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THE RISE OF MARK HANNA

presented by

Thomas Edward Felt

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph. D. degree in History

Madison Keuler
Major professor

Date December 2, 1960



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THE RISE OF MARK HANNA

An Abstract

Marcus Alonzo Hanna (1837-1904) first attracted national attention as the manager of William McKinley's campaign for the Republican presidential nomination in 1896. His success then and subsequently as chairman of the national committee during the campaign against William J. Bryan made Hanna a "legend in his own time," a partisan power feared and disliked by the opposition as "Dollar Mark" Hanna while admired by many Republicans as "Uncle Mark," their victorious field commander.

Two book-length efforts, one by Herbert Croly in 1912 and the other by Thomas Beer in 1929, have preceded the present study, which traces his career through the election of 1896. Here the purpose has been to sift out the ascertainable facts of his life and with them to test some of the commonly received images and legends of Hanna's rise to power. Considerable attention is given to his early life and business career, for here was shaped in great part the political outlook of later years. His successive alliances with political leaders Joseph B. Foraker, John Sherman, and William McKinley are examined closely, for it was Hanna's exchange of loyalties and services with each of these men that brought him gradually into the mainstream of national party history. His re-

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lationship with Foraker soured in 1888 into a lifelong factional rivalry. He served Sherman in the years 1884 to 1892 much as he later did his second hero, McKinley. Hanna's friendship with McKinley is seen as a closely personal as well as political one in which the candidate was the dominant partner.

His role in these years was limited by choice to managing and promoting the campaigns of others for office. He was a machine boss with the difference that he was his own machine. In local Cleveland politics his power was never firm even within the party. In the state he was thwarted outside his own northern section, and sometimes even within it, by Foraker. In the nation he was unknown until he fought his way to victory in 1896 hand in hand with McKinley. Yet that victory was doubly significant. It made him the symbol of both the economic and the political power of the dominant business interests of his time. Literally, as manager, and figuratively, as a mine operator, banker, and industrialist, Hanna contributed decisively to making McKinley president.

Some of the sources used were unavailable to earlier biographers or have been overlooked by recent scholars. Manuscript collections include the surviving papers of Hanna, Foraker, Sherman, McKinley, Charles Dick, Charles G. Dawes, and others.

THE RISE OF MARK HANNA

By

THOMAS EDWARD FELT

A THESIS

Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies of
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Applied Science in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

1960

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PREFACE

A preface I understand to be a modern name for the old "Author's Apology." This will not be an apology in the sense of an expression of regrets, for that would seem hypocritical. I leave it to the reader to express his own regrets. But an apology can also mean a defense of a doctrine or belief, and that would be in order here. Even if the significance of the subject undertaken in these pages is granted, there already exists a fair body of literature on it that includes two book-length efforts at biography. It would hardly suffice for the scholar to depend simply on the "endless fascination" of the story he wants to retell. Something more substantial is wanted.

In the spring of 1957, while opening the papers of George W. Perkins and organizing them for another purpose, I came across a group of letters to Perkins from Marcus A. Hanna, then senator from Ohio. Many of them dealt in a seemingly frank and earnest way with the critical anthracite coal strike of 1902. Immediately on reading them my previously simple notion of what the man was like came unstuck. Far from sounding like the "public-be-damned" manipulator of parties and presidents, here he was putting to paper such sentiments as these: "I have investigated the

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charges in regard to Mitchell's drinking --John Mitchell was leading the miners' strike-- which as I supposed are infernal lies. It is a shame to start such stories to injure a man who is desirous of having the confidence of even the men who are fighting him." And later in the same letter: "Certainly there has been enough waste in the strike thus far to satisfy everybody that both sides are in dead earnest. Now is it not time to consider the public and other interests that are "innocent sufferers." Hanna, who was himself financially interested in Ohio coal mines, talking of "waste," the "public interest," and "innocent sufferers?" But here was more: "There is some investigation going on quietly in regard to the responsibility of the Anthracite RR's under the Sherman Act. But I cannot trace it to the White House or Atty Genl. One good atty told me he had no doubt that it was the clearest case that could be made--a better example than the 'Merger' or 'Beef trust.'"¹ Hanna, whose advice to "let well enough alone" and "stand pat" had keynoted the second McKinley campaign was calmly considering the prospects of using the Sherman antitrust Act against business combinations? Apparently so, for he had mentioned it in another letter as well.² In a third letter of the same series he barks back at Perkins,

¹Hanna to Perkins, June 9, 1902, George W. Perkins papers, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing.

²Same to same, May 8, 1902, ibid.

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a partner of J. P. Morgan, for having said in effect that he (Hanna) had seemed to lose his enthusiasm for mediating the strike. "No wonder when I am treated as I am by men in NY who in a general way I have been serving for six years. I am getting tired of it and were it true that I was serving a political ambition I would have made a speech today on 'capital and labor' that would have given Baer Truesdale & Co. something to think about. [George Baer of the Reading and William H. Truesdale of the Lackawanna were among the intransigent railroad-mine operators.] I was urged to speak at Chicago, Pitts. & about 20 other places to the labor assemblys But [sic] declined them all because as you know the tension over the coal strike is at the limit."³ And there was more of the same.

These were the off-the-record sentiments of the man whose face was serving the hostile cartoonists of the day as their live model for the bloated figure of "The Trusts." What could account for this apparent attack of statesmanship in the politician? Or was he a politician? More questions arose. Soon I was toying with the idea of attempting a biography of the man. Since I was looking for a doctoral dissertation topic anyway, perhaps I could fulfill that obligation and at the same time try out the prescription for an education once offered by Hendrik Willen van Loon,

³Same to same, undated (ca. June, 1902), ibid.

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who said that when his curiosity was attracted by a new subject he knew nothing about, he found that the best way to study it was to write a book about it. First, however, I had to be sure that I was not alone in my ignorance. I looked into what his biographers had written of Hanna.

The standard source was Herbert Croly's Marcus Alonzo Hanna, His Life and Work, published in 1912. Croly, I found, had answers to offer on many points. And he seemed to have drawn on a considerable body of sources. At the same time, he often failed to convince. He was overly defensive, it seemed to me, and he failed to cite in most instances the sources from which he drew his arguments. In short, he dealt with a controversial figure without consistently presenting his material in such a way as to help settle the controversies. I suspected that he had written under subsidy from the family, and later found that this was the case.⁴ Then too, I wondered how much more might be

⁴\$15,955.52 was noted as paid for "biography" in the Hanna estate book. Doubtless much of this went for research conducted by James B. Morrow, but his work contributed to the final result as it was turned over to Croly. See Arthur Young & Co., comp., "Marcus A. Hanna; Report Covering Transactions of the Executors with the Estate and of the Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick Trust, for Period from February 15, . . ." (typed MS.), copy in Ohio Historical Society, Columbus. Hanna's brother-in-law, the historian James Ford Rhodes, wrote a friend after Croly's book appeared saying that some of its inaccuracies "might have been corrected I think had L. C. [Leonard C. Hanna, Mark's brother] been accustomed to read proof carefully." He also noted, however, that he believed "L. C. was not entirely satisfied with it and H[oward] Melville [Mark's other brother] criticized it severely." Quoted in John A. Garraty, The

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added to the story if a new biographer were willing to search through the available papers of many of Hanna's contemporaries. Nineteen hundred and twelve was a long time ago, and if Croly's book had the advantage of a close-up view, perhaps a fresh attempt might win some of the advantages of perspective. Finally, I concluded that whatever Croly had to say he said verbosely and clumsily. If I could not write better than that, at least I could hardly do worse.

Next I went to Thomas Beer's Hanna, published in 1929. Here the discussion might shift to the present tense, for though Beer himself has been dead for twenty years, his book is nothing if not lively. In fairness to him it must be noted that he does not offer it as an orthodox biography, but as an extended informal essay on the political life of the period with Mark Hanna as his protagonist. Beer's virtues are immediately apparent: he searches restlessly for insights and interpretations, and when he thinks he has found one he pounces on it hard. Meanwhile he entertains with a proudly sparkling style that never misses the twist of an anecdote or the spice of an exclamatory quotation. And if his research is spotty, he brings up some fresh material. The historian who reads Beer, however, is soon

Barber and the Historian, The Correspondence of George A. Myers and James Ford Rhodes, 1910-1923 (Columbus, Ohio Historical Society, 1956), p. 19. From the estate report above and other sources it appears that Hanna's children chose Croly to do the writing.

aware that he is not reading the work of a fellow historian, but the work of an esthete trying desperately to hammer his recalcitrant subject into an epic work of art. The artistry is self-conscious, cocky, almost breathless in its effort to impress. At times, it does impress, for Beer can see the irony of a situation, highlight an image and polish a symbol with telling effect. He does show insight, if not the detachment he pretends. ("I prefer Hanna as a subject as I might negligibly prefer Grunewald to Botticelli. . . ." p.x.). His good father, it must be remembered, was one of Hanna's confidential agents for a number of years.

Then too, the quality of his sources--which means to a great extent the strength of his foundations--is difficult to evaluate. Only rarely does he cite authority for a statement in such a way that it could be checked. Interviews are casually alluded to in the text and then not listed among those acknowledged. Some of the most frequently cited interviews and documents are associated with strange names that are never properly introduced. Most unfortunate, though not entirely through his fault, the extremely valuable portion of the papers of his father relating to the book--his one important fresh source--has since been lost, though the irrelevant remainders are carefully housed in a university library.

For the historian, the initial and final impression of Beer's work are the same--a distrust of his scholarship

mixed with a reluctant admission that his self-esteem is in part justified by the shrewdness of his insights.

Perhaps what was needed, I concluded, was a straightforward, unhurried, critical biography of the private and public Mark Hanna that would be based on a fresh review of what is known, or thought to be known, of his life; that would sift out and present whatever might interest those curious to learn what sort of man he was, what he did in his time--and did not do--and, so far as possible, why he did what he did. He has certain obvious claims to the historian's attention: he was a successful businessman in the important fields of transportation, utilities, mining and banking. His business career proceeded at a pace and in a place that reflected something of the economic history of his time. He had a political career that invites the student of leadership to explain his rise as manager, promoter, boss and senator. And he had close political associates of importance in their own right: Sherman, Foraker, McKinley and Roosevelt. A close look at their relationships with Hanna might tell something worthwhile of them. Again, in his later years he made a reputation as an advocate of ways and means to industrial peace. For a man of his background to concern himself seriously and successfully with labor relations other than his own was a novelty. A look at the origins and nature of that novelty might reveal

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something unsuspected in the possibilities of that situation at the turn of the century.

In his own time Hanna became the symbol of a new power of business in politics. This too, raises questions of interest to the biographer. Public symbols are made rather than born, so one question becomes who made a symbol of Mark Hanna? Or, if there were more than one, who created the several symbols? And what validity do they have for the historian who wants to simplify the history of the period by focussing on its key figures--its "movers and shakers"? This last problem may always be one like "The Final Problem" of Sherlock Holmes, and send the hero who attempts it tumbling over the cliff grappling with another Professor Moriarty. But the question is an old one and will doubtless be revived. If the present study provides a firmer foundation for later evaluations--if it narrows somewhat the range of disagreements--it will have contributed something. Sherlock Holmes, after all, was not finally killed in that harrowing struggle with his nemesis; his guardian and creator, Dr. Doyle, let him live to detect again another day.

The nine chapters that follow constitute only the first part of a full-length biography, though they have a unity of their own as the story of the rise of Mark Hanna. The narrative ends as he finds his place on the national scene. His candidate has won the presidency in the election of

1896, and this, though outwardly he seems not to realize it at the time, is the point of no return in his own career. For the moment he is playing Cincinnatus. He has rescued his fellow countrymen from their peril and will return now to his peaceful and private pursuits. It is a brief interlude, a short resting place in a life that seldom slowed down at all until the last. For that reason it seems a good place to stop with him and look back, as he must have done privately, and look forward, as he would like to have done.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There is no order of priority in these acknowledgments of thanks. Without the aid of each of the following the result would be something less than it is. Professor John A. Garraty, then of Michigan State University, first encouraged my notion that I might do something with the Hanna idea; Professor Madison Kuhn took over direction of the dissertation as I was beginning to write, and to him is due credit for the improvements over a first draft that shall remain forever and fortunately unseen. Professors Stanley L. Jones of the University of Illinois in Chicago and H. Wayne Morgan of San Jose State College have generously loaned me notes and ideas from their researches on the campaign of 1896 and McKinley respectively. Mrs. Garvin Tankersley entrusted me with use of the most valuable manuscript collection I used--one that I had given up believing survived. Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Williams of Akron, Ohio, were kind and helpful hosts during my visit to their home and examination of a portion of the Charles Dick papers then in their possession. The late Mr. Homer Dodge of Washington, D. C. loaned me a series of interesting letters between his father and Hanna. Each of the persons

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I interviewed--they are listed in the bibliography--responded generously with their recollections and impressions.

Grateful acknowledgment is due to my colleagues and employers at the Ohio Historical Society for their forbearance and faith; to librarians of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, of the Western Reserve Historical Society, the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, the Hayes Memorial Library, the Yale University Library, and the Illinois State Historical Library.

If this work were to have a dedication, it could only be inscribed to my wife and son, as each of them has long been dedicated to the dissertation.

Errors, omissions and interpretations I will assume full responsibility for myself, distasteful as that may be. I am certain, however, that some of those persons who lent their assistance in the enterprise will take exception to portions of the final product. They should not be held as willing accomplices.



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Abstract

1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the symptoms and the context in which they are occurring.

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CHAPTER I

COUNTRY BOY AND CITY BOY

Marcus Alonzo Hanna as a man signed his name "M. A. Hanna," as if to suggest that the first two names meant nothing in particular. Among friends, the lifelong nickname "Mark" would always suffice. But the name Hanna identified the man in important ways. It placed him as one of a family for which he felt a sensible pride. Without becoming worshipful of family, he thought himself fortunate to have been born and raised as he was. His origins were not only an inescapable part of him; they were an agreeable memory as well.

He was born inauspiciously enough on September 24, 1837, in the small northeastern Ohio town of New Lisbon--or simply Lisbon, as it has been known since 1895. As the first-born son of Dr. Leonard and Samantha Converse Hanna, he chose parents of better than average endowments. Mark's mother, who would be the stronger parental influence, was a Vermont-born former schoolteacher. Young, with a round, quiet face, she was unquestionably one of the better educated women of the community. This, together with an upper middle class background that she carefully preserved in her own home, left the young woman open to suspicions of being

a shade too aristocratic by local standards. She was the daughter of Porter Converse, who had been a lawyer in New England and then a merchant after bringing his family of six out to the Western Reserve district of Ohio in 1824. Both her father and mother--the former Rhoda Howard--had a respectable background of largely English stock, and when they moved to the West they did so in good order and some style. Daughter Samantha was soon equipped for a position teaching school, and ventured from her Geauga County home down to New Lisbon, three counties to the south and east. On September 10, 1835, she married Leonard Hanna, a young physician from one of the leading local families.¹

Hanna had long been a name of some importance in this flourishing young county seat of better than 1,200 population. Mark's great-grandfather Robert, who died two months

¹Unless otherwise noted, the facts of family history in this chapter are taken from M. Josephine Smith, ed., The Book of Benjamin Hanna, His Children and Their Descendants (Cleveland, privately printed, 1938). Copies are available in the Library of Congress, the Western Reserve Historical Society, the Cleveland Public Library, and in the possession of various members of the Hanna family. For descriptions of Samantha Converse Hanna, see Henry C. McCook, The Senator, A Threnody (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 195, 196; Thomas Beer, Hanna (N. Y., 1929), pp. 22, 23; James B. Morrow interview with Mrs. Samuel Prentiss Baldwin and Miss Helen Converse, Cleveland, Ohio, 1905, Hanna papers, in possession of Mrs. Garvin Tankersley, Bethesda, Maryland. This interview by Morrow, once editor of the Cleveland Leader, is one of a series he conducted while gathering material for the biography of Hanna later written by Herbert Croly.

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before the boy was born, had come there as the pioneer of the family in 1801. He had arrived in the New World as a boy from north Ireland, and was the first of the Hannas to join the Quaker faith. To Mark, he was only a respected memory, but his second son, Benjamin, was a respected presence. Grandfather Benjamin Hanna was of the kind that impresses youngsters. He was a big, burly man, the sire and master of seven equally tall, husky sons. He was the patriarch of the New Lisbon family. In his younger days, grandfather had accumulated his first capital by clearing tracts of virgin land for the new arrivals. Since then he had built up a prosperous wholesale grocery and warehouse business in town. Meanwhile he married a bright but unschooled young Quaker girl named Rachel Dixon, recently come over from southwestern Pennsylvania. The roster of their thirteen children recalls something of the lost art of personal nomenclature: Joshua, Leonard, Levi, Zalinda, Robert, Tryphena and Tryphosa (twins), Rebecca, Thomas, Anna, Benjamin, Kersey and Elizabeth. Most of them would lead long and useful lives. One of them, Kersey, would outlive his famous nephew by five years, and so have an opportunity to tell curious biographers how it was with them in the old days.²

²Morrow interview with Kersey Hanna and H. M. Hanna, both Cleveland, 1905, both in Hanna papers.

The second eldest of these would become Mark's father. Leonard had many of the physical features that reappeared in the son: the wide-set, piercing brown eyes, the wide mouth, large ears, and a pair of surprisingly small, tapering hands. He had been the only one of the seven sons to have received any education beyond what was locally available and necessary for business purposes. After due preparation in a provincial college, he had attended Rush Medical College in Philadelphia and then returned to enter practice at home.

Whether his accident occurred prior to his marriage or soon afterward is uncertain, but it was at about this time that Dr. Hanna was thrown from his horse and injured in a way that eventually resulted in his death. His son Mel, whose own interest in medicine makes him perhaps the best witness, told many years later that

. . . his spine was hurt but the injury was thought to be slight. Later, however, he began to have agonizing headaches at the base of his brain. It became necessary to keep hot cloths on the back of his neck for hours at a time, cloths so hot that my mother could scarcely touch them with her hands. The headaches continued until there was a surgical operation and some of the nerves of the neck were cut. After that my father had no more pain . . . but there was a steady decline in his health and he died in 1862 from a degeneration of the tissue of the medulla.³

³Morrow interview with H. M. Hanna; his interviews with Kersey Hanna and Leonard C. Hanna, Cleveland, 1905, all ibid., give slightly varying accounts.

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One of the first consequences of Leonard's accident was the abandonment of his medical practice. The children always knew their father in the role of merchant in the family grocery, wholesale and warehouse business.

Mark was the eldest son, but Gertrude preceded him and Howard Melville ("Mel"), Salome, Seville, Leonard Colton and Lillian followed in that order.⁴ In common they shared an ancestry that could already be called "old stock" American. Of all the strains it included, Mark was to be most conscious of the Scotch-Irish, perhaps because of the family name. One of his references to his relationship with his friend President McKinley years later has often been noted. Remarking on their differences in temperament, he concluded that McKinley had got more of the Scot and he more of the Irish in the combination.⁵ But American family

⁴In more detail, they were Helen Gertrude (Mrs. Henry S. Hubbell), 1836-1891; Marcus Alonzo (1837-1904); Howard Melville (1840-1921); Salome Maria (Mrs. George W. Chapin, widowed in 1884, remarried to Jay Wyman Jones, 1886), 1844-1907; Seville Samantha (Mrs. James Pickands, widowed in 1896, remarried to Jay C. Morse in 1899), 1846-1927; Leonard Colton, 1850-1919; Lillian Converse (Mrs. Samuel Prentiss Baldwin), 1852-1938.

⁵Marcus A. Hanna, "William McKinley as I Knew Him," National Magazine XV (Jan. 1902), 410. This and other articles attributed to Hanna in the same magazine were actually ghostwritten by the editor, Joe Mitchell Chapple, from stenographers' notes. Afterward they were approved by Hanna. See Morrow interview with Elmer Dover, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers.

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names are notoriously poor indicators of blood lines. A conservative estimate based on what is known of his ancestry proportions his nationality background at two-thirds English, one-twelfth each of "Scotch-Irish" (i.e., Scottish, via Ulster) and Welsh, and an undetermined remaining sixth probably mostly Dutch and Huguenot French, the last coming through the Converse line. Friends who remarked in later years that as a man Hanna had the appearance of an English country squire spoke more wisely than they knew.

As a boy, Mark was a spunky one from the start, but no rebel. His own home and those in his neighborhood comprised a world that allowed him to grow, at least in the approved directions, while it allowed him to be a boy and get his face dirty. School could be tolerated while it lasted. After the final bell rang, his teacher had no further authority over his coming and going even if she was his mother's first cousin. In any event, teachers came and went, but the boys of the Sheep Hill crowd were a dependable lot who would stick together, so it seemed, forever. There were his brothers, of course, but nearly as close as brothers were such pals as Joe Kelly, Alf Thompson, Frank Roach, Andy McLain, Shed, Anse and Henry McCook, Frank Richards, Ed Pentecost and Jimmy Robertson. In the spring when chores were done they could get up a ball game --handball, hatball or townball--any kind. Or work up some

stunts for a circus over at the McCooks' stable. When they warmed up in the summertime there was the cool seclusion of the Big Rocks pool down behind the old factory dam. When it rained there were soapstone moulds to prepare reinforcements in for the lead soldiers that battled across the floors as Mexicans and Americans or Whites and Indians. In the winter there would be another go at sledding down Market Street hill, and more snowball fights with the crowd from Carroll's school up on Green Hill. There was plenty to do, and there were friends to join in. But when old Chambers rang the town curfew bell at nine the day was over.⁶

The home Mark returned to was a comfortable, well-ordered place that his father had had built the year the boy was born. It was a sturdy white frame structure with a porch, four chimneys, and a style of trimwork that suggested approval of the Greek Revival fashion. There were six small rooms on the main floor and additional sleeping quarters above. The furniture had a polish that reflected its eastern origins, and the fenced-in yard boasted

⁶The curfew was for children only. This and other details of names and games in this paragraph are from McCook, The Senator, pp. 200, 201, 218, 220, 228-230, 233, 234, 236. On Hanna's conflicts with teachers, see ibid., p. 199, and Morrow interview with Kersey Hanna.

shrubby that may also have come over the mountains.⁷ The mistress of the house kept order. Though no tyrant, according to all recollections she was a woman of considerable "executive ability." It was mother's firm New England voice that most often set the bounds of decorum and duty in the home.⁸

She needed to be firm with Mark. There is a daguerreotype of him at about the age of fourteen that illustrates graphically what his Uncle Kersey Hanna meant when he said later that the boy was "very strenuous in the matter of having his own rights."⁹ He sits straight up in his dark coat and plaid vest; his big bow tie is in place over the wide collar of his white shirt. His thick light

⁷An early painting of the house is reproduced in Croly, Hanna, opp. p. 18. A photograph of it at nearly seventy years of age is reproduced in McCook, The Senator, opp. p. 118. See Croly's comments (Hanna, p. 18) and Morrow interview with Mrs. Samuel Prentiss Baldwin and Miss Helen Converse. Hanna was not born in this house, but in the combined store and dwelling on the public square pictured in Croly, Hanna, opp. p. 8. William B. McCord, ed., History of Columbiana County, Ohio (Chicago, 1905), also reproduced a picture of this building (opp. p. 117) and points out the room.

⁸See citations in note 1, on Samantha Hanna.

⁹Morrow interview with Kersey Hanna. The picture is reproduced in Smith, ed., Benjamin Hanna, p. 160, and in McCook, The Senator, opp. p. 88, with the figure of Mel beside him cropped away. The earliest known likeness of Mark is an awkwardly handled painting of him with Mel reproduced in Croly, Hanna, opp. p. 22, and Smith, ed., Benjamin Hanna, p. 159. The best collection of pictures of him at different ages is in ibid., pp. 159-168.

brown hair has just been combed again. That much was posed for him. The broad oval face that suggests more weight below it than his slim body actually carried, the oversize ears, the large, brown eyes like buttons, the straight, broad nose and firm mouth--all these he had inherited from his father. But perhaps the facial expression was one he chose for himself, and if he meant it to say that he was a boy who knew his own mind and that that mind was set on becoming a man in short order, he succeeded.

By mid-century the world beyond New Lisbon was gradually filtering through to the boy's consciousness. Sometimes he could see it in the classroom, but it came by way of his father and through the local boys' debating society as well. His schooling was a routine affair. It offered--or rather it drilled into him--the mechanics of reading, writing and arithmetic. Copy-book maxims from Poor Richard's Almanac, Pope's Essay of Man and the Book of Proverbs gave it the prescribed flavor of moral training. The boy kept up, but there is no report that he ever chose his New Lisbon classroom as a place to display the full intensity of his competitive spirit.¹⁰ Nor was he awakened then or later to an interest in the abstractions of the intellectually curious. The men he thought of as scholars were more akin to Ichabod Crane than to the Greek philosophers.

¹⁰ McCook, The Senator, pp. 205, 206.

Politics, however, was very much the concern of a boy who aimed at becoming a man among men. The successful orator was a man to be respected in New Lisbon. Who initiated the idea of a boy's debating club is unknown, but in January, 1850, the Polyadelphian (or "Pollydelphian," as its first secretary spelled it) Society made its appearance with a long constitution and a short debate on "Was the Mexican War a justified one?" (They ruled it was not.) Mark, at thirteen, was one of the younger members, but he soon took his part and eventually was elected secretary for two terms.¹¹

Unfortunately, the available records fail to indicate how his teams fared or to which sides he was assigned on the following questions, but a listing of them and the juries' decisions may suggest something of the confidence and seriousness that engaged these boys: "Should flogging be abolished in the navy?" (yes); "Should the United States take any part in the Hungarian struggle for liberty?" (yes); "Will the conquest of Upper California and New Mexico result in more good than evil?" (yes); "Have the Negroes more cause for complaint against the Whites than the Indians?" (On this question, Mark is said to have taken the side of the Negro and won); "Should women be allowed to

¹¹Ibid., pp. 211-213.

vote?" (yes). It was probably at the conclusion of the last debate that girls were permitted to join the club.¹²

Hanna was not the only name of later consequence among the alumni of the Polyadelphian Club. Two of the boys mentioned earlier were of the family of "Fighting McCooks" of Civil War fame. Thirteen of them served as officers, of whom seven were generals by the War's end. Among Mark's friends were Anson, who came out of the war a general and later served three terms in Congress from New York; Roderick Sheldon, who went to Annapolis; and Henry, who was a chaplain in uniform and later as a Presbyterian minister wrote treatises on natural history and a book of reminiscences of his boyhood days with Mark in New Lisbon. The future senator also knew two of the other brothers, one of whom became minister to Hawaii and governor of Colorado, and the other a clergyman and professor of modern languages in Connecticut.¹³ The Hannas and the McCooks kept up their early friendships to some extent in later years, and Mark's pride in their deeds may help explain his pride in his own Scotch-Irish background.

¹²Ibid.; Croly, Hanna, pp. 23, 24, quoting from a letter of Anson J. McCook to W. W. Armstrong written in 1892. McCook then owned the surviving portion of the minute book. Henry McCook also saw it, and reproduces two pages from it in Hanna's hand. See his The Senator, fol. p. 60.

¹³McCord, ed., Columbiana County, pp. 246, 247.

His father also set the boy an example of concern with politics. He was an anti-slavery Whig and a prohibitionist when neither cause was locally fashionable. As a campaign orator he had taken the stump in 1839 and later apparently with some success. The family later asserted that he had been compared as a speaker with Thomas Corwin, which was a compliment, and that he went on tour once with Edwin M. Stanton in a series of joint debates.¹⁴ He never ran for Congress, despite his brother's later claims to the contrary, but he may have been offered the nomination. If so, it was a doubtful honor. Columbiana county elected Democrats in pre-Civil War years. More than that, it was a seed bed of "copperheads," for there would be no more daring opponent of the Lincoln administration in the North than New Lisbon's native son, Clement L. Vallandigham, who twice represented the county in the state House of Representatives in the forties.¹⁵ In the late forties, Dr. Hanna took up the cause of prohibition. For that matter, most of the family did likewise. A reformed drunkard from Baltimore had passed

¹⁴Morrow interviews with H. M. Hanna and with Leonard C. Hanna.

¹⁵Ibid.; there is no record of his candidacy in files of the Steubenville American Union for 1842 or 1844, which paper was located in the same congressional district. The only known file of New Lisbon's Ohio Patriot begins in 1845. Election returns are in W. Dean Burnham, Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892 (Baltimore, 1955), pp. 680, 681.

through town in 1847 and left the Hanna's convinced. But the Doctor's enthusiasm was less moralistic than medical. His speeches on the subject were remembered above all for their emphasis on the physiological damage to the imbiber. Presumably it was about this time that his brother Levi shut down the little brewery he had started shortly before. Certainly it was then that Mark was given the fear of alcohol that he was to carry with him for much of his life.¹⁶

Mark's father was a dabbler in politics. He was neither encouraged by examples in his own family nor was he emulated by any of his sons until years after his death, when Mark alone of the three began to interest himself in local Cleveland affairs. This was a family of business men, and at the front of its collective mind throughout the forties was the strictly business problem of making a success of the Sandy and Beaver Canal Company, with Mark's grandfather Benjamin Hanna as president.

¹⁶Morrow interviews with H. M. Hanna and Kersey Hanna. On Hanna and alcohol, see Thomas Knight, Tippecanoe...A History of the Tippecanoe Club of Cleveland (Cleveland, privately printed, 1940), p. 59, and Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers. Mrs. Hanna--Mark's widow--said that his introduction to wine and whiskey was on physician's orders when he was about forty years of age, and was received under protest. While these are admittedly biased witnesses, no contradictions to them have been noted except in later political caricatures such as those noted by James Ford Rhodes, The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations, 1897-1909 (N. Y., 1922), p. 6. Rhodes, who was Hanna's brother-in-law and knew him well, also protests their untruth.

The canal's history was a brief one and can be briefly told. As it was planned when work started in late 1834, it would link the Ohio River at the Pennsylvania border with the north-south route of the Ohio Canal, which in turn connected with Lake Erie. In doing this, the Sandy and Beaver would pass through New Lisbon and, hopefully, return to its merchants some reward for their daringly heavy investments in it. Then came the panic and Depression of 1837. Work halted. The company had to be reorganized and refinanced in 1845, but work was resumed and the next year saw barges loaded with wool and pork floating eastward on the completed section between New Lisbon and the river. It was too late to make any profits, however. Railroad competition was appearing on all sides and bypassing the town in favor of its rivals. Though Benjamin Hanna was no longer its president after 1845, he and his sons were deeply involved in the canal company--to the extent of \$200,000 according to one memory.¹⁷

New Lisbon never collapsed in these years just before and after 1850, but its gradual sinking could be felt by anyone who saw the increasing number of unrented stores standing in decay along Market Street.¹⁸ The McCooks

¹⁷Morrow interview with Kersey Hanna, Hanna papers.

¹⁸McCook, The Senator, p. 238. Census statistics show the decline in the county's population: 1840: 40,300; 1850: 33,600; 1860: 32,000. Revival came after the Civil War, when a railroad did come to town.

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noticed, and departed for Steubenville. Vallandigham moved to Dayton. The Hanna men, too, except for seventy-two year old Benjamin, began looking for better prospects elsewhere. Uncle Joshua, who had been in banking and insurance, left for Pittsburgh.¹⁹ Next to go were Mark's father and Uncle Robert, who formed a partnership with another Quaker grocer, Hiram Garretson, and struck out to the north for Cleveland in April of 1852. They liked what they saw and stayed. In the fall, Samantha and the children came up to their new home.²⁰

The Hannas had grown up with New Lisbon and helped it grow, but they had no desire to watch it die. They followed prosperity to Cleveland.

Cleveland offered above all that one essential to business success that New Lisbon had lacked: good transportation. Its mushrooming population testified that others, too, had seen the promise of the city located at the terminus of a canal reaching all the way down to the Ohio River at Portsmouth, and was at the same time both on the railroad route from Cincinnati to New York and in a position to grow with an increasing traffic on the Great Lakes.

¹⁹Horace Mack, History of Columbiana County, Ohio . . . (Philadelphia, 1879), pp. 112, 113; Morrow interview with H. M. Hanna, Hanna papers.

²⁰McCook, The Senator, p. 188, gives the date Oct. 6, 1852.

All this the new partners in Hanna, Garretson and Company could know as accomplished fact in 1852. As they looked at the city itself, they saw the metropolis of the Western Reserve, that great section of an earlier frontier which had once been claimed by the state of Connecticut and had been settled under its auspices. Cleveland was chosen by nature to serve as the trading center between the New York and New England sources of population and manufactures, and the raw products of its own hinterland to the South and West. Its people were typically transplanted New Englanders; its place names often taken from Connecticut. Returns of the 1850 census gave Cleveland a population of 17,000 out of 48,000 living in Cuyahoga County, but the town was rapidly outgrowing this figure. Its broad streets laid out in a grid pattern gave it a Western look, compared to its ancestors nearer the coast. But Cleveland was beginning to loose its careless youth after 1850. Not long before the Hannas appeared residents were reading a notice posted by the town marshal ordering them to keep their hogs off the streets. In the year following the Hannas' arrival, a special vote authorized the council to begin construction of a water works. And visitors were remarking on the charm of the many trees that had been planted around

the public square and along the avenues. The "Forest City," proud Clevelanders called it.²¹

In politics, this was decidedly a two-party battleground, although in the early Fifties the Whigs had been badly hurt by defections to the new splinter groups that were soon to join in forming the Republican party. Thus when a Democratic Clevelander, Reuben Wood, ran for governor in 1851, he received twelve hundred votes from the city, but carried it only by a plurality, since over seven hundred votes each went to the Whig and Free Democrat (Free Soil) candidates. Again in 1852 protest votes from former Whigs may have been decisive in allowing the Democrats' candidates to win a plurality in the city.²² Symbolically, this was also the year that Henry Clay died and the year when a Cleveland publisher brought out the first of many editions of Mrs. Stowe's book, Uncle Tom's Cabin. An old anti-slavery Whig such as Dr. Hanna might feel encouragement in this environment.

But for the children, life continued to center around home, school and the streets and yards between them. Home now was a substantial brick edifice of the gothic variety

²¹See William G. Rose, Cleveland, the Making of a City (Cleveland, 1950), pp. 221-231 for an introduction to this decade, and p. 245 ff. on events of 1852-1853.

²²Samuel P. Orth, A History of Cleveland, Ohio (2 vols., Chicago, 1910), I, 279, 280.

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on Prospect Street between Cheshire and Granger.²³ School, at first, was a new three-story building on nearby Brownell Street and later a high school--the only one in Cleveland at the time--on Euclid Avenue near Erie Street.²⁴ Here the boy was to meet a new group of chums that among other later friends included the Rockefeller brothers.

John Rockefeller was two years Mark's junior, but the two boys were thrown together in the small school and apparently grew fond of one another. It may well be that they were attracted to at least a genuine mutual respect by the very contrast in their natures. John at that age was described as a studious, reserved, sober young scholar whose preferred place in an afternoon ball game was as scorekeeper.²⁵ Mark was the virile extrovert, of "a daring and spontaneous disposition," to quote from the recollections of another schoolmate who in later years gave the press a story of the two friends in their high school days. He recalled the time the boys were kicking a football around the yard and John let it fly over a fence and toward a house

²³Leonard C. Hanna interview, Hanna papers. Croly, Hanna, opp. p. 36, reproduces a picture. Cheshire has since become E. 21st St., and Granger E. 22nd St.

²⁴Rose, Cleveland, pp. 245, 253, 276, 277; Allen Nevins, John D. Rockefeller (2 vols., New York, 1940), I, 84, 86. Brownell St. is now E. 14th St., and Erie St. is E. 9th St.

²⁵Nevins, Rockefeller, pp. 75, 84.

where a painter was working from a ladder. The ball nearly sent the painter crashing from his perch. He came down and rushed into the yard to find the culprit, threatening assault and battery if he should find him.

Now I never saw John in a fight [he continued]. It was not his nature. He told the painter he had kicked the ball, and that he was sorry it had struck him, but the painter only flared up worse. . . . Before he could say much, though, Mark was on him like a tiger, and although he was just a boy, he gave that painter one of the worst whippings a fellow ever had.²⁶

This story was sixty-five years old when it first saw print, but if it is not true, it surely belongs with those anecdotes that could and should have been true.

Mark's triumphs still seem to have been all outside the classroom. Some examples of his school composition exercises dating from July, 1854, were reprinted soon after his death in the National Magazine as part of a series on the "Early Ideals of Great Men."²⁷ Where the originals may be today is unknown, but these printed versions were said to come from a notebook saved by the schoolmaster of Hanna and Rockefeller. Each of Mark's four themes is under 700 words in length; all but the first are written as single paragraphs. "The Nations of the Earth" was a discourse on

²⁶Ibid., pp. 84, 85, citing Darwin G. Jones interview in Atlanta Constitution, Feb. 12, 1922.

²⁷Frank T. Searight, "Early Ideals of Great Men," National Magazine XX (Aug., 1904), 399-404.

the fate of Rome and the contrastingly happy prospects of the United States at mid-century. It began:

This earth although ruled by the hand of one mighty agent is a continued scene of variety and change, for during a brief space of time we witness the rise and fall of mighty empires. For instance, Rome in ancient days, which like a soaring eagle rose with unrivaled speed in the world of fame, scarcely reached the highest pinnacle of glory when she commenced her downward course to ruin. And what is she now compared with what she was in former days? . . .

He compares the present power of the United States with that of Rome and attributes its safety from a like fate to his country's dependance upon the "industry and perseverance of her citizens instead of the fame and distinction of her arms." In conclusion, he points with pride to America's "great cause of 'Peace and Industry among all men.'" Could this last phrase have been an adaptation of the familiar line from the Christmas carol? Did "peace, goodwill to men on earth" turn in the mind of the budding young merchant to "Peace and Industry among all men?" Perhaps so. If it did, the occasion suggests a merging of the heard and the seen in his experience that is none too common in any boy's thinking.

The second, in the order printed, and possibly inspired by the first, was called "England and the United States." The mother country's claims to favorable comparison he dismisses in the first few sentences. Then on the wings of a well worn image he rises to defend the homeland:

'Tis true that England has been for many years the unrivaled nation of the earth; but the United States has been like a soaring eagle gradually but rapidly mounting on their upward flight to fame. . . . [Nine sentences later:] Well may the proud Peers of England scratch their heads and look grave as they behold the upward flight of the proud eagle of America, which, not content with the common spirit of nations, is seeking a wider field of glory. And now she looks down from her pinnacle of fame with the utmost contempt upon the degraded situation of Despotism and Tyranny.

The young scholar's third piece is "True Friendship," a brief exposition on the rarity and value of thick-and-thin loyalty. It is the least stilted and most persuasive of the four. Finally, there is "Life," a 500 word reflection on the deathbed agonies of a hardened sinner calculated to warn of the "shortness of this earthly part of life and to remind us of the punishment in the life hereafter if we do not improve the short time given us by our Maker in order that we may prepare ourselves for future existence."

It is easy to smile at such cannonades of rhetoric a hundred years later. But in a day when Webster and Clay were still models of style it must be admitted that these would have been highly successful efforts. They reveal no literary flair, nor do they expose much original thinking. The sentiments expressed were common currency in the Western Reserve then. What they do indicate is that their author was a competent pupil who very likely succeeded in pleasing

his master. If they give no clue to his genius, it is because his genius lay elsewhere.

When Mark entered college, he had already passed his twentieth birthday. What had delayed him is unknown. He may have started late, or he may have been kept back. If the latter, it doubtless caused his schoolteacher mother and his college-trained father more grief than it did him. The bulk of what is known of his college days is the story he told on himself when some forty-four years later the then famous senator was invited to speak in honor of an anniversary of the same school. He makes it clear that he still had no regrets:

I am neither a student nor a scholar, and it is with diffidence I address this audience. My connection with the Western Reserve College reaches back as far as 1857. I had finished my education at the public schools, and I had a choice of going to work or attempting a college course. My mother persuaded me to try the latter. Western Reserve College at "Hudson" was near at hand, and there I went. I entered what was called the scientific class, in which a kind-hearted professor made things easy for me. There were five members of the class when I entered it. Later the numbers dwindled to three, and when I left there was not any.

