Trans. Max Roth. Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1964.

Martin, Sidney Walter. *Florida's Flagler*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1949.

Marty, Martin. *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.

McCarthy, Kathleen. *Noblesse Oblige: Charity & Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849–1929*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

McCormick, John. *George Santayana: A Biography*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987.

McCormick, Richard L. *The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

McFeely, William S. *Grant: A Biography*. Reprint. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1982 [1981].

McGovern, George S., and Leonard F. Guttridge. *The Great Coalfield War*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.

McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. Reprint. New York: Ballantine Books, 1989 [1988].

Mellon, Thomas. *Thomas Mellon and His Times*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994.

Mencken, H. L. *My Life as Author and Editor*. Reprint. New York: Vintage, 1995 [1992].

———. *Prejudices: Fifth Series*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926. Miller, Nathan. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Life*. Reprint. New York: William Morrow, Quill, 1992.

Moody, John. *The Masters of Capital: A Chronicle of Wall Street*. New Haven: Yale University Press,

1919.

Moore, Austin L. "John D. Archbold and the Standard Oil Company." Typescript. AN.

Morris, Joe Alex. *Those Rockefeller Brothers: An Informal Biography of Five Extraordinary Young Men*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953.

Neatby, H. Blair. *William Lyon Mackenzie King: 1924–1932: The Lonely Heights*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.

———. *William Lyon Mackenzie King: 1932–1939. The Prism of Unity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Nevins, Allan. *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940.

———. *Study in Power: John D. Rockefeller, Industrialist and Philanthropist*. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953.

Noll, Richard. *The Aryan Christ: The Secret Life of Carl Jung*. New York: Random House, 1997.

Packard, Roy D. "Informal History of the Standard Oil Company (Ohio) (1870–1911)." 2 vols. Typescript in archives of British Petroleum (Cleveland). July 1958.

Parker, Elizabeth C., ed. *The Cloisters: Studies in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

Penrose, Edith T. *The International Petroleum Industry*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968.

Pickersgill, J. W. *The Mackenzie King Record: Volume 1, 1939–1944*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960.

Pickersgill, J. W., and D. F. Forster. *The Mackenzie King Record: Volume 3, 1945–1946*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

———. *The Mackenzie King Record: Volume 4, 1947–1948*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Popp, Richard L. *The Presidents of the University of Chicago: A Centennial View*. Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 1992.

Pringle, Henry F. *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft*. 2 vols. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939.

———. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931. Pyle, Tom, as told to Beth Day. *Pocantico: Fifty Years on the Rockefeller Domain*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1964.

Read, Florence Matilda. *The Story of Spelman College*. Atlanta. Printed by Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1961.

Reed, Henry Hope. *Rockefeller New York: A Tour*. New York: Greensward Foundation, 1988.

Reich, Cary. *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller: Worlds to Conquer, 1908–1958*. New York: Doubleday, 1996.

Roberts, Ann Rockefeller. *Mr. Rockefeller's Roads: The Untold Story of Acadia's Carriage Roads &*

*Their Creator*. Camden, Me.: Down East Books, 1990.

Rockefeller, John D. *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events*. Tarrytown, N.Y.: Sleepy Hollow Press and RAC, 1984 [1909].

Rockefeller, John D., Jr., et al. "Addresses to Honor the Memory of Frederick Taylor Gates." Delivered at a meeting of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, May 15, 1929. Privately printed. Copy in RAC.

Rockefeller, Winthrop. "A Letter to My Son." Typescript. RAC.

Rose, William Ganson. *Cleveland: The Making of a City*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990.

Rousmaniere, John. *The Life and Times of the Equitable*. New York: Equitable Companies, 1995.

Rugoff, Milton. *America's Gilded Age: Intimate Portraits from an Era of Extravagance and Change, 1850–1890*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1989.

Russell, Bertrand. *Freedom Versus Organization, 1814 to 1914*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1934.

Sampson, Anthony. *The Seven Sisters: The Great Oil Companies and the World They Shaped*. Reprint. New York: Bantam Books, 1975 [1973].

Santayana, George. *The Letters of George Santayana*. Ed. Daniel Cory. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955.

———. *Persons and Places: The Background of My Life*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944.

Schenkel, Albert F. *The Rich Man and the Kingdom: John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the Protestant Establishment*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995.

Schreiner, Samuel A., Jr. *Henry Clay Frick: The Gospel of Greed*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Reprint. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1950 [1942].

Smith, James Allen. *The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Elite*. New York: The Free Press, 1991.

Smith, Theodore Clarke. *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield. Vol. 2, 1877–1882*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

Stampf, Kenneth M. *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Stasz, Clarice. *The Rockefeller Women: Dynasty of Piety, Privacy, and Service*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Steffens, Lincoln. *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931.

Storr, Richard J. *Harper's University: The Beginnings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Strickland, Alice. *Ormond's Historic Homes: From Palmetto-Thatched Shacks to Millionaire's Mansions*. Ormond Beach, Fla.: Ormond Beach Historical Trust, 1992.