My environment was largely responsible for my going. At my boarding house I fell in with a number of jolly sophomores, and they persuaded me to help them in getting out a burlesque program of the Junior oratoricals. In the division of labor it fell my lot to distribute these mock programs. I well remember when the iron hand of Professor Young fell on my shoulder. "Young man," he said, "what are you doing?" "I am distributing literature and education," I replied, "at the expense of the Junior class." Well, it was near the end of the term, anyway, and I went home. I told my mother that I thought that I would go to work,

and that I was sure the faculty would be glad of it. A little while after I met President Hitchcock on Superior Street. I was in jumper and overalls, for I was working. He asked me what I was doing, and I told him "working." He didn't say anything, but his eyes and manner said very eloquently that he thought I had struck the right level. And the moral of that story is, boys, "Don't be ashamed of overalls."²⁸

If Mark had missed something by his distaste for book-learning, he had begun to miss it long before he entered college and would continue to miss it later. Hanna's was in large part an education by conversation. Had his conversation been informed by the background that a habit of wide reading would have given him, presumably he would have gained more from it. But such a habit never developed. Probably it would not have even if his formal schooling had been received from more inspired hands than it was. He seemed to have a natural immunity to abstractions, and he knew it. Some of the better anecdotes from his later years reflect this side of his thinking--or his non-thinking, if it could be called that. In 1896, as Thomas Beer tells it, an acquaintance who was thinking of his brother Mel's name

²⁸Quoted in Croly, Hanna, p. 37; on pp. 38, 39, Croly quotes a classmate in support of the prank story. A search of archival materials at Western Reserve University, including catalogs and the faculty minute book, reveals no mention of Hanna or the prank described.

asked Hanna if he was related to Herman Melville. "What the Hell kind of job does Melville want?" was his answer.²⁹

John Leary, in his Talks with T.R., recorded another story as Roosevelt told it to him:

"Hanna," said the Colonel, "sent Bunau-Varilla, the French engineer, to see me about the Panama Canal. Later I saw Hanna, and told him I could do nothing with the man.

"Why," I said, "that man would instruct Cosmos."

"Never mind Cosmos," said Hanna, "Cromwell's the man for you to listen to." He meant William Nelson Cromwell, the New York lawyer.³⁰

But a liberal education of the traditional sort was never a prerequisite for success in the nineteenth century business and political world. An aptitude that Hanna always seemed to have, for meeting, judging and learning from the people he met from day to day, has always been a useful asset. It may not be without significance that a recent biographer of Franklin Roosevelt gave one of his chapters the skeptical heading "Groton: Education for What?" and noted that the future president as a Harvard student (with a C average) had complained that his school program was "like an electric lamp that hasn't any wire." When he learned the language of politics he did it as Hanna had, by the conversational method.³¹

²⁹Beer, Hanna, p. 233.

³⁰John J. Leary, Jr., Talks with T.R., From the Diaries of John J. Leary, Jr. (Boston, 1919), p. 256.

³¹James MacGregor Burns, Roosevelt, the Lion and the Fox (N. Y., 1956), pp. 10, 18, 19, 53.

In the spring of 1858, then, Hanna went down to the Merwin Street docks in his overalls and started learning the family business at first hand. Hanna, Garretson and Company was still a wholesale grocery, commission and forwarding firm still operating along much the same lines that the partners had followed separately in New Lisbon. Prosperity and the new location, however, had brought some modifications. Salt fish, copper ore (then shipped as "mass" copper), furs and iron ore made up the major part of the incoming shipments from Lake Superior ports. The groceries and hardware needed by the new settlers of Wisconsin and Minnesota were outbound from Cleveland. Up the Ohio Canal from points as far away as New Orleans came sugar and molasses as well as the pork and wool from nearby counties.³²

Copper ore was nothing new to the older Hanna men, for their brother Joshua had promoted a mine on the Ontonagon River in about 1845, and both Robert and Leonard soon afterward took shares in other mines for themselves.³³ They had visited Lake Superior in the forties and were aware of its possibilities when they moved to Cleveland.³⁴ Iron ore, on

³²Morrow interviews with Leonard C. and H. M. Hanna, Hanna papers.

³³Morrow interviews with H. M., Leonard C., and Kersey Hanna, Hanna papers.

³⁴Smith, ed., Benjamin Hanna, pp. 143-153, prints an undated diary kept on this trip by Samantha Hanna. Internal evidence places it in the New Lisbon years.

the other hand, was a new departure; the first shipments to come to Cleveland from the Marquette range date from the year of the Hannas' arrival. But with the opening of the Soo locks in 1855 and the relatively poor quality of competing Ohio ores it was an item destined to grow quickly to ranking importance.³⁵

Another innovation for the firm was its direct investment in lake shipping. First was the Manhattan, which was lost while entering the harbor in high winds toward the last of the 1856 season. The following summer the City of Superior was ready, but it was lost the same year. Their third and fourth attempts were more successful. The Northern Light, a 700-ton vessel costing \$54,000, made its trial run in May, 1858, and is known to have been still carrying freight and passengers to Lake Superior ports as late as 1867. The still larger Lac La Belle was built for the 1864 season and appears to have survived for at least three years. Mark and Mel worked on these later vessels as pursers from

³⁵James Ford Rhodes, "The Coal and Iron Industry of Cleveland," Magazine of Western History II:4 (August, 1885), 341; Rose, Cleveland, pp. 224, 252.

time to time studying the operations of the firm's floating stock.³⁶

Mark seems to have kept up with his new business responsibilities, but it is certain that he never let them infringe on his after-hours career as a young man about town. He clerked in the store, sailed on the ships, even went on the road as a salesman--one of the first of the "drummers."³⁷ At the same time he met his social responsibilities with a smile. There were athletic afternoons rowing on the river with the boys of the Ydrad Yacht Club. There were races with the Ivanhoe Club and the annual fancy dress balls where they could show off their best girls. In all this he must have excelled, for he was elected captain of the club for two successive years.³⁸ On weekends there were sailing parties, dinner parties over in Rocky River, and when the snow fell, sleighrides and more dances. There were horses to be raced and cards to be played. One of his

³⁶Works Progress Administration in Ohio, District 4, Annals of Cleveland, 1818-1935 (59 vols. multigraphed for years 1818-1876, Cleveland, 1937-1938), 1856:540, 1857:1907, 1858:3629, 3632, 1864:1841, 1867:3967. This series, hereafter cited as Annals of Cleveland, is an abstract of articles in the daily press, usually the Cleveland Leader. Volumes are cited by year rather than number and by number of abstract, where given, rather than by page number.

³⁷Morrow interview with H. M. Hanna, Hanna papers.

³⁸Annals of Cleveland, 1860:110, 1861:108; Morrow interview with A. B. Hough, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers.

friends from this set was interviewed in later years and recalled only that Mark "didn't care for horse races . . . although he would go along with the rest of us to entertainments of that kind."³⁹ Hanna himself would doubtless have remembered when his bay mare, "known as Cleveland's fastest horse," according to the press reports, was stolen in the summer of 1863.⁴⁰ But with all the good times and late hours, he stopped short of real debauchery. At no time in his life was he known as a drinking or a wenching man.

No less prominent on his social schedule were Hanna's drills with the newly organized Perry Light Infantry. Almost immediately after its formation in the spring of 1861, he was elected second lieutenant.⁴¹ That he was chosen for his personal popularity seems clear, for certainly he could not have been commended on the basis of any military skills. His prominence as the chosen spokesman for his boys appears in nearly every newspaper reference to the company in this period. When their departing captain was feted at the end of 1861, Lieutenant Hanna made a "neat speech of presentation" to go with a pair of navy revolvers and sword. The following May, when they celebrated their first anniversary

³⁹Morrow interview with A. B. Hough, Hanna papers.

⁴⁰Annals of Cleveland, 1863:1591.

⁴¹Ibid., 1861:883.

in the armory, a feature of the banquet was Lieutenant Hanna's address on the state's defense system and its recent neglect.⁴² Whether he was eloquent may be doubted, but at least for his friends he was willing.

The coming of the Civil War coincided with the last years and death of Mark's father. Dr. Hanna was reported in the press as seriously ill in May of 1860. On December 15, 1862, he died. For the more than two years that elapsed between these dates he was inactive in business and his place was taken by his eldest son. Mel, the next in years, joined the navy and served throughout the War.⁴³

Probably there was no argument over Mark's going to war in those first years. He had been made a full partner in the firm shortly before his father's death, and there was no question but that he was the one member of the immediate family who could make a real contribution to the business.⁴⁴

⁴²Ibid., 1861:1277, 1862:3228.

⁴³Smith, ed., Benjamin Hanna, pp. 170-172. He was commissioned assistant paymaster, partly through his father's political influence, as was customary. See Morrow interview with H. M. Hanna, Hanna papers.

⁴⁴Croly, Hanna, p. 43, prints the text of the newspaper advertisement of the firm as reorganized under the name Robert Hanna & Co. Partners were Robert, Leonard and M. A. Hanna and S. H. Baird. After the war, H. M. Hanna bought out Baird's interest. Garretson had left the old firm after failing to get agreement of Hanna men to deal in liquors, according to Morrow interviews with Kersey and H. M. Hanna, Hanna papers.

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He was twenty-five at the end of 1862; Mel was twenty-two, Leonard twelve and the unmarried sisters were eighteen, sixteen and ten years of age.

Young Mark had become young M. A. Hanna, family breadwinner.

Despite his new responsibilities, when in April, 1864, the Perry Light Infantry was called into active service, Hanna was with them. Now he filled the post of first lieutenant in Company C, 150th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. One wonders what kind of a record he would have made had he been mustered in earlier and seen his share of action. If courage, energy and a capacity for gaining the confidence of his associates had counted for much, the Union army missed one talent almost completely. For the men of Company C were never under fire. Seven days after their muster on May 12, 1864, they were given a grand send-off to Washington in upholstered railroad coaches and disembarked at that place to be greeted by a meal of sow-belly, hardtack and coffee. When General Early threatened the capital city they were in the line but at the wrong point to meet any rebels. Even if they had seen action then, their "jolly, auburn-haired, freckle-faced youth" of a lieutenant had been detailed elsewhere. Much to his chagrin, he was on an errand as escort for the body of a comrade being returned to

Cleveland for burial. A month later, the entire regiment was sent back home in cattle cars and mustered out.⁴⁵

This in outline was Hanna's career as a soldier. It is to his credit that he never felt called upon to enlarge upon it in his later years in politics. He joined the G.A.R. only in 1901, and then introduced himself at his first camp-fire with becoming modesty:

In 1861 I might have enlisted, but circumstances prevented me. My father was on a sick bed. I did the best I could. I sent a substitute. Four years later I had the honor to be drafted. We did have a brush with General Early, but that was all. For that reason I did not think I was entitled to become one of your comrades.⁴⁶

With countless other young men who whiled away the war in camp, Hanna made a temporary sacrifice to the gods of war that propriety forbade him to mention publicly. In his case, her name was Gussie--Charlotte Augusta Rhodes. He had thought he was in love once before--at the age of fifteen, to be exact--when he had had to leave Mary Ann McLain in New Lisbon.⁴⁷ But this was more serious. They had met socially two years before, soon after she had returned from

⁴⁵William J. Gleason, Historical Sketch of the 150th Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry (n.p. 1899), passim. Annals of Cleveland, 1864:2328.

⁴⁶Croly, Hanna, p. 44.

⁴⁷Morrow interview with Mrs. Samuel Prentiss Baldwin, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers. Croly, Hanna, p. 32, supplies the name.

a fashionable young ladies' finishing school in New York.⁴⁸ Unquestionably, she was a lady--a tall, straight girl, reserved, dignified and lovely to look at.⁴⁹ They had a "desperate love affair," to use her words, but what lent it desperation was less their own behavior than that of her father, a formidable old gentleman named Daniel P. Rhodes.

Mr. Rhodes was a successful businessman, a pioneer in the coal and iron trade and a power in local politics. He liked a good party, a good drink, a good laugh or a good fight.⁵⁰ With his prospective son-in-law he chose to fight. Partly, no doubt, he wanted to see whether the young man would defend his cause. Then too, he saw a rival for his daughter's affections. "It wasn't just Mark; he would have opposed anybody," Gussie said later.⁵¹ But the reason her father expressed openly was on the high plane of political

⁴⁸Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers.

⁴⁹Smith, ed., Benjamin Hanna, pp. 63-68, reproduces a number of photographs of her. Characterizations of her by those who knew her in her youth are not to be found, so I have relied on conversations with her niece, Mrs. Malcolm McBride, Cleveland, her granddaughter, Mrs. Garvin Tankersley, Bethesda, Md., and friend, Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Washington, D.C., all in 1959.

⁵⁰Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers; author's conversation with Mrs. Malcolm McBride, 1959; Marcus A. DeWolfe Howe, James Ford Rhodes, American Historian (N. Y., 1929), pp. 15, 16.

⁵¹Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers.

principle. Here it must be admitted he had arguments.

Stephen Douglas was a cousin of Mr. Rhodes, and Rhodes was executor of the fallen party leader's estate. He became a bitter and much defeated local Democratic politician of the strenuously anti-war Vallandigham type.⁵² Hanna, on the other hand, was not only a Republican, but had been elected secretary of the Union Young Men whooping it up for Lincoln.⁵³

Somehow, love conquered all. The suitor had been kept away from the house, insulted and harangued, but that "damned screecher for freedom," as Rhodes called him,⁵⁴ managed to win his case and his betrothal before he left for the wars.

Throughout the summer a stream of letters crossed one another between Cleveland and Washington. Only a few of Hanna's and none of hers have been preserved. The surviving samples, however, illustrate more graphically than any later recollections could possibly do the qualities of charm, passion and persuasiveness the man could muster when he set his sights on an objective.

⁵²Ibid.; George Fort Milton, Eve of Conflict, Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War (Boston, 1934), pp. 145, 146, 225, 377, 569; Annals of Cleveland, 1861:2662, 1862:3429, 3566, 1863:2054.

⁵³Annals of Cleveland, 1863:2246.

⁵⁴Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers; Croly, Hanna, p. 47.

Not long after his arrival in Washington, Mark became ill. He arose from bed to keep a dinner appointment with Mrs. Douglas, the senator's widow, and later in the evening went for a drive with her and others out past Fort Stevens. There they visited with Gussie's brother Robert, and then wandered on to the Montgomery Blair estate, Silver Spring, a "fairy scene" in the moonlight. The small talk in the carriage dwindled away after awhile and soon "Miss Cameron accused me of being pensive, stupid and everything else and then Mrs. Douglas joined in about loved ones at home--the effect of the moon on lovers ec. ec., until I was forced in self defense to be as noisy as possible. We did not get home until almost ten . . ." and then chatted and drank tea till twelve. "Now don't scold when I have been so honest to tell you about my dissipations. I knew it was a late hour for an invalid to be out--but I made up for it by lying abed this morning. . . ."55

A week later he had recovered and regained his stride:

You ask me if I will ever get tired of caressing my darling--what do you think? Have you ever seen any evidence of my disposition to do so? My only fear is that I shall wear you out loving you so much. . . . I am counting the moments as they pass and fairly panting for the time again to come when I shall fold you to the heart that worships you as its idol--to feel again your warm kisses and your arms around my neck. . . .

⁵⁵Hanna to Rhodes, June 14, 1864, Hanna papers.

Then there follows his only known essay on "the place of women:"

You ask me darling if I would wish to have you acquire more self-reliance and not be so entirely dependant upon me for everything. As regards everything pertaining to your happiness--if I can always make you perfectly happy nothing will give me greater pleasure than to know that you will always look to me for it. It will be a holy duty to always protect and shield you. . . . I would have my wife in all things pertaining to her sphere feel her ability to act upon such matters as concern it with judgment and decision--to show a self-reliance as regards her woman's duties towards others and an independence that will entitle her to the respect of all. I am not an admirer of strong-minded women, but when prompted by good sense and well applied I would not respect a woman that lacked enough spirit and independence to give her influence and command the respect of others. But in this point I have no fear of you darling.
 . . .⁵⁶

This patriarchal view of his wife's place in the home was not something freshly conjured up. He had been accustomed to being the man of the house since his father's last illness. Family responsibilities still lay heavily enough on him that he asked his bride-to-be if she would object to living with his family at first. Finances made it "almost out of the question" for them to set up housekeeping for themselves right away, and he felt he was still needed in the home on Prospect Street. After she had given her consent he elaborated on this latter motive:

⁵⁶Same to same, June 21, 1864, ibid.

For in fact but a short time before our intimacy I had made up my mind to devote many years of my life (if they were spared me) to my Mother, brothers and sisters. Several of them are now at that age when it is all important for them to have such an influence as mine over them and for that reason I felt that my duty was there.⁵⁷

Toward the end of their separation it becomes clear that a recurrence of parental opposition is no longer any threat. In his letter of July 28, Mark inquires how she likes the new dresses her father has bought her, and asks that she "give my love to your Father and Mother and tell them how happy I shall feel when I shall have the right to call them so."

There are bits of camp news scattered through the letters: he reports on visits with her brother Rob and with Jay Morse and George Chapin--both of them friends who would later become his brothers-in-law. He passes on war rumors that have come to him, examining each of them first for indications of further delays in his release from the service. Never does he get more than a few sentences away from his theme of love.⁵⁸

At one point he is without word from her for several days. He becomes so anxious that he finds himself threatening desertion:

⁵⁷Same to same, June 22, 1864, ibid.

⁵⁸Same to same, July 28, 1864, and letter dated Wed. evening (Aug., 1864), ibid.

Oh! darling, I don't know what to think at not hearing from you again today. The idea of your being too sick to write almost drives me wild. Can it be? I ask myself every moment. Oh, if you are so sick, my own pet, what shall I do so far away from you. I certainly thought I would get a letter today and perhaps two, and when I looked through the mail in anxious haste and saw none for me in that well known address, my heart went down-down-down. A sickening feeling came over me and I must own that my heart is filled with such a painful anxiety that it almost unmans me. . . . I can only conclude that you are very sick. And oh Gussie you can better imagine my feelings than I can describe them. There comes the thought would not your Mother write me at least a few lines and then again I ask the question what can the reason be.

This anxiety of feeling may seem childish in me but I cannot help it darling for are you not dearer to me than my own life. . . . Would that the next 24 hours were past. . . .

Oh, Gussie, Gussie--my heart is so full I cannot write tonight. Do not I beg of you let a day pass if you are sick without letting me hear from you in some way. Certainly your Mother or Jimmie will write a line or two for I cannot live in this state of uncertainty. I would not stay here. . . .⁵⁹

The happy ending came on September 27 in St. John's Church, with Mark's Ydrad rowing club friend "Allie" Hough standing up as best man. All went smoothly, with hardly even a grumble from the cousin of Stephen Douglas. All he said was, "Well, Mark, it's all over now, but a month ago I would like to have put you in the bottom of Lake Erie."⁶⁰

⁵⁹Same to same, dated Wed. evening (Aug., 1864), ibid.

⁶⁰Morrow interviews with A. B. Hough and Mrs. C. A. Hanna, ibid. The wording of Rhodes' comment seems awkward, and perhaps Croly was justified in revising it slightly. See his Hanna, p. 48.

CHAPTER II

M. A. HANNA AND HIS COMPANY

Augusta Rhodes chose a husband who resembled her father in a number of ways. She found the same blunt masculinity, the sometimes brusque insistence on his own way, and the familiar love of high-spirited company in the younger man that she had known in the older. She also found that both of her men wanted to take care of her, each in his own way. Mark Hanna would do it by carrying forward his own career as a merchant and, presently, as an oil refiner. Daniel Rhodes would do it by establishing his new son-in-law with a partnership in his thriving coal and iron business. The issue between them was decided only after more than two years of skirmishing.

Rhodes won the first round when he talked the young couple into living with his family in their mansion on Franklin Street rather than with Mark's family on the east side. They stayed there for over two years before moving into a small rented house on Prospect Street.¹

Even there the would-be patriarch was not forgotten. In December, 1866, a son was born to the Hannas, and soon afterward he was christened Daniel Rhodes Hanna.

¹Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers.

But Hanna balked at accepting a place in the firm of Rhodes and Card; neither did he wish to limit his activities to Robert Hanna and Company. He must try his hand at something new--something his. The oil industry was booming in Cleveland: he would try that. Without leaving his old partnership, he formed a new one, taking a quarter share for himself. His Uncle Robert took an equal share; the remaining half was held by another man remembered only as Doherty.² Hanna, Doherty and Company got under way in April, 1865, with \$100,000 capital and a good location along Walworth Run near the junction of two railroads. When in January, 1866, the Cleveland Leader surveyed the achievements of the local oil industry, the Hanna firm seemed well established. Although less than a third the size of the leading producer, Rockefeller and Andrews, it was employing nine hands and in the last quarter of 1865 had refined 94,400 gallons of burning fuels and 15,000 gallons of benzol, as well as lubricating and paraffin oils.

Their seven buildings stood fifty to a hundred feet apart to eliminate fire hazards. One served as a cooper shop and gave storage space for 1,500 unfilled barrels; another held a thousand full barrels. There was a 3,000 gallon iron tank for crude and another of equal size under construction for refined oil. Four small stills were in

²Morrow interview with H. M. Hanna, ibid.

constant operation. Altogether, the Hanna, Doherty plant compared well with most of its thirty local competitors in those first years.³

Into the oil business many were called but few were chosen to survive. It seemed entirely possible that Hanna would survive. Without the intervention of a timely fate he might well have joined in the building of the Standard Oil Trust, as Henry Flagler and Oliver Payne did, and followed John Rockefeller to New York. But after what happened at about 2:30 in the afternoon of February 8, 1867, such a course was out of the question.

How the fire began was not explained in the next day's papers, but its progress was recorded in lurid detail. Originating in the treating house atop the steep hill that rose from the banks of Walworth run, the blaze quickly consumed wooden oil tanks and spilled their burning contents down the slope toward the buildings and stream below. A flow of oily lava hit the eighty-foot long storage building filled with empty wooden barrels and passed on to find the benzine stacked in barrels on the ground below. Orange flames and black smoke hid the burning cooper shop above and slowly approached the creek below as volunteers rushed to dam the water and organize a bucket brigade. Sixteen hundred feet of hose were stretched across from the railroad

³Cleveland Leader, Jan. 8, 1866.

reservoir to save the cooper shop from total destruction. Meanwhile firemen tried to halt what had become literally a stream of fire below. Floating oil soon burned the wagon bridge and headed with the current toward a waste dump along the banks downstream. There two dozen firemen, starting work well ahead of the oncoming blaze, finally stemmed the tide with a hastily built dam. It was over in two hours. The partners estimated their losses for reporters at \$15,000 to \$20,000, and added that they were insured only to \$6,000 with a New York company they had no faith in.⁴

Back in the city Daniel P. Rhodes heard fire bells and looked up to see black clouds of smoke rising in the southwest. He chuckled, "That's probably Mark's damned refinery." Soon, he felt sure, the boy would lose everything he had. Then he might listen to sense.

At two in the morning the "boy" came home covered with soot. He was exhausted. A recent bout with typhoid fever had left him pale and weak at the end of an ordinary day. But now, "Well, I've got to the bottom," he admitted. And he had. He was worth several thousand dollars less than nothing. Any capital he might once have had was lost with the Lac La Belle when she had collided and sunk in the St. Clair river in five minutes one night the previous November. And now the refinery. "If I had my health I wouldn't feel

⁴Ibid., Feb. 9, 1867.

so badly about it," he told Gussie, "but now I don't know where we're going to land."⁵ While the baby slept, they sat up until almost dawn.

In fact they must have known very well where they were going to land. Certainly Daniel P. Rhodes did. He was at the door before they had dressed in the morning, booming out a hearty greeting: "Now I guess you two fools will come home!" They would. Gussie even tried to look cheerful. Mark could hardly manage that, but his father-in-law was all consolation. "Now, Mark, your money is all gone and I'm damned glad of it," he cheered.⁶

There was real consolation, however, in the terms Hanna was given. Done with his badgering, the father-in-law proposed to let him take a share in Rhodes, Card and Company with a view to replacing him, at least in part. Old Jonathan Card wanted to retire too. Hanna, with Daniel's son Robert and an older partner, George H. Warmington, could carry on by themselves. Further than that, he announced that he and Mrs. Rhodes were going for a long vacation in Europe. Robert would stay, but otherwise the

⁵Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers.

⁶Ibid.

big house was all theirs. It was a confession of confidence--unspoken, perhaps, but nonetheless real.⁷

Breaking ties with Uncle Robert brought little grief, for here too the younger generation had never been at ease with the older. Robert Hanna was a highly respected businessman and a good salesman, but to Mark and his brother Mel he seemed "old-fogyish" in his attitude toward new opportunities. Mel remembered him later as "a large, heavy man . . . not as energetic as he should have been." The brothers argued the importance of going out of the store to get customers. Mark had occasionally gone on the road, but with little encouragement from Uncle Robert.⁸

Mark's departure was followed by a general dispersal of the old firm. Mel was left in charge of a much reduced business and shortly afterward sold the firm's stock to a competitor. Uncle Robert Hanna took up banking. Before long he was elected president of the newly organized Ohio National Bank and from that vantage point continued to

⁷This account of the fire's aftermath follows that given ibid. Leonard C. and H. M. Hanna, as well as Robert R. Rhodes, when interviewed by Morrow, said they felt certain that the inducements offered by Rhodes rather than reverses in his own business brought Hanna to make the change. But Mrs. Hanna's recollection was specific as to details and is supported by what is known through the press (Cleveland Leader, Feb. 9, 1867) of the sequence of events. Loss of the Lac La Belle was reported in the Cleveland Leader, Nov. 26, 1866.

⁸Morrow interview with H. M. Hanna, Hanna papers.

wield influence in the business community for more than a decade.⁹

Brother Mel picked up what was left of the refinery business. After rebuilding, he operated it for a few bleak years with new partners. Finally, in 1872, the plant was sold for another but final loss to Rockefeller's new Standard Oil Company.¹⁰

Rhodes and Company, as Mark's new connection was called, had grown to prosperity during more than twenty years of mining and selling Ohio coal and iron. Daniel Rhodes had started in the days when he had to persuade steamboat captains to try using coal instead of wood as fuel. He owned a mine in Youngstown and later added properties in Massillon and Canal Dover, including a furnace at the latter place. But primarily he was a middleman. The

⁹Ibid., and Morrow interview with Leonard C. Hanna, ibid.; Orth, History of Cleveland, p. 647; Allen Nevins, Study in Power: John D. Rockefeller, Industrialist and Philanthropist (2 vols., N. Y., 1953), I, 130.

¹⁰Morrow interviews with H. M. and Leonard C. Hanna, Hanna papers; Nevins, Study in Power, I, 135, 136. Nevins gives the purchase price at \$45,000 and says that H. M. Hanna was dissatisfied. In any case, he established a connection with Standard Oil that was profitable later. See Nevins, ibid., p. 152; and below, note 32.

Rhodes partners would sell on commission as readily as on their own account.¹¹

This, plus the opportunities that lay ahead, was the material Mark Hanna was given to work with. Opportunities were plentiful for those who could see and grasp them. Mark's brother-in-law and business partner, James Ford Rhodes, in looking back on this period, concluded that the Civil War had found Cleveland a commercial town and left it a manufacturing town.¹² There was exaggeration in this, for the city's diversity of functions has long been a key to its economic health. But Rhodes did emphasize an important point. With the passing of the war the railroad network across the northern states was extended and perfected to the point where Cleveland's location between canal and lakes no longer sufficed to assure her future growth. It was not enough that she hold her place as broker between the provinces, the forwarder and distributor of others' products. Cleveland needed manufactures.

For a time, as has been seen earlier, oil refining became a leading enthusiasm. With two competing railroads

¹¹James Ford Rhodes, "The Coal and Iron Industry of Cleveland," Magazine of Western History II:4 (Aug., 1885), 338, 339. This was written while Rhodes was still a partner in Rhodes & Co., but beginning to wind up his affairs with an eye to launching a career as an historian. His retirement came in 1885, after eleven years with the firm.

¹²Ibid., p. 337

reaching into the oil fields, haulage to and from Cleveland was relatively inexpensive. Overexpansion, rate wars and then monopolization gradually quieted the boom. A share of the new industry did remain in Cleveland, but a share of the profits from it also followed the Rockefellers to New York.

More firmly tied to the city was a group of flourishing ventures in iron and its products. Cleveland lay close to the Ohio coal fields on the south and was convenient to the Lake Superior iron ores to the northwest. By the middle of the 1880's it was apparent that Cleveland men had seen their fortune in iron and taken it. Their city was the largest market for bituminous coal on the Lakes. It was headquarters for the largest investors in Lake Superior iron ores--those rich red diggings from the Marquette Range then, and later from the Gogebic, Vermillion and Mesabi ranges as well. It was the largest builder of the ships that carried these ores. It was the home of over 130 iron, steel and related product firms employing more than 17,000 men. Besides ships, they made rails, locomotives, boiler plate, wire, screws, stoves, wheels, pipes, sewing machines, nuts and bolts, forgings and assorted tools.¹³

¹³Ibid., pp. 340-344.

Population figures, meanwhile, leaped higher with each census. From roughly 43,400 in 1860 the total rose in the next thirty years by 600 per cent, reaching 261,400 in 1890 and claiming tenth place among the nation's cities. Cleveland had still not overtaken Cincinnati, but it had passed its eastern rival, Buffalo, and was gaining on the Queen City to the south rapidly enough to pass her in another decade. In short, Cleveland during the years Hanna knew it was setting a "broadjump" record over its population rivals throughout the country: from thirty-seventh position in 1850 to seventh in 1900.¹⁴

With progress came greater extremes of wealth and poverty. Much of the new population was attracted from Europe. Added to an already substantial foreign-born population of Germans and Irish in the postwar years came first the Bohemians and then a sustained wave of Russian Jews and southeastern Europeans--the "Slav invasion" that manned the mills and factories and crowded the slum areas on Whiskey Hill or wherever railroad tracks and drifting smoke made living least desirable.¹⁵

At the other end of the social scale were the stately mansions that first made Euclid Avenue synonymous with

¹⁴ Rose, Cleveland, pp. 600, 679.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 500, 501.

conspicuous wealth. For if the Hannas came to new fortunes in the last decades of the century, so did a great many others. The Rockefeller men have been noted before, but there were also men like Henry Chisholm and Charles A. Otis of steel-making fame; ironmaster Fayette Brown and his inventive son Alexander; Charles F. Brush, another inventor and the developer of the arc light, dynamo and central power station; Jeptha H. Wade, pioneer telegraph promoter and ubiquitous financier; the Mathers, father and son, whose distinguished New England ancestry was less well remembered than their steadily growing fortunes in the same line that Hanna was to follow--iron, coal and ships; Captain Alva Bradley with his fleet of ships and his son Morris with his real estate and industrial investments; and Dan Parmalee Eells, banker and railway promoter.¹⁶

As fortune builders, these men set a rapid pace. The Hanna brothers outdistanced some, perhaps--estimates are difficult to judge this late--but they remained a part of the same formation. This is not to deprecate Hanna's business achievements, or to suggest that "everybody was doing it." Indeed, the rate of business failure was never low in this period. It does suggest, however, that as Hanna's

¹⁶Biographical sketches are available in Elroy M. Avery, A History of Cleveland and its Environs (3 vols., Chicago, 1918).

partner Robert R. Rhodes observed later, "We took over the business at an opportune time."¹⁷

If there was money to be made, and if Hanna made it, it remains to be seen how. He expanded the business, of course. The full story cannot be told for lack of available documents.¹⁸ Basically, however, it seems clear that the firm grew in three different but closely related ways. First, it extended its interests geographically. Second, it enlarged its own production of iron ore, coal and pig. And finally, it became involved in the related functions of shipping and shipbuilding and dock management.

There was more in this than a simple response to opportunities for making money. Competition demanded it. A gradual process of vertical integration, bringing together all the steps that led to the finished steel product, was taking place elsewhere. The middleman's function was being taken over by his old customers. To survive, Hanna's firm and its rivals--mainly Pickands, Mather and Oglebay and Norton--were obliged to imitate. All of them became more than sales agents in order to compete even as sales agents. That all three firms would grow and prosper was a tribute

¹⁷Morrow interview with Robert R. Rhodes, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers.

¹⁸The bulk of the records accumulated by M. A. Hanna and Company are reported to have been discarded in recent years by its successor, the M. A. Hanna Company. One useful item does survive, but the author was refused permission to utilize its contents for publication.

to their foresight and adaptability. Their alternative, however, was not a stagnation in the status quo of the early Seventies, but eventual elimination.¹⁹

Hanna had learned something about the Lake Superior iron ore trade in his earlier career. It was as apparent to him as it was to others that the trade had an important future. The problem was one of entering his firm in competition profitably. Nothing sudden occurred. Beginnings were made in the middle Seventies with commissions for the sale of charcoal-forged iron. Gradually all of this product, considered essential at the time for making car wheels, was brought east by Rhodes and Company. Mining investments became an important assurance of trade for the firm. They are difficult to follow in detail, for as prospects in the several ranges varied, individual mines changed hands. In 1880, for example, the West Republic mine in the Marquette range was purchased in the hope that the high quality ores found on neighboring properties would extend to within its boundaries. Ten years later that hope was given up. Production had fallen off so drastically that the \$500,000 investment was sold for one-fifth of its par

¹⁹ See Walter Havighurst, Vein of Iron: The Pickands Mather Story (Cleveland, 1958) on the history of that firm. On the integrating trends in each of the firms, see the Morrow interview with Andrew Squire, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers; Henry O. Evans, Iron Pioneer: Henry W. Oliver (N. Y., 1942), p. 223; "Ore, Ships and Gentlemen" Fortune XXII:1 (July, 1940), pp. 43 ff.

value. Not long after this the Hanna firm took control of the great Chapin Mining Company properties in the Menominee range. This was the second largest active producer in the iron regions and even under the depressed prices of the summer of 1891 it was employing 900 men.²⁰

In 1879, the members of Rhodes and Company bought control of a furnace at Sharpsville, Pennsylvania. In 1892 they undertook to rebuild an abandoned furnace at Buffalo, New York. Pig iron was the most nearly finished iron product the Hannas produced on their own account.²¹ By the time they were in a position to consider entering into the making of finished steel products the field had been effectively closed to newcomers by the success of those who had started earlier.

The few furnaces mentioned, together with the coal mines already owned or controlled by Rhodes and Company, do not constitute an exhaustive list of the Hanna firm's interests in these areas. No complete list can be made, but even if it could be it would not be a simple list of items owned or controlled outright. Here was a

²⁰ Morrow interview with Leonard C. Hanna, Hanna papers; Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 31, 1890; Marine Review IV:1 (July 2, 1981). This latter publication was a weekly Cleveland journal devoted to lake shipping news. It succeeded the Marine Record in 1890.

²¹ Morrow interview with Leonard C. Hanna, Hanna papers; Marine Review IV:3 (July 21, 1892).

characteristic arrangement: a mine or furnace whose owners needed financial help would be accommodated by the Hannas acting individually or in various combinations; in return came not only the interest on the loan, but a contract for the exclusive right to supply, carry or sell the product, as the case may be.²² Thus an assortment of outside agreements were made for the purpose of feeding business to the parent firm of Rhodes and Company--or M. A. Hanna and Company, as it was renamed in 1885.²³ Because the parent firm was a partnership, and therefore subject to unlimited liability in case of failure, there was sense if not simplicity in having its members compartmentalize their risks in this way. Failure, if it came, would come piecemeal.

One important extension of the firm's business, however, was made directly. Beginning in the early Seventies, according to Leonard Hanna, the parent firm leased the

²²Morrow interview with Andrew Squire, Hanna papers; author's conversation with Ralph Perkins, Cleveland, 1957. Squire was a close personal friend of Hanna and Senior member of Squire, Sanders and Dempsey, the law firm that handled Hanna's legal work from about 1878 to his death. Mr. Perkins is a Cleveland attorney long acquainted with the Hanna family and local business history.

²³The change of name followed the retirement of the brothers Robert R. and James F. Rhodes. Leonard Hanna had come to the firm in 1875 and was made a partner in 1879. Arnold C. Saunders, a younger cousin of the Hannas who served as secretary in the office for many years, and Charles C. Bolton both were partners for a few years in the early 1890's. Howard Melville Hanna seems never to have been a partner during Mark's lifetime, though he was an active leader in allied enterprises.

Pennsylvania Railroad's ore docks at Ashtabula. They added to their equipment and soon, by grace of the railroad, came into complete control of the major dock facilities in that important harbor. Profits from ore handling went to the Hannas, and in return they protected the railroad's position as carrier. Rhodes and Company became the Pennsylvania's loyal partisan against local or other railroad interests on the lakeshore. It was a partnership convenient for both interests but of greatest importance to the Hannas, for they were already dependant upon the railroad for carrying their ore to the furnaces of western Pennsylvania. That there were no significant quarrels between them is suggested by the fact that Mark Hanna became a director in a railroad leased by the Pennsylvania, the Cleveland and Pittsburgh. Besides the Ashtabula docks, the firm leased facilities at Cleveland and Erie from the Pennsylvania, and owned docks at the head of Lake Superior.²⁴

As has been noted, there was an element of necessity in the growth of the parent firm in the years Hanna was associated with it. All the more fortunate, then, when an opportunity such as is found in shipbuilding presented itself in 1886. John F. Pankhurst was a veteran shipbuilder who was having some differences at the time with his

²⁴Morrow interview with Leonard C. Hanna, Hanna papers; Marine Review 1:4 (March 27, 1890).

partners in the Globe Iron Works Company. He approached the Hannas with the suggestion that they might buy control with him. Brother Mel had been making a thorough study of ship construction and took the lead in accepting. He, Leonard and Mark joined Pankhurst and one of his earlier partners in a reorganization with Mel as president and Pankhurst as vice-president and general manager.²⁵

A sample of what they could do was not long in coming. Cambria, launched in February, 1887, set a new standard in ore freighters. She was 300 feet overall, boasted the first triple-expansion engines ever installed and set speed records wherever she went. Valued conservatively at \$160,000, she was all steel and iron--the second such departure from the conventional wooden bottoms to go into service. In October, one sister ship, Corsica, was launched, and the following June came another, Corona. The three ships were unequalled in capacity, valuation and speed, and all were made part of the Hanna ore fleet.²⁶ These were not the Globe Company's only products; other freighters were being built regularly on commission, and

²⁵ Morrow interviews with Andrew Squire and Leonard C. Hanna, Hanna papers; Richard C. Wright, "A History of Ship-building in Cleveland, Ohio," Inland Seas XIII:2 (Summer, 1957), 110, 111.

²⁶ Cleveland Plain Dealer, Jan. 31, July 15, Oct. 21, 1887; June 9, 14, 1888. Cambria's insurance valuation was \$185,000. See ibid., July 11, 1887.

the yards' output soon passed all competitors.²⁷ Firsts in technical innovation continued to add prestige--in 1890 the first steel masts on the lakes; in 1892 a patent steam steering engine, and others. In 1891 the company submitted low bids on two large light ships to be used by the government on the coasts. Contracts were made for entire fleets. Five ore carriers for Ferdinand Schlesinger of Milwaukee in 1890 and 1891 were followed by six passenger and freight ships for James J. Hill's Great Northern fleet. These last, begun in 1892, were estimated to cost \$600,000 each and featured quadruple-expansion engines. By this time, Globe had a subsidiary yard in Chicago and later it bought the rival Ship Owners' Drydock Company in Cleveland.²⁸

While it was Mel Hanna who took the lead in this area of the brothers' enterprises, both Leonard and Mark made contributions. Shipbuilding challenged and developed Mark's unusual mechanical aptitudes. Here he worked with his partners and with Pankhurst, as at the docks, coal and ore mines he attended eagerly to the workings of the hoisting and processing machinery. While never qualified as an

²⁷Ibid., June 19, 1890; Morrow interview with H. M. Hanna, Hanna papers; Marine Review, II:24 (Dec. 11, 1890).

²⁸Wright, "Shipbuilding in Cleveland," pp. 111, 114; Marine Review II:2 (July 10, 1890), II:24 (Dec. 11, 1890), VI:18 (Nov. 3, 1892), VI:24 (Dec. 15, 1892); Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 24, 1891; Morrow interview with H. M. Hanna, Hanna papers.

engineer himself, there is testimony to suggest that no small part of his success and enjoyment in his work came from his flair for the logic of machinery.²⁹

However successful the Globe Iron Works became, it was only one more means to the end of greater self-sufficiency. Those great steel ore carriers must be used to carry Hanna ore to join Hanna coal in Hanna furnaces. For years the brothers had controlled a wooden fleet known as the Cleveland Transportation Company. Then in September, 1887--just as Corsica was launched--Mel placed an advertisement in the papers offering to sell all but one of the fleet's eight ships. The one exception was the old schooner Leonard C. Hanna, built in 1872 and doubtless kept now for sentimental reasons. Apparently unaware of the distinction it had been given, the ship went astray in a fog less than a month later and had to be abandoned after running aground.³⁰ In place of the old wooden fleet there appeared the Mutual Transportation Company, a million dollar concern headed by Leonard Hanna and completely controlled by members of M. A. Hanna and Company. Competitors began to fear the dead hand of monopoly, if the Plain Dealer's marine editor spoke for them. He wrote of the danger at some length in one October

²⁹Morrow interviews with Andrew Squire and A. B. Hough, Hanna papers; Beer, Hanna, p. 130.

³⁰Cleveland Plain Dealer, Sept. 29, Oct. 10, 13, 17, 1887.

column, pointing out that the carrying capacity of the Mutual's three new ships would more than exceed that of the entire wooden fleet being offered for sale, "and the time which will be gained from the speed of these new boats cannot be estimated." The Hannas already had an ore business equal to that of any company on the lakes, he asserted, "and the ships are built by that monster concern, the Globe iron works company, in which they are also the controlling owners." What portended evil days ahead, however, was not high monopoly prices but the lower prices that would squeeze out the smaller vessel owners.³¹

It would be inaccurate to say that this road to wealth had no rough spots. One in particular stands out in the recollections of Hanna's friends. It has already been noted that the firm at one time owned the Chapin Mining Company, and that the Globe Iron Works built a fleet for Ferdinand Schlesinger of Milwaukee. Behind these transactions was a story that involved both. Schlesinger was an immigrant hardware dealer who had a yen to promote great mining enterprises. After one speculative failure in the Gogebic range, he persisted until in 1889 he made news with the purchase of \$2,000,000 worth of non-Bessemer ore properties in the Menominee range. He hoped to build a 200 mile railroad from the mines down to Escanaba, where he would

³¹Ibid., Oct. 3, 1887.

construct a new group of docks and ship out his own ore. He asked Mel Hanna if Globe would build him five large steel ships in return for a contract to carry his ore at a price favorable enough to pay for the ships within six years. Arrangements were made through a separate company, organized as the Menominee Transit Company, incorporated in December, 1889 at \$2,000,000 by the three Hanna brothers, an associate of Schlesinger, and Andrew Squire. Unfortunately, Schlesinger was unable to place his railroad bonds and soon went into receivership. The Hanna brothers had, as Mel put it, a "lively winter" bailing out their friend and customer from Milwaukee. They attracted help from the Vanderbilts, who took mortgage bonds on the ships at six per cent and joined Mark and a group known as the Twombly syndicate in refinancing the mines under Mark Hanna's management. The railroad and docks they sold to the Vanderbilts' Chicago and Northwestern Railroad. By the spring of 1892, Schlesinger was propped up again and ready to move ahead, though at a somewhat slower pace.³²

The Schlesinger story is only one of several that illustrates the teamwork with which the Hanna brothers operated. Yet each of them had his own career. Both Leonard

³²Morrow interview with H. M. Hanna, Hanna papers; Marine Review I:17 (June 26, 1890), III:11 (March 12, 1891), IV:1 (July 2, 1891); Cleveland Plain Dealer, Dec. 20, 29, 1889.

and Mel were shrewd and successful entrepreneurs in their own right.

Leonard differed from his oldest brother Mark in a number of ways. He was quieter, more of a student and more of a family man. When his education at a private academy in New York State had been completed in 1867, he had returned to Cleveland and a place in Mark's oil refinery. Moving from there to his uncle's business, he continued learning his way in the business world while he made a name for himself in his free time as an athlete. A picture of the first professional baseball team in Cleveland, The "Forest Citys," shows Leonard C. Hanna as second baseman. But the ball field was not the place then for a career that it has become since the coming of the Cleveland Indians. This second-baseman soon moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, and entered the coal business for himself. By 1875 he had returned to a position with Rhodes and Company and by 1879 had been made a partner. It was Leonard who took over the reins of M. A. Hanna and Company when Mark left business for politics. "Doc," as Mark called him, stayed out of politics. The brothers remained close, however, both as friends and neighbors. They built adjoining homes

on the lake west of the city and their children were constant playmates.³³

Howard Melville Hanna was his "rich brother," according to Mark. There was truth as well as compliment in this, for "Mel" probably became the wealthiest of the three. He had been the only one of them to spend much time in college--Union College in Schenectady, New York--and the only one to see much active service in the Civil War. His venture in oil refining has already been touched upon. He lost a career in that line by selling out to Rockefeller's Standard Oil, but he wisely kept his investment in the company. Later investments in the American Tobacco Company were equally profitable. His own career, however, was in shipbuilding and management. As much as any man in the business, he spoke for the vessel owners. Letters from him to be found in the papers of the political leaders of his

³³ Wallace H. Cathcart, Transactions of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Pub. 100 (Cleveland, 1919), pp. 22-24; Avery, Cleveland, III, 13; Rose, Cleveland, pp. 345, 355, 356; Ralph Perkins, Volume II--Perkinsiana (Cleveland, privately printed, 1937), pp. 2, 3, is good on the children and family life of the brothers. Morrow interview with Elmer Dover (Washington, D.C., 1905) mentions nickname "Doc."

day are almost invariably prompted by matters directly concerning his shipping business.³⁴

There is more to be said of Mark Hanna's career in the business world,³⁵ but this may be an appropriate place to look at him at home, in society and as a fledgling in local politics. After a few years with Rhodes and Company--by about 1878--he was definitely established as one of the wealthy young men of the city. Socially, his business success meant only that he could maintain the position that he had been accustomed to. Both he and his wife now became second generation successes in their own right, rather than mere legacies of their fathers. There was no need to adjust to a new social status. When Hanna conformed, he seemed to do so naturally rather than from any timid awareness of the social necessities. His own self-consciousness was of his self-confidence. If he could be arrogant and thick-skinned in occasional moods of truculence, his usual affability was lively with good humor. Nor did he save his fun for a select group of intimates. Indeed, he had no intimates; he had long lists of hearty friends and welcome

³⁴ Wallace H. Cathcart, Transactions of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Pub. 103 (Cleveland, 1921), pp. 17-19. Ralph and Muriel E. Hidy, Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911, A History of the Standard Oil Company (N. J.), (N. Y., 1955), p. 722, note 8, lists H. M. Hanna as one of the forty-one stockholders of that company in 1882.

³⁵ See Chapter III.

acquaintances. There was the story told by Lucius F. Mellen, an older friend of the family who had been a commissioner to the 1867 Paris Exposition. The elder Rhodes' had also been to Paris for a visit at the time, and on their return they invited Mr. and Mrs. Mellen to a dinner party at their home. Mark, meanwhile, had come across a copy of a press agent's pretended telegram that was being sent wholesale to Clevelanders in advance of the appearance in town of a glamorous young actress. It read, "I will meet you in Cleveland next Tuesday," and was purportedly signed by the actress. He found an envelope for it, addressed it to his father-in-law, and in the middle of the dinner party pulled it from his pocket. "I have a telegram for you, father. Forgot to give it to you when I came home." Daniel P. Rhodes fumbled for his glasses, tore open the envelope and read. Then he read it again, aloud. "Who in thunder is this woman? I don't know her!" he sputtered.

"What," the son-in-law pursued, "a telegram from a woman making an engagement to meet you? That's a pretty state of affairs!" Nobody else understood the telegram all evening, but Mark enjoyed making the most of it in repeated references.³⁶

³⁶Morrow interview with Lucius F. Mellen, Celveland, 1905, Hanna papers. On Hanna's sense of humor, J. F. Rhodes observed that he was "rather indiscriminating in his response to humorous fancies and, though some of his intimates found in him an amusing companion, it was mainly his whole-hearted audacity that made them laugh." See his McKinley and Roosevelt Admins., p. 8.

This was the boisterous boy in Hanna, the boy who still organized sleigh races down Euclid Avenue with his friends on cold winter nights, and who a few years later would star in an amateur production of "Mr. Pickwick and his Friends."³⁷

A bout with malaria when he was vacationing at Naragansett in the late Seventies probably marked as well as anything else the entry of middle age.³⁸ In any case, by roughly 1880, Mark Hanna had evolved into the citizen M. A. Hanna. He grew heavier, more sedentary, and still more prosperous. Now he was more than another partner in a leading local firm; he was, as will be detailed later, the publisher of a daily newspaper, the proprietor of the city's leading opera house, a large investor in a street railway, and a director of the Huron Road Hospital.

Then, too, he was the father of three growing children. When he saw them in the mornings, scampering among guests in the evenings, or playing through the house on Sundays he tried to do his part as a trainer and guardian of Dan and his young sisters. But the patience and imagination that brings father and children together were never his. Mrs. Hanna found him gruff and authoritarian with them; he found

³⁷The play was produced Dec. 30, 1873; sleigh races were fashionable through to the end of the century. See Rose, Cleveland, pp. 388, 434.

³⁸Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers.

her overindulgent.³⁹ Dan was a homely, friendly, fun-loving boy of no outstanding talents that have been remembered. Mabel, the older girl, was in some degree mentally retarded. While she was as sociable and amiable as any, she lacked the intelligence ever to grow into responsible adulthood.⁴⁰ It was Ruth, the youngest, who showed her father's temperament. Ruth was slim, bright-eyed and spunky. When she liked something as she liked horses, nothing stopped her from riding. When she disliked something as she disliked school, there was no forcing her to study. She was sent to expensive eastern academies and found them dull. At sixteen, her formal education was dismissed as hopeless and she was put to work briefly in a mine office in Michigan. From there she apparently returned to a life more of her own choosing. She entered Cleveland society and then Washington society, and meanwhile developed an intelligent interest in

³⁹What is said here of Hanna's relations with his children is the author's conclusion based on Ralph Perkins, Volume II--Perkinsiana, pp. 2, 3, author's conversations with Ralph Perkins, Cleveland, 1957, with Mrs. Garvin Tankersley, Bethesda, Md., 1959, and with Mrs. Malcolm McBride, Cleveland, 1959.

⁴⁰Mabel is not mentioned at all in other biographies of Hanna. The family seems to have been protective of her but by no means reticent to admit that she existed. In time, she was married, though there were no children. She died Dec. 29, 1932. The author's information came from six persons who knew her. See also Harper's Bazaar XXXIV: 690 (March 16, 1901), Cleveland Press, Feb. 25, 1960, and passing mention of her in Hanna to McKinley, June 10, 1899, William McKinley papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington.

her father's political career that would continue through her life and eventually bring her own election to Congress.⁴¹

Hospitality was a part of life at the Hanna house.

The mistress of the household never knew how many guests to expect for dinner from one night to the next. The dining room table would seat twenty-four and often did. As soon as she had learned to count that high, little Ruth was given the task in the evenings of watching at the front window for the dust of the approaching caravan and report to the cook the number of guests before they reached the door. The unexpected arrival of whole platoons of new faces was an almost daily event, but Mrs. Hanna eventually learned to bear it with a smile. She was a good manager and a gracious, attractive hostess, a lady of dignity and presence. The cooking was in the sure hands of Maggie, a transfer from the Rhodes household.⁴² It may be that for company the menu was more elaborate, but when the head of the house had his preferences he avoided fresh meats in favor of corned beef

⁴¹This sketch is based primarily on author's conversations with her daughter, Mrs. Garvin Tankersley, in 1959. See also Joseph B. Perkins, J. B.'s Final Bulletin (Cleveland, privately printed, 1938), p. 63, and her sketch in Who's Who in America under the name Ruth Hanna McCormick through 1932 and Ruth Hanna Simms between that date and her death in 1944.

⁴²Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers; author's conversations with Mrs. Garvin Tankersley, 1959, with Ralph Perkins, 1957, and with Mrs. Malcolm McBride, 1959; Julia B. Foraker, I Would Live It Again, p. 91.

hash, creamed chipped beef (alias "doonkey"), bacon, fried pickled pork or little deer-foot sausages. And equally plain vegetables--roasting ears, succotash, limas--with cornbread and a helping of "smear-case." Maggie's rice pudding, hot gingerbread or plain cookies were all he would ask for in desserts. There might be a bottle of claret on the table, but Hanna himself drank little of that or of coffee and tea. His preference among drinks between meals was plain vichy water, and in the summers he would take on great quantities of it. But his most noticeable excess was the fine Havana cigar. No one knew him long without seeing him light up; his cigar became a standard prop, pointing out from his face like a smoking cannon.⁴³

Downtown his habits were equally gregarious. He would have a late lunch at the Union Club and then, if the whim came on him, sit down to an afternoon of whist. His brother Leonard thought he was "whist-crazy," at times. He "used to . . . make fellows neglect their business to play; stay over for supper to play." On Saturdays he might keep on till midnight, though at other times he might suggest adjournment to his house for the evening sessions.⁴⁴ While

⁴³ McCook, The Senator, pp. 241, 242; Knight, Tippecanoe, p. 60.

⁴⁴ Morrow interviews with Leonard C. Hanna, Mrs. C. A. Hanna, A. B. Hough, and William J. McKinnie, all in Hanna papers. The last two mention that the game was played for small stakes.

he spent less time at the game in his middle years than later, his style was probably the same. A partner for many years remembered that

Mark was a very good player for a man who talked as incessantly as he did. He would discuss everything that was going on in town and was fond of getting any kind of a rig on some one. He would pounce on me pretty often. I am not much of a whist player and if I was clumsy or stupid and made a number of mistakes he would jump on me like a lion and act as if he meant to eat me up. He would say "that is the damndest play I ever saw," or something like that. Those who were acquainted with him paid no attention to what he said; they knew he was having fun in the way he liked.⁴⁵

This love of masculine company was an end in itself, however well it might serve other ends. Because he was in business and politics, most of the men he brought home were useful contacts in his work. But if he calculated his visitors' usefulness, it was as much for what he could learn from them as for what he could impress on them. People were his books. His dinner table was a kind of circulating library. Books of the printed variety Hanna found much less stimulating, perhaps because they offered no chance to talk back. Out of family pride he read his brother-in-law's histories as they appeared, but for the

⁴⁵Morrow interview with W. J. McKinnie, Hanna papers.

most part he confined himself to topical pieces in the magazines and newspapers. Above all, he read people.⁴⁶

Religion he approved of from a distance. He would agree to become a vestryman in his wife's church, for example, but never a member. Had he not been the son of a Quaker married to a Presbyterian and himself married to an Episcopalian, he might have been less diffident. As it was, he gave up on theology. If he got into heaven at all, he once said, it would have to be on his wife's coattails.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, he lived by the moralities he felt sure of, and hoped to be judged by his works.

As a doer of good works he proceeded in his own style, spontaneously and unpretentiously. He enjoyed doing a favor, but to be known as a philanthropist was never among his ambitions. There was no hesitating to await the results of a thorough investigation after the manner of a Rockefeller. He preferred to take a ragged newsboy under his wing, seeing him through college and into the Methodist ministry. The streets were full of ragged newsboys, but

⁴⁶On his reading, see Morrow interviews with Elmer Dover and A. B. Hough, both in Hanna papers; Beer, Hanna, pp. 46, 251; Rhodes, McKinley and Roosevelt Admins., pp. 2, 5, 7.

⁴⁷Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers. See also same with Leonard C. Hanna, ibid., and Hanna to John Sherman, Jan. 6, 1893, John Sherman papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington.

this one delivered his own paper at the office.⁴⁸ Occasions like this caused him some trouble to dissemble a sentimental streak that embarrassed. Displays of kindness made him nervous. They invited the fuss and flattery--"taffy" he called it--that only the full-blown hypocrite could enjoy. A shield of brusqueness served to keep the sycophants away and to discourage appeals to sentiment. When, for example, two Sisters of Charity called at his office one rainy day to ask for a contribution toward the purchase of a horse, he curtly told them that he had exhausted his charity fund for that month and they would have to try another time. When they were beyond the door, he summoned his coachman. He was to take them back to their convent. When he arrived he would leave the horse with them as a present.⁴⁹

Inevitably, Mark Hanna is remembered for his politics. Because he became so closely identified with the political interests of the business community in later years, it is sometimes assumed that his interest in the Republican Party developed only as a sideline of his business--that it

⁴⁸Morrow interview with Rev. John S. Rutledge, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers.

⁴⁹Morrow interview with Frank M. Chandler, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers.

became an extension of his business.⁵⁰ In fact, his life in business and politics ran parallel to one another from the start. He was the son of a Republican merchant and was raised in the party as much as in the business. Chance might equally well have made him a Democrat, as his father-in-law and other prominent Clevelanders were. Neither party was without its support in the business community.⁵¹

At no time was Hanna merely passive in his politics. It will be recalled that he was active in the Union Young Men's Club for Lincoln as early as 1863. In 1869 he was elected to a term on the city Board of Education.⁵² But as a businessman it was not always easy to abide the ways of a party organization run largely by professionals who lacked the merchant's appreciation of efficiency and economy in their affairs. In common with many of his kind, Hanna was

⁵⁰See e.g., Philip D. Jordan, Ohio Comes of Age, Vol. 5 of Carl Whittke, ed., The History of the State of Ohio (Columbus, 1943), p. 208; Harry Thurston Peck, Twenty Years of the Republic (N. Y., 1905), p. 471; William Allen White, Masks in a Pageant (N. Y., 1928), pp. 200, 201.

⁵¹William J. McKinnie, cited above as a frequent whist partner of Hanna at the Union Club, was a coal merchant and active Democrat throughout his life, even serving a term as Cleveland Collector of Customs. The Marine Review V:24 (June 9, 1892) singled out three congressmen for commendation as loyal supporters of lake marine interests. Two of these, Tom L. Johnson and Calvin Brice, were Democrats.

⁵²Croly, Hanna, p. 112.

unwilling to agree that skill in the demagogic games of Waving the Bloody Shirt or Twisting the Lion's Tail qualified men for office. Government was serious business, and if the better men--he would think of Sherman, Hayes and Garfield--were to lead the party they must be assured the active support of the "better element," in the community. Too much of this "better element," including the businessmen especially, had come to regard politics as a racket operated by worthless but dangerous men from whom they must buy protection. To the degree that he set himself against this notion of government as a racket, Hanna was not only a useful citizen, but a reformer as well. Not a lonely reformer--he never tried on the hairshirt of the prophet. He simply allied himself with the local followers of what for a while was called the Liberal Republican movement nationally. Whether he voted for Horace Greeley for President in 1872 is unknown and of little importance, for the issues were sufficiently confused during the campaign that he may well have voted for Grant and still have protested the power of the local rings.⁵³ What is known is that in 1873 he joined a group of like-minded businessmen to bolt the party's mayoralty nomination and support instead the

⁵³On the Liberal Republican Movement and the confusions of 1872 see Earle D. Ross, The Liberal Republican Movement (N. Y., 1919), esp. pp. 190, 191, and Malcolm Moos, The Republicans. A History of Their Party (N. Y., 1956), pp. 138-141.

successful Democrat Charles A. Otis, a steel magnate innocent of any strong party ties.⁵⁴ Only one other symptom of Hanna's "mugwumpery" appears on the record, and that dates from nine years later. His brother-in-law, James Ford Rhodes, wrote that Hanna had been attracted to the Civil Service Reform movement to such an extent that in early 1882 he had hopes of being elected chairman of the local executive committee. But when the crucial meeting of the group was over, he found he had been denied even membership on the committee. This was not the kind of experience he was accustomed to taking graciously. Rhodes was probably correct in concluding that "from that night, Hanna must have argued, there is a ring of reformers as well as a ring of politicians. I think the politicians will suit me better."⁵⁵

In any case, he clearly never considered himself seriously as anything but a Republican. Friends who survived him remembered him as an active worker in his ward in the Seventies. He supported Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876 with

⁵⁴Morrow interview with Andrew J. Squire, Hanna papers; Croly, Hanna, p. 112. Rhodes, McKinley and Roosevelt Admins., p. 2, say also that earlier, in fact "before he was thirty-two", he made an informal alliance with an enterprising young man of Cleveland to break up the Republican machine that dominated city politics." As this would have been before Sept., 1869, it would have been a tall order for two young men, and it is not surprising that news of the project failed to reach the daily press.

⁵⁵Rhodes, McKinley and Roosevelt Admins., pp. 3, 4.

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enthusiasm, though since he made no speeches his work was largely ignored by the press. He appeared in the local limelight only once in that campaign, when he presided at a ninth ward rally in September. Soon after Hayes' inaugural, Hanna seems to have paid the President a visit in Washington. One Linus Austin gave a letter of introduction for Hanna and then wrote Hayes separately that he had done so reluctantly but that Mr. Hanna seemed to want "nothing except perhaps to air his wisdom." Unfortunately, nothing is recorded of the interview itself. It was probably in the late Seventies that he joined the Tippecanoe Club, a long established institution that occasionally aspired unsuccessfully to make itself a local Tammany Society for Republicans. In the presidential campaign of 1880, Hanna was one of the guiding spirits in the organization of a novel businessmen's committee for Garfield, and at about the same time was elected to membership on the state party's finance committee.⁵⁶

⁵⁶Morrow interview with Andrew J. Squire, Hanna papers; Croly, Hanna, p. 112; Cleveland Leader, Sept. 4, 1876; Linus Austin to Rutherford B. Hayes, June 29, 1877, Hayes papers, Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio. There is some chance that Austin was referring to another Hanna, for the first name is omitted in his reference. James A. Garfield, then a congressman, noted in his diary for Jan. 1, 1878, that he took Hanna and Lawrence Barrett to the White House to introduce them to Hayes. (Diary transcriptions in possession of Harry J. Brown, East Lansing, Michigan, from Garfield papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington.)

Little can be learned of the Hanna-Garfield relationship. They saw one another socially, and the future president dined once at the Hanna table in 1878. They were friendly, as party leader and loyal constituent, but not friends. The most frequently retold story of how their paths crossed is one that must be unlearned. This is the "We will go to Mentor" story:

Garfield's nomination in 1880 had left the party winged by Grant's friends disconsolate and bitter. Their disaffection had become so public that it became urgent to disavow it by some show of unity. But even when a great rally was scheduled in late September for Warren, Ohio, in Garfield's part of the state, the candidate was excluded from participation. Senators Cameron of Pennsylvania and Conkling of New York were there, and ex-President Grant came with Senator Logan from Illinois. All were committed to several appearances in Ohio, but none was including the nominee himself in his itinerary. Before the Warren meeting, the two guests from Illinois stopped over in Cleveland, and apparently Hanna was delegated by the local politicians to take charge of transportation. The schedule was not a firm one. Conkling had to return for a speech in Cleveland the day following the Warren meeting. Grant told the press he was inclined to return directly to his home in Illinois.⁵⁷ Hanna, the story continues, sought for a way to bring

⁵⁷Cleveland Herald, Sept. 28, 1880.

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Grant and Conkling to Mentor to pay their respects to Garfield. Thus when the Warren meeting was over and the guests were being entertained at lunch by a local politician, Hanna appeared in the dining room. Loudly enough to be heard by the others, he addressed Grant: "General, it has been arranged that we return to Cleveland by way of Mentor, and if you propose to stop and see General Garfield, we shall have to start in a very short time." There followed a tense silence while all but Hanna stole a glance at the gathering scowl on Conkling's face. Then Grant spoke: "We will go to Mentor." So it was done. Garfield received his callers and the newsmen could dispatch their stories of the great shaking of hands.⁵⁸

The first correction called for here has to do with Garfield's "exclusion." He had been invited, but declined on the grounds that his acceptance would revoke his decision to do no stump-speaking during the campaign. He preferred the tradition of the dignified front-porch candidacy. Then too, he explained, Senator Conkling was to be the party's guest in the state and should not be put in competition with another star attraction.

⁵⁸Based on Croly, Hanna, p. 117, citing James H. Kennedy, who was reporting the Warren meeting for the Herald. The story as told, however, was not used in that paper. Beer, Hanna, pp. 97-98, claims to follow Croly and does so except for misnaming Warren as Warsaw. He also refers to "Charles Foster's version" (p. 303). Donald Barr Chidsey, The Gentleman From New York: A Life of Roscoe Conkling (New Haven, Conn., 1935) also uses the story (pp. 309-310), but with caution.

March 10, 1964

Dear Mr. [illegible]

Thank you for your letter of March 9, 1964.

I am sorry that I cannot give you a more definite answer at this time.

I will be sure to let you know as soon as I have more information.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Yours very truly,

[illegible signature]

[illegible title]

[illegible address line 1]

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[illegible address line 3]

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Second, it appears that Grant's decision to go to Mentor was not made in the dining room as lunch ended, for Garfield's diary shows that he received a telegram at 11 a.m. informing him of Grant's forthcoming visit. Later, he recorded, notice came that the ex-President would arrive with a larger party. Thus Hanna's words become the report of a mission accomplished as instructed and a reminder of why it was important to watch the time. It is entirely possible that Conkling had not heard of Grant's decision before Hanna came in. That would account for his scowl--Conkling scowled easily--and the second telegram to Garfield.⁵⁹

It was a good story, and not an incredible one at the time. But Hanna's debut as a manager of presidential futures had no such early or dramatic opening. He would learn the business, but slowly and thoroughly, not in a flash of atavistic genius.

Hanna's services were not of the kind that drew attention in those years. He ran for no more offices--that stint with the Board of Education seems to have been an unhappy one.⁶⁰ He got out the vote in his ward on election day, collected contributions locally, and occasionally played host to speakers at his Opera House. As a merchant he was a man of some substance; as a politician he was nobody in particular.

⁵⁹Garfield diary, Sept. 25, 28, 1880, Garfield papers (Brown transcripts); Garfield to Harmon Austin, Sept. 23, 1880, *ibid.*

⁶⁰Croly, *Hanna*, p. 112, finds that Hanna was present at little more than half of the meetings.

CHAPTER III

WORKS AND WORKERS

If Mark Hanna's marriage to Gussie Rhodes brought him eventually into the coal and iron business, it also put the challenge of an entirely different enterprise before him. Probably Mark had thought little of it when he learned that his father-in-law was president of the West Side Street Railroad Company. It was a primitive little horse-car service that plied up and down the slopes of the river valley between the Public Square and the west side. His awareness of its existence increased as he moved to a house located on its tracks and had to ride to work in its decrepit cars every morning. Then in 1876 his wife inherited 500 shares in the company. Whether out of embarrassed pride or ambition, Hanna bought a few shares for himself and in 1879 joined the board of directors. For three more years he studied the business in his spare time, watching and evaluating the management of Elias Simms, the elderly sea-captain and dredging contractor who held controlling interest.¹

¹See note by J. B. Morrow based on minute book of West Side Street Railway Co. in Morrow interview with George G. Mulhern, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers; Tom L. Johnson, My Story (N. Y., 1911), pp. 17, 18.

By 1882 he decided the time had come either to sell out or buy control himself. Simms had done nothing to improve the system and now had been outmaneuvered in a city council fight by a young promoter from Indianapolis named Tom L. Johnson. Hanna gave Simms a price per share at which he would either buy his interest or sell his own. Simms grudgingly chose to sell.²

Thus began a twenty-year battle of wits and wallets between two of the most powerful personalities that ever came to Cleveland. Johnson was a hulking big, handsome Kentucky boy from a down-at-the-heels but genteel southern family. He had had less formal schooling than Hanna, and was no more inclined to stay up reading books to compensate for it than was Hanna. The first thirty years of his life he threw his tremendous energy into the business of making a fortune. Working for the DuPont family-owned Louisville street railway company, he attracted the attention of his employers with his invention of the first coin fare box. With their support and a rapidly increasing capital stake of his own, he went to Indianapolis to reorganize and expand a street railway company there. Without giving up these interests, he moved on to Cleveland and Detroit looking for new fields to conquer. Meanwhile he was also

²Johnson, My Story, p. 22; Croly, Hanna, p. 76.

active in steel, helping to establish mills at Johnstown, Pennsylvania and Lorain, Ohio. Consistently he chose enterprises that were protected by favorable laws--the tariff-shielded steel industry and the natural monopoly of the street railways safeguarded by exclusive franchises. Yet when Johnson entered politics seriously in the late Eighties he did so as a Democratic free-trader and a radical advocate of municipal reforms that included public ownership of utilities.³

These apparently self-accusing political views were based on the Single Tax theories of Henry George. It was not long after Hanna took over the Simms interest in the West Side company that Johnson allowed himself to be talked into reading one of George's books--Social Problems--during a dull train trip. This, followed by a large helping of Progress and Poverty, and then a meeting with the author himself, converted Johnson for life. At George's suggestion, he turned to politics, and was elected to Congress as a Democrat from Cleveland in 1890 and 1892. In 1901 he began the first of four terms as mayor of Cleveland. It was during his reign that the city was described by Lincoln Steffens

³Unless otherwise noted, material on Johnson is from sketch in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Dictionary of American Biography (20 vols., N. Y., 1928-1944); from Brand Whitlock, Forty Years of It (N. Y., 1925 ed.), pp. 151-157 et passim, and Johnson, My Story, passim.

as the best governed city in America. Johnson, with another renegade businessman in Toledo, Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones, gathered together and trained a number of disciples--Newton D. Baker, Brand Whitlock, Frederick D. Howe and Peter Witt were the best known of these. Johnson as mayor was a reformer of bosses and a boss of reformers. He admitted to being in control of his political machine, insisting only that the public controlled him. There was nothing of the hairshirt fanatic about him despite his conversion to a demanding social faith. He kept his sense of humor and continued to live like the successful man of business he was. His home on Euclid Avenue after 1899 was a huge castellated stone mansion that stood toe-to-toe with the mansions of his nabob neighbors--the Mathers, Hoyts, Chisholms, Harknesses and others.

These two men kept up their running war for so many years that it would not be surprising had they developed a hearty personal bitterness toward one another. Apparently they never did. Johnson later said that he always "had perfect confidence in Mr. Hanna's keeping his word in any transaction and he never disappointed" him.⁴ Hanna, who was verbally on the defensive much of the time, would call Johnson a "socialist, nihilist and anarchist," on occasion,

⁴Johnson, My Story, p. 21.

but never descended into personal abuse. Doubtless he honestly believed Johnson was all of these in some way, though he could hardly have thought about the matter seriously for long without realizing that such a combination of creeds is impossible. At any rate, Johnson was clearly some kind of a radical and Hanna paid him the compliment of taking him seriously. He "was never," Johnson said later, "one of those who professed to believe that I did not mean to do what I said I would do."⁵

In their first encounter, Hanna lost on what he must have considered a foul if he ever learned of it. Johnson was seeking a franchise to allow him to build lines across the east side connecting with his Pearl Street and Jennings Avenue lines on the west side. He proposed to offer a single fare of three cents across the entire system. Hanna and the owners of the other lines fought Johnson in the city council on the grounds that it was economically impossible to operate or compete with such a plan. After all the arguments had been rehearsed over the council table for months, Johnson discovered to his surprise that two councilmen who always before had voted against him were beginning to come over to his side. Seeking an explanation, he paid a visit to the home of Elias Simms. Johnson recalled the interview in detail:

⁵Ibid., p. 115.

"Come in, Johnson, come in," he said, showing no signs of surprise or any other emotion at the sight of me.

He gave me a chair near the stove, and taking another, sat down to listen to what I had to say. I came to the object of my visit at once, asking him about Crowley and Smith. He was impassive, non-committal, almost silent for a long time, but finally in disjointed sentences I got the following from him:

"Your're a smart young feller, Johnson. Beat me, didn't ye? Yes, ye beat me. Folks might say I ain't very smart. Everybody knows Hanna's smart, though. Takes more'n a fool to beat Hanna. If you beat Hanna, nobody'll say that any damn fool could beat Simms. Ye beat me; I want ye to beat Hanna."⁶

With these votes so cordially presented to him, Johnson won the battle that he would look back upon as the biggest of his street railway career. His new venture did produce a profit and the young promoter was soon ready for another fight. For his part, Hanna was in a mood to conciliate their differences in a merger. Johnson refused to consider it. Their first exchange on the question had been by telegraph, but when they next met in Cleveland, Hanna asked why he had refused. He thought they would make a good team. "My answer," Johnson said, "was that we were too much alike; that as associates it would be a question of time, and a short time only, until one of us would 'crowd the other clear off the bench;' that we would make good opponents, not good partners." And, he noted, he never had reason to modify that opinion.⁷

⁶Ibid., pp. 22, 23.

⁷Ibid., p. 25.

Throughout the decade after 1882 Hanna poured money into his street railway business in the faith that it was his "savings bank." George G. Mulhern, an experienced hand from the old West Side company, was given wide superintending powers early and remained with Hanna throughout. In 1885 the Hanna lines were consolidated into a \$2,000,000 company that served the city from east to west. In 1889, the Cleveland City Cable Railway Company was formed to run cars of Payne, Superior and St. Clair. These noisy and cumbersome vehicles gripped an underground cable that pulled them along at speeds up to twelve miles per hour. After two years, it had to be admitted that electricity was better.⁸ Conversion of these and other lines brought the street railways into the category of big business by any local standards. A growing and spreading population added revenues to justify the mounting capital requirements and keep all but the cable car stocks at a premium price.⁹ The final consolidations under Hanna and Johnson came in 1893. Johnson's new Cleveland Electric Railway Company was nicknamed the "Big Con," and covered 100 miles of track. Hanna's new

⁸Morrow interview with George G. Mulhern, Hanna papers; Rose, Cleveland, pp. 494, 497.

⁹Not atypical was the stock report in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 9, 1890, which showed Cable common bid at 20, preferred at 91, and Woodland Ave. & West Side common at 160. All were par 100 stocks. Two of Johnson's companies were also reported bid for: E. Cleveland (par 50) at 175, and Broadway & Newburgh at 200.

company, the "Little Con," was the Cleveland City Railway Company, with sixty-three miles of track. It was composed of the Woodland Avenue and West Side and the Cleveland City Cable companies, with additions in 1893 and later on Erie, South Woodward, West Madison and Willson.¹⁰

Johnson sold his financial interest in the Big Con soon after its formation.¹¹ His personal and political interest in local transportation continued unabated. In fact it was after the turn of the century, during his mayoralty, that Johnson's force in this direction was greatest. He became more than ever then the local nemesis of Mark Hanna.

For his part, Hanna stayed with the new Little Con as its president, retiring to the role of noncombatant major stockholder only in 1903, when the two companies merged into what was called the "Con-con." At the time of his death these shares were valued at only 75, but Hanna's holdings still came to almost \$1,200,000.¹²

¹⁰Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Extension of Street Railway Franchises, Report of Special Committee, Feb. 21, 1901 (Cleveland, 1901), Exhibit K. The trackage given exceeds the street mileage, as most of it was double track.

¹¹Johnson, My Story, p. 88.

¹²Rose, Cleveland, p. 637; Morrow interview with George G. Mulhern, Hanna papers; Arthur Young & Co., comp., "Marcus A. Hanna; Report Covering Transactions of the Executors with the Estate of the Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick Trust, for Period from February 15, 1904 . . ." (typed MS.), copy in Ohio Historical Society, Columbus. Hereafter cited as Hanna Estate Report.

Each man's attitude toward his business affairs reflected his social and economic views as a politician. Johnson was a dualist: he must take either the side of Privilege or the side of the People. Hanna was a monist, as it were: an underlying bond of mutual interest united seemingly opposing groups; no conflicts were inherent in the nature of society; conflicts were the result of men's drive for individual power or simply of their ignorances and fears. When Hanna and Johnson locked horns as rival party leaders in the late Nineties and after, Hanna's street railway connections seemed even to his friends to weaken his political standing.¹³ But he held on, indifferent to such considerations. To withdraw would have been to admit a long-standing conflict of interest and to imply a confession that he was unable to free his notions of the public good from his notions of his private interests. And finally, it would in a sense ruin his amateur standing in politics. He still had no desire to become the professional, full-time public man. He was a businessman in politics, and proud of it. All businessmen should be in politics.

On his way to lunch with friends one day in early 1879, Hanna bought the Euclid Avenue Opera House. It happened

¹³See Morrow interview with James R. Garfield, Hanna papers.

almost that quickly. As he later told the story, he and his friends were walking past the huge \$200,000 building at Euclid and Sheriff and heard a commotion inside. One of the friends remarked that it was being auctioned off that day. They stopped in to watch the proceedings. When the auctioneer seemed to be unable to find a bid higher than \$40,000 for the elegant, four-year old structure, Hanna impulsively called out a small raise. From that moment on he was the sole owner of the Euclid Avenue Opera House.¹⁴

As a business proposition there was little hope in this acquisition, Hanna's only real estate investment. Its previous manager had been the popular actor John Ellsler. He had been responsible for building it, but was unable to keep his company from sliding into insolvency and finally bankruptcy. Hanna's first manager was not much more successful in his four years at the helm. This was cousin L. G. Hanna. Until Hanna discovered it, he even departed from his orders to show only first-class dramatic productions and began booking wrestling shows. The best managed theater in town was run by a Jewish ex-magician named Augustus F. Hartz. When Hartz' theater burned in 1884, Hanna quickly offered him a lease on the Opera House. From that year until after Hanna's death, Gus Hartz maintained a

¹⁴Morrow interviews with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Leonard C. Hanna, and with Augustus F. Hartz, Cleveland, 1905, all in Hanna papers.

showcase for the best in legitimate theater that came to the Midwest. One season was lost after the building burned in the fall of 1892, but a new structure was soon ready and Richard Mansfield was on hand to open it with his sensational Beau Brummel. In the ensuing years the investment provided a business-like return and at Hanna's death was appraised at \$100,000.¹⁵

Probably he would have held on to the theater with or without a profitable return. It brought other rewards. There was the pleasure and prestige--especially while he was still a young man just becoming known--of being pointed out as the owner up there in his private box with his distinguished guest the governor or the senator. There was the pleasure of having entrée to the travelling companies of players themselves. Edwin Booth, Joseph Jefferson, Henry Irving and others would be his guests at dinner, his visitors from a livelier and fresher world. As his acquaintance grew, so did his affections. Daughter Ruth was given her name by Edwin Booth. Lawrence Barrett was a frequent house-guest and constant friend. There is evidence that Hanna contributed substantially to Barrett's business success. He introduced him almost forcibly to the fashionable Cleveland audience by distributing tickets to friends in

¹⁵Morrow interview with A. F. Hartz, Hanna papers; Orth, Cleveland, p. 442; Hanna Estate Report.

wholesale lots for the second night of a Barrett Production that had opened poorly. He loaned him money and helped to guide his investments. A few surviving letters, friendly and rambling accounts of his travels in Europe, testify to the ease of understanding between the artist and the merchant.¹⁶

Publishing a good daily newspaper can be profitable or not as a financial investment. It is almost certain to offer prestige and some power within the area of its circulation. Hanna's adventure into publishing brought him something of the last two rewards, although alone among his business undertakings it proved a financial failure.

The Cleveland Herald in 1880 was the oldest surviving newspaper in the city and it was having circulation trouble. Its editor and publisher at the time, Richard C. Parsons, was tiring of the struggle against the popular morning Leader. A syndicate of businessmen agreed to attempt a cure. Hanna was among them, but with him was a group of Cleveland's wealthiest men: Henry Chisholm, Jephtha H. Wade, John D. Rockefeller, Henry M. Flagler, Amasa Stone, Sylvester T. Everett, Dan P. Eells and Elias Simms. These men were

¹⁶Morrow interview with A. B. Hough, A. F. Hartz, and Mrs. C. A. Hanna, all in Hanna papers; Hanna to Foraker, Nov. 10, 1886, Foraker-Hanna Corresp., p. 81 ("Lawrence Barrett will be here Thanksgiving week and stay at my house. I would be delighted to have you and your wife come up. . . ."); Barrett to Hanna, Dec. 6, 1888, and Feb. 15, 1890, both in Hanna papers. Barrett had shown an early flair for business management, however: see Charles E. Kennedy, Fifty Years of Cleveland (Cleveland, 1925), pp. 93, 94.

well able to lose money; it was only a question of how long they would be willing. Only Hanna was willing to take an active role in the management. He was named publisher.¹⁷

This renewal of the struggle brought five years of intense journalistic warfare with the more profitable Leader under Edwin Cowles. Cowles was a Republican even as his rivals were. He was an older man whose career had begun among the abolitionists. Now his favorite cause was anti-Catholic nativism. But whatever his quirks, he published a lively newspaper. When he found some of his best staff men enticed away by better salaries on the Herald, his editorial counterattacks grew even livelier. Despite the Herald's financial backing, it fought an unequal battle. Cowles was a far more skilled newspaperman than Hanna and he gave his full energies to the work. Hanna was outgeneralled.¹⁸

March 14, 1885, saw the final issue of the Herald. Its assets were divided between the Leader, taking the name, goodwill and circulation lists; and the Plain Dealer, which bought the plant and fixtures. According to one story, the total valuation was \$100,000. Probably the Plain Dealer

¹⁷A. H. Shaw, The Plain Dealer: One Hundred Years in Cleveland (N. Y., 1942), p. 240.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 241; Kennedy, Fifty Years of Cleveland, pp. 6-10. Kennedy had been advertising manager for the Herald under Hanna.

profited the most from this arrangement, for it immediately used the Herald plant to issue a new morning edition of its own. So ended Mark Hanna's only unsuccessful business investment. He had tried to compete in the newspaper business with a newspaperman.¹⁹

Banking came more naturally. Cleveland's rapid growth required money. The businessman who had to borrow frequently did well to take a share in the banks he borrowed from, for competition could be keen and credit at times expensive. Hanna learned something about banks as a customer and in 1884 applied what he had learned by taking a leading part in organizing a new institution, the Union National Bank. He began as president, a convenience that made it unnecessary for him to work up in the ranks. For the first few years he devoted a good share of his time to the enterprise, but thereafter, although he remained in office, he delegated the active management to others. Hanna's banking investment as of 1886, when a record is available for comparison, was exceeded by only two other Clevelanders--Jeptha H. Wade, Jr., who was by far the most heavily involved, and Charles A. Otis, son of the pioneer steel maker.²⁰

¹⁹Shaw, Plain Dealer, pp. 241, 242.