- Sullivan, Mark. *Our Times: The United States, 1900–1925. Vol. 3, Pre-War America*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930.
- Summers, Festus P. *Johnson Newlon Camden: A Study in Individualism*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937.
- Swanberg, W. A. *Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961.
- . *Pulitzer*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967.
- . *Whitney Father, Whitney Heiress*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980. Tarbell, Ida M. *All in the Day's Work: An Autobiography*. New York: Macmillan, 1939.
- . *The History of the Standard Oil Company*. 2 vols. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963 [1904].
- Tolf, Robert W. *The Russian Rockefellers: The Saga of the Nobel Family and the Russian Oil Industry*. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1976.
- Twain, Mark. *The Autobiography of Mark Twain*. With an introduction by Albert Bigelow Paine. Vol. 1. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1924.
- . *Mark Twain in Eruption*. Ed. Bernard De Voto. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922.
- . *Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers, 1893–1909*. Ed. Lewis Leary. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Twain, Mark, and Charles Dudley Warner. *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today*. Garden City, N.Y.: Nelson Doubleday, n.d. [1873].
- Veblen, Thorstein. *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts*. Reprint. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1964 [1914].
- . *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. Reprint. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1924 [1899].
- Wacker, Grant. *Augustus H. Strong and the Dilemma of Historical Consciousness*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985.
- Wall, Bennett H., and George S. Gibb. *Teagle of Jersey Standard*. New Orleans: Tulane University Press, 1974.
- Wall, Joseph Frazier. *Andrew Carnegie*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Walska, Ganna. *Always Room at the Top*. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1943.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Trans. Talcott Parsons. Reprint. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958 [1920].
- Wells, H. G. *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind*. London: William Heinemann, 1934.
- White, William Allen. *The Autobiography of William Allen White*. New York: Macmillan, 1946.
- Wiebe, Robert H. *The Search for Order: 1877–1920*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.
- Wilson, Ella Grant. *Famous Old Euclid Avenue of Cleveland*. Privately printed, 1937. Copy in Western Reserve Historical Society.

Winkelman, B. F. *John D. Rockefeller: The Authentic and Dramatic Story of the World's Greatest Money Maker and Money Giver*. Philadelphia: Universal Book and Bible House, 1937.

Winkler, John K. *John D.: A Portrait in Oils*. New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1929.

Yergin, Daniel. *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. Reprint. New York: Simon and Schuster, Touchstone, 1993 [1991].

Zweig, Phillip L. *Wriston: Walter Wriston, Citibank, and the Rise and Fall of American Financial Supremacy*. New York: Crown, 1995.

## SELECTED ARTICLES

Ammann, Emile. "Driving Miss Edith." *Spring 52: A Journal of Archetype and Culture*, (1992).

Archbold, John D. "The Standard Oil Company: Some Facts and Figures." *Saturday Evening Post*, December 7, 1907.

Atwood, Albert W. "The Rockefeller Fortune." *Saturday Evening Post*, June 11, 1921.

Ballinger, Willis J. "The Man Who Saved an Industry." *Nation's Business*, April 1931.

Bedford, Edward T. "Human Side of John D. in Early Days of Standard Oil." *Boston Herald*, July 3, 1927.

———. "My Partner, John D." *Reader's Digest*. April 1927.

Briggs, H. M. "An Intimate View of John D. Rockefeller." *The American Magazine*, November 1910.

Chenoweth, Austin K. "Rockefeller." Middletown (Conn.) Press, April 23, 1922.

Churchill, Winston. "An Appraisal of John D. Rockefeller." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 8, 1936.

"Circular Letter Regarding Freight Rates on Oil, and Past and Present Discriminations in Favor of the Standard Oil Trust." Privately printed in Cleveland, Ohio, by Scofield, Shurmer, and Teagle, August 23, 1888.

Couch, W. S. "Rockefeller Urges National Development." *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 4 and 7, 1906.

Davis, Aaron. "The Responsibility of Wealth." *Saturday Evening Post*, May 23, 1925.

"Death of Mr. Rockefeller Recalls His Many Benefactions to Spelman." *Spelman Messenger*, May 1937.

Decker, Norman. "Neighbor Recalls Rockefeller's Boyhood in the Hill Country." *New York Herald Tribune*, June 3, 1928.

"Father and Five." *Newsweek*, April 28, 1958.

"First Ledger of a Successful Man of Affairs." *Dunbar News*, April 23, 1930.

Fistere, John Cushman. "The Rockefeller Boys." *Saturday Evening Post*, July 16, 1938.

"Follow the Ball and Don't Talk Too Much—John D." *Salt Lake City Tribune*, April 27, 1919.

Forbes, B. C. "John D. Rockefeller Tells How to Succeed." *Forbes*, September 29, 1917.

Fox, J. Dewitt. "How John D. Rockefeller Lived to Be 97!" *These Times*, December 1956.

Giddens, Paul H. "The Search for a New Illuminant and Lubricant." *Titusville (Pa.) Herald*, August 27, 1980.

———. "True Significance of the Drake Well." *Titusville (Pa.) Herald*, August 27, 1980.

———. "Why Ida M. Tarbell Wrote History of Standard Oil Company." *Titusville (Pa.) Herald*, August 27, 1980.

Gilcreest, Edgar Lorrington. "Rockefeller, Osler and Welch." *The Argonaut*, June 16, 1937.

"The Good Man." *Time*, September 24, 1956.

Gordon, John. "John D. Rockefeller's Right Hand: H. H. Rogers of Standard Oil." *Chicago Tribune*, October 23, 1904.