²⁰Cleveland Herald, June 7, 1884; Morrow interview with E. H. Bourne, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers; Cleveland Leader, Dec. 9, 1886.

Vice-president was Sylvester T. Everett, an old friend with long experience in finance. Everett was a questionable asset to the bank in some respects. His career had been and would again be clouded over by alleged lapses from honesty. To James R. Garfield, in reminiscing about Hanna's unwillingness to believe anything evil of his friends, "Ves" Everett was an example. He and others who were "really scoundrels," according to Garfield, were always given a second chance. "I stand by my friends whether they deserve it or not," another friend quoted him saying.²¹

Both Hanna and Everett worked strenuously at the preliminaries of organizing the new bank. It was a delicate matter, for it involved choosing the necessary allies and the inevitable enemies with care. It is to their credit that they were able to find most of their stockholders among

²¹Morrow interview with Charles F. Leach, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers; see also his interview with James R. Garfield; and Joseph Perkins to Sherman, Feb. 9, 1884, and Everett to Sherman, Feb. 26, 1884, both in John Sherman papers. When Everett pocketed some party funds and double-crossed him in politics in 1899, Hanna finally dropped him. See Hanna to McKinley, June 5, 1899, McKinley papers. On Everett's death, another politician wrote privately, "S. T. Everett was buried yesterday--a varied career and one best to envelope with the 'mantle of charity.'" George A. Myers to James Ford Rhodes, Jan. 17, 1922, quoted in John A. Garraty, ed., The Barber and the Historian, The Correspondence of George A. Myers and James Ford Rhodes, 1910-1923 (Columbus, 1956), p. 138. Myers, whose name will reappear, was for many years Hanna's barber, proprietor of his own barber shop in the Hollenden Hotel, Cleveland, and, though by choice never an officeholder, a power in the Negro Republican community in Cleveland.

old business associates and family friends who probably had no prior interest in financial companies. Hanna himself owned one-tenth of the 10,000 shares issued. Other substantial shareholders were Jonathan F. and H. P. Card, Hanna's brothers-in-law Robert R. and James F. Rhodes, W. C. Scofield, J. C. Weideman, Everett, and the bank's cashier (and president succeeding Hanna), E. H. Bourne.²² Shares could be bought at below par for the first few years, but their value increased steadily. By March, 1887, Union National's capital was worth \$112 per share and its deposits were reported to be over \$1,600,000. By mid-1890, shares were being bid at \$133 and at the time of Hanna's death his shares were worth \$170 each.²³

Hanna's business success depended in part upon his capacity for managing money, but equally important was his capacity for managing men. Thousands of workers were ultimately responsible to him as their employer. How well he handled this role not only affected his business career but influenced crucially his political life. The degree to which he might dare to bring his name before the public as a party leader--especially as a senatorial candidate--was positively related to the record he made in dealing with

²²Cleveland Leader, Dec. 9, 1886.

²³Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 10, 1887; June 22, 1890; Hanna Estate Report.

his labor force. Men whose names were linked with the great labor upheavals of the time--the Pullmans, Fricks and Baers--might aid the party in a limited way covertly but any open display of political ambition on their part would be the kiss of death on election day. It should be noted that what to twentieth-century thinking is an extreme conservatism in the Republican Party of that period did not type it as the conservative party. In the years of Grover Cleveland's ascendancy the Democratic Party was far more conservative in its attitude toward business than it later became. Ohio Democratic leaders probably included as many lawyers and businessmen as their opponents. Democratic senator Henry B. Payne (1885-1891) was a Standard Oil millionaire, and his successor from the same party, Calvin S. Brice (1891-1897), was a conspicuously wealthy railroad promoter. Neither party was assured of the labor vote and neither could afford to alienate it entirely.

Hanna dealt with, among others, coal miners, long-shoremen and seamen--tough, hard-fisted men who worked hard, drank hard and shared the high risks of dangerous callings. They lived with the violence of nature and the foreboding uncertainties of heavy machinery. Their leaders were typically men who reflected their admiration for physical stamina and bravery as well as their respect for the verbal

talents most of them felt lacking in themselves. Dealing with such men and leaders required a firm, even hand.

Hanna's experience came piecemeal over a span of years. It can only be summarized here. In general, his failures came early and were covered by a remarkable history of success built on their lessons.

When the Depression of 1873-1877 came to the coal industry it demoralized what was already a highly competitive business. Prices, wages and production seemed to melt away uncontrollably. Concerted action to reverse the trend was first undertaken not by the operators but by the miners. John Siney, a veteran of the once-successful anthracite miners union in Pennsylvania, was elected president of the new National Miners Association with headquarters in Cleveland. He and a fellow officer, John James, visited the offices of every coal operator with headquarters in that city, looking for agreement on a proposal for the arbitration of future labor disputes. Only Hanna was willing to try it.²⁴ Later the same year the agreement signed was given its test in a dispute over tonnage rates in the Tuscarawas Valley. The area of disagreement lay between ninety and seventy cents per ton. The arbitrator awarded seventy-one cents.²⁵

²⁴Andrew Roy, History of the Coal Miners of the United States (Indianapolis [1907]), pp. 162-164.

²⁵Ibid., p. 165.

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Although the leaders were able to win reluctant acceptance of the award, other issues arose one after another. To follow them in detail would be tedious. Their consequence was a bitter strike in the early spring of 1876. Rhodes and Company sought to reopen two of its mines with strike-breakers brought down from Cleveland. Violence at one mine near Massillon that almost cost manager George Warmington his life was followed by the arrival of militia guards and scattered outbreaks of arson. When it was over, and the wage reduction that had caused it was made effective, indictments were brought against twenty-three miners in the county court at Canton.²⁶ Their defense was volunteered by the county's outstanding young lawyer, William McKinley. His able presentation of their case brought acquittal for all but one, who was sentenced to three years in prison. The popularity this case brought him in heavily industrialized Stark County doubtless aided in McKinley's first nomination and election to Congress later the same year. Hanna's observation of McKinley in action probably increased his respect for him rather than otherwise, for there is no reason to believe that he was seeking vengeance on the accused men. In fact, the story that the two first met at this trial may

²⁶Ibid., pp. 168-173. Roy was a state mining inspector at the time and had first-hand knowledge of the strike: see Stark County Democrat, May 4, 1876; for a contemporary account of the strike see same paper, April 20, 1876.

have originated in comments made later by Hanna that this was the first time he took more than passing notice of the Canton lawyer. This may well have been his introduction to the "real" McKinley, but it does not appear to have been their first meeting.²⁷

There were other labor disturbances in the mines, but none to compare with the strike of 1876. The Hocking Valley in 1884 and 1885 saw strikes and some violence. In general, however, Ohio was ahead of competing states in developing unionism, operators' combines and protective legislation for miners. Gradually, the industry was stabilized the only way it could be--by labor agreements extending throughout the soft coal regions. Hanna's company could never make a record entirely distinct from its competitors,

²⁷ Charles S. Olcott, The Life of William McKinley (2 vols., Boston, 1916), I, 79, 80; Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers. Both say this was Hanna's first meeting with McKinley. But see Croly, Hanna, p. 94; McKinley to Hanna, Nov. 12, 1896, Hanna papers (referring to their "friendship through more than twenty years"); and Hanna to R. W. Taylor, Jan. 27, 1903, Rice Collection, book 3, Ohio Historical Society: "Replying to your inquiry in regard to the time I first met President McKinley--I cannot remember the exact date, but it was sometime in the year 1871. I became intimate with him soon after he entered Congress and our friendship ripened with each succeeding year during his life."

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but from the available testimony it did seem to have stayed in the vanguard of progress.²⁸

Labor policy on the docks and vessels of M. A. Hanna and Company was similarly keyed to the policies of other firms, and for the same reasons of competition. Wage rates on the lakes were determined as early as 1878 by local branches of the seamen's union. They announced changes with little or no notice according to the freight rates prevailing at the time.²⁹ Vessel owners, like mine operators, were slower to present a common front than their employees. A Cleveland group was formed in 1881, however, which hired a tough ex-prizefighter and policeman named Al Rumsey to wage a running battle against the unions and provide a supply of non-union labor.³⁰ While Rumsey was not Hanna's employee more than that of the others, he shared his unpopularity with Hanna when trouble was brewing.

In the summer of 1883, for example, Rumsey was charged with shooting at a man during a scuffle at Ashtabula that

²⁸ On the Hocking Valley strike see Roy, History of the Coal Miners, ch. 19; Philip D. Jordan, Ohio Comes of Age, pp. 186, 243. On this and the broader problem, see Arthur E. Suffer, Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Industry (Boston & N. Y., 1905), especially ch. I and pp. 141-146.

²⁹ Henry E. Hoagland, Wage Bargaining on the Vessels of the Great Lakes (Urbana, Ill., 1917), p. 14.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 15; John H. Farley to J. B. Morrow, June 8, 1905, copy in Hanna papers.

grew out of strikers' resistance to being replaced by "scabs." Other brawls over the same issue had occurred in Cleveland with one fatality. According to Mayor John Farley's recollection--the story never reached the newspapers--the seamen's union called a special meeting.

. . . the most sensational ever held, the session lasting until 3 a.m. Copies of the Cleveland Herald were exhibited wherein that paper justified the shooting at Ashtabula. Mark Hanna was denounced as the owner of the Herald, also that he gave employment to the party who did the shooting, and that he was an enemy of organized labor, and the country would be better off if he was removed from it.

A motion was offered that a committee be appointed to throw "Al" Rumsey in the river. This motion was not formally accepted by the chair but was debated for hours and amendments were suggested to include Mark Hanna, the hour and place being mentioned.³¹

Nothing was attempted then or later, but this would not be the last time Hanna was involved in an anti-union campaign on the lakes. In 1885 and again in 1890 the Vessel Owners' Association renewed its struggle against the labor organizations and gave them a setback each time.³² Yet the policies of the association agreed to by Hanna's company do not fairly describe its particular attitude. It was always willing, for example, to submit to arbitration of disputes.

³¹Farley to Morrow, June 8, 1905, copy in Hanna papers.

³²Hoagland, Wage Bargaining, p. 16; Cleveland Plain Dealer, July 15, Aug. 2, 1890.

The typical arrangement at the time was for the selection of an ad hoc three-man committee composed of one man chosen by each side and a third man agreed upon by these two. Decisions were by a vote of two against one. An example of the use of such committees may be found in the dock workers strike of May and June, 1891.

As usual, the early part of the season was marked by relatively low wage rates. Higher piece rates and wages might be expected as trade increased later in the year, but this time the ore handlers were impatient. Instead of appearing for work on the morning of May 28, they sent a notice:

To M. A. Hanna & Co.: We, the ore handlers, have come to the conclusion that we will not return to work until we get last year's prices and all the old men are given places.

ORE HANDLERS³³

Similar notices were sent to other companies. Another but uncoordinated strike at the Cleveland docks was already in effect. For almost two weeks, neither side made any move. Some business was being lost to other ports, but the companies preferred this to violence. Then an offer to arbitrate was made. The engineers accepted but the shovelers voted it down. Delegations were sent to Mayor Rose of Cleveland. There was talk of resuming operations and

³³ Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 29, 1891.

requests for police and militia protection if needed. Then it was reported that the Cleveland strikers had reached some still unannounced settlement. The engineers were given a prompt decision and prepared to resume work. At this point the Hanna company took the final step toward a showdown. Its notice "To Our Old Employees" was skillfully phrased:

We are about to resume work at our docks with new men who are glad to accept the wages we have repeatedly offered to you. We believe a great many of you, our old employees, would also be willing to go to work again at the wages offered if you were not bulldozed by a few agitators and walking delegates. We much prefer to keep our old men than to get new ones; therefore, when we resume, we will not begin work with many men, because we hope our old men will think better of it and return to work. But those new men who do begin work for us will be fully and amply protected against interference. We do not want any trouble, but if any riotous and lawless persons attempt to interfere with our right to operate our own property, and try to drive away our workmen, they will be resisted and arrested. If we are disappointed in our hope that our old men will again apply for their old positions, we shall gradually get new men until we have a full force. None of our old men, however, who are misled so far as to offer violence, will ever be employed again by us. Those of our old men who decide to work will apply to our superintendent, Mr. Raser, and will be kindly received.

M. A. Hanna & Co.

This, together with the sight of twenty loaded ships in the harbor, had the intended effect. Soon afterward it appeared that the Cleveland ore handlers had not settled as reported. They sent a committee to ask the Ashtabula men to join them in renewed strike. The committee returned with a message from the Ashtabula men that they had "fished and eaten

grease for five weeks, and that was long enough for them." In a few days, the Cleveland ore handlers were ready to accept arbitration.³⁴

Hanna could never have read everything written about his early misdeeds as they were "discovered" by political opponents in later years. The mere fact that he was a large employer become powerful in national politics sufficed to stir the imaginations of radical propagandists. For an extreme example, a few passages from the lunatic-fringe Populist "novel" called Waiting For the Signal may serve:

"Mr. Rumsey announces the fictional hero, the gold of Mark Hanna has no attraction for me. I am only a sailor, and not versed in the ways of landmen such as you. My sympathies go out with the wronged men. . . . If Mr. Hanna will call a meeting, and arbitrate our differences, all trouble can be avoided. I will meet your offer of bribery with an appeal to you to induce Mr. Hanna to agree to arbitration, promising you that I will use my influence with the sailors to meet your terms half way. Will you do it?"

"Not much," replied Rumsey; "we are too well pleased to get a chance to show our power. Arbitrate! Humph! I call that rich. I will give you thirty minutes to call your men away from our docks, or the Pinkertons will force them off. . . ."

"I will do my best," replied John Stearns [hero], and he left on his mission of peace.

³⁴Ibid., June 3, 4, 10-12, 14, 15, 17-21. The company's notice was printed in issue of June 12.

When he had gone, Mr. Hanna came out of an inner room, where he had overheard the conversation, and, addressing a beetle-browed stranger, the captain of the Pinkertons, who was sitting in the office, said:

"Dawkins, you saw that fellow?"

"Yes, sir."

"Well, Dawkins, he is a ring leader, and if something should happen to him, I should not grieve. All this stuff of inducing them to leave the docks don't go with me. The mutinous dogs deserve a lesson; the law is on my side. Make a good day's work of it, and I will double the pay for all of you. . . ."

Crash! Crash! Ping!--A flash of flame from a hundred rifle barrels, and Mark Hanna's ruffians came charging down the dock. At the first fire, John Stearns threw up his hands and fell face downward. . . .

When the smoke cleared away eighteen lay dead, dying, or grievously wounded. The air was filled with gasps and sobs, the awful gurgling sounds of strong men in their death agony. . . .

As the Pinkertons dashed over the prostrate forms of the slaughtered men, those in the rear hastily placed old revolvers and knives in the stiffening fingers of the corpses--an old trick practiced by detectives and deputies to deceive the people.³⁵

There is more in the same vein, though Carnegie, Rockefeller and others are brought on to assist in the villainy as the case for the author's hypothetical class revolution is built

³⁵Henry O. Morris, Waiting for the Signal (Chicago, 1897), pp. 15-17. Published by the Schulte Publishing Co., publishers of Ignatius Donnelly's Caesar's Column, Henry M. and James H. Teller's The Battle of the Standards, and similar works. For an extended discussion of "The Folklore of Populism," see the chapter with that title in Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (N. Y., 1955).

up. The scurrilous subliterature of Populism gave Hanna a kind of ex officio position as labor crusher extraordinary.

Hanna's street railway labor force was very nearly in that happy position of having no history. Not one strike occurred in all the years he was actively associated with it. There were temptations, however. The best remembered of these came in the early summer of 1899. Hanna was planning to go to Europe for a vacation and some treatments for his arthritis at the mineral baths. Employees of the Big Con, which company was no longer in Johnson's hands, were threatening to call a strike momentarily. Hanna invited a group of representatives from the various lines and shops of the Little Con and put it up to them whether he should carry out his vacation plans or stand by to await a strike. To a man they pledged him their willingness to stay at work, and accordingly, he left. Despite the length and bitterness of the strike on the rival line the Little Con continued in operation on schedule. On his return, Hanna showed his appreciation by enclosing in each man's pay envelope a five dollar gold piece.³⁶

What accounted for the success Hanna achieved in his labor relations? For it was a highly creditable showing, in the long run, and it was not made by a man who was either

³⁶Morrow interview with George G. Mulhern, Hanna papers; Rose, Cleveland, p. 597.

inclined or free to experiment with startling innovations in the art. His approach might best be described as a modified benevolent paternalism. Clearly he was paternalistic, especially in his relations with the street railway men. He knew most of them by name; he loaned them money; he provided free medical care, and he showed unusual patience in hearing out their grievances in his office or when he met them at the terminals.³⁷ For a variety of reasons, his personal relations with the miners, dockworkers and seamen were less close. Perhaps aside from his less frequent contact with them, the fact that his competitors were not Tom Johnsons in their own labor policies accounted in part for the difference. Paternalism, no matter how benevolent in its intention, was less appropriate in these areas. In its place, Hanna was obliged to substitute something of the contractual approach. Union recognition and arbitration agreements came in.

These were important steps, and not to be taken for granted. Like the good conservative politician he was becoming, Hanna usually saw room for compromise and he moved into it. Nonessential prerogatives could be bargained away. Inherited "principles" must be re-examined and discarded

³⁷Morrow interviews with George G. Mulhern, O. D. Brainard (Cleveland, 1905), and Peter Cox (Cleveland, 1905), all in Hanna papers. Brainard had been a dispatcher and Cox a motorman on Hanna's lines.

unless absolutely essential to the operation of the business. Power, more than principles, must be relied upon for a platform in such rapidly changing times.

On the question of his street railway men forming a union, Hanna's one-time superintendent George Mulhern recollected that

. . . a year after the strike [of 1899] ended our men formed a union of their own, after asking Mr. Hanna if he had any objection to their doing so. He told them that they ought to have a union. "but," he said, "have it among yourselves; don't go in with the other fellows and then be compelled to stop work every time they get into trouble. I am in favor of your having a union; you must protect yourselves. But you must leave it to me to say who shall be employed and who shall be discharged. Wages and treatment are matters which can be properly considered by a union of yourselves. You will never have any trouble with me."³⁸

The suggestion might be raised that his welcome of an independent union betrayed a desire to disarm and dominate its leadership. Other quotations might be added to support such a view, for Hanna seldom refrained from expressing his judgment of labor leaders.³⁹ Some he liked and could work with. But these--John Mitchell and John Siney of the coal miners' union, for example--worked with him at the peril of their careers, for the very openness of his manner with them gave

³⁸Morrow interview with George G. Mulhern, Hanna papers.

³⁹At least in private. See Hanna to Roosevelt, Nov. 10, 1901, quoted below.

rise to fears among the rank and file that Hanna was using "chloroform."⁴⁰

While he might be expected to be cautious with his own employees--after all, he was not their union organizer--Hanna's reputation for constructive leadership in labor-management relations cannot be dismissed on the grounds that he was merely playing a confidence game. To do so is to assume falsely that he shared the image of some great abyss of class fears and hatreds dividing his fellow businessmen from the masses of labor on the other side. If such an image ever came to his mind it included a bridge. The bridge was his concept of the working man as businessman. He had seen the miners join forces to attempt to stabilize the coal industry in the Depression of 1873 before the operators did; he had seen the lake seamen teach the vessel owners how to exert their combined economic power. And he had seen the effectiveness of the employers' counter-moves. With the growth of stability and responsibility on both sides he saw hope for a new community of large units that would hold one another in a tense but viable contractual relationship. It was not a question of passing

⁴⁰The best documented period in Hanna's career dealing with labor begins about 1901, when he became active in the National Civic Federation. Then the clash of opinion over his activities became audible on a nationwide scale. See the excellent dissertation, Marguerite Greene, The National Civic Federation and the American Labor Movement, 1900-1925 (Washington, 1956), especially Chapter IV.

laws. He did not say that the workers needed laws to protect them, but "you need a union to protect yourselves." He expressed himself hurriedly but lucidly in a letter to Theodore Roosevelt when he was asked for comment on the new President's first major message to Congress:

The fact is that today organized labor is not opposed to combination of capital as they argue that it justifies their position and demands for recognition. I am in close touch with nearly all of the responsible leaders of labor organization and am working with them to establish . . . a community of interest which has for its object closer relationships between them making it possible to settle differences without strikes and secure better men for responsible positions in their organizations. I have the cooperation of the best of them now. We can hold our power in politics as long as we can retain the confidence of this element. They are not worried over the "Trust" question. . . .⁴¹

When it is understood that by the "best" element he was referring to men like John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers it becomes clear that his ideal union leader was not the company "sweetheart" but the advocate of legitimate business unionism.

Nowhere is there a straighter line in Hanna's education than between his own experiences with labor and his mature views on national labor policy. He had accumulated more than twenty-five years of experience by the time he offered this advice to Roosevelt. It had not always been pleasant

⁴¹Hanna to Roosevelt, Nov. 10, 1901, Theodore Roosevelt papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

experience, but it had left him confident and optimistic. For the inflexible doctrinaires of the old paternalism he had nothing but contempt. "Any man who won't meet his men half way," he was quoted saying of George Pullman, "is a goddamn fool."⁴²

⁴²Beer, Hanna, p. 133.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICS: SOME POWER AND NO GLORY

The Honorable Richard C. Parsons was a man of wide experience and considerable standing in Cleveland Republican politics. He had been chosen president of the city council at twenty-six, and since then had held a succession of offices: speaker of the state house of representatives, Cleveland internal revenue collector, marshal of the United State Supreme Court, and member of congress.¹ In the spring of 1884 he was still not an old man, nor was his ambition beyond his deserts. He wanted to be elected delegate-at-large to the forthcoming national convention to represent there the presidential aspirations of his friend Senator Sherman. How he was defeated and Hanna chosen in his place he tells in a letter to Sherman written just before the state convention opened on April 23:

Insofar as your friends in Cleveland are concerned, we have lost the fight. . . . The Saturday convention nominated 39 delegates to the state convention. There was not a vote against me, & I supposed there would be no opposition. The State Journal, Toledo Telegram, Dayton Journal, nearly every paper on the River, the Akron Journal, Allen Co. papers, & a dozen others were for me, & they announced my nomination by the state convention was assured. Mr. Everett (your professed friend) said to me yesterday that I could have

¹Rose, Cleveland, p. 247.

the County Delegation if I would promise to use my influence with you to keep Tom Jones P.M., Eggleston Dist. Atty. (both Arthur men) & urge you to take away the Gov't. Deposits from the Merchants Bk. & the 2d National & give them to his new Bank. I declined absolutely--flat--Then this a.m. he, John Huntington, Jones & Eggleston, after working all night, brought out Hanna as a candidate & got George Gardner to present him as a Herald candidate. They carried the delegation 20 for Hanna to 15 for me. So I have withdrawn as a candidate & the result you will know before this letter reaches you. I consider my defeat a great blow to your interest, & am mortified for myself. . . . Had Mr. Townsend said one generous word for me--used the smallest influence in my favor, & say he was honorably committed to me, & that his friends must sustain me, I could have . . . secured the place. But he would not do anything. . . . Everett is simply an atrocious fraud. . . . Hanna will probably be defeated tomorrow. . . . He is a quiet, intelligent business man with no political acquaintance or political influence.²

This was probably the only time in his life that Hanna was described as a "quiet" man. Presumably it referred to his shyness as a public speaker.

The fuller story of Hanna's first candidacy goes back to the district convention referred to by Parsons. There the middle-aged novice in politics had tried to win a seat as a district delegate. There had been two seats open, but the first went to a young Blaine supporter and the second to Hanna's publishing competitor, Edwin Cowles. As a last resort, Everett then suggested taking Hanna's name to the

²Parsons to Sherman, April 22, 1884, Sherman papers.

state convention for the delegate-at-large races.³

In view of later developments, some notice must be taken of the character of the state convention of 1884. Parsons may have been bitter as he watched its proceedings, but the rest of the delegates romped through their chores in the best of spirits. To one seasoned politician it was "as near a good natured mob" as any he had ever seen in convention.⁴ Candidates for secretary of state and the minor offices were chosen with dispatch. There was some division between Blaine and Sherman men, but Foraker, an outspoken Sherman partisan who was not even present, won the first seat as delegate by acclamation. As nominations were made for the other three places, the proceedings were interrupted by an inspiration from the floor to elect the presiding officer--Congressman William McKinley--by acclamation. It was done forthwith. McKinley protested, ruled the vote invalid, was overruled, then replaced at the rostrum, and promptly voted in a second time with equal unanimity. Doubtless many of the delegates neither knew nor cared for whom he would vote in Chicago. At the front of their minds was his magnificent tariff speech on the floor

³Croly, Hanna, p. 120; Parsons to Sherman, April 3, 1884, Sherman papers. On the district and state conventions, see also Morrow interview with Theodore E. Burton, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers.

⁴H. C. Jones to Sherman, April 24, 1884, Sherman papers.

of the House two days before; and the sight of him presiding now, "prompt, clear, firm, pleasant and not only pleasant but embellishing the entire administration with a kind of pleasant wit which kept everybody pleased," as a Sherman follower recalled.⁵ McKinley won his own seat. That his seat was on the fence mattered little. He was from a strong Blaine district and was claimed by that faction, while at the same time such astute Sherman men as Grosvenor and Bateman helped to push him into the election in the belief that he was their friend. One Sherman delegate who had helped initiate the draft explained privately that he understood that McKinley had been defeated previously in his district convention because he supported Sherman.⁶

Hanna won the third seat over a field of five others. He was introduced by George A. Groot as his county's first choice, "a business man and not a politician," and not formally committed to any presidential favorite. In the voting, however, the Blaine men stayed away from him. They knew that Hanna, as the Leader hesitatingly put it, was

⁵Ibid.; Cleveland Leader, April 25, 1884; Cleveland Herald, April 24, 1884.

⁶Letters to Sherman from H. S. Neal, April 24, 1884, H. C. Jones, J. K. Rukenbrod, both April 25, 1884; C. H. Grosvenor, W. M. Bateman, M. Churchill, all April 26, 1884, all in Sherman papers; Cleveland Herald, June 3, 1884. Sherman to Foraker, May 16, 1884, copy in Sherman papers, indicates that Sherman was still being advised that McKinley favored him.

"alleged with some degree of plausibility to be quite kindly disposed toward Senator Sherman." As they saw his vote pile up, however, they let him have that seat in trade for the election of Judge William H. West to the other.⁷ Neither side seems to have known its own strength or cared to test it. This fact in itself was an omen of Sherman's weakness, for if any important fraction of the Ohio delegation considered him at best their second choice, he would lose even that leverage customarily held by a favorite son from a pivotal state.

Why then was John Sherman taken seriously as presidential timber? He was a prospect not only in 1884 but had been previously and would be again. The reasons were sufficient, if not compelling. He had served a strategically located state in the House and, after 1861, in the Senate, making a constructive record as a legislator for twenty-six years. He had served effectively as Hayes' secretary of the Treasury. He had an asset in his brother, "Cump," one of the most popular Civil War generals. He was a capable orator, but never a master of the arts of the back-slapping, whispering confidence men of political intrigue. In compensation, he had an immense reserve of dignity that inspired the confidence of voters year after year.⁸

⁷Cleveland Leader, April 25, 1884.

⁸See Theodore E. Burton, John Sherman (Boston, 1906), and sketch in Dictionary of American Biography.

Readers of his memoirs are asked to believe that Sherman never lifted a finger to seek his party's nomination in 1884. On the contrary, as Foraker proves in his memoirs, Sherman was very much in the race.⁹ He was running quietly, but nonetheless purposefully. His strategy was that of the would-be compromise candidate. If Blaine, with his grass-roots popularity, and Arthur, with his great bloc of patronage-controlled delegates, were to deadlock, a break toward the long-deserving Sherman could be looked for.¹⁰ It was not an unreasonable hope. Sherman was, to use a more recent label, "Mr. Republican" for a great many party regulars, and he was in at least a sentimental way the logical successor to Garfield. On the other hand, it has been just such bright young men as Garfield, with short records and few enemies, who have usually won this kind of a compromise nomination. Old soldiers, too, often win, but veteran senators have rarely been nominated and never elected.

⁹John Sherman, Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet (2 vols., Chicago, 1895), II, 868, 885, 886; Joseph Benson Foraker, Notes of a Busy Life (2 vols., Cincinnati, 1916), I, 151-157.

¹⁰Sherman to Foraker, May 31, 1884, in Joseph B. Foraker, Correspondence with Senator Sherman (n.p., n.d.), pp. 10, 11 (hereafter referred to as Foraker-Sherman Corresp.); Hanna to Sherman, June 10, 1884, Sherman papers.

In fairness to Sherman's recollection of the affair, it should be added that he did write Foraker just prior to the convention that he would not want the nomination if he could not have the solid support of the Ohio delegation. He never had that support, and doubtless knew quite early that his chances were extremely slim. Even with this knowledge, however, he made no move to reinforce the strength of any other candidate. Sherman's attitude toward Blaine was one of restrained jealousy. He confided in Hanna after the convention that while "I think I know him as well as anyone, I never have estimated his services as highly as his numerous friends. Still, he possesses qualities attractive to the masses of men, and naturally has a place in their regard higher than those who have rendered greater service to the Republic. This seems to be the rule under our system, and we should not repine over it."¹¹

For Hanna, the importance of the Chicago convention of 1884 lay in what it taught him of politicians and what politicians learned as they watched him. He made an auspicious beginning by arranging with McKinley to share a room at the Grand Pacific Hotel.¹² If he failed to secure his

¹¹Sherman to Foraker, May 31, 1884 and June 3, 1884, both in Foraker-Sherman Corresp., pp. 10, 11, 13; Sherman to Hanna, June 12, 1884, copy in Sherman papers.

¹²Hanna to A. L. Conger, April 28, 1884 and May 1, 1884, both in A. L. Conger papers, Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio.

friend for Sherman, he could at least expect to learn some lessons in convention tactics by watching and listening to a master talent. Once arrived in Chicago, he was introduced to others who were to be leading actors in the play of his political future. Charles L. Kurtz of Columbus, who had been scouting for Sherman support since February, was one. Another was Joseph Benson Foraker, Sherman's floor manager. Then a once-defeated gubernatorial candidate thirty-eight years old, he was just beginning to make his reputation as one of the last and most effective of the bloody-shirt-waving orators in the Midwest. In part, his role was to be that of a party cheerleader. His ambition was unlimited except by the requirements of party loyalty. The tall, commanding figure of "Fire Alarm Joe" Foraker would reappear frequently along Hanna's path, first as his friend and later his factional enemy. He seemed better cast as an enemy, for his impulsive courage and shrewdness were best seen when he played a lone hand against the odds.¹³

Hanna, Kurtz and Foraker no sooner met than they began plotting their first move. They consulted with the "Independents" from the East: Henry Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt,

¹³See Everett Walters, Joseph Benson Foraker, an uncompromising Republican (Columbus, 1948), pp. 27 et passim. Walters' biography is a useful guide through many phases of Republican factional quarrels in this period.

George William Curtis and others, all of whom favored Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont. Together they agreed on a test of Blaine's strength against the field. Senator Powell Clayton of Arkansas had been selected as the Blaine managers' choice for the temporary chairmanship. The Sherman-Edmunds bloc opposed him with John R. Lynch, a widely respected Negro from Mississippi. The plot succeeded, and if it failed to "frighten the Blaine men out of their wits," as Hanna recalled later, it satisfied all concerned that there would be more than one ballot. The vote also revealed at last the seriousness of the flaw in the Sherman campaign. Twenty-two of the Ohio delegates, led or at least heartened by McKinley's example, voted for Clayton. From this point on, any expectations of a substantial vote for Sherman were based less on the science of convention behavior than on a loyal conviction that his undisputed claims to party preference would eventually be recognized.¹⁴

Foraker next moved up his oratorical artillery. This was the first national convention he had taken part in, and it is little wonder that he aimed wide of the mark at some point in the battle. It happened in the middle of his nominating speech, sometime after midnight. Thundering along at high speed, he dropped a complimentary reference to "that

¹⁴Hanna to Sherman, June 10, 1884, Sherman papers; Foraker, Notes, I, 159.

brilliant genius from Maine"--and was immediately drowned out for more than ten minutes by cheers and shouts for Blaine. Surely he admired Blaine too, but he must have found such response as this beyond anything he had looked for. It was embarrassing. "Never holler until you're out of the woods," he ad-libbed when he was finally able to make himself heard. But repeated calls for Blaine were noted by reporters throughout the remainder of his speech.¹⁵

Foraker was justly criticized for inviting such an interruption. Suspicions that he deliberately scuttled his leader's cause are difficult to credit. He was no latecomer to the ranks of Sherman's partisans, and had everything to gain by a sincere effort on his behalf. If he made a good showing and was defeated, he had hopes of the vice-presidential nomination for himself.¹⁶ He could hardly expect to get it by disgracing himself before his own friends. Political betrayals are planned and executed, but rarely with the clumsiness credited to Foraker by some of his critics at the time. He was not that stupid.

¹⁵Foraker, Notes, I, 162-166; Cleveland Herald, June 6, 1884. Julia Bundy Foraker, I Would Live it Again (New York, 1932), pp. 79, 80, gives a lively account of the speech, but where it differs from press accounts the latter have been followed here.

¹⁶Foraker, Notes, I, 146, 147; C. L. Kurtz and A. E. Bateman to Sherman, telegram, 5:10 p.m., June 6, 1884, Sherman papers.

Such was probably Hanna's verdict, for he continued to work with Foraker in the convention and courted his friendship in the months that followed. As the balloting commenced, the two novices kept in close touch. Their failure to win more than thirty votes on the first ballot was eased by the sight of a close race between the leaders, Blaine (332½) and Arthur (278). More important, they had promises from Edmunds men in Massachusetts to swing to Sherman on the second or third ballot. (The easterners had mistakenly assumed that Sherman's vote would increase on later ballots.) Finally, they saw hope in the South, once Arthur's forces weakened.¹⁷

Instead of gaining, both the Sherman and Edmunds leaders began losing delegates to Blaine on the second ballot. The Massachusetts men feared additional bolts to Blaine if Edmunds released them. Sherman had still won nothing substantial outside Ohio, and within that state's delegation McKinley's example was continuing to furnish the backbone of a Blaine faction, now twenty-three votes strong.¹⁸

¹⁷Cleveland Herald, June 6, 1884; Kurtz to Sherman, June 6, 1884; Hanna to Sherman, June 10, 1884, both in Sherman papers; Foraker to Sherman, June 9, 1884, copy in Foraker papers.

¹⁸Cleveland Herald, June 7, 1884; Foraker to Sherman, June 9, 1884, copy in Foraker papers.

On the third ballot the clouds darkened still further. Blaine had reached 375; Arthur held on with 274; Edmunds had been reduced from an initial 93 to 69; General John A. Logan of Illinois kept only 53 of his original 66; and Sherman had wilted down to 21 votes from his Ohio friends, or less than half of the delegation.¹⁹ Foraker said later that only the fact that he already had the tally in his hand when called upon kept the 21 votes for that ballot. Hanna remembered somewhat more sanguine hopes at that stage. He wrote Sherman a few days later that

. . . when on the third ballot some of your delegates wanted to go over I held them back because Lodge & Roosevelt came begging to me to hold on for that ballot and promised Mass., New Hampshire, the Edmunds vote from N. Y. and Rhode Island and all they could control outside on the 4th ballot. Then I knew Georgia & Virginia would come almost solid and a large number from the southern states. I felt that I could not in justice to you neglect that chance. And Foraker yielded to me. . . .

Foraker was soon ready to yield to anything. He was bitter at Lodge, Roosevelt, Hoar, Curtis and Long. In his view they had made the "fatal mistake" on that third ballot.²⁰ But this may have been too harsh: they were indicating only that they preferred defeat with their first choice rather than their second.

¹⁹ Cleveland Herald, June 7, 1884.

²⁰ Foraker to Sherman, June 9, 1884, copy in Foraker papers; Hanna to Sherman, June 10, 1884, Sherman papers.

The Ohioans for Sherman had one small triumph in their surrender. At the end of the third ballot, Foraker moved that a recess be taken, hoping for time to decide what to do next. The motion was lost, but during the balloting news arrived from friends in the Illinois delegation that a telegram had come from Logan asking his delegates to switch to Blaine. If a new roll call started, Illinois would be called upon first and would have the honor of casting the decisive votes. "Therefore," as Hanna described it to Sherman the following week, "Foraker and I decided to steal a march on them and he got up in his chair, was lucky in being recognized at once--and made the motion to suspend the rules and nominate Blaine by acclamation. Thereby heading off our Logan friends--Were they mad? I should say so. Then we would not let McCullom [Shelby M. Cullom] read his telegram. So I think we lost nothing. . . ."²¹

School was out. Hanna, Foraker and others sent in their final reports to the senator in Washington. Hanna's was written in an assertive, almost cocky style that betrayed his enjoyment of the game while it related his defeats. In his concluding lines he flirted with a most becoming modesty, but quickly recovered: "This was my first convention and if I made any mistakes it was of the head and

²¹Hanna to Sherman, June 10, 1884, Hanna papers.

not the heart [sic] For I have a way of going in with both when I undertake anything. When I see you I will tell you some things."²²

Sherman's reply was a gracious one. "You are both honorable, disinterested men," he wrote, referring as well to Foraker. "I assure you that, although my acquaintance with you is brief, you have made me your grateful friend." After the few condescending remarks on Blaine quoted earlier, he concluded with a wish that he would come to know Hanna better in the future, "for I shall always remember your conduct in the convention as deserving both my gratitude and respect."²³

The senator's estimate of Hanna's performance was based in large part on comments offered by others in the delegation. Of the surviving letters written to Sherman following the convention, there are five, from four different men, that include appraisals of the Cleveland businessman as a convention politician. Charles Kurtz noted even before the proceedings got under way that Hanna was scurrying about busily and "is surprising me by doing most effective work." Captain J. C. Donaldson, a veteran observer of court house

²²Hanna to Sherman, June 10, 1884, Sherman papers.

²³Sherman to Hanna, June 12, 1884, copy in Sherman papers.

and convention crowds who had long been close to Sherman's interests, reported at the end of one day's work that "Mr. Hanna has perhaps done more good aside from Judge Foraker than anyone else." Kurtz' enthusiasm came out at greater length two days later, when writing from his home he asserted that this "Mr. Hanna of Cleveland . . . is worth 50 of Cowles kind. Active, able and aggressive, he surprised us by knowing men and measures--what to do and how to do it." S. L. Johnson of Columbus singled out Hanna for praise, and a Cincinnati lawyer, E. E. Wood, gave it as his opinion that "Hanna of Cleveland in my mind was the trump of the delegation."²⁴

Foraker, while more had been expected of him, was also generally praised within the ranks as well as by Sherman. The slip in his nominating speech was dismissed as an unfortunate bit of carelessness. Though he was offered support for the vice-presidential place, he showed a proper deference to the claims of older men.²⁵

²⁴Letters to Sherman from Kurtz June 1, 1884 and June 8, 1884; Donaldson, June 6, 1884; Johnson, June 12, 1884; and Wood, June 13, 1884; all in Sherman papers.

²⁵Sherman to Foraker, June 9, 1884, Foraker-Sherman Corresp., p. 20; Hanna to Foraker, June 11, 1884, in Joseph B. Foraker, correspondence with Senator Hanna (n.p., n.d.), p. 1 (hereafter cited as Foraker-Hanna Corresp.); and letters cited in note ²⁴ above. See also Foraker to A. McCurdy, June 11, 1884, copy in Foraker papers.