Heilbroner, Robert. "The Grand Acquisitor." *American Heritage*, December 1964.

Hellman, Geoffrey T. "Out of the Cocoon on the Fifty-sixth Floor." *The New Yorker*, November 4, 1972.

"History of Spelman Seminary." *The Home Mission Monthly*, October 1895.

"History of Spelman Seminary." *Spelman Messenger Supplement*, April 1891.

"The Human Side of John D. Rockefeller." *Woman's Home Companion*, January 1907.

"John D. Rockefeller." *New York Weekly World*, April 2, 1890.

"John D. Rockefeller Discusses Big Questions." *New York Sun*, January 11, 1914.

"John D. Rockefeller's Pocantico Estate." *The Country Calendar*, November 1905.

Jones, Roger M. "The Rockefeller Fleet." *Inland Seas—Quarterly Bulletin of the Great Lakes Historical Society*, July 1947.

Kelly, Fred C. "Tales of Rockefeller." *The World*, May 31, June 7, 14, 21, and 28, and July 5, 1925.

"The King of the Oil Trade." *New York Sun*, November 30, 1878.

Lewis, Alfred Henry. "Owners of America: John D. Rockefeller." *Cosmopolitan*, November 1908.

Lippmann, Walter. "Mr. Rockefeller on the Stand." *The New Republic*, January 30, 1915.

Lloyd, Henry Demarest. "Story of a Great Monopoly." *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1881.

Macdonald, A. B. "How I Found the Lost Father of John D. Rockefeller." *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, May 30, 1937.

March, F. O. "The Human Side of John D. Rockefeller." *Leslie's Weekly*, May 16, 1907.

Mayo, Earl. "John D. Rockefeller—The World's First Billionaire." *Human Life*, April 1905.

McCormick, Edith, as told to Mary Dougherty. "Life as It Seemed to Me." *New York Evening Journal*, August 30–31, 1932.

McGuire, William. "Firm Affinities: Jung's Relations with Britain and the United States." *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 40 (1995).

Miller, Ernest C. "Ida Tarbell's Second Look at Standard Oil." *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 39 (Winter 1956).

"Millions to Spend and the Brains to Spend Well." *New York Daily Tribune*, February 17, 1907.

Montague, Gilbert Holland. "History of the Standard Oil Company." *North American Review*, September 1905.

Morrow, James B. "Standard Oil's First Rebate: Henry M. Flagler Tells How He Got It from President Scott." *New York Daily Tribune*, December 23, 1906.

Nevins, Allan. "Letter to the Editor About Henry Demarest Lloyd." *American Historical Review* 50 (April 1945).

"New Facts About Oil King's Father Told by Partner." *The World*, March 1, 1908.

Norden, Van. "Rockefeller: Man or Monster?" *The World Mirror*, January 1909.

Patteson, Suzanne Louise. "At Home with the Rockefellers in the Seventies." *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, February 12, 1922.

Paulson, F. M. "The House by the Side of the Road." *The Sohioan*, October 1947.

Ralph, Julian. "John Davison Rockefeller." *Cosmopolitan*, May 1902.

Randall, S. E. "A Square Deal for John D. Rockefeller." *Leslie's Weekly*, September 20, 1906.

Roan, Leonard. "Atlanta Knows the Real John D." *The Atlanta Georgia*, February 12, 1922.

Rockefeller, John D. "Giving Away Money." *Farm and Fireside*, January 6, 1917.

"Rockefeller Sees No Portent of Disaster." *The New York Times*, October 20, 1907.

"The Rockefeller Story." *New York Daily News*, August 23, 1959.

Rose, Kenneth W. "Why Chicago and Not Cleveland? The Religious Imperative Behind John D. Rockefeller's Early Philanthropy, 1855-1900." Typescript. RAC.

Sandage, Scott. "'I do so long to save my husband': Ruined Men and Desperate Wives in Nineteenth-Century America," presented at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians Conference, Washington, D.C., March 1995.

Schmitt, J. P. "John D. Rockefeller as He Is and the Lesson His Life Teaches." *New Yorker Echo*, May 30, 1908.

"Secret Double Life of Rockefeller's Father Revealed by *The World*." *The World*, February 2, 1908.

"Standard Oil Company (N.J.) Passes Half-Century Mark." *Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter*, January 19, 1920.

"The Standard Oil Melons." *The Literary Digest*, October 28, 1922.

Stapleton, Darwin H. "Religion, Reform, Race and Rockefeller: Cleveland History Viewed Through the Lens of Philanthropy." Typescript. RAC.

Steffens, Lincoln. "Rhode Island: A State for Sale." *McClure's Magazine*, February 24, 1905.

Tarbell, Ida M. "John D. Rockefeller: A Character Study." *McClure's Magazine*, July and August 1905.

———. "The Oil Age." *McClure's Magazine*, November 1924.

Train, Arthur. "Rockefeller Challenges Capital." *Hearst's International*, July 1923.

Vandegrift, Josephine. "Brooklyn Citizen Writer Spends a Week with John D. Rockefeller on Vacation." *Brooklyn Citizen*, March 4, 1923.

Wallis, Louis. "Mr. Rockefeller's Dilemma." *Harper's Weekly*, November 8, 1913.

Ware, Louise. "The Rockefeller Benefactions." *Seminar Report*, May 20, 1937.

Waters, Deborah Dependahl. "Guide to the Rockefeller Rooms." Typescript. The Museum of the City of New York, April 1993.

"What Rockefeller Thinks of Rockefeller." *The World*, March 7, 1915.

"What the Town That Makes Him Shudder Thinks of John D. Rockefeller." *The World*, November 1, 1903.

White, Clarice F. "Over Fifty Years a Cleveland Doctor." *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, December 7, 1919.

Williamson, Samuel T. "The Rockefeller Boys." *The New York Times Magazine*, April 9, 1939.

Wills, Garry. "Sons and Daughters of Chicago." *New York Review of Books*, June 9, 1994.

Wilson, George, and N. W. Winkelman. "Generalized Alopecia." *Journal of the American Medical Association*, May 8, 1926.

Winkler, John K. "Notes on a Well-Known Citizen." *The New Yorker*, January 22 and 29, 1927.

Woodbury, Charles J. "Rockefeller and His Standard: Some of the Unwritten Rules He Enforced." *Saturday Evening Post*, October 21, 1911.





**Lucy Avery Rockefeller, the doughty grandmother of John D. Rockefeller.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**John D. Rockefeller's humble birthplace in Richford, New York.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



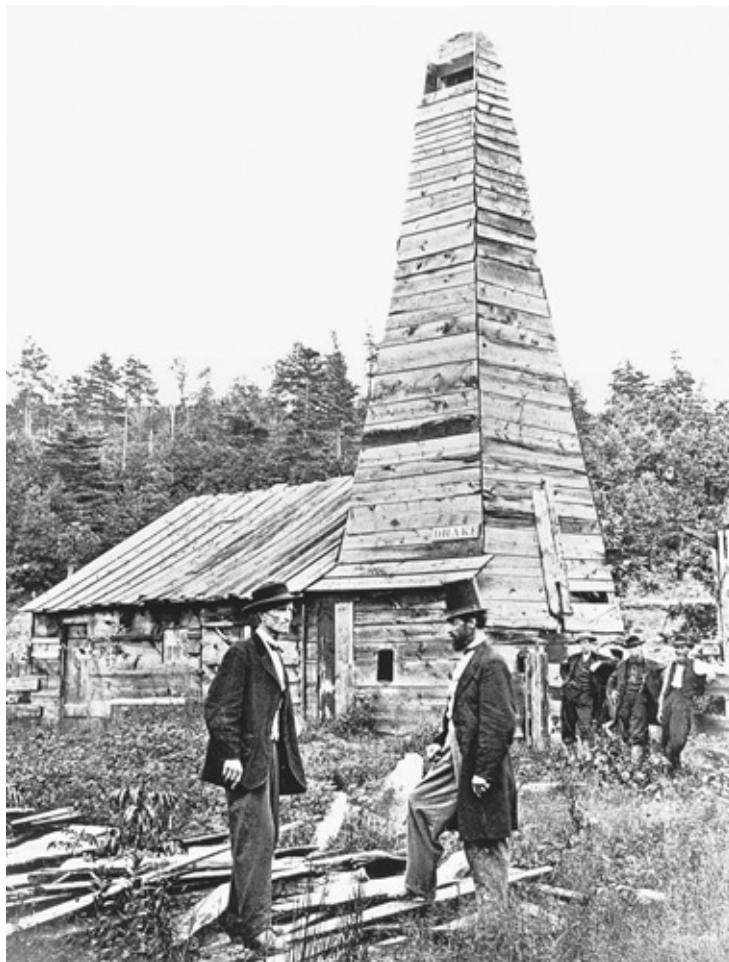
**The five children of William and Eliza Rockefeller. Seated, from left: John, twenty, Mary Ann, sixteen, and William, eighteen. Standing: Lucy, twenty-one, and Frank, fourteen. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Lucy Henry Spelman, Rockefeller's mother-in-law, and Harvey Buel Spelman, his father-in-law. The Spelmans were staunch temperance advocates and abolitionists. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The inseparable Spelman sisters: Lucy, also known as “Lute” (left), and Laura. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**A top-hatted “Colonel” Edwin Drake stands before the landmark well he drilled in Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859. (Courtesy of the Drake Well Museum)**



**After the Civil War, Rockefeller & Andrews occupied second-floor offices in the Sexton Block in Cleveland. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The storied oil boomtown of Pithole, which sprang up miraculously in 1865 and vanished within a decade. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The stately Rockefeller home at 424 Euclid Avenue in Cleveland.**  
(Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Rockefeller's rambling retreat at Forest Hill, which was briefly run by the family as a hotel.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**A studio portrait of a polished John D. Rockefeller in 1884.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**A family picnic at Forest Hill, circa 1880. Rockefeller stands at far left. Daughters Bessie, left, and Edith, right, sit directly behind the table, while Alta lounges impishly below. Cettie sits at far left and Grandmother Spelman at far right.**(Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