McKinley's role, however, aroused real bitterness. At the state convention six weeks before it had seemed he could do no wrong. His own popularity won him a place as delegate-at-large with no questions asked. At Chicago, the Sherman men were suddenly dismayed to find him on Blaine's side. As he eased himself off the fence he promised his friends on the other side that he would scout up some potential Sherman support among Blaine's followers and lead them back at the proper time. Meanwhile, more than a dozen other Ohioans followed his example and dared to speak out for Blaine. McKinley even went so far as to tell Sherman's group that what he was doing was with the knowledge and consent of their leader.²⁶ How he felt able to say that is not clear. Considered as a bit of Sherman tactics it was so obviously a self-defeating move that the senator could never have consented to it if he had been given any choice. A. L. Conger, an influential Akron businessman who was also for Blaine, was reported to have told Kurtz after the first ballot that "McKinley and I have talked this matter over and if Mass. comes we will make the break to Sherman."²⁷ But Massachusetts did not come, for the split in the Ohio delegation gave it the best of reasons not to. While

²⁶ Kurtz to Sherman, June 6, 1884; S. L. Johnson to Sherman, June 12, 1884, both in Sherman papers.

²⁷ Kurtz to Sherman, June 8, 1884, Sherman papers.

McKinley had every right to vote as he wished, his efforts to be all things to all men in this case justified doubts of his candor. Yet the disappointments he aroused were for the most part muffled or swallowed. His more prominent fellow Ohio Republicans were unwilling to allow themselves the luxury of open recriminations against the popular young congressman. For all that they blamed the Massachusetts men, both Foraker and Hanna concluded their reports to Sherman with veiled references to treachery they preferred not to describe on paper. "If the Ohio delegation had been solid," wrote Foraker, "we would not in my judgment have had a particle of trouble to have nominated you. But it was not so. And the men who were trying to 'play the double-horse act' were the men who did you the most harm. But those irritating matters we will talk over instead of writing about." Hanna's promise to tell Sherman "some things" when he saw him next has already been quoted. If it does not refer to the conduct of McKinley, Conger, and their group, it is difficult to guess what it could refer to.²⁸

Men with less at stake were more open in their criticism. "I should not cry to see his wings clipped," wrote the senator's trusted lieutenant in Allen county after he had watched McKinley at Chicago.²⁹

²⁸Foraker to Sherman, June 9, 1884; Hanna to Sherman, June 10, 1884; both in Sherman papers.

²⁹George P. Waldorf to Sherman, June 14, 1884, Sherman papers.

That Sherman himself expressed displeasure is not on record, but is implied in letters to him from McKinley's own district that appear to reply to inquiries as to the chances of preventing McKinley's renomination to Congress. One "angry and disgusted" correspondent wrote two weeks after the convention that he feared it was "too late to stem the tide that is now in McKinley's favor" in Medina county. Another letter from nearby began, "I found your letter here. I have long known McKinley's unreliability. His conduct toward you is dastardly." He would like to see him unseated as soon as possible.³⁰

For all this, McKinley had little to fear. If he repented anything, he could afford to do it in private. In public he remained safe.

That the differences between Hanna and McKinley at the convention brought a temporary cooling of their relationship cannot be demonstrated, though it quite likely did. That the collaboration of Hanna and Foraker initiated a warm alliance is evident. "I assure you, my dear fellow," wrote Hanna on his return, "that it will not be my fault if our acquaintance does not ripen, for I shall certainly go for you whenever you are within reach." In return, he

³⁰W. H. Williams to Sherman from Wellington, O., June 19, 1884; A. S. McClure to Sherman from Medina, O., 1884; both in Sherman papers.

would ask no political favors for himself. "I want you to have all the glory," he insisted.³¹ For to Hanna, power and glory were distinctly separate entities, the second of which he cared little for.

Hanna's attraction to Foraker was predominantly a matter of politics rather than personal affinity, at least to begin with. The two men found themselves useful to one another, in agreement on their political loyalties, and proud of one another's part in the Chicago convention. It would have been remarkable had they not become friends. It was Hanna, the elder of the two, who usually fed and encouraged the friendship. And it was he who sought to broaden it beyond the scope of politics. He made himself a favorite with Mrs. Foraker and the children. Little Benson's visit to Cleveland in the spring of 1886 made him a "hopeless Hanna man," according to his mother. Judging from his host's report, the attraction was mutual:

Benson is having such a good time that I have not the heart to send him home. He said his wardrobe was a little scant for a long visit, so he and I went shopping this morning for collars and stockings and my wife says she can keep the shirts going, as our laundry runs all the week. So you see we can keep up his personal appearance. We are growing so fond of him that we will not want to lose him (he takes after his mother). Therefore, if you are willing, let him stay as long as he is contented. The weather is moderating and will

³¹Hanna to Foraker, June 19, 1884, in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., p. 2.

soon be pleasant. Ruth has commenced flirting with him and wants most of his attention. So there may be a chance of a family alliance. . . .³²

By this time Foraker had risen to the governorship. In doing so he had received Hanna's active support from the start. The Cleveland merchant became, if not a "hopeless" Foraker man, at least a loyal one. He had been flattered as early as December, 1884, by a suggestion from Sherman and others that he consider himself a prospect for the governorship. His reply was an endorsement of Foraker.³³ In the nominating convention the following summer his own county's delegation had unanimously supported Cleveland's mayor, William G. Rose, and there were other prominent candidates he might have considered. But he had chosen his man and he stayed with him. "I feel that you will mount the ladder rapidly," he wrote Foraker after his election, "and I will always be glad to stand at the bottom to help keep it from slipping."³⁴

³²Hanna to Foraker, May 27, 1886, in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., p. 46. See also the entertaining ch. V of Julia B. Foraker, I Would Live it Again; its minor inaccuracies are doubtless those of an unacknowledged ghost-writer.

³³Hanna to Sherman, Dec. 12, 1884, Sherman papers; Hanna to Foraker, April 10, 1885, Foraker papers.

³⁴Cleveland Leader, June 11, 12, 1885; Hanna to Foraker, Jan. 14, 1886, Foraker-Hanna Corresp., p. 32.

Foraker may well have been puzzled by this, and a little skeptical. His new friend was being the soul of political modesty. At the same time he was the least bashful of men socially. In every letter there was a chuckle, a slap on the back or another invitation to dine. "As my regular breakfast hour is nine o'clock, my carriage could meet you at the Viaduct depot and bring you to my house in neat time--see? I will certainly claim you for dinner at six o'clock and will invite Amos and a few fellows to meet you--'Stag party.'" Followed by a postscript: "Tell Old Bushy [Asa Bushnell, a future governor], next time you see him that it's a Mutual Admiration Society. You can come in as the jackass did and make it three of us."³⁵ A few months later there comes a note on a forthcoming G.A.R. parade in Cleveland that ends with a request to "let me know what time you will come and how many brass bands you want." In June, 1886, after a fishing trip had to be canceled: "Whenever you feel like running away telegraph me and I will be ready, . . ." and the following month, after Foraker had thanked him for a visit: "I only wish you could find time to come for a longer time and bring the family. Whenever you are troubled about sleeping, telegraph me--take the first train and come up. . . . Our garden is smiling all

³⁵Hanna to Foraker, Jan 30, 1886, Foraker-Hanna Correspondence, pp. 33, 34.

over. Tell Benson that the boats will be around here the 20th to 21st and it will take four or five days to unload and load them." Foraker's dictated replies, while cordial enough, seem reticent beside these autographed letters with their greetings to "Dear Gov."³⁶

If Hanna declined substantial support for the governorship, perhaps he preferred something honorific--a title in the militia, for example. The single fact that he was entering state politics clean shaven in a generation of men still asserting their manhood with handlebar moustaches if not full whiskers might have been taken as a sign that he was not seeking votes for himself. If he refused an opportunity to attach a military title before his name the sincerity of his protests would have to be granted--at least for the present. Whatever speculations may have accompanied it, an offer was made of an appointment as chief of engineers with the rank of brigadier general on the governor's militia staff. But "I don't like public office and one of that kind would not be to my taste," he replied. "Then there are so many who do like that sort of thing that you could make one of them happy, besides doing good for yourself. I am very very much obliged for the preference

³⁶Same to same, April 23, 1886, and June 3, 1886, both in Foraker papers; and July 15, 1886, Foraker-Hanna Corresp., p. 50.

and will take the will for the deed."³⁷

As plans were being drawn up for the state campaign of 1887, Allen Brinsmade asked Hanna if he would serve another term on the state executive committee. "It seems almost absurd," the merchant complained to the governor. "But if you want me on that committee, on I go. Only it occurred to me that you could get someone more efficient and I would do just as much on or off. That you can depend on." Foraker granted as much, but insisted that Hanna could perform a service by taking one place "and thus prevent[ing] some other fellow being put on who may not be wanted." So on he went. "Anything to please you, old fellow."³⁸

All this was glory, not power. Hanna's ambition was clearly not that of the conventional politician on the make. A politician creates obligations to himself in the party and the public. Hanna's pleasure was in remaining one of the public, but obligating the politicians to himself. The power of office could be shared by those with a power over the officeholders.

Power may be too strong a word for the mere influence of one man among many. Hanna's political influence in the

³⁷Foraker to Hanna, Nov. 23, 1885, in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., p. 27; and reply, Nov. 24, 1885, Foraker papers.

³⁸Hanna to Foraker, June 22, 1887; reply, June 23, 1887, Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 73, 74; Hanna to Foraker, July 7, 1887, Foraker papers,

years of Foraker's administrations (1886 through 1889) can be roughly determined by measuring his success in a variety of related undertakings. What voice did he have in patronage matters, what contribution did he make to the party as a local leader, and what degree of confidence did he win from established party leaders--these questions comprise the larger ones of Hanna's influence. Each of them will be discussed separately.

No sooner had Foraker won his first term as governor than he telegraphed Hanna cautioning him against hasty patronage commitments. In reply he received a cheerful letter of reassurance and counterwarning--"Only do not commit yourself if any way without seeing me." The governor-elect could see trouble ahead on Cleveland appointments and invited help in smoothing it over. Hanna wrote that he understood the situation fully and when the time came wanted to see him personally. "As I wrote you, I am not disposed to cause you any embarrassment, but virtue and not cheek must be rewarded." What he particularly had in mind, it developed, was that the incumbent state oil inspector, Louis Smithnight, should be dropped at the expiration of his term in favor of Hanna's friend William M. Bayne. "You will have a petition for Smithnight as long as an orthodox

sermon, but shut your eyes," he urged.³⁹ Despite this and later pleadings, Smithnight was reappointed. Two years later, Bayne was again presented for a term in this lucrative position. The chief state inspector, it might be explained, controlled the appointment of a number of deputies and shared with them a fee for every barrel of oil inspected at the refineries. As before, there were other candidates, including one pushed by McKinley, but this time the position went to George B. Cox of Cincinnati, the local boss there who had given Foraker his first majority in his home county. Hanna was disappointed, but hoped to salvage a deputyship for his man and one for McKinley's man, Hartshorn. He soon learned that Bayne was again left out. Still hoping that he could help McKinley, he sent a final plea to Foraker to "fix it up" with Cox. "I am going west to-night and if Hartshorn is also left I think I will not return to Ohio again." He was not left; the governor reported him "reasonably content" on his return from Cincinnati a few days later.⁴⁰

³⁹Foraker to Hanna, Oct. 22, 1885; reply, Oct. 23, 1885 (*italics in original ms., Foraker papers*); Hanna to Foraker, Oct. 30, 1885, Nov. 24, 1885; all in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 24, 25, 29.

⁴⁰Hanna to Foraker, Nov. 28 and Dec. 3, 1887, Jan. 17, 1888, reply, Jan. 19, 1888; Hanna to Foraker, Jan. 20, 1888, Feb. 20, 28, 1888, May 2, 4, 1888; Foraker to Hanna, May 10, 1888; all in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 85 ff.; George B. Cox to Foraker, Feb. 21, 1888, March 27, 1888, both in Foraker papers, box 32.

Foraker, in reminiscing years later over his relationships with Hanna, stressed the significance of the oil inspectorship case for what it showed of "his spirit of insistence at that time about small matters which was to become such an important factor when, later, he applied it to larger matters." In his memoirs he said that Hanna wrote him eight letters concerning the plight of Hartshorn after having agreed late in 1887 that "everything has been arranged to suit the old cuss. . . ." But the letter he quotes to support his point was written prematurely. Nothing finally had been arranged, then, and would not be until May, 1888. The significance of the conflict was rather that it showed the gracefulness with which he was able to retreat from a position strongly taken, and console himself with the crumb that Hartshorn's acceptance represented. His advocacy of "Old Hartshorn," as he called him, was given reluctantly from the start and entirely as fulfillment of some obligation to McKinley.⁴¹

If Hanna was disappointed, he bore no grudge. He understood the pressures on the governor and sympathized. His last letter in behalf of Bayne is prefaced with a note that

⁴¹Foraker, Notes, pp. 321-323; letters dated after Hanna's of Dec. 3, 1887, cited in note 40, above.

"I know that this is like a nightmare to you and I am sorry to be the one to be continually bringing it up."⁴²

Although the oil inspectorship was the most important patronage question he tried to influence, there were others, and in the majority of them he was better satisfied with the outcome. His letters of recommendation were by no means so urgent or frequent as the series just reviewed would suggest. Some are quite diffident in tone. When Andrew Roy sought his help as an applicant for a mine inspectorship, he wrote Foraker that he had known Roy a long time and thought him qualified for the position. He knew that John McBride, president of the Miner's Association, was against him, but thought too little of McBride--a Democrat--to let that influence. When Foraker found other reasons to hesitate, Hanna shrugged. There was another man who spoke to him later that he would have recommended in preference to Roy anyway had he announced himself earlier.⁴³ To take one more example, the following letter is not unusual:

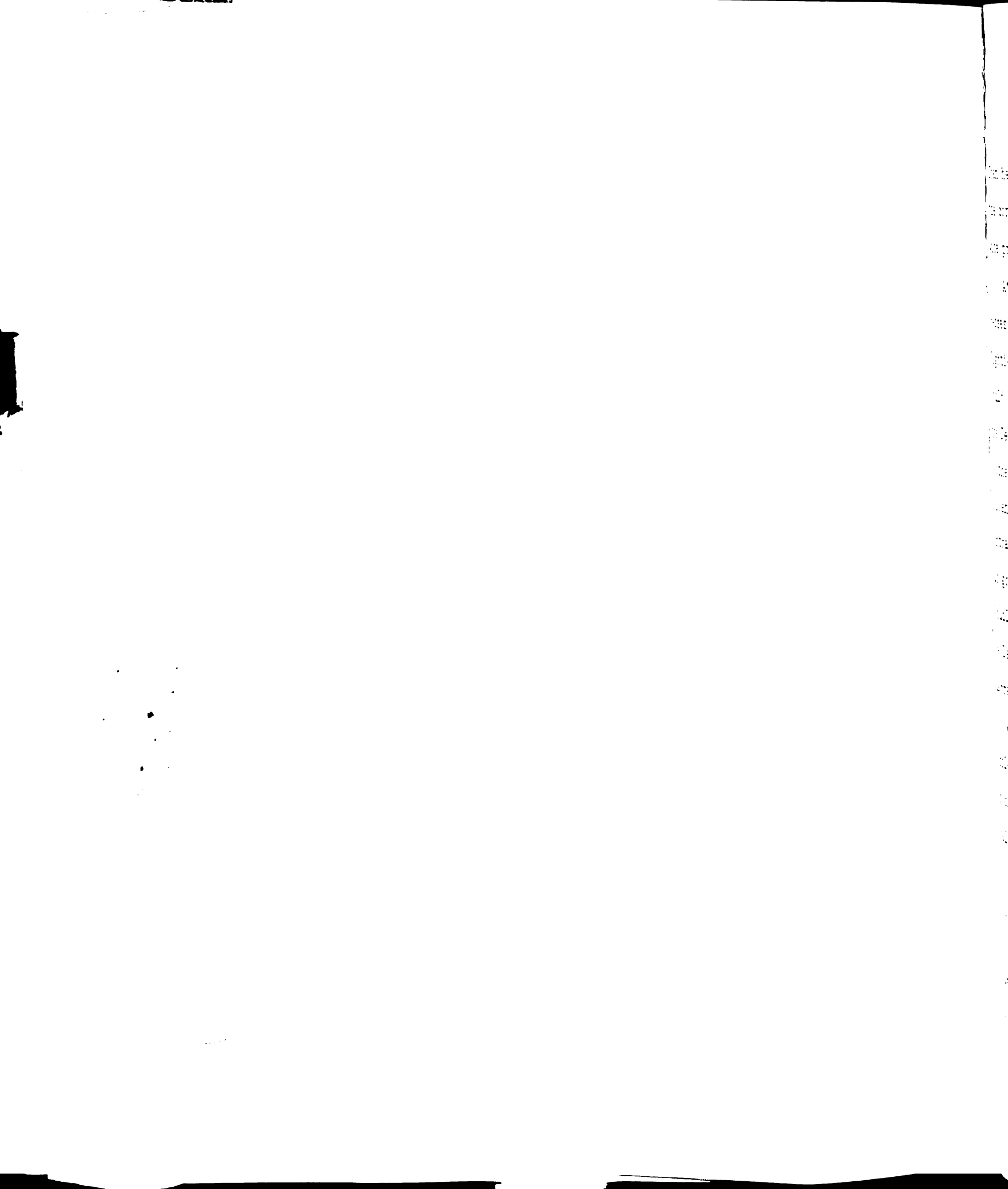
⁴²Hanna to Foraker, May 2, 1888, Foraker-Hanna Correspond., pp. 101, 102; Walters, Foraker, p. 82, agrees that the affair left no grudges.

⁴³Foraker to Chas. Foster, Nov. 14, 1887, copy in Foraker papers, box 28; Hanna to Foraker, Jan. 25, 28, 1888, Foraker-Hanna Correspond., pp. 90, 92.

I am asked by a good young Republican to write you a letter asking for an appointment on the Penitentiary Board. I tell him that I will write you and ask if there is any such vacancy that you can give to a Clermont Representative (consistently) and I don't want you to think of it on my account, unless you can do it just as well as not. Then I would want to find out all about him. I now only know him as an active young Republican. His name is C. P. Mallony.⁴⁴

Granting that Hanna could be "strenuous in the matter of asserting his own rights" when he chose, the overall impression given by his patronage correspondence in the Eighties is not one of an "insistence on small matters." It would be fairer to generalize that he tried to restrain his personal and local preferences. The image he wished to foster was that of the disinterested, confidential advisor who had no career of his own to attend to but could think clearly on matters of the party's highest good in his corner of the state. As he put it, he would be the "dove" in party quarrels. There is no reason to doubt his sincerity. Doubtless he saw himself in such a role. But neither can it be doubted that such self-effacement served another motive than the obvious one of personal popularity. He could hardly have forgotten his taste of power at the national convention of 1884. Did he want to win the leading role of Sherman's manager for the presidential nomination in 1888?

⁴⁴ Hanna to Foraker, March 1, 1886, Foraker-Hanna Correspondence, p. 36.



Then he must avoid the traps of local factionalism and win the confidence of mutually suspicious contenders for statewide prestige and influence. He must be the dove.

At the same time, Hanna was dependent for larger successes on his standing in Cuyahoga county politics. In the Eighties, that standing was by no means as certain as it would later become. Although he was labeled a "boss" by the Democratic Plain Dealer as early as the fall of 1887, neither that newspaper nor any other source furnishes the evidence to excuse the use of the term at this time. On the contrary, Hanna's prestige at state and national party levels grew only in spite of difficulties at home. Cleveland Republicans were neither safely in a majority as against the Democratic party nor were they able to refrain from quarreling among themselves.

While the story of intraparty strife is by no means complete, the outline that does appear strongly suggests its character. In 1885, the party won both the April municipal elections and the October state elections. The mayor chosen in the former was Hanna's boyhood friend George Gardner. Hanna's reaction to the latter was one of surprise and relief. The Republican ticket had carried his own ward, the ninth, "which had been a Democratic stronghold since it was spliced, and [came] within eighty of carrying the eighth (the banner Democratic ward in this city) for our

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county treasurer, on whom the Democrats had centered all their energies," he reported to the governor. "We feel as if we had done a big thing in Cuyahoga." His particular joy at the performance of the candidate for county treasurer, David Kimberly, reflected a particular interest in his success. Kimberly told in later years how he had been given an anonymous campaign contribution of \$1,200 with a note saying that he would learn the name of the donor and be expected to repay only if he were elected. The money was Hanna's and Kimberly was elected. If, as was alleged later, he showed his gratitude by partiality toward the Union National Bank, it did not prevent him from reelection to a second term.⁴⁵

Between the spring and fall elections of 1885, events at the state convention at Dayton made it clear that Hanna was still regarded by many as a businessman in the back seat. He had consistently urged the nomination of Foraker for governor, as has been noted, but his county's delegation entered Rose in the race despite a total lack of outside support. Hanna watched the proceedings from his chair among the dignitaries on the platform. He was a member of

⁴⁵ Same to same, Oct. 16, 1885, in ibid., pp. 23, 24; Morrow interview with David H. Kimberly, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers; Croly, Hanna, pp. 126.

state executive committee. And his pleas were ignored by his home delegation.⁴⁶

In the congressional district convention of September, 1886, Hanna, Everett and others were able to put through the nomination of Amos Townsend by a majority of three votes on the first ballot over two strong contenders. In Hanna's words, it was a "close fit." A boom for the incumbent representative had appeared at the eleventh hour and Hanna found that not even the delegates from his own ward were united behind him. In the election that fall, Townsend was defeated, as was the Republican candidate for sheriff. Otherwise, the party came through by narrow pluralities. Hanna's ward followed the county in scratching Townsend. A grudge carried over from earlier days had contributed to his losses, but Hanna complained that the greater fault lay with Cowles' Leader, which had "got up a fight with [its] Union printers and turned them all out, thereby bringing the . . . labor vote against us. . . . Oh! it is an outrage to have such a paper to represent our party."⁴⁷

⁴⁶Cleveland Leader, June 11, 12, 1885.

⁴⁷Hanna to Foraker, Sept. 22, 1886, Nov. 8, 1886, Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 55, 56; Cleveland Leader, Sept. 18, Nov. 3, 1886.

With the approach of the mayoralty campaign of 1887, Hanna found himself cartooned in the Plain Dealer as an aspirant for that office. In short pants and cap, he stood with a streetcar tucked under one arm listening to the "mayoralty piper" with Gardner and others. Instead of following the piper himself, he and his friends sent the perennial officeseeker William Bayne. Bayne was defeated, though the party generally was having a good year.⁴⁸

How all this impressed Governor Foraker with his friend's political puissance need not be guessed. After Bayne's defeat Hanna received a letter of regrets but little comfort. "You ask me in a postscript what I think of the political situation in Ohio," Foraker wrote. "I think it good everywhere except at Cleveland; and for the life of me I cannot understand what is the matter there. . . . I know it must have been a disappointment to you. Why is it that such a man cannot be elected in such a city to such an office? . . ."⁴⁹

In the fall elections of 1887, Cleveland returned to the Republican column and helped add to a handsome majority in the state for Foraker. Meanwhile, Hanna had come into a new glory of his own--an embarrassing kind of glory that

⁴⁸Cleveland Plain Dealer, Feb. 27, 1887; Croly, Hanna, p. 127.

⁴⁹Foraker to Hanna, April 13, 1887, Foraker-Hanna Correspondence, p. 67.

was to increase as the years passed. On September 21, 1887, the Plain Dealer announced a discovery:

A new ring has developed itself in the Republican party hereabouts, if the complaints of Republicans are to be believed. To the court house ring and the city hall ring has now been added the Mark Hanna ring. What the old rings want everybody knows. What the new ring is after will be developed later.

"Later" came only a few inches down the same column of that day's editorial page, where in another squib it was prophesied that "if a Mark Hanna ring materializes and gets the upper hand in this county its influence will be cast in favor of John Sherman rather than that of Blaine or Foraker. . . ." The following day in the same place the editors introduced the Republican ticket for the county with the allegation that it had been "selected by a ring of officeholders . . . made out before hand by a secret meeting of bosses headed by Marcus A. Hanna." The specifications of the charges are unprovable at this late date. Perhaps it is as well, however, to leave the Plain Dealer editorials of September 21 and 22 undisturbed, as landmarks, or guideposts, in American political history.

Boss Hanna encountered a few days of stormy political weather soon after the opening of the new year of 1888. He had seen fit to endorse to Foraker a prominent local attorney, William B. Sanders, for appointment as judge of the court of common pleas. "The leading members of the bar are

in favor;" he was a man of the "highest character and abilities and . . . a personal friend of mine . . .

whose appointment would give me great pleasure. . . ."

The appointment was made the next day, possibly even before the recommendation arrived. In telling Hanna of this, however, Foraker noted that "the entire Cuyahoga delegation to both the Senate and the House, with one exception, came in a body to recommend either Solders, Garry or Eddy, and to protest against the appointment of Sanders." Hanna, while agreeing as to Eddy's qualifications, asserted that the others mentioned were "not fit." "I have something to say to the members of the Cuyahoga County delegation when I see them," he concluded. "Between you and I [sic], they are not safe advisors for Cuyahoga politics. In fact, I personally don't care whether they like this appointment or not. Your best friends and supporters do, so don't worry over it."⁵⁰

This note of belligerency reappeared in the next local convention. Although the party had swept the board in the spring municipal elections, the dispositions of the faithful seem not to have sweetened noticeably as the day for choosing national convention delegates approached. Charles F. Leach, who would later become a prominent Hanna

⁵⁰Hanna to Foraker, Jan. 24, 1888; reply, Jan. 26, 1888; Hanna to Foraker, Jan. 28; all in Foraker-Hanna Correspondence, pp. 90-92.

lieutenant, carried a vivid memory of his initial encounter with his future boss. As he recalled it seventeen years later:

I first saw Mr. Hanna at a convention in this city [Cleveland]. That was in 1888. We had met to choose delegates to the Republican National Convention. Mr. Hanna had been in the South where he had been working for John Sherman. He came home and wanted to be a district delegate to the national convention. Some of us had agreed among ourselves to send two other men. We felt that Mr. Hanna was a bulldozer and we didn't want him to interfere with our plans and our convention. We nominated one of our men for delegate and were about to nominate the other when Mr. Hanna came and stood in the aisle at the side of the delegation of which I was a member. We looked upon him as a boss who desired to run the convention so we shouted and jeered at him. He got awfully hot and shaking his fist at me said: "I'll get even with you." That was the first time he ever spoke to me. He was made a delegate to the national convention but he escaped defeat by a narrow margin. I can remember that I had no particular animosity toward him. It looked to me as though he was trying to bulldoze his way to the national convention. Hundreds of other fellows were of the same opinion. . . .⁵¹

Adjusting the machinery necessary to produce Hanna's election produced so much noise that observant Democratic editors felt encouraged to contribute to the discord. Since the previous September's editorials they had almost entirely neglected to follow Hanna's career in this new role. On this occasion, however, the Plain Dealer summarized its convention story in an editorial note that "the edict has

⁵¹Morrow interview with Charles F. Leach, Hanna papers.

been issued that Mark Hanna will go to the Chicago convention as a delegate from the twenty-first congressional district. Of course the Republicans will obey their boss."

This was written before the convention met. On April 14, Myron T. Herrick was chosen on the first ballot, and Hanna, who was nominated by his lawyer, Andrew Squire, on the second.⁵²

Looming just ahead was the state convention at Dayton. How the Cuyahoga delegation would behave was uncertain. It had been sent by a meeting that had passed resolutions endorsing Sherman's presidential candidacy, but an assortment of grudges and a lack of leadership were apparent. Foraker remarked in a private letter that "Cleveland has got into a mixed-up muddle of such dimensions that nobody can tell where they will come out." Evidently they did not come out where Hanna hoped they would. In the matter of choosing delegates-at-large, he had preferred a balance of Foraker and his friend Bushnell, and Sherman's confidants McKinley and Foster. Instead, Congressman Benjamin Butterworth of Cincinnati was elected over Bushnell. Butterworth was Hanna's friend, but he upset the balance of the group and for that reason alone Hanna's regrets to Foraker after the event would seem plausible. As manager of Sherman's interests, he had tried to prevent any dissensions that

⁵²Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 9, 15, 1888.

might split the delegation later. He was "surprised and disgusted" to see the Cuyahoga men oppose Bushnell, he wrote. "It was not my delegation. . . ." ⁵³

Hanna's role in the national convention of 1888 will be taken up in the following chapter, but it might be noted here that he loyally accepted the candidate who had bested his favorite. The national and state pluralities for Harrison in November were quite small, so doubtless it was with some relief that Hanna found Cuyahoga county giving a respectable margin for his party. Not only his work at home, but his wide-ranging and successful money-raising activities elsewhere gave him reason to expect that his support of candidates for appointments under the new administration would be given some attention. In this he was bitterly disappointed. He was little better off when it came to "getting his man in" than he would have been had Grover Cleveland won. The indifference of Harrison affected Sherman's usefulness as well, for the President carried his obligations to Republican senators with remarkable ease. ⁵⁴

⁵³Foraker to Benjamin Butterworth, April 12, 1888, Foraker papers, box 28; Hanna to Foraker, May 2, 1888, Foraker-Hanna Corresp., p. 102. Foster privately admitted responsibility for the switch to Butterworth: see Foster to W. M. Bateman, April 25, 1888, Warner M. Bateman papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.

⁵⁴On Hanna's part in the campaign, see Morrow interview with Cornelius N. Bliss, Washington, D.C., 1906, and with Charles Dick, Hanna papers; Hanna to Sherman, July 18, 1888, Sherman papers. See also note 59.

George Gardner was returned to the mayor's office in the spring of 1889, and of this Mark Hanna could approve. The rest of the year, however, was marked locally by running factional quarrels that reflected the breach with Foraker following the national convention of 1888. Hanna did not approve of the success of his old schoolmate Allen T. Brinsmade, who was elected city solicitor in April and made a member of the party's state central committee in June. Neither did he approve of Myron Herrick's association with the Foraker group, and the two friends had a temporary falling out midway in the year. Finally, his own city gave a plurality to Foraker in the gubernatorial election of 1889--the one campaign in his career in which Hanna balked at doing his share.⁵⁵

If the foregoing survey of Hanna's tribulations seem to deny the fact of his growing importance in party councils, it is incomplete. The merchant in politics showed a real aptitude in these early years as a contributor, collector and disburser of campaign funds--the "sinews of war" as they were respectfully nicknamed. As early as 1880, as has been noted, he led in the organization of a widely imitated local businessmen's auxiliary for the Garfield campaign. The idea was revived in succeeding presidential

⁵⁵Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 2, June 24, 25, Nov. 6, 1889; Foraker to Herrick, July 1, 1889, copy in Foraker papers, box 29.

campaigns and by 1888 was adopted on the national level, with Hanna among the membership. Toward the end of 1884, he reported local collections of \$3,000 and was trying further. Small as this amount seems, it was more than the total Foraker could report from Cincinnati for the November election of that year.⁵⁶ Hanna served on the finance committee of the state executive committee and helped seek out contributions on every occasion. With his conviction that he worked in a good cause, there was no shyness in his approach to his wealthy neighbors and friends. But requests for more money seemed endless. After having solicited contributions for the fall campaign of 1885 and then for the costs of pressing the Cincinnati election fraud cases, even the bold Mark Hanna began to feel qualms. "I can think of no one else who will be likely to give anything," he wrote A. L. Conger as he enclosed his and John Hay's checks in January, 1886. "The fact is I have gone over the ground here so often of late that I am ashamed to ask a man for any more money for political purposes."⁵⁷ His own checkbook, nevertheless, was always ready. At Foraker's request, for instance, in the fall of the same year he

⁵⁶Hanna to Foraker, Oct. 29, 1884; reply, Nov. 3, 1884; both in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 10-12.

⁵⁷Hanna to Conger, Jan. 7, 1886; see also same to same, Jan 5, 1886; both in A. L. Conger papers.

chipped in \$100 to a fund of \$500 being raised in the state to help overthrow a Democratic congressman in Virginia. When the state campaign of 1887 had passed, leaving the executive committee \$4,500 in debt, Hanna and Foraker sparred amicably over which of them would treat the other to his apportioned share of the obligation. The governor had always been a conscientious donor himself, but his means were far more limited. "Indeed," Hanna insisted, "you will not take care of my share of what we may have to pay. . . . I claim the privilege of paying your assessment as well as my own, and it will give great pleasure to do so. I only ask that I may be excused from doing any more begging this trip." Eventually, each paid his own share, and with a generous check from John D. Rockefeller the committee was soon operating in the black again.⁵⁸

Money for contesting elections, money for erasing deficits and money for other special or pet projects came so frequently that no measure of Hanna's financial importance to the party can be taken from a simple list of his contributions to the various committees at campaign time, or from a list of his collections from others, even were they

⁵⁸Foraker to Hanna, Sept. 16, 22, 1886, Nov. 5, 1886, Nov. 16, 21, 1887; reply, Nov. 23, 1887; all in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 56, 82-85, where the date of the final Hanna letters is misprinted as Nov. 27. See Foraker papers, box 28. The Virginia Republican, Yost, won his election. On Rockefeller's aid, see Hanna to Foraker, Jan. 20, 1888, ibid., p. 89.

available. While he sent the national committee \$10,000 of his own in 1888, for example, and collected probably \$100,000 at the same time, he was equally ready to come forward with the smaller, less widely acknowledged check when it could be placed effectively on short notice.⁵⁹

An example of this occurred early in the campaign of 1885, when Foraker called upon Hanna to help him purchase the support of two small Cleveland newspapers. For what it tells of methods, prices and confidences of the time, the episode deserves more than passing mention. The gubernatorial nominee wrote his new friend on July 2:

On my return from Columbus I find a letter from H. C. Smith, editor of the Cleveland Gazette, saying that he must know by Saturday, when his paper comes out, what policy his paper is to pursue. This simply means that he must either be helped, or his will not be a Republican paper.

I have met Mr. Smith several times, and he seems to be a bright, intelligent young man, who is anxious to do what is right, and I imagine he can give us some efficient help through his paper.

Of course, the committee will have to take care of such matters, but inasmuch as the committee is not yet organized and prepared to do anything, I enclose my check for \$50, payable to your order, and request that you see Mr. Smith and make the best arrangement with him it is possible to make to secure his hearty and active support.

⁵⁹Charles Richter to Hanna, Oct. 18, 1888, from New York, encloses two receipts for two \$5,000 contributions; in Hanna papers. Croly, Hanna, p. 149, errs in crediting him with a total of only \$5,000. The estimate of \$100,000 collected by Hanna in 1888 is from the Morrow interview with Charles Dick, Hanna papers.

I would not agree to pay him, from all sources, more than \$100 or \$200 or \$300 during the campaign. That would amount to a considerable help to him, and as much as the committee would be able to bestow in any one direction, in my judgment.

Bear in mind, too, that R. A. Jones, of the Cleveland Globe, who saw us at Columbus, will have to be seen and provided for similarly. I send this \$50 only with the idea that it will enable you to tide the gentlemen over for the present until the campaign gets on its feet. . . .

P.S.--See to it that these fellows are active, zealous and unqualified in their support, otherwise do not have anything to do with them.⁶⁰

Hanna replied a few days later that he had "fixed the editor of the Globe and will see Smith today if I can find him." Presumably he found him, for the Gazette swang into line.⁶¹ When a question arose as to whether Hanna had "fixed" Mr. Jones' Globe securely or David Paige and Allen O. Myers had subsequently caused it to slide in the direction of the Democrats, a fuller explanation of what he had done was in order. Hanna wrote that

the statement of [about?] the Globe I do not believe, for, as I wrote you, I have had an interview with Jones and have his promise to support you if we would let him do it in his own way. The paper has not been a political one, but rather devoted to their various societies. They had one Democrat on the paper and I have bought his stock and presented it to Jones. He said he would first publish letters and replies, one of which you will see in the paper I send you by mail today. . . ."⁶²

⁶⁰Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 18, 19.

⁶¹Hanna to Foraker, July 7, 1885, ibid., p. 19.

⁶²Hanna to Foraker, July 14, 1885, replying to Foraker to Hanna, July 9, 1885, both in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 20, 21.

Similar subsidies to the venal publishers of impoverished newspapers were not uncommon, as the rumor of competition for the Globe's favor illustrates. That Hanna was entrusted with the mission at so early a date tells something of his value to the veteran politicians as distinct from the rank and file of the party, none of whom was privy to such transactions.

Dan F. Reynolds remembered in later years how he had been delegated the unhappy responsibility for collecting a \$1,260 campaign deficit in Cuyahoga county about this time. He was having almost no luck at all, and reported as much to the committee. As the politicians sat around the meeting room in gloomy rumination on their fate, in walked Hanna. "It looks pretty blue in here; what's the matter?" he asked the assembled mourners. They told him, and he sat down with his checkbook to write out an order for the full amount. "Here, pay your debts and look cheerful."⁶³

Party leaders loved this cheerful giver. If he seemed to be buying--or renting--their favors, he paid well and promptly, he asked for nothing unreasonable or heterodox to good Republicans, and he sought no glory in office for himself. If he had his own circle of friends, they were not exclusively his, but good party men all--Foraker, Sherman,

⁶³Morrow interview with Dan F. Reynolds, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers.

McKinley, Amos Townsend, George Gardner, Myron Herrick, Asa Bushnell, Benjamin Butterworth, the Rockefellers and a host of Cleveland businessmen and minor party workhorses.

Clearly Hanna was seeking a place in the established order of political things rather than attempting either to reform or corrupt it. In this sense he looked upon politics as a game. It was neither war nor a crusade, but a game with settled objectives and established rules for tactics and scoring. It must be played strenuously and to win, but persistently, too, year in and year out. Such was Hanna's view, it may be inferred--he never expressed himself directly on the matter--and such has been the traditional view of the political American. What was unusual was the direction Hanna's ambition took in relation to it. He wanted from the start to be the coach and manager, rather than a player on the team. (His enemies, had they followed the simile this far, would have said he wanted to buy the whole team.) His approach to politicians was almost fatherly. He would be tolerant and understanding, but never deferential, except to a very few, and these--Sherman and McKinley--one at a time.

During this apprenticeship period of the Eighties, Hanna was operating simultaneously on all three levels of domestic politics. As a local power, he was least successful. As an influence on the party in the state he was

gaining rapidly through his services to the Republican governor, senator, several congressmen, and a number of wealthy businessmen and local leaders he had worked with at conventions and on committees.

On the national level, he had found a hero in John Sherman. His prominence among men of the Sherman-for-president group was a considerable one, especially toward 1888, but it was a prominence that would cost him dearly in state and county. It was Hanna's loyalty to Sherman that led to the estrangement from Foraker--an estrangement that serves as one of the major themes of his public life after mid-1888.

CHAPTER V
THE LESSONS OF 1888

In the complex dance of American political life, there is one underlying rhythm that beats so constantly and monotonously that its sound often goes unheard. Beneath the march and spin of issues, and giving the tempo for heroic solo performances, can be detected the constant two-four beat of the national election schedules. Though its timing can be marked annually, its heaviest accent falls on the years divisible by four. Not surprisingly, then, the biography of the public man may be highlighted by the evenly spaced events of the presidential election years. This is the case with Hanna to a great extent. His debut in national politics and the start of his friendship with Foraker both date from the national convention of 1884. The convention of 1888 was to mark the end of the alliance with Foraker and the beginnings of a new intimacy with McKinley. More broadly, it precipitated a new factionalism in Republican Ohio, and to some extent determined the role Mark Hanna was to take in state politics for the remainder of his public life.

The narrative ahead will be directed toward the answers to several questions here implied: What caused this

falling-out between the men and the formation of new factions around them? What part did Hanna play in the 1888 convention and how well did he handle himself in it? And finally, what new directions did Hanna's ambitions and prospects take at the end of this year? Although this is a biography of Hanna rather than Foraker, some attention must be given to the latter's side of the forthcoming conflict. Governor Foraker's continued importance in the party would be unexplainable had he been without a case plausible to a large number of his friends.

Two assumptions regarding the workings of Joseph Benson Foraker's mind in this period may be fairly taken. The first is that he was willing to put himself in the way of any political advancement that seemed within reach. This is not to say he was reckless. He had no wish to make a fool of himself. But he had the confidence, the optimism and the vanity to take to heart any suggestions that he was in line for the senatorship, the vice-presidency or the presidency itself. In short, he had begun to exhibit the familiar Great Man syndrome. Second, Foraker was not one to feel any special warmth of personal loyalty to another man. He understood the give and take of mutual obligations, but tended to keep a scorecard on them that party colleagues might have considered ungenerous. He was an intensely loyal and partisan Republican, but within the party his peers

found him aloof and touchy. His fellow Cincinnati, Benjamin Butterworth, wrote of him to a friend one exasperating day: "You know I have never been unfriendly to Gov. Foraker; I have been a vastly better friend to him than he has been to himself, although he may doubt it. Unfortunately he does not permit any body to come near him unless to burn incense in his nose. . . ." ¹ Butterworth, with his flair for the poisoned hyperbole, would shortly talk himself out of another term in Congress. But he was not alone in his impatience with Foraker.