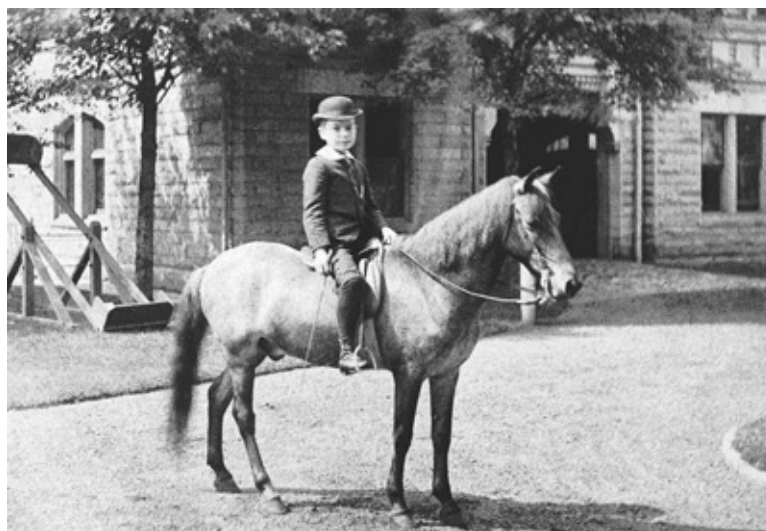
**Rockefeller dines on sardines al fresco during an 1899 camping trip in the American West. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller sits erect on the steps of brother William's estate, Rockwood Hall, flanked to the rear by daughter Alta, left, and William's daughter Emma; in the foreground, from left, sit William's children Percy and Ethel and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The first graduating class of Spelman Seminary, 1887, which was founded to educate freed women slaves and their daughters. (Courtesy of the Spelman College Archives)**



**John D. Rockefeller, Jr., sits astride his first pony, which was hand-picked by his father. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**

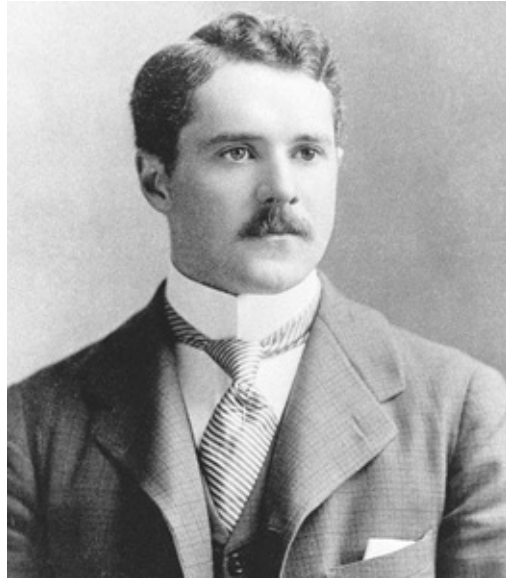




**John D. Rockefeller, Jr., circa 1880, with his sole childhood friend, Harry Moore, son of the Forest Hill housekeeper. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Alta Rockefeller on the day of her wedding to Ezra Parmalee Prentice. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Harold Fowler McCormick, dreamer and businessman.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Edith Rockefeller McCormick holds aloft John Rockefeller McCormick, whose early death from scarlet fever led to the founding of an institute for infectious diseases in Chicago.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Senior's massive house at 4 West Fifty-fourth Street, foreground, and Junior's still grander adjoining house at 10 West Fifty-fourth, on the site now occupied by the Museum of Modern Art. Their carriage house is visible in the foreground. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**For their bedroom at 4 West Fifty-fourth Street, John and Cettie Rockefeller retained the richly exotic furnishings of their predecessor, Arabella Worsham, the mistress of Collis P. Huntington. Such luxury was not their usual style. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of **Rhode Island**, whom **Lincoln Steffens** dubbed “**the political boss of the United States.**” (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



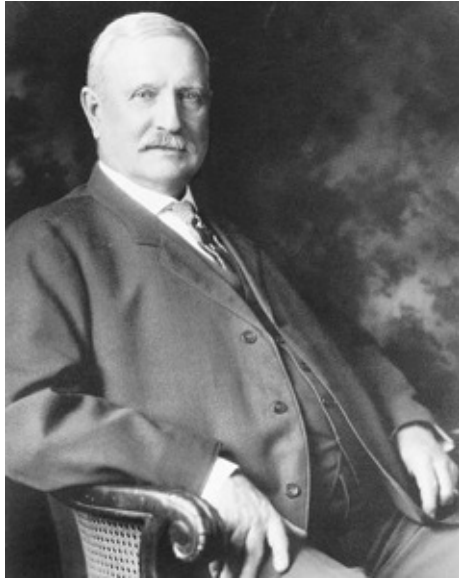
**The Aldrich sisters in 1910. From left: Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, Elsie Aldrich, and Lucy Aldrich.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



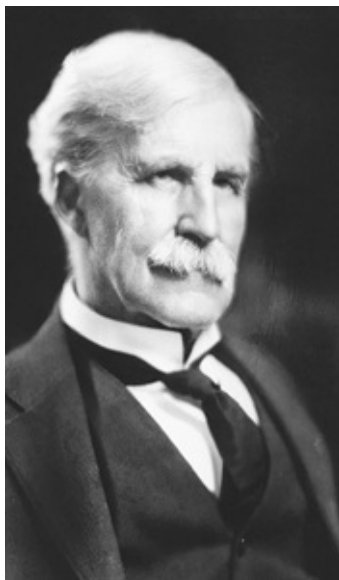
**The Aldrich family. From left: Abby, Lucy, Senator Aldrich, Winthrop (?), and Mrs. Aldrich. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**William Rockefeller. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Frank Rockefeller.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Frederick T. Gates in his later years.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**The only existing photo that shows John D. with his father, William Avery Rockefeller, who sits rather awkwardly to the left, while Edith holds John Rockefeller McCormick on her lap, circa 1897. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The aging Eliza Davison Rockefeller bore a comical resemblance to her famous son in his later years. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**The tombstone of William Avery Rockefeller— a.k.a. Dr. William Levingston—in Freeport, Illinois. (Courtesy of Heather Brownfield)**



**The cover of *McClure's Magazine* containing the malevolent “character sketch” by Ida Tarbell that so deeply wounded Rockefeller. (Courtesy of the Drake Well Museum)**





**Rockefeller en route to testify in an antitrust case against Standard Oil, November 18, 1908.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Rockefeller goes to court, escorted by John G. Milburn, a Standard Oil lawyer in the federal antitrust suit.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**John D. Archbold, Rockefeller's combative protégé and successor.**  
(Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



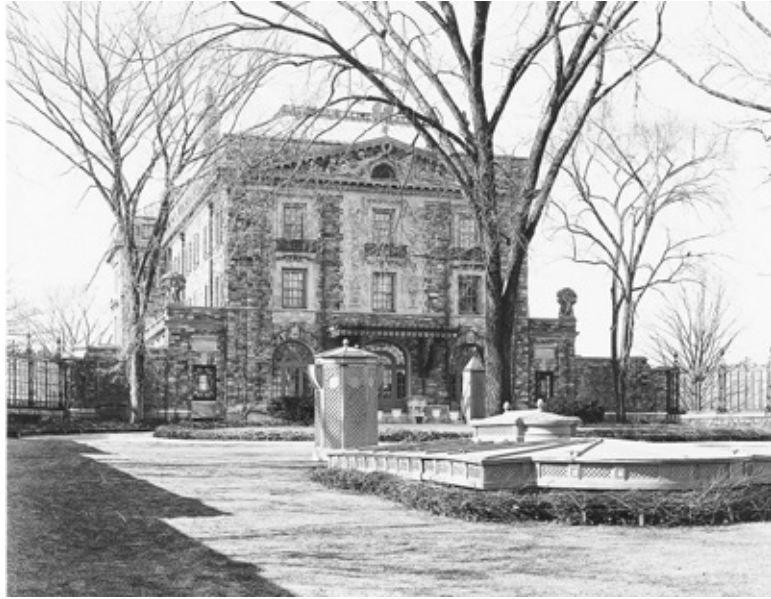
**Rockefeller (center) pauses at Forest Hill with some favorite golf cronies.**  
**From left: Dr. Hamilton F. Biggar, Elias M. Johnson, Capt. Levi T. Scofield, and Dr. Charles A. Eaton.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



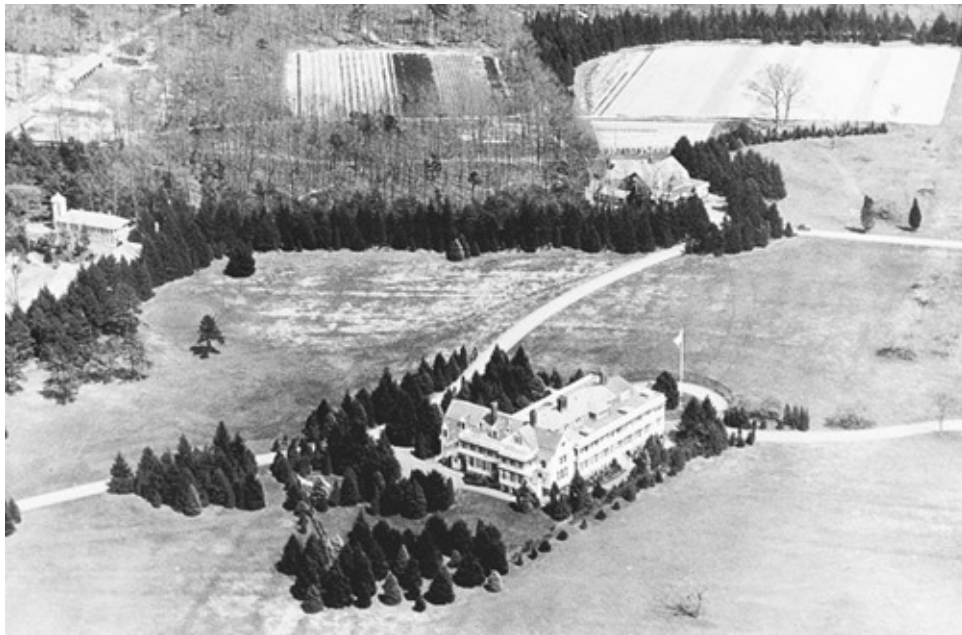
**An eerily hairless Rockefeller holds an unidentified grandchild, September 23, 1904.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