Neither of these characteristics would be worth discussing at length had their possessor not been rising to such heights of political popularity as to create widespread talk of his fitness for a place on the national ticket. The talk began early in 1887, when he was drawing admiring applause from important audiences that heard him speak in New York and Pittsburgh. On several occasions in that gubernatorial campaign he was given opportunities for bloody-shirt waving that won renewed cheers from aging veterans in Ohio and beyond. Indeed, it seemed at times that the governor was being allowed to run against the Confederacy. Unfortunately, his battle cries came in the echo

¹Butterworth to Daniel J. Ryan, July 6, 1889, Ryan papers, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

of a peace and good will tour through the south by Senator John Sherman²

Democratic editors, meanwhile, saw their chance to muddy the waters further by stressing at every opportunity Foraker's fondness for Blaine and his surmised ambition to make himself the vice-presidential candidate with that always dangerous "Plumed Knight" from Maine.³

The state convention at Toledo in July of 1887 climaxed the first attempt of Sherman's friends to corner and disarm the young governor. As early as April 1, they announced through congressman Charles H. Grosvenor that they would call for an endorsement of Sherman's presidential pretensions. What could Foraker do? He tried briefly to escape commitment, but could not. He needed a united party behind him for the coming campaign. The price was his pledge of allegiance to the senator, and yet in giving it he made himself unavailable for either nomination at Chicago. His acquiescence was a "mistake," he said in his memoirs later, but at the time the issue was before him he had more realistically concluded that he was trapped:

¹Foraker, Notes, pp. 249-252, 283-289; Walters, Foraker, pp. 50, 51, 53, 57-61.

²Walters, Foraker, pp. 52, 54, 56; Hanna to Foraker, July 2, 1887, Foraker papers, box 1; Cleveland Plain Dealer, July 18, 1887.

We are now seeing what we all should have seen before [he wrote a friend]. Instead of perfect harmony, all is discord--Every man is whetting his knife, not for Democrats but for fellow Republicans. I feel it will grow worse instead of better. . . . I feel sick and tired out by it. It seems to me that Sherman is the most unfortunate man in some respects that I have ever known. I do not know what can be done to help the matter. If you know advise me.⁴

All this was before the state convention itself. When it met, the Sherman group, led by Grosvenor and A. C. Thompson, refused all compromises. Ironically, in view of his closeness to the senator's friends, McKinley was among those on the resolutions committee who voted against the Sherman endorsement before it came to the floor of the convention.⁵

Hanna succeeded in staying clear of the governor's wrath. Sherman, too, sought to hold Foraker's good will with complimentary letters. In January he expressed his pleasure at having him head the Ohio delegation--as if he could well prevent it. He asked Foraker to make a seconding

⁴Foraker to W. D. Bickham, July 14, 1887, copy in Foraker papers, box 28.

⁵Foraker, Notes, p. 268; Cleveland Plain Dealer, July 27, 28, 1887. The state executive and central committees remained in the control of Foraker's friends, however. He had let it be known that on this he would have "no fooling or nonsense of any kind with Mr. Sherman, or any of the gentlemen who represent him." Foraker to Foster, July 25, 1887, Foraker papers, box 28.

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speech at Chicago, though it was agreed that the nominating speech itself should be made by someone from outside Ohio.⁶

Not until May would Sherman formally authorize Hanna to take charge of his interests at the convention. But the wide-waisted, light-stepping merchant from Cleveland had begun to assume a leading role in pre-convention skirmishes long before this. As Croly observed, Hanna in effect "selected himself" for the position "by virtue of hard, enthusiastic and competent work."⁷

On the first day of March, Hanna set out with the family in tow for Atlantic City. All of them had been ill during the preceding month and little Ruth was still unwell. After a period of rest and a sidetrip to Philadelphia, Hanna was ready to make his first report on what was to be a major political expedition. As a sample of his approach to his work, the letter deserves extended quotation:

. . . While there [in Atlantic City] I made the acquaintance of Mr. Matthews, Prop. & Editor of the Buffalo Express. I got a good deal of information from him regarding N. Y. State politics. Said that he had been in favor of Sheridan believing that he could create a regular old-fashioned

⁶On the continuing good relations with Hanna, see Foraker-Hanna Corresp., p. 71 ff., and the complimentary reference to Hanna in Foraker to Alger, March 12, 1888, Foraker papers, box 28; on Sherman see Sherman to Foraker, Jan. 13, 1888, Foraker-Sherman Corresp., pp. 53, 54.

⁷Sherman to Hanna, May 12, 1888, Hanna papers; Croly, Hanna, p. 131.

"whoop-her up" kind of a campaign among the "boys" which would completely overshadow the factions in N. Y. State. I told him that such a choice would simply be throwing away his influence at a time when it could be of great service to his party, etc. And urged the "Ohio idea" with all my eloquence. He admitted that you were the best man for Prest "But can we elect him." My reply was simply to ask him Why you could not carry N. Y. To which he said he believed you could with a hearty unison all along the Rep. line. And outlined first what you had suggested. Warner Miller for Gov. and the Morton faction the second place or something equally satisfactory. When I left him yesterday he told me he thought he would be willing to have me say that he would support you. Then I would say it, says I. You may say he is my second choice, as I am not prepared to say that Sheridan is out of the question. Matthews is a power in Western N. Y. He does not want any office nor control any patronage. Therefore he is the "right kind" of a friend to have. I hope to see him when he returns to Buffalo.

I spent some time today with Mr. Swank of the Iron and Steel Ass. S. is a great Blaine man. But will now do all he can for you. He took me to see Wharton Barker with whom I spent two hours--I hardly know what to make of him as he expresses himself strongly for you while he also seems to be loaded with doubt about N. Y. from reliable sources. Swank wanted me to see Jas. McManes who he says will control a majority of the Phila. delegates. But Barker advised me not to see him as he had [said] lately (this week) that you could not be elected. McManes and Quay are not friends now. It struck me that Barker did not want me as your friend to see McManes--At any rate I will not risk making a mess of it by going contrary to his advice. But I will have someone else see McManes. . . .

I had a long letter yesterday from Gov. Foraker . . . and am satisfied that he is working as hard for you as he has done for himself.

And will continue to do so to the end. . . .⁸

The letter from Foraker referred to was a strongly worded reply to pleas from Hanna to help extinguish threatening boomlets for Blaine in the state. Foraker retorted that he was doing his bit far more than Sherman seemed to recognize, and cited several instances. But Sherman wrote Hanna that Foraker's letters to him had been "very satisfactory" and that he wanted to see the constantly recurring jealousies in the party kept down.⁹

On reaching New York, Hanna outlined his designs on that city and reflected on his past week's performance:

I felt it was a mistake not seeing McManes. But I was afraid of offending Barker. . . . The more I think of it the more I am satisfied that Barker was determined that I should not see him. Thinking that his own influence would be dwarfed. I cannot understand that sort of feeling in connection with matters so important. And may you be delivered from many such friends.

The next day he called on Stephen B. Elkins, reporting some encouragement in that quarter--though he later found he had been deceived--and spent an hour with "my friend Jno. D.

⁸Hanna to Sherman, March 18, 1888 from Philadelphia, Sherman papers. James M. Swank, secretary of the American Iron and Steel Association, was well known to Sherman: see Swank to Sherman, Jan. 11, 1888, idem. Barker, a financier and editor of the American, was for Harrison then; in 1896 he would join the Populists. McManes is properly given a chapter in Harold Zink, City Bosses in the United States (Durham, N. C., 1930).

⁹Foraker to Hanna, March 12, 1888, Foraker, Notes, p. 325; Sherman to Hanna, March 17, 1888, Hanna papers.

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Rockefeller, trying to get him interested." He did receive permission to lunch with him every day during his visit, "so as to go for several of their Gen'l Officers. . . ."10

Sherman beamed approval on all of this; prospects were bright. John Hay was also scouting for him, and Green B. Raum, a specialist in southern politics, was busy inquiring after delegates and distributing funds in the states of the old Confederacy.

Gently the senator advised his friend as he went along. He agreed it would have been better had he seen McManes himself, since "any casual expression of opinion by him would not bind him. . . ." When Hanna reluctantly reported a rumor that editor Smith of Philadelphia was wavering toward Blaine, Sherman replied grimly that he had "no doubt that C. Emory Smith, B. F. Jones, and the whole of the old [national] committee are ready at any moment to transfer their force if Blaine will consent." Gradually the fledgling campaign manager was learning his way through the eastern thickets of the political jungle.¹¹

¹⁰Hanna to Sherman, March 18, 19, 31, 1888, all in Sherman papers.

¹¹Sherman to Hanna, March 20, 1888, Hanna papers. Raum made a number of trips south; his best reports are in letters to Sherman of April 28 and May 17, 1888, both in Sherman papers. On McManes and Smith, see Sherman to Hanna, March 20, 28, both in Hanna papers, and Hanna to Sherman, March 27, 1888, Sherman papers.

Not until the end of the first week in April did he return to catch up on accumulated business in Cleveland. Before long he realized that his election as a district delegate was by no means assured, and there followed that "bulldozing" scene described by Leach earlier. Soon afterward came the state convention at Dayton. He had been trying to see Foraker the previous week without success, but stopped over in Columbus now to ride with the governor to Dayton. Returning home for a week, he then disappeared in the direction of Boston for a week on business. The first four days of May he was back in Cleveland fretting over the "nightmare" of the oil inspectorships. At the end of the week he was in Chicago with A. L. Conger, arranging for delegation and campaign headquarters, and seeking out Illinois party leaders. From Chicago he went to Minneapolis, not to be seen in Cleveland again until May 15.¹² In the accumulated mail on his desk then were two significant letters. Foraker had written requesting a visit from him, noting sharply at the conclusion: "I do not like the outlook for our cause. It may be it is only because no one seems to deem it appropriate to give me any information about it. At any rate, I am wholly ignorant as to Mr.

¹²Hanna to Foraker, April 6, 11, 16, 1888, Foraker-Hanna Corresp., p. 105; Hanna to Sherman, May 3, 15, 1888, Sherman papers.

Sherman's plans and wishes, hopes and prospects." The other letter was from Sherman, saying that

it is very important that you and Foster meet here with McKinley, Butterworth, Raum and others, who will be designated, as early as the 25th of this month with a view to a conference.

Please advise me if it is within your power to come, and whether it will be best to invite Conger.

Answers went out immediately to both men. He would try to steal time to come down for a conference before long, he assured Foraker, but would be on the road most of the time fulfilling prior commitments. To Sherman, whose letter had also notified him that he had been chosen convention campaign manager, he also explained that he had a tight schedule but could get to Washington Friday or Saturday if the others could. "By all means invite Mr. Conger and any other of your friends that can be of service. Would it not be well to at least extend an invitation to Gov. Foraker? I do not think he could go, but I do not think it wise to ignore him in making plans for this campaign."¹³

So Foraker was invited, and declined. Only Hanna and Foster made the trip; the others, including at least McKinley, Butterworth and Raum, and probably J. C. Donaldson as well, were already in Washington. What was said at

¹³Foraker to Hanna, May 10, 1888; reply, May 15, 1888, both in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., p. 105; Sherman to Hanna, May 12, 1888, Hanna papers; reply, May 15, 1888, Sherman papers.

the meeting is not known to this day. On Foster's return to Ohio, he wrote Foraker that Hanna had agreed to "have a full talk" with him the same week. Hanna made a stopover in Pittsburgh, however, and when he arrived in Cleveland had only four days free before he was obliged to set out for Chicago and points west again, this time on long-neglected business for the Union Pacific Railroad. He wrote the governor that he feared he may not have time to come down before leaving, and then inquired whether the altered room arrangements he had made for him at Chicago's Grand Pacific Hotel would be suitable. He had reserved a suite for him directly above the Sherman and Ohio headquarters. McKinley, Foster, Butterworth and he would share two small rooms adjoining the headquarters. The change was made, he explained, because he understood that the governor would have his wife with him. Was this all right?¹⁴

It was not. Foraker was piqued and minced no words in explaining why. He quoted from Sherman's letter saying that a long and important conference had been held and that either Hanna or Foster would return with a full report "at an early day." Then he quoted Foster's letter saying that

¹⁴Foraker to Sherman, telegram, May 17, 1888, Sherman papers; Foster to Foraker, May 21, 1888, Foraker papers, box 33; Hanna to Foraker, May 24, 1888, Foraker-Hanna Correspondence, p. 106; Hanna to Sherman, May 30, 1888, explains his railroad business.

Hanna would make the report. Butterworth had also written, but less frankly, saying that "nothing of consequence was done" at the conference. "Matters are under advisement. I will write you as soon as anything worth your hearing transpires."

With these letters before me, Foraker concluded I was surprised to receive your letter in which you do not speak of any arrangement having been made according to which you are to see me, . . . or of any information, . . . or of any plan, . . . or of any organization, . . . but which is chiefly an assignment of reasons why I should surrender the rooms in the vicinity of our headquarters that I have had engaged for more than three months, . . . and take others higher up.

These letters appear to me "out of joint" with one another, and coupled with what is reaching me from various quarters, satisfy me that the so-called "fool friends" are not all killed off yet, as I supposed, and induce me to say that I prefer to retain my rooms.¹⁵

Hanna made no argument. The suggested rooms "only had in view your own comfort and privacy. They will be left as they were. I leave for Colorado tomorrow night and will see you on my return." After stopping over in Chicago, he wrote at greater length of the proposed room changes, enclosing a diagram. "Believe me I did not intend to be officious in the matter and am sorry if it might have seemed so."¹⁶

¹⁵Foraker to Hanna, May 25, 1888, Foraker-Hanna Correspondence, pp. 107, 108.

¹⁶Hanna to Foraker, May 26, 1888, Foraker papers, box 1; same to same, from Omaha, May 29, 1888, Foraker-Hanna Correspondence, pp. 108, 109. Foraker had his way.

But he never answered the question of whether he was delegated to report on the Washington conference. Perhaps he had not understood that he was, but disliked to contradict Foster. More likely, he felt that a full talk in Columbus would do so little to smooth the governor's feath-ers by then that other, more rewarding chores had to be given greater priority. In any case, he never did have that talk, and never wrote in more than outline of his doings and findings. In a last-minute effort to salvage some of the earlier good feeling, he wired an invitation to leave early for the convention with him in his private car. "I want you there bad." It would have been awkward at best, and a strain on the governor's dignity; Foraker courteously excused himself.¹⁷

The chores that were coming to demand priority as June approached were increasingly centered in Chicago itself. None of the better daily newspapers there were boosting Sherman.¹⁸ One that had been friendly had begun to slip away toward Gresham's camp. On his way to Colorado, Hanna stopped over in the city to make further convention

¹⁷Hanna to Foraker, telegram, June 11, 1888; reply, June 12, 1888, both in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 111-113.

¹⁸William Henry Smith to Sherman, May 12, 1888; Murat Halstead to Sherman, May 15, 1888, both in Sherman papers.

arrangements and found time to see William Penn Nixon, publisher of the Inter-Ocean. His report to Sherman on the interview bristled with confidence:

I gave N. a piece of my mind (as the feeling held by protectionists in the east) in regard to his following the Chicago Tribune in support of Gresham. I think I shook him considerably and Jones will magnify my position as a representative of the class who can or not support the fattening fortunes of his paper (That is his weak spot) But I have told him to go on mildly as he is and to repent before too late so as to throw his influence at the right time for Sherman (on the 2nd ballot) and he would be forgiven. . . .

Today with Mr. Thurston . . . and I made him admit that Blaine's success at Chicago under the conditions upon which he could steal the nomination was full of danger for the election. He is really the strong man in the delegation for that faction and I am bound to capture him at Chicago. . . .

There was some substance to his boasting, however, for Nixon and Jones both came around.¹⁹

Wednesday morning, June 13, a private railroad car described by an unfriendly reporter as a "saloon on wheels" was stocked and steamed up for its grand departure to the battlefield. Hanna rounded up his friends, shooed away sharp-eared newsmen, and set his face for Chicago.²⁰

¹⁹Hanna to Sherman, May 29, 1888, Sherman papers.
Nixon to Warner M. Batemen, May 30, 1888, Bateman papers;
A. M. Jones to Sherman, June 2, 1888, Sherman papers.

²⁰Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 14, 1888.

If his head had begun to swell with new visions of reflected glory as manager of the leading candidate before the convention, he needed only to look at the introduction accorded him by the Chicago Herald: "Editor Hanna of the Cleveland Leader came yesterday to do advance picket duty for Ohio's favorite son. . . ." But only Democrats read the Herald.²¹

The Republican national convention of 1888 was a classic of its type: the "open" convention. There was no strongly established leader early in the contest. Blaine might have found himself in that position had he not chosen to disavow publicly any ambition for a second time at the end of May. Sherman's friends brought the greatest bloc of committed delegates, but many of these were from the "rotten boroughs" of the hopelessly Democratic South. In any case, his manager's total claim of 300 on the first ballot fell far short of a majority of the 831 delegates. The convention was open, then, in the sense that it afforded full play for the professional skills of the dealers, manipulators and combiners of minorities into a majority acceptable to them. Victors in such conventions might be expected to be heavily mortgaged to local bosses, for they can win only through a series of hasty deals with the leaders of the more docile herds of delegates.

²¹Ibid., quoting Chicago Herald.

In a nutshell, the convention of 1888 is the story of the nomination of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana on the eighth ballot, the prompt selection of Levi P. Morton of New York as his running mate, and the adoption of a strong high tariff platform. To leave the story in a nutshell, however, would be to hide its significance to the careers of Hanna and his friends. For them it was a time of high excitement and hard experience.

The scene was the huge new Chicago Auditorium, an unfinished five-storied granite enclosure with a temporary roof that for all its newness presented to at least one observer the appearance of an attractive old ruin. Decorations of festooned flags, rows of state shields and giant portraits of presumably giant Republicans were conventional. A novelty was the use of electric lights throughout. The focal point of the hall was a great Union shield in 750 red, white and blue lights mounted behind the rostrum.²²

Early arrivals to the convention city took little time for admiring the decor. More than a week of feverish planning and skirmishing elapsed between Hanna's arrival and the start of the first ballot on June 22. Besides Sherman and Harrison, the active candidates included Judge Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana and Chicago, Governor Russell A. Alger

²² N. Y. Tribune, June 16, 1888.

of Michigan, Senator William B. Allison of Iowa, and belatedly, Senator Chauncey M. Depew of New York. His entry into the lists of June 18 cut nearly a hundred votes from Sherman's expected first ballot strength. Blaine was in Scotland visiting with Andrew Carnegie and quietly nursing his health. His friends were on hand, however, and gave him no fewer than 33 votes on any of the first six ballots while waiting to hear his wishes as the proceedings dragged on.

Reporters found their first theme in confusion. Their ears tingled in a din of unintelligible whispering. The situation was more than fluid; it was almost gaseous. "There is no situation," one concluded; "the prophets have quit prophesying," another wrote. Hanna's private remark that he preferred the policy of the "still hunt" typified the attitude of all the managers. As a consequence, none of them knew much of what the others were doing and the press knew even less.²³

After his first two days on the scene, Hanna made his initial report to Sherman. Gresham, whom the senator had feared as his most dangerous rival, was seen to be fatally weak in organization. Allison and Harrison were about

²³Ibid.; Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 17, 1888; see also J. B. Morrow's dispatches to the Cleveland Leader, June 17, et seq., which betray more confusion than they admit; Hanna to Sherman, 10 p.m., June 15, 1888, Sherman papers.

abreast, he found, and encouragingly pleasant relations had quickly been established with the latter's men. Little was known of Depew's intentions, but two interviews with Quay had proven "satisfactory." Currently Hanna was working on the Texas delegation, laying his approaches to the incoming California men, waiting for Sawyer to arrive so that he could conclude arrangements for Wisconsin discussed with Payne, and looking for Manley of Maine, who had promised help in that state. Meanwhile, some leakages were reported in the southern delegations, for General Alger's boom had been growing rapidly in that direction, "and I regret to say that the evidence shows the results are largely due to the barrel. . . . [But] I believe that we will be able to stop that."²⁴ How he stopped it will be taken up later.

Ohio's delegation began falling apart in discord from the time of its first meeting. Blaine's recent letter of withdrawal had not relieved Sherman at all. The "Blainiacs" only began seeking another name to promote against him. Alger was considered. Rumors of a Depew-Foraker or Depew-McKinley ticket circulated, making it necessary for the two Ohioans to pledge their allegiance to Sherman repeatedly.²⁵ Foraker decided early on a test of strength in the delegation

²⁴Hanna to Sherman, 10 p.m., June 15, 1888, Sherman papers.

²⁵Cleveland Plain Dealer and Chicago Tribune, both June 19, 1888; Walters, Foraker, p. 67; Foraker, Notes, I, 342-344.

between his and Blaine's friends as against the Hanna-Butterworth-Foster group that was suspected of being ready to defect to McKinley when opportunity arose. The occasion of the test was the selection of a national committeeman. Hanna had been backing Amos Townsend for some time. Foraker decided to oppose him with the incumbent Blaine adherent, A. L. Conger. A poll of the delegation showed Conger would win, and Townsend felt obliged to withdraw.²⁶

When the meeting broke up, an anonymous Ohioan summarized a grim situation for the press: "We have the cover on and screwed down, and every big man in the state is sitting on the safety valve. The very men who might profit most by the explosion are the ones who daren't let go."²⁷ This was the picture of Ohio's happy warriors given prospective Sherman delegates to contemplate.

Each day matters grew worse. On the evening of June 19, the Foraker Club of Columbus struck up its band and marched away from the crowd outside Sherman headquarters as Grosvenor rose in his turn to speak.²⁸ The next day a contest arose in the credentials committee between rival

²⁶Foraker, Notes, I, 343-346; Chicago Tribune, June 18, 1888; see also Julia B. Foraker, I Would Live It Again, pp. 104, 105.

²⁷Chicago Tribune, June 19, 1888.

²⁸Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 20, 1888; Green B. Raum to Sherman, 8:40 p.m., June 20, 1888, Sherman papers.

Virginia delegations. Hanna supported the pro-Sherman group under William Mahone; Foraker preferred the Blaine faction under John S. Wise. The issue came to the convention floor, and though Hanna was able to dissuade Foraker from speaking there in favor of Wise, he could not prevent a division on the delegation's vote.²⁹ The one occasion that did not seem to arouse new antagonisms this week was Foraker's seconding speech for Sherman, an effective effort that drew grudging professional compliments as well as the customary cheers and outbursts of "Marching Through Georgia."³⁰

It was at about this time, however, that Foraker took a turn at being miffed. High on his list of choices for the nomination was Russell Alger. Sherman he felt obliged to support first; Blaine he privately preferred, and Alger came second only to Blaine.³¹ Throughout the first week in

²⁹Raum to Sherman, 8:40 p.m., June 20, 1888; A. C. Thompson and Grosvenor to Sherman, June 21, 1888; both in Sherman papers; Cleveland Leader, June 21, 1888.

³⁰Telegrams to Sherman from Raum, Foster and Grosvenor, all June 21, 1888, in Sherman papers.

³¹Foraker's predilection for Blaine becomes evident later in the course of the convention; on his interest in Alger, see Foraker to Alger, March 2, 1888, and April 3, 1888, both in Foraker papers, box 28. In both letters Foraker assures Alger that he and his friends prefer him second to Sherman. As Blaine had already declined to let his name be used, presumably Foraker was counting him out.

Chicago it had become obvious that Alger's managers were buying up Sherman delegates from the South. Hanna mentioned it in his first report to Sherman on June 15, and frequently thereafter. Grosvenor, Thompson, and Raum reported it. Impecunious Negroes for the most part, it appeared that these delegates had to be reimbursed for their expenses at every turn.³² Hanna had known they would need help and asked Sherman long before the convention to pass the word South that he would be "prepared to purchase the surplus [gallery] tickets of their delegation for members of the Sherman Club." What he did not know was that competition from Alger would raise their demands on his generosity. When Foraker came upon Hanna at headquarters busily dealing in tickets and complaining of Alger's rivalry, he

³²Hanna to Sherman, June 15, 1888; Grosvenor and Thompson to Sherman, 7 a.m., June 19, 1888; Hanna to Sherman, telegram, 3:56 a.m., June 20, 1888 (saying they "have reclaimed a portion of our losses in the South"); Raum to Sherman, 9:40 p.m., June 23, 1888 (saying they had not bought delegates themselves); all in Sherman papers. In a letter to Sherman after the convention, a friend told him that "An Alexandria politician tells me that some Southern delegates had no means after their arrival and, if your managers had provided them with board, they would have swelled your vote considerably. As it was, others provided for them and reaped the benefit." H. C. Porter to Sherman, June 27, 1888, Sherman papers. But such reports deserve little weight, for one of the values of the practice of having candidates stay away from party conventions is to protect them from guilty knowledge of just such activities.

turned away in disgust--but in disgust at Hanna, not Alger.³³

Still, a see-saw battle continued throughout the first six ballots. Although Sherman never lost the lead, the extent of the Alger threat to Sherman's leadership in the delegations from the old Confederacy is indicated by the running score: 111-27, 105-53, 106-49, 96-62, 94-63, 97-60.

On Friday, June 22, the first three ballots were taken. Tallies for the six leading contenders were, in order: Sherman, 229, 249 and 244; Gresham, 111, 108 and 123; Depew, 99, 99 and 91; Alger 84, 116 and 122; Harrison, 80, 91 and 94; and Allison, 72, 75 and 88. On the first ballots there were 150 scattered votes, on the second 92, and the third, 68. As had been feared, Sherman's following was too Southern in flavor to inspire much faith in his prospects for election. Of the Northern states that might be carried for a Republican candidate, he received support only from Ohio, Pennsylvania (53 of 60 votes), and a third of the Massachusetts delegation.

At the end of this first day the newspapers might still report that "there is no situation." Blaine's ghost seemed to hover over the convention with hypnotic effect. On whom would the anti-Blaine group settle? Hanna saw it this way:

³³Hanna to Sherman, May 28, 1888, Sherman papers; Foraker, Notes, I, 363, 364.

. . . The talk of weakness in our own camp has made all candidates timid about coming to us. . . . I believe the Blaine men are only waiting their opportunity and nothing will save this convention from that danger but the unselfish loyalty to the party of such men as Harrison and Allison. Our combinations did not work this morning because the Blaine men did not show their hand. Wisconsin ought to have saved our loss for us on the last [3rd] ballot. But I believe Spooner is holding a chance open for Harrison. Gresham gains spoiled our combination to get the votes from Wisconsin and Illinois we hoped for. [Senator Warner Miller of New York] gives no aid and comfort yet and if the Blaine demonstration does not frighten them I think Harrison will get the largest percentage of the N. Y. delegation. . . . If Quay will stay with us I believe we are still in a good place. I have not seen him since adjournment but think he needs bolstering. I can see that he wants to name the man before anyone else can do so. Am just summoned to meet Quay. . . .³⁴

Openings for Harrison in Wisconsin and New York, fears of what Quay would do with Pennsylvania--it looked as if the anti-Blaine forces would settle on Harrison. But it was not that simple, for the nomination was not accomplished by them alone. Certainly Hanna's fear of Quay's skittishness was justified, for the Pennsylvania boss was engaged at that very moment in an effort to get a written promise of a cabinet member from Harrison. It must be inferred that he failed, and it may be inferred that he kept looking around.³⁵ After meeting with the Pennsylvanians, Hanna was

³⁴Hanna to Sherman, telegram, 3:40 p.m., June 22, 1888, Sherman papers.

³⁵John B. Elam and Louis T. Michener to [Harrison], June 17, 1888, copy in Michener papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

near despair. "Everything is in a mess," he wired Sherman. McManes would stay only two more ballots and Quay was asking what Sherman would do if he saw his case was hopeless. "Combinations seem impossible," Hanna repeated, "owing to our known weakness. . . . Answer quick."³⁶

Hanna referred here to the inability of the Ohio delegation to hold together on anyone other than Sherman. Once it broke away from him, it would go its own way. Nor could it be expected to agree easily on a vice-presidential candidate. Aside from this shakiness in its home state's support, the Sherman candidacy had other weaknesses. As in 1884, he was a veteran senator with an inescapable record on the major issues. His personality remained a factor: the "Mansfield icicle" opponents called him. His southern support was leaking to others, and in so doing it called attention to its venality. The West Coast disliked Sherman for his stands on the silver and Chinese immigration issues. Finally, there were the New Yorkers, Platt and Depew, neither of whom felt that they and their Stalwart friends could expect many favors from a Sherman in the White House. The Shermanites had friends in the Empire State's delegation, however, and hope was never abandoned until the last minute.

³⁶Hanna to Sherman, telegram, 6:05 p.m., June 22, 1888, Sherman papers.

If Hanna had dwelt on these considerations and become somewhat disheartened at the end of the first day's balloting, there was still one further complication that may have aroused more of his curiosity than despair. A surprisingly vigorous boomlet for McKinley developed Friday afternoon. He received at first two, three, and then eight votes that day. This raised a dilemma even though none of the votes came from Ohio. Butterworth and John Little explained in a long wire to Sherman that

Our friends are a little divided in judgment as to whether he should take notice of the matter in convention now. He is restless under what he regards as an imputation upon his integrity of purpose and is not disposed to sit silent under it unless our friends think it best that he should. . . . He would without an if or but demand of the convention that his name should not be used and that to persist in it would reflect upon his integrity, and be an assault upon his honor. The danger is that the exhibition of the quality that prompts him would increase his vote. He has been and is thoroughly loyal & has worked like a trojan to promote your nomination.³⁷

Others, including Hanna, wrote to ascertain Sherman's wishes regarding McKinley. The next morning Hanna wrote that "some want to capture the place with McKinley," but "that is not from your friends."³⁸ Before Sherman replied, McKinley had made his own decision. On Saturday morning as the fourth

³⁷Butterworth and Little to Sherman, telegram, 7:15 p.m., June 22, 1888, Sherman papers.

³⁸Hanna to Sherman, telegram, June 23, 1888, Sherman papers.

ballot was getting under way, a vote for him was announced from Connecticut. McKinley quickly gained the floor and rose to demand in a fervent speech that his commitment to Sherman be respected by the convention. If the success of the Foraker seconding speech earlier had aroused fears of a boom for him, now this "exhibition of the quality that prompts him" stirred hopes and fears of a scramble to McKinley. Neither development reached the surface, but beneath it, as will be seen, both men were offered temptations.

For McKinley--and Hanna--the temptation arose at the conclusion of the two ballots taken Saturday morning following this pledge of loyalty. Sherman's vote was undergoing a slow bleeding, dropping to 235 and then 224, while Harrison was winning the bulk of the New York delegation, 20 new votes from Wisconsin and a sufficient scattering of others to bring his score up from the previous day's 94 to 217 and 213 on Saturday's ballots. Gresham was falling back and being counted out, but both Alger and Allison inched ahead. Blaine, too, was holding 48 votes at the close of the day. Even McKinley was given 11 and then 14 votes, as against the eight that had worried him on Friday.

Despite Harrison's rapid rise, there was no agreement on the seriousness of that threat. James Gillespie Blaine still held the convention in a kind of thrall. Hanna,

Sherman, and a number of others thought Harrison merely a "cover for Blaine."³⁹ Sherman's failure to rally the anti-Blaine forces around him meant that a new choice must be made if a stampede to Blaine was to be avoided. Hanna's exchange of telegrams with Sherman on Saturday have not been kept in chronological order, but the inferred sequence indicates Hanna's reluctant agreement that McKinley should be the next focus of the Ohioans' attention. In his first reference to the situation, he had not lost hope in a Sherman victory, and so felt that the McKinley talk was "not from your friends." Then he softened:

The Blaine movement will develop this afternoon and I feel sure will get votes in the Ohio delegation. . . . Senator Hoar and many of your best friends say that the only way to prevent a Blaine nomination is to wire me to announce your withdrawal and let McKinley come in. Foraker will oppose this but the other states say it is either McKinley or Blaine. I do not advise in this and it should only be done as a last resort. . . .

Wiring next that the convention had agreed to adjourn for the weekend, he asked for instructions.⁴⁰ The delegation caucussed; Hanna reported its results in two steps:

Little has just come in to say that the feeling is almost universal that McKinley is the only man on whom the anti-Blaine element can unite. The vote in conference is to the effect that neither Allison or [sic] you can defeat Blaine.

³⁹Idem; Halstead to Sherman, telegram, June 23, 1888; Sherman to Hanna, telegram, June 24, 1888, all in Sherman papers.

⁴⁰Hanna to Sherman, June 23, 1888, Sherman papers.

Foraker is for Blaine and will slaughter you.
Says himself that his influence shall go to
Blaine.⁴¹

Then, before Sherman had answered any of the earlier questions, Hanna committed himself:

The Blaine movement is to be made on the next ballot. We think McKinley the only man who can defeat him. Who do you advise. Can Ohio afford to lose the opportunity. I regret the situation but fear I am right.⁴²

Sherman was in no mood to fall in behind another man. One Garfield had been enough. He wired back:

Like McKinley but such a movement would be unjust to others and I view it as a breach of implied faith. I will be true and frank. Mutual fidelity demands that we stand to our position and fall if need be with honor.

Hanna had told him only a few hours before that he would "die in the last ditch if you say so," and now it seemed he was saying so.⁴³

Thus ended the near-boom for McKinley. The claim that it had been covertly sponsored by Hanna at its inception is unsupportable.⁴⁴ If the movement had roots in Ohio they were well buried. More likely, it had no roots at all, but sprang up overnight in the minds of several men

⁴¹Idem.

⁴²Idem.

⁴³Idem; reply, June 23, 1888, Sherman papers.

⁴⁴Walters, Foraker, p. 72; Julia B. Foraker, I Would Live It Again, p. 105.

independently. Hanna was not alone in seeking a second choice acceptable to the Sherman group when the senator's incapacity for rallying a majority against Blaine became evident.⁴⁵ It was an incipient draft movement in which McKinley himself had no active part. He was never accused of promoting himself, nor is there any reason to suspect him of doing so. True, his profession of loyalty before the convention was a highly effective display of his oratory, but it was appropriate and to the point.⁴⁶ McKinley's temperament was much more suited to staying afloat in a storm than to stirring up the waves. For the movement to succeed it needed not his efforts so much as the cordial backing of Sherman, and Sherman's telegram of Saturday night gave notice that there would be no peace at home if the movement were persisted in. This killed it for the Ohioans. There is some indication, however, that volunteer missionaries outside Ohio continued their work on Sunday. McKinley's peak strength of 16 votes came as late as the seventh ballot.

⁴⁵Raum to Sherman, 9:40 p.m., June 23, 1888, says the movement originated outside of Ohio and mentions Farrell of Ill., Phelps of N. J., Hoar of Mass. and others as favoring the idea. See also Frank B. Baird to Sherman, telegram, 1:05 a.m., and A. M. Jones to Sherman, telegram, 1:05 a.m., June 24, 1888, all in Sherman papers.

⁴⁶See Olcott, McKinley, I, 262, 263.

Foraker was aware of the McKinley talk and fully agreed on the need for moving to a second choice. That his choice would be Blaine surprised no one; that his announcement of it would be given to the press on Saturday afternoon surprised and angered a great many. He told reporters that he had done his duty, that Sherman's cause was hopeless, and that he and others in the Ohio delegation would switch to Blaine on Monday morning. All this came without a release voted by a majority of the delegation, as had been pledged earlier.⁴⁷

Immediately in the background of this bolt were two rumors. Just after the fourth ballot had been taken and a recess called until four o'clock, word spread that the Blaine men would make their big push that afternoon on the next ballot. The Ohio delegation quickly caucussed. While some talked of winning with McKinley, others, led by Foraker, agreed to demand the right to break for Blaine if

⁴⁷Walters, Foraker, p. 73. The interview was carried on Associated Press wires and appeared in Sunday editions of subscribing papers. On the release of Ohio delegates, an AP reporter wrote that he learned at Ohio headquarters on Saturday that "under an agreement which every delegate signed there would be no change of candidates unless a majority of the delegates so decided. . . ." (Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 24, 1888.) Hanna's telegram to Sherman just after adjournment Saturday afternoon (June 23, in Sherman papers) implies that no such release had been given: "Now if our delegation relieve themselves of the responsibility of voting for you I want full and definite instructions what to do. . . ."

by the time their state was reached on the roll call it had become evident that Blaine was strong enough to win. New York, especially, they relied upon for their cue. This much decided, they returned to their seats only to find the convention adjourning until Monday morning.⁴⁸

The rumor of an impending push for Blaine may well have been true; the other rumor was false. This was a report that Sherman had named McKinley his successor if it should appear that one was necessary. On Sunday morning Foraker learned directly from Sherman that no such legacy had been made. Then it was too late to undo the damage. The story of the governor's break for Blaine was in all the Sunday papers. He denied it. Eight months later, however, he admitted its truth.⁴⁹

Saturday was the nadir. Sunday morning brought a renewed willingness to work for harmony and even victory behind Sherman. For Hanna the first chore was to patch up the delegation. Regarding Foraker, he wired Sherman:

. . . He pretends to feel that he has not been well treated but this is only an excuse. We had [have?] decided to make a desperate effort today to pacify him & save his honor. When you wire him let it be as if you were prompted by the reports that he was untrue to say to him that you did not believe such stories. . . . If

⁴⁸Foraker, Notes, I, 373, 374.

⁴⁹Cleveland Plain Dealer and Cleveland Leader, both June 24, 1888; Walters, Foraker, p. 73; J. B. Morrow MS. Statement, Cleveland, 1905, Hanna papers.

he will come out now & join heartily in your support I believe we can rally enough support from Illinois & Wisconsin to start the current our way. . . . The Blaine movement don't seem to gain as much as they hoped. McKinley is acting splendidly and is showing himself your true friend. . . .⁵⁰

Sherman followed this advice on Foraker, taking the opportunity also to explain that he had not intended to seem ungrateful to him for his seconding speech. He had telegraphed his appreciation through Hanna, who neglected to pass it on. Foraker was mollified, though he reminded the senator that if a break for Blaine was to be made it would be impossible to prevent some of the delegation from joining it.⁵¹

All eyes were on the New York leaders Sunday for signs of just such a break. Suddenly Sherman's fears seemed to vanish, as shortly after two o'clock in the afternoon he received an excited telegram from his New York banker friend, A. E. Bateman:

I have just come from a long conference with Hiscock & Depew. An effort will be made to give you 72 votes on first ballot. Depew will take the platform & ask the convention to make your nomination by acclamation. Alger will be vice pres't⁵² Now all this must not be known today.
. . .

⁵⁰Hanna to Sherman, telegram, June 24, 1888, Sherman papers.

⁵¹Sherman to Foraker, telegram, June 24, 1888; reply, n.d., both in Sherman papers.

⁵²A. E. Bateman to Sherman, telegram, 2:10, June 24, 1888, Sherman papers.

Hanna, too, betrayed his elation:

Bateman has just wired you and it is all right but you must keep up the intercourse with the others who before this have given you encouragement. I mean Cullom, Spooner & Sawyer. We are on top at last.

Throughout the afternoon the wires hummed with messages of encouragement.⁵³

Then came another sharp turn: late in the evening it was discovered that New York had decided to stand by Harrison a while longer. Hanna wired that now it was up to Sherman to hold Quay in line and come to terms with Allison. If he could do that, the Gresham vote would be in prospect. But Sherman was unable to win over Allison. Their conference in Washington brought them to the meaningless conclusion that, in Sherman's words, "if the vote of either would decide the contest in favor of the other, it would be done." This intelligence arrived in Chicago shortly after midnight. Hanna wired a sour comment and went to bed.⁵⁴

Monday morning dawned hot and humid, as had every other day of the convention. "The situation . . . is decidedly mixed again" began Hanna's first dispatch. New York would

⁵³Hanna to Sherman, telegram, 2:21 p.m.; telegrams to Sherman from Butterworth, McKinley, Raum, A. E. Bateman, and A. B. Cold, June 24, 1888, all in Sherman papers.

⁵⁴Hanna to Sherman, telegram, June 24, 1888; reply telegram, June 25, 1888; Hanna to Sherman, telegram, 12:30 a.m., June 25, 1888; all in Sherman papers.

go glong with Harrison as long as he continued gaining. Blaine had wired his friends Elkins and Boutelle another refusal, but there was no public indication of his preference. Hanna heard only that California was switching to Alger, and so predicted that most of the rest of Blaine's following would do likewise.⁵⁵

The pea was under another shell. A glimpse could be seen as the first state was called on the sixth ballot: Alabama gave 15 of its 20 votes to Harrison for the first time. Then the pea disappeared. Both Sherman and Harrison gained slightly; Alger and Allison lost ground.

The seventh ballot began. Harrison began to creep ahead with small gains first in Connecticut, then in Florida, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts and others. Tension mounted as the clerk called out the states in alphabetical order. Depew could be seen standing in the aisle with an Allison agent, Colonel Henderson. Quay spotted them and hurried to join in. Platt came over. Finally Hanna moved in and all four huddled with heads bowed together and cigars puffing.⁵⁶

Harrison's gains accelerated early in the eighth ballot as California finally came to him, rather than to Alger. This was the first solid evidence the convention at large

⁵⁵Hanna to Sherman, June 25, 1888, Sherman papers.

⁵⁶New York Tribune, June 26, 1888.

had of Blaine's preference. It was quickly confirmed as Allison's Iowa and the 59 votes from Quay's Pennsylvania went over to Harrison. With the announcement that Tennessee cast 20 votes for him, the former general and senator from Indiana passed the finish line. Sherman, who had led on every ballot except the last two, was left with only Ohio and the remnants of his southern bloc. "The nomination fell very flat in the hall," he heard from a friend that day, "and yet there was a sense of relief because it was not Blaine."⁵⁷

The choice of Harrison was a compromise arranged late in the convention with precisely this view in mind--to give a sense of relief to as many groups as possible. He was a respected and respectable candidate from a state considered more doubtful in November than Ohio. The attention of the bosses had turned to him late Saturday after Depew had vetoed a plan to settle on Allison. An envoy was sent to Indianapolis to give terms to Harrison and met with him after church on Sunday. His return was signaled by New York's decision to stay with Harrison "as long as he continued to gain." "Ret" Clarkson of Iowa went along with the Harrison movement after he had found both Allison and Blaine out of the running. Clarkson was authorized to act

⁵⁷William Henry Smith to Sherman, June 25, 1888, Sherman papers.

for Allison--which helps explain Allison's stubbornness in his conference with Sherman in Washington--and he had the backing of his delegation. Aldrich, Hoar and a number of others were privy to the negotiations with Harrison, but none of them wanted to burn their bridges behind them by telling Sherman or his managers of the scheme prematurely. It is also worth noting, since it has often been overlooked, that the movement toward Harrison began inside the convention and not with the arrival of the telegrams from Scotland. Both Blaine's final declination and Carnegie's advice that Blaine was immovable and Harrison was to be preferred as second choice arrived on Sunday morning only to confirm the sense of the meeting of the night before.⁵⁸

In spite of the smoothness with which the Harrison movement rolled after it started, there were a few men in the Blaine camp who apparently were unwilling to concede even late on Sunday night that the time for hatching new plots was over. There is the almost fantastic story of "Foraker's temptation" at two o'clock on Monday morning. It was not brought to light until a number of years later, when Senators Fessenden and Elkins told publicly that they and others of Blaine's friends had intruded on Foraker's

⁵⁸This sketch of the Harrison campaign is based on Leland Sage, William Boyd Allison, pp. 221-224, and George F. Hoar, Autobiography of 70 Years (2 vols., N. Y., 1903), II, 411-413.

sleep at this unlikely hour to urge that he let him swing 550 votes to him on the first ballot in the morning. Elkins, who had every opportunity to keep up with developments through the day, should have known he could do no such thing. If he was sober, the only explanation for his action could be lack of sleep. In any case, Foraker politely declined, and in his memoirs was able to point with pride to the occasion as another example of his steadfast loyalty to Sherman.⁵⁹

Hanna never wrote his memoirs. His written comments on the climactic day of the convention were limited to one melancholy telegram to Sherman at the end of the day:

Your friends went down with honor to their candidate and themselves. My satisfaction lies in the fact that I retain my self respect and have renewed my admiration and devotion to my leader the greatest living American statesman. If I have made mistakes in what I have tried to do in your interests it has been from want of experience in dealing with unknown quantities and not knowing that in politics promises went for nothing. I cannot refrain from again mentioning the heroic conduct of Maj. McKinley under the most trying circumstances.⁶⁰

⁵⁹Foraker to Elkins, Dec. 26, 1895, Foraker papers, box 27; Foraker, Notes, I, 368-372. Elkins also had received a confidential letter dated March 1, 1888, from Blaine discussing the contenders (not including Foraker) and clearly choosing Harrison. Quoted in Oscar D. Lambert, Stephen Benton Elkins (Pittsburgh, 1955), p. 120, from the Elkins papers.

⁶⁰Hanna to Sherman, telegram, 5:30 p.m., June 25, 1888, Sherman papers.

Perhaps by then Hanna needed the consolation of his thoughts on McKinley, for he was to find himself involved in one more exchange of unpleasantries with Foraker before the convention adjourned. As "quartermaster" of the Ohio delegation, he asked the governor if he would call a meeting to provide for members' shares in headquarters expenses. He was refused with the excuse that it was too late for a meeting then, according to Foraker; or that it was up to Hanna to attend to that himself, according to Hanna's account. The result was that on returning to Cleveland, Hanna was obliged to send out a circular letter asking for \$15 as each delegate's share. He himself put in \$100 and took responsibility for any deficit. The circular letter appears to have hinted at Hanna's views on the circumstances that made such an awkward approach necessary. A sharp exchange of letters between the principals followed, and Hanna gave his version to Sherman with the concluding comment that objections to the procedure he had adopted were "an outgrowth of disappointed treachery." Foraker's last letter on the subject was almost the last letter to pass between the former friends until their service in the senate years later required both of them to write occasional, formal notes. But for now, Foraker concluded, "in your

own language, 'I have no desire to discuss with you anything else.'⁶¹

For all the confusion of the Chicago convention story, its significance in Hanna's political career is unmistakable. It was here that he saw his great hopes for Sherman's presidential candidacy shattered for the last time, and here that he saw McKinley's prospects brighten for the first time. Meanwhile he became estranged from Foraker. It was the turning point in his relations with three of the four most important political alliances of his life--and the fourth, that with Theodore Roosevelt, would not be formed until many years later.

How did Hanna look to others? No complaints came to Sherman. On the other hand, perhaps because by then his abilities were known, neither did his fellow delegates sing his praises. His information was sometimes faulty, as on the question of the Harrison movement, but in this he was in distinguished company and there was little he could have done differently in any case. Hanna's candidate, it must be remembered, made it clear that he "preferred defeat to retreat" toward any second choice.⁶² Of

⁶¹Hanna to J. B. Luckey, July 27, 1888, copy in Hanna papers; Hanna to Sherman, July 14, 1888; Foraker to Hanna, Aug. 4, Aug. 16, 1888, in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 114, 115.

⁶²Sherman to Hanna, telegram, June 23, 1888; Sherman to Foraker, telegram, June 25, 1888; both in Sherman papers.

course, to Foraker and his followers Hanna's performance deserved censure on several grounds. From the start they were annoyed by his distrust of them. In their eyes he was covertly working with the McKinley boomers while he complained of their weakness for Blaine. And Foraker took indignant exception to Hanna's thinly disguised bribery of the southern delegates, though the convenient selectivity of his indictment detracted somewhat from its force.

Hanna's role in the party in the state after the Chicago convention was determined by the now sharply drawn factional lines between Foraker and Sherman. The break had come not over issues, but over a conflict of loyalties that were supported by political expectations in the narrowest sense. Ohio Republicans were suffering from a surplus of ambitions. No one man could satisfy them all. Some were grouped around the young and promising governor; others were allied in a loose federation under Sherman, waiting to see who among them might become his successor. In his own camp, Foraker was always the one man of talent, and the success he met in later years must be measured with this in mind. In Sherman's camp there were many talents: McKinley, Foster, Butterworth, Grosvenor notable among the public figures, and Hanna, Raum and Donaldson outstanding among the managers behind the scenes. Sherman himself was old now, but not retired. After the convention, he paid out

\$7,000 for his campaign expenses without a whimper and wrote appreciative letters to his lieutenants.⁶³ Higher political honors now were out of reach, he admitted to Foster. "For one, I am done with them, though do not think I am a growler, only tired."⁶⁴

For Ohio Republicans to be without a presidential candidate was unthinkable. The years of Hayes, Garfield and Sherman were over. If Foraker was not to be next, who was? McKinley was.

⁶³Sherman to Hanna, July 11, 1888, Hanna papers; Hanna to Sherman, July 14, 18, 1888, both in Sherman papers.

⁶⁴Sherman to Foster, June 26, 1888, copy in letterbook 8, Sherman papers.

CHAPTER VI
THE LEAN AND ANGRY YEARS

Benjamin Harrison was in one way a most unlikely choice in the campaign of 1888. There has probably never been a more unseemly exhibition of corruption in any national election, and yet Harrison himself was a man of almost pharisaical righteousness in his political methods. Not only was he innocent of vote-buying; he was uncommonly shy even about advancing patronage commitments. His noble determination to make a statesman of himself was made evident to party politicians as a disturbing backwardness in handling the new broom of triumphant Republicanism.¹

Early disappointments with the incoming administration were only deepened during the ensuing four years. In Ohio, Republicans of both factions were alienated. Hanna had hoped to win Harrison's notice during the campaign by faithfully plodding through all the chores expected of him in spite of his private conviction that "a great mistake" had been made. Soon after the returns were in, he paid a brief visit to the president-elect in Indianapolis.² It was of

¹See George H. Knoles, The Presidential Campaign and Election of 1892; Stanford Univ. Publications in History, Economics and Political Science, V:1 (Stanford Univ., 1942), pp. 32-37.

²Hanna to Sherman, July 18, 1888, Sherman papers.

no use. Sherman's earnest efforts to follow up patronage matters for Hanna were similarly wasted. On such a locally important position as that of Cleveland's collector of internal revenue, Sherman was disposed to follow Hanna's recommendation. "It would seem," he wrote, that the Democratic incumbent John H. Farley "ought to go out without much why or wherefore, but that is not the policy of the Administration." After a discussion of other offices, the usually restrained senator sighed in despair: "I am both weary and discouraged, weary from pressure based upon the opinion that I can do something for my friends and discouraged that I have not been able to do anything.

"I wish you would join me in a trip across the ocean May 1st."³

There is no evidence that even a crumb of patronage was thrown Hanna by the Harrison administration. Not so much as a lighthouse keeper on the Cleveland breakwater was entrusted to his choice.⁴

If it was any consolation to Hanna and Sherman, their erstwhile friend Foraker was equally dissatisfied on this point. In one of his milder observations, he wrote the patronage-master of the Post Office department that it was beginning to look as if the President "is somewhat on the

³Sherman to Hanna, April 9, 1889, Hanna papers.

⁴Croly, Hanna, p. 153.

mugwump order."⁵ In the Eighties this was strong language.

No prominent Ohio names appeared on the roster of the new regime in Washington. Blaine was made Secretary of State. The Philadelphia merchant John Wanamaker became Postmaster General; William Windom of Minnesota was given the Treasury department--a decision that left the once-confident Tom Platt trembling with anger. In the latter years of the administration, a few Ohio men did get in: Foster as Secretary of the Treasury, Green B. Raum as Pensions Commissioner, and E. G. Rathbone as Fourth Assistant Postmaster General. Each of these was a powerful political job, and each of the men named was a friend of Sherman. But all this came too late to repair the damage of earlier oversights. The Ohio delegation would go to the national convention of 1892 anxiously seeking alternatives to Harrison.

If these Harrison years were lean years for Hanna and his friends, they were none the less busy. In its simplest terms, the strategy of Hanna's game would be to maintain the strength of the Sherman alliances and to add to it the growing power of William McKinley. When the time was ripe for Ohio to reassert herself as a president-maker, he wanted

⁵Foraker to James S. Clarkson, April 18, 1889, copy in Foraker papers. See also Foraker to James G. Blaine, June 7, 1889, to W. D. Bickham, July 3, 1889, and to W. O. Bradley, July 5, 1889, all ibid.

to see McKinley ready and the party willing. But presidential questions aside, he had another reason for promoting McKinley. It was the best defense against Foraker. Indeed, this anti-Foraker motif seems to become an end in itself for Hanna in these years, a sub-plot with a life of its own. Of all the reasons he might have offered for his continued opposition to Foraker, a prudent concern for his own political life must have been prominent. Joseph Benson Foraker in full power over Ohio Republicans would be no "easy boss;" Hanna could expect only a nightmare of humiliation.

The first clash between Hanna and Foraker--and it illustrates perfectly Hanna's vulnerability on the defense--came as an incident of the gubernatorial campaign of 1889. Foraker had set his sights on the senate after his return from the Chicago convention.⁶ When it became apparent that Sherman's place would not soon be vacated by his appointment to Harrison's cabinet, the governor cast about for a friendly successor whose aid he could expect in a contest for the seat of Henry B. Payne in 1890. He hoped to persuade Asa Bushnell to run, but was refused.⁷ Reluctantly, then, he

⁶Foraker to McMurdy, Aug. 27, 1888, copy in Foraker papers.

⁷Walters, Foraker, pp. 84, 88, 89; Foraker, Notes, I, 396; Foraker to Bushnell, March 25, 1889, copy in Foraker papers.

consented to his lieutenant's pleas to run for a third term himself. It was a long chance, for only one governor in the state's history--Hayes--had served three terms. The nomination came easily, for Hanna, McKinley and Grosvenor each came to the convention with his own candidate and failed to unite their forces soon enough to take it for themselves.

Ohio voters, however, took unto themselves a Democratic governor and legislature in 1889. Foraker's defeat was not unexpected; the year was a disappointing one for Republicans throughout the country, and the Ohio opposition had chosen a capable leader in James E. Campbell. Nevertheless, the campaign did have its special features. A revolt of Cincinnati beer-drinkers against Sunday Blue-law enforcement involved Foraker on the side of their enforcement. He rashly associated himself with a bit of skullduggery known as the "ballot-box forgery" incident, which embarrassed rather than dammed him, and he had the anti-third-term bias to overcome. He was further handicapped by a serious illness that took him out of the campaign during a period when every day counted.⁸ And finally, he made the race with only lukewarm support from some Republican workers and none at all from Hanna or Butterworth. Butterworth was especially

⁸See Walters, Foraker, pp. 89-97; Foraker, Notes, I, ch. XXV.

angered at Foraker's complicity in the rule of George Barnsdale Cox in his town of Cincinnati. The governor had turned the city over to "the gang," he asserted, "and the municipal administration has become so fetid that you can smell it two townships away."⁹ Hanna agreed and added indictments of his own.¹⁰ In spite of his opposition, however, Myron T. Herrick, Theodore E. Burton, Allen T. Brinsmade and others succeeded in leading Cuyahoga county into the Republican column. Hanna had been thwarted all along the line, except insofar as Foraker's defeat represented his wishes.

This temporary bolt from the state ticket was not something Hanna wished to see advertised in the press. Essentially it was a refusal to help finance or collect contributions for his party foes. Throughout the campaign and for a time afterward, he maintained a discreet silence. In the spring of 1890, however, he was caught off guard by a wily New York newspaperman. Then, with his widely reprinted "Foraker is Dead" interview, the fur began to fly.

Among other things, he was reported saying that

⁹Butterworth to Hanna, June 27, 1889, Hanna papers.
See also same to Daniel J. Ryan, July 6, 1889, Ryan papers.

¹⁰James B. Morrow statement, Hanna papers; S. R. House to Foraker, Nov. 7, 1889, Foraker papers, box 1; note 11, below.

The fact is that Foraker has been a heavy load to carry for some time. Elected by the very best element in the Republican party in our state, he allowed his ambition to get the better of him and capitalized with his power as governor the youngest and in many instances the worst elements of his party. In almost every community he had created new political managers and with them he undertook to dominate all the old and respectable element of the Republican organization. At the outset of this endeavor he naturally antagonized friends of John Sherman. . . . I hardly expected that the storm of indignation in the party against Foraker and his methods would create the havoc it did but he had reached a point in his career that made heroic measures necessary for our future. . . . Foraker is dead as a factor in our politics and Ohio is as reliable a Republican state as it ever was. Of course the results of last fall's voting hurt us very hard, but in the end it will do us good. It will teach any ambitious and "magnetic" man in the future, as Foraker is, that he cannot insult the business and conservative elements of his party and then demand their support.

Will Foraker quit politics now?

I think so. He tells me that he is going to practice law and let politics alone. I hope and believe that he will have the good sense to do so. Personally I am not unfriendly to him. He has many bright and important gifts, but they are of the enthusiastic order, which appeal to the mob, and such powers cannot last long in the crucible of action. Therefore, politically, I am done with him, as I was before the last campaign.¹¹

And there was more of the same. Hanna's friends cringed as the counterattack began. William S. Cappeller, Mansfield publisher and former national committeeman, spoke for the rest when he suggested that "Senator Sherman will pray to be relieved from such fool friends as Mr. Hanna," whose

¹¹Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 24, 1890.

interview "was the first authentic admission that there was an organized Republican effort to defeat Foraker."¹²

Above all, Hanna felt he owed an apology to Sherman. As soon as he read the reactions, though not the interview itself, he clipped out the Cappeller and other statements and enclosed them in a long letter to the senator.

At first I thought it was made to order; but I remembered meeting Frank Burr accidentally in the lobby of the Hotel here and in talking about many matters it comes to me that he asked a question about politics in Ohio. What I said to him I am sure I am not ashamed of. But I had not the most remote idea that he was pumping for an item. In that I plead guilty to Cappeller's charge of being a fool. I certainly never aspired to being a politician nor a boss as Mr. C. would understand the terms. My consolation is that I am not lonesome in my position before the public of Ohio. However the only regret I have in the matter is the connection of your name with one who stands condemned and in such a ludicrous position before the politicians of the state. I felt that some explanation was due to you, . . . and if I have said anything distasteful to you I apologize. . . .¹³

Gradually the peacemakers in Washington and Ohio effected an informal truce. Foster, Halstead, Ryan and McKinley even discussed the possibility of holding a "love feast" to renew party harmony, but this seemed to be asking too much. A month after the interview was published, at least the critical point had passed. "The feeling that Foraker ought

¹²Ibid., March 28, 1889.

¹³Hanna to Sherman, March 28, 1890, from N. Y. C., Sherman papers.

to be killed off entirely is not so strong as it was," Foster confided to a friend.¹⁴

More to Hanna's taste in the fall of 1889 was his expedition to Washington to do what he could to help McKinley win the speakership of the House. This first appearance in the capital of the team of McKinley and Hanna failed in its primary mission. The Ohioan ran second to Thomas B. Reed of Maine. His consolation prize, however, was the powerful chairmanship of the House Ways and Means committee. Then as now, this was the source of all revenue bills. Then much more than now, revenue meant the tariff. As an opportunity to make a legislative record, it was better for McKinley than the speakership.

This is not the place for a review of the dolorous history of the McKinley tariff bill. Only a few aspects are relevant. As originally proposed in the spring of 1890, and even as passed that fall after hundreds of modifications, it was the highest tariff in history to that time--so high as to discourage many imports and reduce revenues all along the line. Large industries were protected from foreign competition; small industries were protected, and even a few non-existent industries were protected.¹⁵ But

¹⁴Foster to Ryan, April 12, 18, 29, May 5, 1890, all in Ryan papers.

¹⁵Margaret Leech, In the Days of McKinley (N. Y., 1959), pp. 44-47 and notes.

for McKinley and Hanna both, protection was a fetish. The industrial leaders of northeast Ohio that they represented were tariff worshippers themselves, and none seriously considered the possibility of having too much of this good thing. McKinley's approach was to let the direct beneficiaries of the system have what they asked for. In return he would ask, through Hanna and others, for what he needed at election time. Sherman followed the same rule to a great extent in his Senate Finance committee. Put this way, it sounds like a criminal conspiracy, but it was not that in the hands of these true believers. What was good for American business was good for the entire electorate, whether the electorate understood so or not.

McKinley and his friends put their faith on the line in 1890. Democrats and some members of their own party warned of pitfalls ahead. Blaine tried to ameliorate the new schedule's damage to foreign trade by introducing some reciprocity features. Even a few Ohio Republicans fought for restraints. Ben Butterworth expressed their feelings when he wrote Hanna in March that

. . . we have protection run mad in this country, and instead of slowing up, we are blundering ahead, trying to appease the farmer by a little tariff on the unprotected hen, and a like suggestion as to Burmuda Potatoes, &c., which would be as valuable to the farmer as building a statue to the Sphinx on Coney Island. The wrath that is gathering through high and unnecessary protection will break one of these days, and instead of leaving a substantial structure, as an evidence of the

strength of our protective system, we will find that the foundations upon which it rested will be swept away, and then the tide will ebb and flow, backwards and forwards. . . .¹⁶

Hanna's reply is unfortunately lost, but he was used to his friend's declamatory style and doubtless shrugged off such fears as unwarranted.

McKinley's tariff bill became law in time to become the central issue of his campaign for reelection. The new legislature had gerrymandered his district once more to include as many Democrats as possible, and either because of this, or because of the unpopularity of the new tariff, or both, McKinley was defeated for the first time after six consecutive terms.¹⁷ It was a bad year for Republicans all through the country. The Democracy had taken every advantage of the new tariff issue and pushed its men through to form a strong new majority in the House, though the Senate remained Republican.

If McKinley and Hanna were surprised at this reaction, they admitted no discouragement. The party organization in the state had pulled together admirably. Perhaps now it was time for McKinley to shift his attention to state politics. "I agree with you," he wrote Hanna, "that defeat

¹⁶ Butterworth to Hanna, March 15, 1890, Hanna papers. See also same to same, May 26, Sept. 1, 1890, ibid.; Olcott, McKinley, I, 127.

¹⁷ Leech, McKinley, p. 48.

under the circumstances was for the best."¹⁸ Certainly Hanna had not lost faith. The experiences of the past year had brought him closer than ever to the suave, dignified congressman from Canton. He had shown the McKinleys the hospitality of his new home on the lake, had endorsed notes for him and helped manage his finances.¹⁹ Every meeting had brought increased respect for his new hopeful. Next would be the governorship. Then--why not?--the presidency itself.

Parenthetically, one event of the year 1890 deserves close examination here. It affected Hanna's political fortunes in later years and has unfairly stained his reputation among historians to this day.

The story begins a few days after the election. Hanna wrote a letter to the state's attorney-general, a young Republican named David K. Watson. In it he protested Watson's action of several months earlier in bringing suit against the Standard Oil Company for violating its charter by transferring control over its affairs to a trust dominated by non-residents of the state. Watson said later that when he received the letter he casually permitted a newspaperman, Francis B. Gessner, to read it. No copy was

¹⁸McKinley to Hanna, Nov. 12, 1890, Hanna papers. See also Olcott, McKinley, I, 187-189.

¹⁹McKinley to Hanna, June 2, July 13, 1890, both in Hanna papers. See also Leech, McKinley, pp. 21, 22.

made, however, and the matter remained private.²⁰ Watson replied cordially but firmly that he did not intend, as suggested, an attack on organized capital generally. The facts of the case at hand made his action seem a matter of duty. Senator Sherman was not behind it, despite rumors that the suit was related to his antitrust bill then pending in Congress.²¹ After a few weeks delay, Hanna wrote again to urge his view that "there has been no industry of greater benefit to our city [than Standard Oil], and there are large holdings among our enterprising business men. [His brother Mel was one of them.] They are indignant at this attack, and when the time comes will make their influence felt. Therefore I have said to you in all frankness that politically it is a very sad mistake, and I am sure it will not result in much glory for you. . . ." ²² There the argument rested. The case proceeded and so far as is known Hanna said no more to Watson about it.

Seven years later, as Hanna was campaigning for election to the Senate, opposition newspapers all over the state blossomed out with the following alleged Hanna

²⁰Morrow interview with David K. Watson, Washington, D. C., 1906, Hanna papers.

²¹Watson to Hanna, Dec. 13, 1890, Hanna papers.

²²Hanna to Watson, Dec. 27, 1890, copy in Hanna papers.

quotation in great black letters: "No Man in Public Office Owes the Public Anything."²³

Their source was an article in the New York World of August 11, 1897, written by the same Francis B. Gessner who had supposedly read Hanna's first letter to Watson years before. Now he reported the story, first checking with others who also claimed to have read the letter. He said that this sentence had stuck in his memory verbatim, along with the substance of the rest of the letter. "No one could read it and ever forget it," asserted the somewhat tardily shocked Gessner.

Watson was besieged by reporters for confirmation, but beyond insisting that the extracts published were inaccurate he would add nothing. Then, according to Watson's story, Hanna asked if he would give the letter back. Watson agreed. In a brief and somber ceremony at the Neil House in Columbus, the offending words were torn up and flushed down the toilet, Watson pulling the chain. The would-be senator was contrite, and Watson was content, for he had taken the trouble to make a copy for himself.²⁴

Eight years later, James B. Morrow interviewed Watson in the course of his researches for Croly's biography of

²³Ida M. Tarbell, History of the Standard Oil Company (2 vols., 1904) I, 148.

²⁴Morrow interview with David K. Watson, Hanna papers.

the late senator from Ohio. He took down the story as related heretofore, together with some additional material on Watson's efforts to prevent Ida Tarbell from including the episode in her articles for McClure's Magazine. From his own knowledge of Watson and Gessner and from talking with Hanna's secretary, Elmer Dover, Morrow doubted the truth of the Watson version. But Watson did give Morrow his alleged copy of the destroyed letter, together with a copy of his reply and the original of Hanna's second letter. When Croly published his biography of Hanna in 1912, he printed the Watson copy of the first Hanna letter in full. The last two pieces are still in the Hanna Papers, but the copy of that first and most important letter has disappeared. What follows, then, is necessarily copied from Croly's printing of Watson's copy of the purported original letter of November 21, 1890:

Some months ago, when I saw the announcement through the papers that you had begun a suit against the Standard Oil Co. in the Supreme Court, I intended, if opportunity presented, to talk with you, and failing in the personal interview, to write you a letter, but the subject passed out of my mind. Recently while in New York I learned from my friend, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, that such suit was still pending, and without any solicitation on his part or suggestion from him, I determined to write you, believing that both political and business interests justified me in doing so. While I am not personally interested in the Standard Oil Co., many of my closest friends are, and I have no doubt that many of the business associations with which I am connected are equally open to attack. The simple fact is, as you will discover, if you have not already done so, that in

these modern days most commercial interests are properly and necessarily taking on the form of organization for the safety of investors, and the improvement of all conditions upon which business is done. There is no greater mistake for a man in or out of public office to make than to assume that he owes any duty to the public or can in any manner advance his own position or interests by attacking the organizations under which experience has taught business can best be done. [Italics supplied.] From a party standpoint, interested in the success of the Republican party, and regarding you as in the line of political promotion, I must say that the identification of your office with litigation of this character is a great mistake. There is no public demand for a raid upon organized capital. For years the business of manufacturing oil has been done with great success at Cleveland, competition has been open and free, and the public has been greatly benefited by the manner in which the oil business has been carried on. The Standard Oil Co. is officered and managed by some of the best and strongest men in the country. They are pretty much all Republicans and have been most liberal in their contributions to the party, as I personally know, Mr. Rockefeller always quietly doing his share. I think I am in a position to know that the party in this state has been at times badly advised. We need for the struggles of the future the cooperation of our strongest business interests and not their indifference or hostility. You will probably not argue with me in this. I have been informed, though I can hardly credit the information, that Senator Sherman has encouraged or suggested this litigation. If that be correct, I would like to know it, because I shall certainly have something to say to the Senator myself. I simply say with respect to this matter, that prudence and caution require you to go very slow in this business.²⁵

The crucial sentence has been italicized here. Croly was concerned also with the second sentence prior to it, in which Hanna suggests that some of his own business

²⁵Croly, Hanna, pp. 267, 268.

connections are "equally open to attack." Both of these statements he found incredible. No matter what Hanna might have thought privately, he argued, he would never have convicted himself of such "childish folly" on paper. "Why, even if he believed it," Croly asked, "should he be cynical and incoherent enough to throw [into his argument] a remark that a public official owes no duty to the public?" Especially when Watson was not a close friend and would have good reason to be offended by such talk. He concludes that the letter itself had been tampered with: "The suspicion which attaches to the whole document makes it impossible to accept absolutely any part of it and base a criticism of Mr. Hanna upon it." Nevertheless, Croly admitted that much of the letter could have been written as purported, and that therefore Hanna might have wanted it destroyed in 1897 because he was ashamed of it.²⁶

Some suspicion may be cast on the document, although it is cast in part by biassed witnesses. Hanna's secretary in his senate days, Elmer Dover, told some stories reflecting on Watson: he had been rebuffed by Hanna in his application for financial aid in his 1896 congressional campaign; he had presented a \$250 bill for the expenses of that two-day trip to see Ida Tarbell in New York; and he

²⁶Ibid., pp. 269, 270.

had hinted to Hanna's family that something might be done for him for his services in keeping the lid on the story as well as he did.²⁷

Gessner was under greater suspicion. Morrow, who had a wide acquaintance among fellow newspapermen, noted in his comments on the Watson story that "even before Francis B. Gessner became an outcast and inhabitant of the gutter through drink and drugs he was distrusted by newspaper men who knew him in Ohio." Behind this charge are some scraps of contemporary evidence that still survive. John Sherman traced down a false news story in 1888 and found Gessner at the bottom of it. He was known then, Sherman reported hearing from a newspaper friend, as a "common liar" who had been "detected in several similar matters."²⁸ One year later, it appears that Gessner was turning over a new leaf. Foraker addressed a letter to him in Detroit at that time saying that he had written a note of introduction for him to Russell A. Alger. "You will find Governor Alger a very generous hearted man. He will take a great deal of pride in helping a man if he has confidence that he will stay up. It gives me great pleasure to know that you have come to a

²⁷Comments by J. B. Morrow attached to his interview with David K. Watson, Hanna papers.

²⁸Sherman to Hanna, April 2, 1888, Hanna papers. See also Sherman to Foraker, May 28, 1884, in Foraker-Sherman Corresp., pp. 38, 39.

realization of your mistakes and have formed a determined purpose to redeem yourself. . . ." ²⁹ Whether the governor of Michigan was satisfied with him thereafter is not in evidence, but according to Watson, Gessner was in his office in Columbus six months later reading Hanna's letter. Presumably he was at least a good Republican then, for he kept the letter in confidence. But in 1897, he was contributing grist for the mill of the Democratic New York World. In 1904, he is found again in the Republican camp, this time writing the praises of no less stalwart a party man than Charles Dick, Hanna's successor in the Senate. ³⁰

Thus when Croly mentioned "the suspicion which attaches to the whole document," he must have been thinking of derogatory reports on the characters of both Watson and Gessner as well as the "inexplicable" passages in the letter itself. An alternate explanation of the letter's history was given by Morrow in his written comments on the Watson interview, and by implication this is the theory Croly accepts: A letter was written to Watson in 1890; Watson gave the substance of it, or showed it, to Gessner in 1897 during the heat of the campaign against Hanna, and

²⁹Foraker to Gessner, May 27, 1889, copy in Foraker papers.

³⁰See his "The New Senator From Ohio, " Munsey's Magazine, XXXI (1904).

the two men conspired on the story about Gessner's earlier reading of it in order to cover their motives, since Watson was afraid to oppose Hanna openly. The original was destroyed to satisfy Hanna, but a corrupted copy was made and kept by Watson for use should it become helpful later.

This seems an unnecessarily elaborate as well as a shaky defense. The first part, covering the probable conspiracy to hide Watson's motives, could well be true. But the more serious charge of falsifying the letter by adding to it is both weak and unnecessary. The sole excuse for it is the conviction that Hanna would not have written what he was purported to have written. It will be argued here that he might well have written the entire letter, "childish follies" and all.

It will be recalled that it was only four months after this letter of November, 1889, that Hanna gave the interview on Foraker in New York which caused him such embarrassment. It might also be noted here that he had then and would continue to have for many years almost a phobia against public speaking.³¹ His fear of addressing the public was a self-protective one, for he knew that his habit of pitching his thoughts point-blank at his listeners could bring swift embarrassment in the next day's papers. It

³¹Morrow interviews with Charles Dick, Mrs. C. A. Hanna, and William P. Frye (Washington, D. C., 1906).

would be a long time yet before he would develop that politician's sixth sense of caution when exposing his mind and heart to the public. His written remark that he was no worse than the men of Standard Oil was obviously only another spark in the momentary heat of the occasion. He was no legal shark. The slip was that of a man morally certain, personally indignant and legalistically naïve."

The second remark is puzzling only because it seems never to have been understood for what it plainly says. It is a long, compound-complex sentence, but it expresses only one thought--the same thought, essentially, that appears two sentences later in the words: "There is no public demand for a raid upon organized capital." Watson was in politics up to his eyes. He presumably had two motives: to serve the public, and, in doing this, to advance his own interests, i.e., his career. Hanna was telling him that he could accomplish neither of these objects "by attacking the organizations under which experience has taught business can best be done." This is not only the context of the thought; it is the thought itself. The thought that it is a mistake for a man to assume that he owes any duty to the public--stopping there--is nowhere present.

Hanna may have been right or wrong in what he did say, but the sentiments he expressed were not atypical of him. His remark on the importance of supporting the leadership

of business men was closely in keeping with the attitudes implied in the tariff fight of 1890. It was part of the creed of a representative of the party that admitted of no differences between the best interests of the country and the best interests of the community of business success. A prosecution such as Watson was undertaking was a dangerous insistence on technicalities. Had Hanna been alive sixty-three years later he would have cheered the answer of Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson when Wilson was asked by a senator whether as a former president of General Motors Corporation he would feel able to make a decision favoring the national interest but detrimental to his old company's interest. He could, he replied, but it seemed an entirely hypothetical question, "because for years I thought what was good for our country was good for General Motors, and vice-versa. The difference did not exist. Our company is too big. It goes with the welfare of the country. Our contribution to the nation is quite considerable."³² Wilson, too, found his words would cause him political embarrassment, and he had not gone so far as to draw any conclusions as to what the Republican party's attitude toward his old company should be. At least when he was later misquoted by hostile politicians, the wrong

³²New York Times, Jan. 24, 1953.

words--"What is good for General Motors is good for the country"--expressed a part of his thought. In Hanna's case, the misquotation was of a different order. He did use the words, but did not express the thought.³³

Hanna threw himself into the political battles of 1891 with greatest energy where the line was weakest. He paid less attention to McKinley's campaign than to Sherman's, for as will be shown, McKinley had fewer obstacles to overcome.

Foraker was no obstacle. His endorsement of McKinley came early and stayed.³⁴ There was no contest at the state convention; indeed the temporary chairman became so careless in his preoccupation with McKinley--"He is already chosen"--that he forgot to introduce the clergyman for the invocation. Foraker nominated McKinley in a brilliant speech, and the deed was done in one ballot. There was no argument over a senatorial endorsement since none was offered.³⁵

³³Among the reprintings of Hanna's misquotation have been the popular Harry Thurston Peck, Twenty Years of the Republic (N. Y., 1906), p. 472; and the recent Phillip D. Jordan, Ohio Comes of Age (Carl Wittke, ed., The History of the State of Ohio, Vol. 5), p. 212.

³⁴Foraker to Foster, March 11, 1891, copy in Foraker papers.

³⁵Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 17, 1891; Walters, Foraker, p. 99.

A keynote of fear was struck by the Democrats' Cleveland Plain Dealer in an editorial shortly after the nomination. "The battle in this state will be the hardest in years, and its progress will be watched all over the country. . . . That nomination has placed the policy of high protection on trial before the people of this state and their verdict will influence the decision of the whole nation. . . . So much depends upon the election of McKinley that no means to accomplish that end will be left untried. . . . 'Wind and money' are pledged without limits."³⁶

Money was pledged, but not without limits and not without continued exertions. What gave the Republican war chest its weight were the liberality of Ohio contributors plus an unknown number of "remembrances" brought back by Hanna from hunting trips to Chicago, Pittsburgh and points east.³⁷ By introducing the tariff into the debate and having a "free-silver" Democratic platform to attack, McKinley was able to appeal to his wealthy friends outside the state.

As a fund raiser, Hanna was in demand everywhere. In September he was asked to become Treasurer of the party's

³⁶Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 19, 1891.

³⁷McKinley to Hanna, Sept. 13, 1891; Hahn to Hanna, Sept. 30, 1891; both in Hanna papers; Hanna to Sherman, Oct. 7, 19, 1891, both in Sherman papers; Cleveland Plain Dealer, Oct. 23, 27, 1891.

National Committee. "I take it that if your business interests will permit, party work is something of a pleasure and recreation," Foster wrote as he tendered the offer. Four or five men had turned it down; Hanna added his regrets and soon afterward the position was awarded to the New York merchant Cornelius N. Bliss.³⁸ Earlier that month he had received a plea from State Executive Committee chairman William N. Hahn. Money was needed, and "Friend Hanna we believe that you can do more good than any other man in the state." The confidence that the leading businessmen in the state "have in you leads us to believe that if you will simply ask them to contribute they will promptly respond. . . ." On receiving some encouragement and a few checks forwarded through Hanna, he wrote again at the end of the month to say that the committee had so far received less than \$6,500 from outside the state. He asked Hanna if he would help collect on pledges still outstanding. In fact, he admitted that they were already using his name to win the confidence of manufacturers who were then being approached by the secretary of the American Iron and Steel Association.³⁹

³⁸Foster to Hanna, Sept. 22, 1891, Hanna papers. That Hanna did serve as Treasurer of the Republican National Committee at this time has been mistakenly asserted by several writers: William Allen White, Masks in a Pageant (N. Y., 1928), p. 86; David Saville Muzzey, James G. Blaine (N. Y., 1934), p. 468, and others.

³⁹Same to same, Sept. 30, 1891, ibid.

No reliable estimate of the total funds collected can be made. If it could it would take on meaning only when compared with other campaigns and with Democratic purses. Even Hanna's personal financial contribution cannot be learned. References to various amounts that appear in his correspondence are seldom specific as to their original source. A statement such as "I have sent Hahn \$2000 today and hope to send him some more" when written to Sherman on October 19 reads more like a report on collections than on how much he could afford personally. A week later he mentions sending \$3500 to Hahn for "that fund."⁴⁰ Certainly he contributed locally, and as will be seen later, probably he by-passed the state committee during one period of the campaign. How much he gave the state committee from his own pocket can only be guessed. He knew that Foster had sent \$5000 as his contribution, and doubtless would not have let himself be outshone even by the Secretary of the Treasury.⁴¹

In any case, Hanna's most valuable service was in winning contributions from others. He had to do more than merely ask, as Hahn had suggested. He had to deal, for example, with his "careful" friend John Rockefeller:

⁴⁰Hanna to Sherman, Oct. 19, 26, 1891, Sherman papers.

⁴¹Foster to Hanna, Oct. 8, 1891, Hanna papers.

Personal

My dear Hanna:

Yours 8th received. But as I understand, we have already put in several thousand dollars from the east.

Thanks--My health is better. Hope you can let up on business affairs. I think I am more careful than you are.⁴²

Such occasional disappointments could be afforded. When the returns were in, McKinley had defeated an able Democratic incumbent governor by more than 20,000 votes. Hanna's elation at the victory was matched by McKinley's serene calm. A telegram from Canton dated the day after the election quietly declined Hanna's offer of a victory dinner: "Letter received. Am going east Saturday. Need rest. Think therefore better not have jollification."⁴³

Parallelling this campaign was another and more difficult one aimed at winning a legislative majority that would be not only Republican but favorable as well to John Sherman's reelection as Senator. Foraker was quietly maneuvering to win that seat for himself. This was the underside of his enthusiasm for McKinley at this time. His thirty-one speeches in the campaign of that year had a double purpose. He would gather the "younger spirits" in the party behind him and march into the party caucus the following January prepared to retire the aging Sherman and his friends to a long overdue oblivion.

⁴²Rockefeller to Hanna, Oct. 10, 1891, ibid.

⁴³McKinley to Hanna, telegram, Nov. 4, 1891, ibid.

That there was no public issue at stake in this intra-party struggle is evident from a letter Foraker wrote to a close friend in July. The Sherman men had conferred together earlier, he said, and then come to him with a request that he agree not to allow a contest against Sherman. He would like to have agreed, since he preferred to remain in his more remunerative law practice. But he took exception to their manner of approach. It must have been more than an approach, for he concluded that "since they attacked as they did, I decided to run."⁴⁴ The itch for office was revived with the slightest irritation.