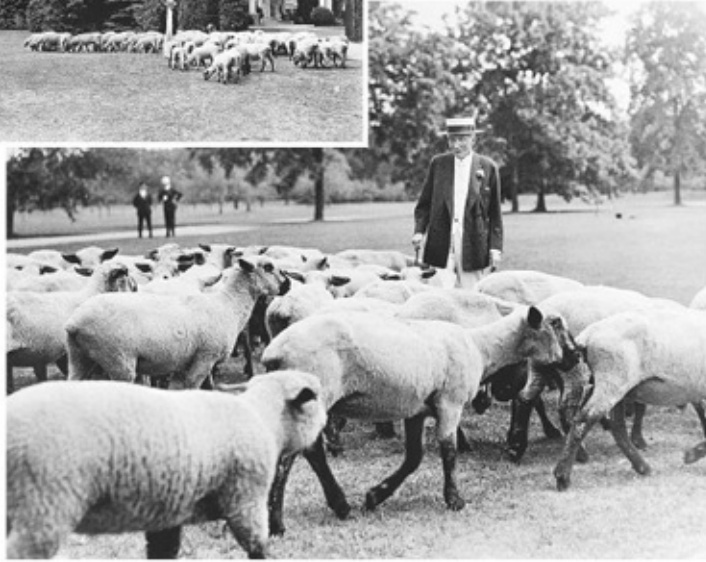
**The first version of Kykuit, completed in 1908 and found wanting by John and Cettie.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



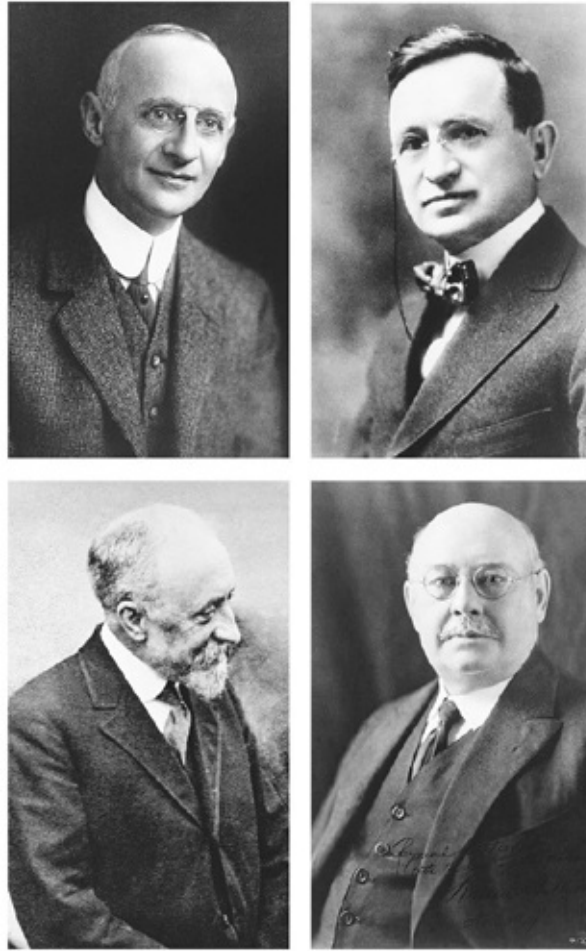
**The more compact and elegant second version of Kykuit, finished in 1913 and today open to the public. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**An aerial view of John D.'s golf hideaway in Lakewood, New Jersey. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller, nattily attired, strolls among the sheep that browsed outside his Golf House residence in Lakewood. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Chief lieutenants of the Rockefeller philanthropies: (top, left) Dr. Simon Flexner, director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research; (top, right) Wickliffe Rose, head of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission; (bottom, left) Starr J. Murphy, legal adviser to the Rockefeller Family Office; and (bottom, right) Wallace Buttrick, secretary of the General Education Board. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Abby Aldrich and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., circa 1916.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**The Rockefellers *could* be playful on occasion. Abby Aldrich and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., costumed for a fancy dress ball at Louis Tiffany's home,**

**probably around 1910.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**John D. Rockefeller, Jr., leaves hearings on the Ludlow Massacre, held at New York's City Hall in January 1915.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Junior takes the stand to testify about Ludlow.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)





**A photographer captured an impromptu encounter between Junior and labor organizer Mother Jones—a vocal critic of Colorado Fuel and Iron—at the January 27, 1915, hearings. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



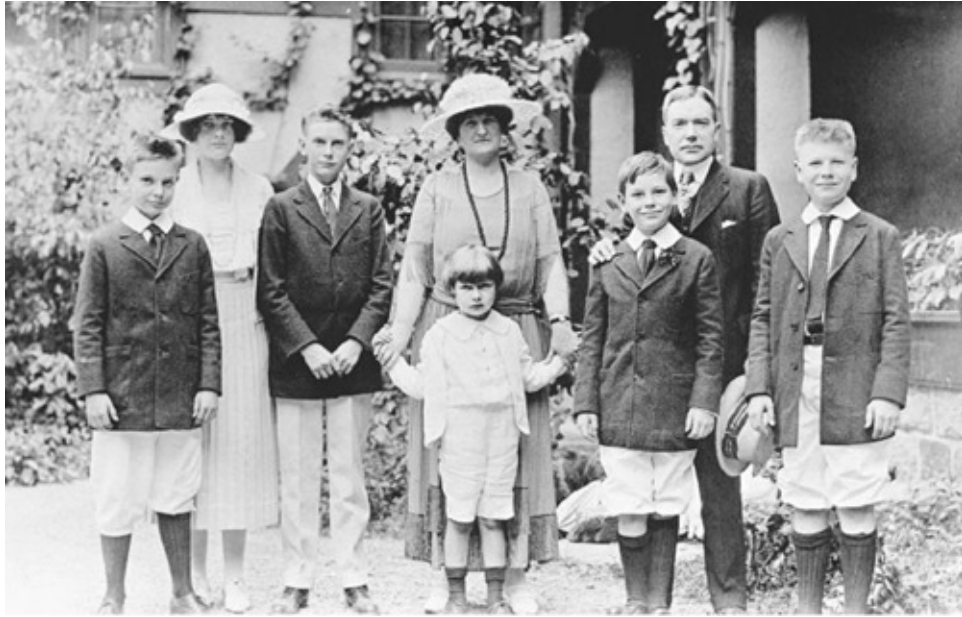
**Publicist Ivy Lee worked to rehabilitate the tarnished Rockefeller name after the Ludlow disaster. (Courtesy of the Princeton University Library)**



**Rockefeller sits wedged between two ladies in the backseat of his touring car. His hands often strayed during the afternoon drives. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Jo Davidson sculpts an equally stony-faced Rockefeller in 1924. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Abby Aldrich and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., with their children in Seal Harbor, Maine, 1921. From left to right: Laurance, Babs, John 3rd, David, Winthrop, and Nelson. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller with Bessie's grandchildren, Elizabeth and John de Cuevas, Ormond Beach, 1933. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Rockefeller's winter home in Ormond Beach, Florida, called The Casements.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Rockefeller trades one-liners with Will Rogers in Ormond Beach, February 1927.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Rockefeller and daughter Alta at Ormond Beach, 1931.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**Rockefeller, in trademark goggles, smacks a ball down the fairway at Ormond Beach, December 24, 1932.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



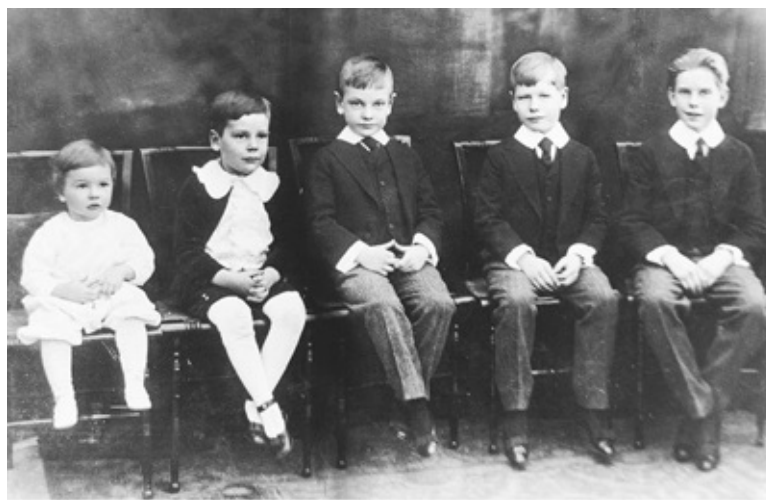
**Abby and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., tour the Grand Tetons in October 1931. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Junior bashfully greets the Rockettes at Radio City Music Hall, December 30, 1937. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**Junior and Senior pose with Nelson and his first son, Rod-man.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**The sons of Abby and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in their Eton collars. Left to right: David, Winthrop, Laurance, Nelson, and John 3rd.** (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)



**A formal family dinner party at 740 Park Avenue in Manhattan, March 1949. Standing, from left to right: Irving H. Pardee, David, Nelson, Winthrop, and Laurance Rockefeller. Seated: John 3rd and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.(Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**





**The wives at the same dinner party. From left to right: Abby (Babs) Rockefeller Pardee, Peggy McGrath Rockefeller, Mary “Tod” Rockefeller, Blanchette Hooker Rockefeller, Barbara “Bobo” Sears Rockefeller, and Mary French Rockefeller. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



**A photo taken on December 17, 1931, that shows the seamed, leathery face of John D. Rockefeller in his final decade. (Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center)**



## RON CHERNOW

### TITAN

Ron Chernow's first book, *The House of Morgan*, won the National Book Award, the Ambassador Award for the year's best study of American culture, and was named one of the 100 best nonfiction books of the century by the Modern Library. His second book, *The Warburgs*, won the Eccles Prize as the Best Business Book of 1993 and was also selected by the American Library Association as one of that year's best nonfiction books. In reviewing his recent collection of essays, *The Death of the Banker*, *The New York Times* called the author "as elegant an architect of monumental histories as we've seen in decades" and chose the paperback original as one of the year's Notable Books.

ALSO BY RON CHERNOW

*The House of Morgan*  
*The Warburgs*  
*The Death of the Banker*

SECOND VINTAGE BOOKS EDITION, MARCH 2004

*Copyright © 1998 by Ron Chernow*

*Family tree illustration copyright © 1998 by Anita Karl and Jim Kemp*

Vintage and colophon are registered trademarks of Random House, Inc.

The Library of Congress has cataloged the Random House edition as follows:

Chernow, Ron.

Titan: the life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr. / Ron Chernow.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Rockefeller, John D. (John Davison), 1839–1937. 2. Capitalists and financiers—United States—Biography. 3. Industrialists—United States—Biography. 4. Philanthropists—United States—Biography.

I. Title.

CT275.R75C.7'622382'092—dc21

[B] 97-33117

[www.randomhouse.com](http://www.randomhouse.com)

eISBN: 978-0-307-42977-3

v3.0