Sherman enlisted Hanna's personal help early in the campaign. Fearing that their quondam friend Foraker and his friends might have a strong grip on the machinery of the state executive and central committees, he asked for a frank report on the Cleveland situation and his assistance in securing the right legislative candidates.⁴⁵ Hanna's opinion was that Foraker was definitely "not on top here." Mayor William G. Rose had been considering himself a compromise candidate for the senate, but he made more election promises than he could fulfill. Now he was "the dearest politician you ever saw," outside of City Hall.

⁴⁴Foraker to Cappeller, July 23, 1891, copy in Foraker papers.

⁴⁵Sherman to Hanna, July 10, 1891, Hanna papers.

Herrick was a Foraker man, but Hanna was his friend and might be able to win his influence. Sherman would find that he had many friends in Cleveland. "As fast as candidates come to the surface I will take measures to find out their choice. In short I will do all I can to aid you. . . ." The report was "as usual, frank and encouraging," Sherman wrote in thanks. Hanna's subsequent dispatches continued optimistic. He won over Myron Herrick and began working on the Young Men's Republican Club, which was fortunately anti-Rose already.⁴⁶

Sherman's veteran scout Jake Donaldson was less sanguine. He warned the senator against relying upon some of the old guard in Cleveland, naming Brinsmade specifically, and repeatedly impressed upon Hanna the urgency of his winning a strong delegation for Sherman there to balance expected losses in Hamilton County. Foraker was leaving no stone unturned to capture Cleveland; indeed "Charlie Kurtz was there last Thursday & Friday, too sneaky I understand to register anywhere, and . . . another one of the party goes there today," he wrote. Donaldson inspired Sherman's letter to Hanna in late September telling him that in

⁴⁶Hanna to Sherman, July 16, 1891, Sherman papers; reply, July 20, 1891, Hanna papers; Hanna to Sherman, July 21, 1891, Sherman papers.

fighting for Cuyahoga County he was "fighting the battle for the state."⁴⁷

Hanna was willing to fight and wanted to do it openly --"just as Foraker is doing it in Dists. where he is strong. Their scheme," Hanna wrote, "is in Dists. where sentiment is strongly for you to say that we must not agitate the senatorial question but select men who will fairly represent the sentiment of the Dist. Then they will take good care to have these good men committed before hand. Therefore I say it is nonsense to be put to sleep by such talk and I am personally saying to all who come to me that my influence and aid will go only to men whom I know to be for Senator Sherman." By the end of September, he could report of the county convention that "we did not get all of the men we selected. But every one of them has personally pledged to me that they will vote for you for Senator." Again Sherman was pleased. Hanna must have chuckled as he read in his congratulations that the Senator considered himself "under a thousand obligations to you."⁴⁸

Some ten days later the subject of finances arose. In the course of his letter to Sherman explaining his plans

⁴⁷J. C. Donaldson to Sherman, July 24, 1891, Sherman papers; same to Hanna, Aug. 11, 1891; Sherman to Hanna, Sept. 22, 1891, both in Hanna papers.

⁴⁸Hanna to Sherman, Sept. 1, 28, 1891, both in Sherman papers; Sherman to Hanna, Sept. 29, 1891, Hanna papers.

and activities Hanna remarked casually that "I had to pay pretty well to get the workers on my side for our candidates in the convention. You know that element are not cheap."⁴⁹ No copy of the reply, if there was one, has survived. The campaign continued apace.

As Sherman's campaign progressed into October the question arose whether his or Foraker's managers would be given credit for supplying the financial needs of weak or unpledged nominees. "My fear is . . . that the opposition may seek out these needy ones and afford them the necessary aid and thus secure their pledges," Donaldson advised. Sherman consulted with Hahn to pinpoint the doubtful counties and together they agreed on a special fund of \$5,000 for the legislative canvass.⁵⁰ But Donaldson, Grosvenor and Hanna distrusted the state committee. Donaldson felt that Hahn was using too many Foraker men in the field and hearing too many soft words about Sherman's needs from them. The northwest counties alone would require \$5,000, he argued; the total should be twice that. Grosvenor questioned Hahn's diligence and spoke plainly of the need to help men like John Abbott, who "has got to

⁴⁹Hanna to Sherman, Oct. 7, 1891, Sherman papers.

⁵⁰Donaldson to Sherman, Oct. 2, 19, 1891, Sherman papers; Sherman to Hanna, Oct. 6, 1891, Hanna papers; Hahn to Sherman, Oct. 8, 1891, Sherman papers; Donaldson to Hanna, Oct. 10, 1891, Hanna papers.

operate upon the miner vote in Athens and Hocking [counties], and the State Committee cannot do that for him." But Sherman feared post-election embarrassment if he seemed to desert the state ticket. Proposals for bypassing the committee were temporarily vetoed. By mid-October, however, Hanna was given permission to reserve some money for distribution from Cleveland. At the same time confidence in Hahn was being restored and soon more money was sent him.⁵¹

A prime example of how tangled the web of political circumstance could get was Paulding county, a small square of farming towns in the northwest along the Indiana border. George P. Waldorf, collector of internal revenue at Toledo, was Sherman's trusted advisor in the area. On October 16, Waldorf wrote the Senator that Paulding county's candidate for state representative, Francis B. DeWitt, had just come to him with a plea for \$500 beyond the \$1,000 promised by the state committee. The county had been boodled by the Democrats, he reported, so that it was necessary to boodle the colored vote in return. DeWitt already had influential Democrats working for him, he said, so his information ought to be accurate. Both he and John C.

⁵¹Grosvenor to Sherman, Oct. 11, 1891, Sherman papers; same to Foster, Oct. 8, 1891, copy in Hanna papers; Donaldson to Hanna, Oct. 10, 1891, *ibid.*; Hanna to Sherman, Oct. 7, 8, 19, 1891, Sherman papers. Sherman to Hanna, Oct. 18, 20, 1891, Hanna papers.

Rorick, the senate candidate from that district, had refused offers of "unlimited" finances if they would pledge for Foraker. Waldorf advised allowing the \$500. There is no record that the request was granted, but both men were elected. For a time, their votes were considered safe for Sherman. Then both of them went over to Foraker's camp. Rorick even gave out a story in December that he was offered \$5,000 to vote for Sherman, and of course refused.⁵²

Hanna was privy to this story and a number of similar experiences closer to home. It was the kind of episode that might have led to his alleged maxim that "an honest politician is one that stays bought."

Despite the persistent efforts of both factions, there were enough unpledged or unreliable legislators-elect after the Republicans' November victory to keep the senatorial question unsettled. Sherman had wide support in the business community, among federal officeholders and from those who liked Foraker less. And he had the prestige of his long service, which to some deserved a vote of confidence. Foraker had strength among the veterans, his old appointees, some farmer and labor groups, and the entire Hamilton County delegation under its now well established boss

⁵²Waldorf to Sherman, Oct. 16, Dec. 24, 1891; Donaldson to Sherman, Oct. 15, 1891; all in Sherman papers; same to Hanna, Nov. 14, 1891, Hanna papers.

George Cox. Both contenders had a share of newspaper support.⁵³

Sherman's strategy in the face of Foraker's claims of a majority was to accumulate enough public pledges to cut short any extended fight. Hanna agreed on the plan, but had to report with some embarrassment that "we are having a little trouble smoking out some our fellows here" in Cleveland.⁵⁴ Several in particular kept him on the anxious seat: Wilbur Parker, Frank O. Spencer, Morris Porter and W. D. Pudney. He approached them with care at first, remarking in an aside to Sherman that it was "wonderful how independent men get after they are elected." It would be no easy task to bring them around, he warned, for "our fellows here are of the stripe that cannot be reached through their pride."⁵⁵ Of the four Cuyahoga men listed, two would break to Foraker. Spencer, in whom Myron Herrick could find little pride, nevertheless stayed and helped urge Pudney to stay. When pressure from his employer was added, Pudney finally stayed. Parker and Porter, however, did not.

⁵³See Walters, Foraker, pp. 101, 102.

⁵⁴Sherman to Hanna, Nov. 5, 7, 1891, both in Hanna papers; Hanna to Sherman, Nov. 6, 11, 1891, both in Sherman papers.

⁵⁵Hanna to Sherman, Nov. 19, 20, 1891, both in Sherman papers.

Only these two broke the unanimity of the county's eleven man delegation.⁵⁶

Hanna also shared in the fight to hold or win votes in the other Western Reserve counties. Senator E. L. Lampson was an uncertain quantity for a time, as he had been strongly supported by Conger for the nomination. He privately promised his vote to Sherman as early as August, however, and by early December was pledged in writing.⁵⁷ Representative L. C. Reeve of Ashtabula at the same time seemed safely for Sherman but had already promised his vote for the speakership to another than Sherman's choice, Lewis C. Laylin. He was not safe, however, on the day that counted.⁵⁸ Charles H. Strock of Trumbull County was another problem:

I have seen Strock [Hanna wrote] and have had a dozen others see him. But he cannot be made to promise to either side. The fact is that he is going to wait until the last moment so as to get the most that is for him. He is not a man I can influence. So we have simply got to wait until we can find out what will satisfy him and see what we can do to that end⁵⁹

⁵⁶Hanna to Sherman, Dec. 4, 1891; Herrick to Sherman, Dec. 21, 24, 1891; all in Sherman papers.

⁵⁷A. L. Conger to C. L. Kurtz, Aug. 31, 1891, Conger papers; W. C. Haskell to Sherman, Aug. 19, 1891; Hanna to Sherman, Dec. 11, 1891, both in Sherman papers.

⁵⁸Hanna to Sherman, Dec. 11, 1891, Sherman papers.

⁵⁹Same to same, Dec. 24, 1891, ibid.

Whether Hanna had stated the problem correctly or not, he failed to solve it in time to win Strock's vote.

Except for these few, all of northeast Ohio stood solidly behind Sherman. The battle was joined in scattered counties throughout the state. Noble county's representative was thought to have been bought up by the Foraker men.⁶⁰ Young Harry M. Daugherty of Fayette county, later to be remembered as Harding's Attorney-General, was thought by the Foraker men to have been bought up by Sherman's men. The evidence for this is weak, but the evidence that he committed his vote to both factions concurrently is strong. In the end he went with Sherman, the winner.⁶¹

The struggle had become so bitter by early December that Sherman concluded to offer armistice terms. In trade for Foraker's withdrawal he would support him later for the vice-presidential or any other nomination he might want. His offer was rejected and the battle continued.⁶²

Gradually the arena narrowed as the January 6 caucus date approached. Columbus hotels filled with politicians.

⁶⁰H. J. Cleveland to Sherman, Dec. 25, 1891, ibid.

⁶¹James M. Cox, Journey Through My Years (N. Y., 1946), pp. 303, 304; Grosvenor to Sherman, Nov. 9, 1891; Hahn to Sherman, Dec. 11, 1891; Hanna to Sherman, n.d. ca. Dec. 25, 1891; all in Sherman papers.

⁶²Sherman to Geo. K. Nash, Dec. 8, 1891, copy in letterbook 8, Sherman papers. Apparently there was no reply in writing from Foraker. Nash was used as emissary.

Some were invited as guests of the contenders, others paid their own way.⁶³ Each faction seemed to feel the other outnumbered it in the hotel lobbies. On Christmas Eve, a young Urbana newspaperman named Joe Smith, who had recently been added to Sherman's team, spilled out all his fears in a letter to the senator in Washington:

The fight is going steadily and strongly against us. Hahn is away. Donaldson is without hope and sick. Judge Nash is confined to his room. Hanna has his hands full in Cleveland, and Ryan though home is too sick to take much part in the fight. At least \$10,000 could be and ought to be legitimately used to break down the Foraker organization and check the desertions from us. . . . McKinley must come to your relief. . . . The Cincinnati gang is lousy with boodle. . . . It is better that you learn the truth now than when it is everlastingly too late. Have written Foster and McKinley.⁶⁴

Hanna agreed. He returned home from a quick trip to Columbus equally alarmed. Two more men had defected and several doubtful cases were not improving. "Hahn admits that if McGrew is elected [as Speaker] that our margin is hardly safe against the promise of chairmanships." More helpers were needed. Had Sherman seen Butterworth? He had promised to come if he could. "I will make him come . . .

⁶³Hahn to Sherman, Dec. 15, 17, 1891, both in Sherman papers.

⁶⁴Joseph P. Smith to Sherman, Dec. 24, 1891, Sherman papers. The total bill for the senatorial fight against Foraker was \$8,189.53, of which several hundred dollars were contributed by Hanna. Sherman paid the bulk of it himself. See Hahn to Sherman, Dec. 9, 1891, March 24, April 14, 1892, all ibid.

[and] I am going to see McKinley and insist on his doing all he can."⁶⁵

Hanna returned to the scene himself on New Year's Day and on the next evening his friends met the enemy in the speakership contest in the House caucus--a victory for Sherman's man Laylin by four votes. But Kurtz and Capper vehemently predicted a majority for their man on the final test. Four days later that test came, but it was divided into two parts. First was a vote on whether to use the open or secret ballot. Foraker preferred the secret ballot in hope that it might attract votes that would otherwise be frightened away by fears of patronage retribution. On the other side, though with less justification, it was charged that a secret ballot would permit the Hamilton county men to hide the shame of their allegiance to Cox. The vote on the balloting procedure itself was taken by rollcall, and the decision (47-44) again went to Sherman and the open ballot. Finally came the showdown: 53 to 38 in favor of John Sherman for a sixth term.⁶⁶

The elderly statesman returned happily to his labors in Washington, called in his secretary and dictated a kind note to Hanna:

⁶⁵Hanna to Sherman, n.d. (ca. Dec. 25, 1891), Sherman papers.

⁶⁶Cleveland Leader, Jan. 2-7, 1892; Richard Smith to Sherman, Jan. 7, 1892, Sherman papers; Conger to Kurtz, Jan. 12, 1892, Conger papers.

Now, after the smoke of battle is cleared away, I wish first of all and above all to express to you my profound gratitude for the part you have taken in the recent Senatorial canvass. I feel that without you I would have been beaten. It was your foresight in securing the Cleveland delegation that gave us the strongest support, and made it possible to counteract the evil influence of the Hamilton County delegation. You have been a true friend, liberal, earnest and sincere, without any personal selfish motive but only guided by a sense of what is best for the people of Ohio and of the Country. I wish you to know that I appreciate all this and will treasure it as long as I live and only wish the time may come when I may in some way show that I am deserving of all your kindness.

After protesting that Hanna must not be allowed to take the financial burden upon himself as he seemed to be doing, Sherman continued:

It is a source of great satisfaction to me that our canvass was made without the expenditure of a single dollar for boodle, with no bitterness to our adversaries and with no appeals for our candidate to the interested cupidity or ambition of the Senators and Members. . . .⁶⁷

Walters has suggested that the references to the absence of boodle, bitterness and cupidity revealed a Sherman that was already slipping into senility.⁶⁸ In view of all that he could not help but learn from his own correspondence, this would seem to be the kindest explanation.

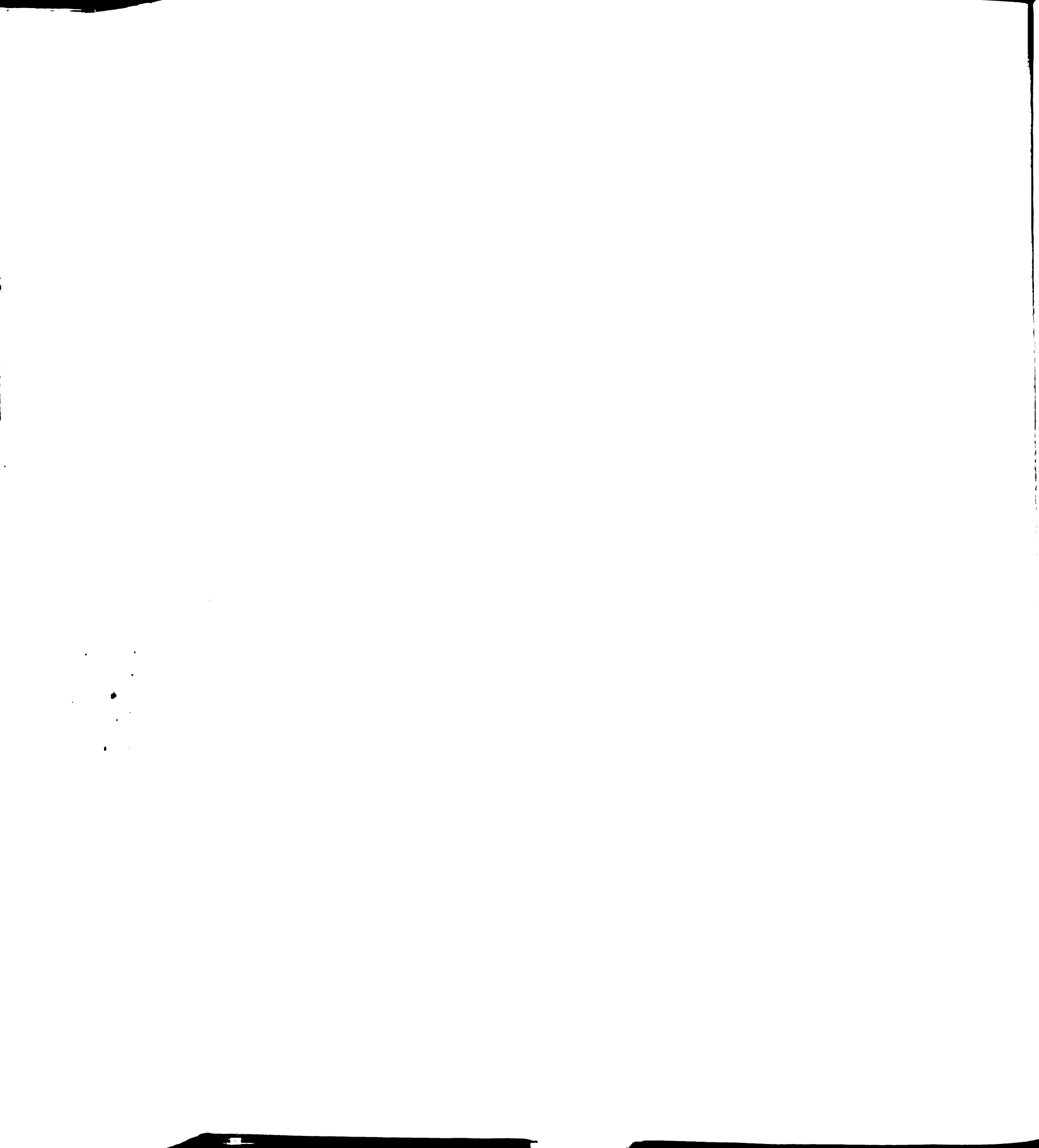
Hanna had seen more than his share of boodle, bitterness and cupidity in these years. It is difficult to

⁶⁷Sherman to Hanna, Jan. 9, 1892, Hanna papers.

⁶⁸Walters, Foraker, p. 103.

imagine him standing in awe of any man, least of all a man in politics. Did he find anything still worth admiring in all this? Mark Hanna was shy about articulating his ideals. He preferred to act on them as best he could without elaboration or explanation. If party work was, as it seemed to Foster, "a pleasure and a recreation" to him at times, part of his pleasure in it derived from his personal devotion to his heroes. There were two of these in time, but Sherman was the first. Hanna's respect for the office of senator doubtless came in large part from his high regard for Sherman. A story told in later years illustrates how the man and the office merged in his thoughts.

The Cleveland lawyer John H. Dempsey told Morrow in 1905 of a quiet Sunday hour Hanna and he had spent talking together in a Columbus hotel during a lull in the Sherman nomination fight of 1892. When they came to the subject of Sherman, Dempsey gave his opinion that the Senator might be expected to retire at his age. Most men entering their seventies, after all, were content to lie in a hammock in the sun and listen to the grass grow. "Jim," said Hanna, "there is only one thing in these United States that I would like to have and can't get." Then, with some feeling, he confided, "I would rather be a Senator of the United States than anything else on earth!" Dempsey was all for it, and immediately launched into an outline of the first



several steps to get it. Hanna stopped him short. "Jim, I couldn't get it anymore than I could fly!"⁶⁹

Here was a glimpse of the Hanna his friends admired. No matter how much mud he got his hands and feet in, his head always seemed to stay above it.

⁶⁹Morrow interview with John H. Dempsey, Hanna papers.

CHAPTER VII

TWO "CLOSE SQUEAKS" WITH MCKINLEY

If the year 1888 marked the emergence of McKinley as Hanna's second major political interest, the year 1892 brought him to a position of unrivaled primacy. Following the reelection of Sherman in January, Hanna gave McKinley's advancement his first attention. The time for the change-over was ideal, for the ex-Congressman had redeemed himself with the governorship in a season still unfriendly to Republicans nationally. He was now in a better position than ever to launch a campaign for the Presidency. Sherman, on the other hand, was in a position to retire with dignity from a long life of presidential campaigning. And finally, the victory for Sherman had brought defeat to Foraker. If not out of politics, he was at least out of office.

One of the virtues of a democracy is said to be its provision for the succession to power. In a formal way, the process is an orderly one. But in the subtle ways of politics, the coaxing of groups from one leadership to another can be a test worthy of masters in the art. The year 1892, for all its timeliness, presented its challenges in this respect. The logic of making the shift from Sherman to McKinley had not appeared with equal clarity to all

concerned. Old habits and accustomed poses were not easily broken. Specifically, the problem was that some anti-Administration Republicans outside Ohio were using Sherman's name as a rallying point rather than McKinley's. Perhaps it was because of his "soft" position on the currency issue; perhaps it was the recollection of the McKinley Tariff's unhappy effect on the congressional election of 1890. Then too, they may have feared that he was too strong a possibility, while they only wanted a stalking horse for delegates. As will be seen later, there was no obvious candidate to oppose Harrison, and some of the men in the Sherman movement--Platt of New York, Quay of Pennsylvania and Mahone of Virginia--were disposed to work by indirection toward goals they preferred to camouflage until the last moment.

Hanna knew that Sherman had no lively hopes of the nomination for himself. Doubtless he would like to have pointed out to the senator that it was his duty to help McKinley actively if he sincerely wanted his nomination. But this is not the way a senator is spoken to--especially an elderly senator to whom one has been attached both personally and publicly for the past eight years. If Sherman was willing to let his name go before the convention it would be neither prudent nor pleasant for Hanna to oppose him.

There is something pathetic in the playing-out of this futile game of Sherman for President. A New Yorker representing Governor Warner Miller sought out Hanna in early April, advising him of bright prospects for Sherman in the Empire State and asking his help in Ohio. Hanna then wrote Sherman a long letter that seemed to say that "if this is to go on," he would be willing to sacrifice himself for old times' sake:

I have a letter from our friend Burleigh regarding your candidacy at Minneapolis. I had hoped that the opposition would turn to you if it assumed proportions that looked like success. But I had about concluded that things were going to drift until we could do nothing else but take Harrison. Of course we will have to act with discretion in this state and McKinley must be in accord. For you know that he has had the feeling that lightning might strike him. I can see where Foraker might favor it as opening up his chances for your senatorial shoes. I have gone over the delegates and think we could depend on 34 to 36 as your fast friends. If this is to go on we must begin at once and do some missionary work in the south. Thompson can fix his friend in Georgia and he can have influence with Alabama. Let NY and Penna take the lead and then fix Alger through Senator McMillan. Get Allison and Clarkson and I think we can win. Certainly Harrison would be a fool to accept a nomination by a bare majority of southern votes. If this is to go on I will arrange to have Judge Thompson Genl Grosvenor and Ben Butterworth go with me to Minneapolis as a "big 4" on the outside. Keep me posted and I will handle the matter here on the quiet. But I must be on the square with McK as I have done a little work in that direction when I never dreamed of your name coming up.¹

¹Hanna to Sherman, April 7 [1892], Sherman papers.

After some delay and perhaps a reply from Sherman that has since been lost, Hanna wrote to Burleigh that "should New York state touch the button, I think the thing would go off." The initiative must come from outside, however, and then he could only say that he thought there would be no doubt about "a large majority" of the Ohio delegates following.² Burleigh answered that Platt would soon write to confirm that New York would give fifty votes on the first ballot and seventy-two as a unit soon after. Quay and Mahone were in on the understanding to unite on Sherman, he said, but it was important to move in Ohio.³ So far as is known, the first word to Hanna from Sherman himself is dated May 9. He had no wish for the nomination and "all the cares that it involves." He would rather see McKinley win the honor. But then came a cold shower of disappointment: "Treat what I write you in absolute confidence. . . ."⁴ He was unwilling to jeopardize his already shaky position with the Administration any more than Charles Foster was. Foster, who ranked second only to Sherman among the active elder leaders of Ohio Republicans,

²Hanna to H. G. Burleigh, Whitehall, N. Y., April 29, 1892, copy in Sherman papers.

³Burleigh to Hanna, May 4, 1892, copy in Sherman papers.

⁴Sherman to Hanna, May 9, 1892, copy in letterbook 8, Sherman papers.

might have been a potent influence for McKinley had he not been obligated to Harrison by his cabinet office.

To make matters worse, the selection of delegates to the national convention at Minneapolis brought renewals of the factional quarrels with Foraker. He had been accused of influencing the party's state committee against selecting McKinley for temporary chairman of the state convention, a slight that brought vehement protests from Sherman and his friends and, inevitably, a defensive counterattack by Foraker.⁵ Probably neither side was concerned so much with the immediate issue of McKinley's "humiliation," however, as with the long-range question of Foraker's chances for election to the senate. Local contests sprang up all over the state, but at the state convention itself a kind of truce was arranged. Foraker was allowed seats as delegate-at-large for himself and his friend Asa Bushnell. McKinley and state chairman William Hahn took the other two places. Hanna gave up his hoped-for election with the understanding that the factions would work together in harmony at Minneapolis.⁶

⁵Walters, Foraker, pp. 104, 105.

⁶Foraker to R. A. Alger, May 2, 1892, Foraker papers; Hanna to Burleigh, April 29, 1892, copy in Sherman papers; same to Sherman, June 14, 1892, refers to "agreement made at Cleveland" for harmony; in Sherman papers.

Ohio's delegation was uninstructed as to its presidential choice. Soon after their arrival in the convention city a poll showed 20 preferences for Harrison, 17 for Blaine, 5 for McKinley and one for Sherman.⁷ The Blaine votes represented Foraker's bloc. As he had in 1888, the Plumed Knight was again trying to make himself unavailable. He openly renounced any talk of his candidacy in February. But then only four days before the convention met he resigned as Secretary of State without explanation. His relations with the President had been strained for some time, but nothing new had occurred to account for so untimely a departure. He did nothing to further his friends' hope for his candidacy. He simply retired, less in pique than in despair and illness. Unless some dark horse was brought forward at the eleventh hour, hopes for defeating Harrison might center at last on McKinley.⁸

Harrison's managers were alive to the danger of McKinley's popularity and sought to forestall trouble by enlisting him for active duty on their side. He had disavowed his own prospects and stood quite correctly on the traditional view that a president is entitled to a second nomination if he wants it. The question was whether he would do

⁷Walters, Foraker, p. 105.

⁸Knoles, Campaign of 1892, pp. 52-56, discusses Blaine's motives. On dark horses, see ibid., pp. 40, 41, and references.

more than stand for Harrison. Louis T. Michener, who was again managing Harrison's forces, called on McKinley at Minneapolis soon after his arrival. He greeted him as a Harrison supporter, chatting amiably about how well matters were progressing. McKinley stared out the window and said nothing. Michener asked him to join the Harrison men in their rooms and received no answer. Then he took his leave, and received a cordial handshake. A few minutes later he sent the first of a parade of the governor's personal friends down to his rooms for a visit, but one by one they reported the same experience. Their next move, and this one succeeded, was to have him made permanent chairman of the convention. That isolated him at the rostrum where, as Quay commented, it was impossible for him to "Garfield" the convention.⁹

Hanna was in the peculiar position of manager for both Sherman and McKinley. It would have been an impossible position had either man been an announced candidate, or even a privately hopeful one. Each of them, however, was prudently skeptical of his own chances, and both trusted Hanna to serve their best interests in good faith. His record for refusing offices was bearing fruit.

⁹Louis T. Michener, manuscript memoir, Michener papers. This memoir is one of a group prepared for the late Prof. A. T. Volwiler of Ohio University in the 1920's.

Although not a delegate himself, Hanna arrived early in Minneapolis, and after taking lodgings with his friend Governor William R. Merriam of Minnesota, he opened unofficial McKinley headquarters at the West House.¹⁰ Great quantities of McKinley portraits, badges, pennants and other parade trappings were stored in a nearby loft ready for use.¹¹ Then he walked and listened and talked among the incoming delegates. The Blaine men were making the most noise. Harrison's men were quietly confident. Then came news of Blaine's resignation from the cabinet. It so unsettled some of his supporters--including Depew of New York and Sawyer of Wisconsin--that according to Hanna they began to consider the necessity of leaving him for another anti-Harrison contender. "This was the opportunity I waited for," Hanna wrote later. He set out immediately to find Platt and Quay. They were not ready to leave Blaine. Then he tried to discuss second choices with the Harrison men and was rebuffed again. It was early yet, but the immediate problem for all except the Administration men was to prevent a nomination on the first ballot.¹²

¹⁰Hanna to Sherman, May 30, 1892, Sherman papers; Croly, Hanna, p. 166.

¹¹Michener memoir, Michener papers.

¹²Hanna to Sherman, June 14, 1892, Sherman papers.

Hanna looked over the possibilities for his two friends. He found hope for Sherman in New York, parts of Pennsylvania and New England. But, as he explained to Sherman later, "I told your friends in the East that in my judgment your name should not be considered except in case of a deadlock. . . . I considered that there could be no honor to you in making a contest, but it would be a just tribute and would be a fortunate deliverance of the situation."¹³ So much for Sherman. It was, after all, the most he could expect.

But "in the West, particularly in the silver states and California, Kansas and Nebraska, the choice was almost unanimously for McKinley." If to these votes could be added most of the Blaine faction, they might, together with the usual scattering of complimentary votes elsewhere, still prevent Harrison from winning on the first ballot. After that, fear of the Administration's revenge might vanish. Then, Hanna said, he was assured that McKinley's position as the second choice of many Harrison men would bring him further gains. As the maneuvering for position continued while the convention went through its preliminary work, Hanna wired Sherman a request to urge Allison to have

¹³Ibid.

Governor Gear lead some Iowa delegates to McKinley.¹⁴ Another and more important chore could not be delegated. He had to bring Foraker a proposition that they agree to put Ohio solidly behind McKinley in return for "reparations for some things past." Foraker later remembered Hanna saying that the offer was authorized by McKinley.¹⁵ Hanna denied it. "I did say," he wrote later in defense, "that I would not hesitate to take the responsibility under the circumstances of advising the Ohio delegates to give their solid vote for McKinley."¹⁶ As he was managing the canvass of an unannounced candidate, he could hardly admit otherwise. If he had made such a slip he was obliged to deny it. Such a claim of authorization could only have been a slip, for with the peaceful overtures already exchanged at the time of the state convention in April, and with the knowledge that Foraker had no better place to go, he ought to have had confidence enough in a favorable reply.

In any case, Ohio's vote was secured for McKinley. One more day remained before the balloting began on Friday, June 10. The report of the credentials committee on

¹⁴Ibid.; Hanna to Sherman, telegram, 6:06 p.m., June 9, 1892, Sherman papers.

¹⁵Foraker to W. D. Bickham, June 18, 1892, Foraker papers.

¹⁶Hanna to John P. Hopley, June 27, 1892, Hopley family papers, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

Thursday was made a test vote on Harrison's strength against the field. Harrison won, but Hanna continued working undiscouraged.¹⁷ Some of the Blaine leaders, however, were discouraged enough to consider talking deals. At a conference Thursday night it was concluded that there was a "possibility and even a probability" of preventing a nomination on the first ballot and winning with McKinley soon after. Just what deals, if any, were made that night is unknown, but Hanna worked until dawn to firm up the Ohio delegation and gather in whatever other votes he could.¹⁸

Harrison's managers were maturing their own plans that Thursday night with somewhat greater success. What they needed was proof of their first-ballot majority with which to bolster the wavering delegates within their own ranks. To provide that proof they gathered in one meeting hall all the delegates committed or leaning strongly to their side. The purpose of the meeting had been kept secret until they arrived for fear of frightening some away. But when they found themselves a part of a giant Harrison rally in company with a majority of the votes, they felt safe--or

¹⁷Hanna to Sherman, June 14, 1892, Sherman papers; Cleveland Leader, June 10, 1892.

¹⁸Hanna to Sherman, June 14, 1892, Sherman papers.

stuck, as it may have been in some cases. The next day Harrison was nominated on the first ballot with 77 votes to spare.¹⁹

Opposition to the President was limited to an almost equal division of votes between Blaine (182 1/6) and McKinley (182). For Blaine it was an empty gesture. For McKinley it was a show of strength that augured well for 1896. The one danger McKinley risked he avoided neatly. The story of how he managed it is more amusing than significant, but deserves retelling. The scene was the convention floor as the one nominating ballot was being taken. When Ohio was called, it responded with 44 votes for McKinley and two for Harrison. This was the governor's cue to make it clear for the record that he had not voted for himself. He demanded a poll of the delegation. Foraker rose in his place to argue that since he had been elevated to the role of permanent chairman his place in the delegation was taken by an alternate and therefore he had no right to protest. McKinley overruled his point of order with a fine flourish of earnestness and a poll was taken. The roll-call showed not only that Foraker was voting for McKinley, which drew cheers from those who knew their Ohio politics,

¹⁹Michener memoir, Michener papers; Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, June 10, 1892, contains an excellent report on the meeting by Murat Halstead. Blaine and McKinley partisans disputed the accuracy of the head count and proxy claims at the meeting.

and that McKinley's alternate had voted for Harrison as requested, but it also exposed a Mr. W. C. Cooper, who promptly changed his vote to McKinley.²⁰ Thus the lone Harrison vote of the governor shone forth more brightly than before and the governor had one more vote for himself than before. His essential point was to demonstrate his continued loyalty to the Administration. At the same time, however, he reaped some incidental rewards: establishing the correct posture of restraint and self-effacement so important to presidential prospects, allowing Foraker to record his magnanimity, and picking up an extra vote for himself. Had it all been planned, it could never have worked.

Defeat notwithstanding, then, the convention had its rewards for the Chioans. McKinley was in no hurry. The important thing was to strengthen his position for the future, and that he had done. The year 1892 held no great promise for Republican success regardless of the candidate.²¹ While the nomination would be of some value for itself--it would make him titular head of the party--there

²⁰Cleveland Leader, June 10, 1892; Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 11, 1892.

²¹Considerations supporting such a view before the convention include the closeness of the 1888 election, the defeats of 1890, intra-party antagonisms, and the threat of losses to the rising Populist movement.

was consolation in knowing that now there would be time for a campaign toward the more auspicious nomination that another four years would bring. Then it would be a campaign more in the conservative style both Hanna and McKinley liked--cautious, methodical and thorough. What had come to them in Minneapolis was an ideal beginning. They had almost surprised themselves with their good fortune. Sherman would write to Hanna a few weeks later that from reports that had come to him he believed they had come nearer to success than they had been aware of.²² Hanna sensed the same thing at the end of their last hot day's work in the convention city. A friend who was with them as they cooled themselves in their rooms at the West House that evening remembered Hanna saying, "My God, William, that was a damned close squeak."²³

Harrison's renomination was accomplished before the Democrats or the new Populist party had opened their conventions. Regardless of their choices--Grover Cleveland and James B. Weaver respectively--the thought of supporting Benjamin Harrison for another term fell on many Republicans like a wet blanket. Hanna found an "utter indifference"

²²Sherman to Hanna, June 17, 1892, copy in letterbook 8, Sherman papers.

²³Henry H. Kohlfaat, From McKinley to Harding (N. Y., 1923), p. 155. See also Nicholas Murray Butler, Across the Busy Years (2 vols., N. Y., 1939), I, 221.

toward the success of the national ticket, he admitted privately, though insisting at the same time that he was loyal enough to do his part if Harrison's managers would show the "proper spirit" toward those who had preferred another nominee at Minneapolis. He had no apologies to make for his support of McKinley. After all, he pointed out, the movement had wide support outside of Ohio, and it hardly behooved the state to overlook such an honor to its own governor.²⁴ He was glad to hear that Sherman approved of his conduct at the convention. "Whether Mr. Harrison does or not," he added sullenly, "is not of much consequence to me."²⁵

There were problems enough in Ohio. If a hopeless national campaign was given only perfunctory attention,²⁶ the regrouping and solidifying of the party for McKinley's 1896 campaign was given the most elaborate care. Hanna and McKinley now worked more openly. They used their control

²⁴Hanna to Sherman, June 14, 1892, Sherman papers.

²⁵Same to same, June 21, 1892, ibid.

²⁶See e.g., Dick to Sherman, Oct. 12, 1892, Sherman papers: " . . . This state Committee is in absolute want of adequate funds. . . . Necessary work must be abandoned for want of means. . . .

"But two men have contributed from Washington departments. Such postmasters as the one at Springfield, Ohio, decline to contribute anything. . . . Pension examiners, fully one-third of them, refuse to give a cent, and we have been unable to get a list of the 4th class Postmasters, although it was requested fully a month ago. . . ."

over the state organization first to put their man in as chairman of the state executive committee. Charles W. F. Dick, a loyal young Akron politician with a flair for systematic and detailed work, was their man. When he seemed cool to the idea of involving himself seriously in the Harrison campaign they reminded him bluntly that every campaign from that time forward would be conducted with an eye to making McKinley president in 1896.²⁷ This made it worthwhile.

Dick's position for the next twelve years was essentially that of Hanna's first lieutenant and star pupil. Like Hanna, he was always a specialist in party management. Complementing the elder man's personal and often improvised approach to a campaign, he specialized in building and maintaining a hierarchy of standing organizations from the precinct level upward. Dick made card files of names, compiled information on workers, and kept up a steady flow of correspondence alerting, advising and urging local leaders to keep up to the mark. Where Hanna was inclined to create ad hoc combinations of power out of the materials available, Dick relied more on keeping a well-oiled machine in

²⁷Morrow interview with Charles Dick, Hanna papers.

readiness for all occasions.²⁸ The flexibility of one joined with the stability of the other to propel a machine that at its most effective was both alive to the direction of the moment and coldly impersonal in its demands on its moving parts.

Foraker was never trusted by the Hanna-McKinley group long enough to play any positive roll in the making of McKinley's nomination. For a time, however, there was an unusual show of harmony left over from the "concert" at Minneapolis. Hanna made a point of writing Foraker soon after the convention that he "fully appreciated" his actions there and wanted to continue the good work of restoring harmony in the party. He offered to be sociable again.

"When do you expect to be up in this section again? Will you go to the Islands [in Lake Erie] soon? I will go there to see you." Foraker replied with well-considered words of good intent and indicated a willingness to see Hanna on any political business. He used the demands of his law practice to excuse him from entangling social meetings.²⁹

²⁸Ibid., on the contrasts in their approaches. Dick's commonly recognized position as Hanna's lieutenant did not prevent him from having a career of his own. He was elected to Congress in 1898, fathered the Dick Law reorganizing the National Guard, and on Hanna's death succeeded him to the Senate, where he served through 1910. He lived until 1945.

Hanna to Foraker, June 19, 1892; reply, June 20, 1892; both in Foraker-Hanna Corresp., pp. 115-117.

Hanna's new amiability did not come without effort.

At the moment he wanted to win Foraker more than Foraker wanted to be won. His motive in this as in so much that he undertook at this time was his ambition for McKinley's success. A passage from a letter he wrote to an editor in Bucyrus whom he had never met showed how firmly this new passion had taken hold: "Nothing but a miracle or death will prevent McKinley's being the nominee of the party in '96," he wrote, "and to that end I have enlisted, to accomplish which I am prepared to be politic and patient, but if to secure it sharper weapons are required I shall not hesitate to fight with the same sword which I have so often used in the interests of our mutual friend, John Sherman."³⁰

While Harrison was losing the campaign of 1892 in the nation, McKinley was free to demonstrate his loyalty to the party and show himself to audiences in speaking tours that took him as far as Maine and Iowa east and west. Some 1,500 bids to hear the eloquent Ohio governor, who people said resembled Napoleon, had poured into National Committee headquarters by mid-September.³¹ He did his part, and when

³⁰Hanna to John P. Hopley, June 29, 1892, Hopley family papers.

³¹James Boyle to J. H. Bothwell, Sept. 17, 1892, copy in McKinley executive letterbooks, Ohio Historical Society; Morrow interview with Charles Dick, Hanna papers.

defeat came his conscience was clear. His young secretary was with him at Columbus as the returns were received and wrote home that "everybody, but the Governor, lost his spirits, and he continued to smile until the final news came. . . . He is bound to be the next nominee for the presidency, and the very fact of the defeat this year will elect him the next time. This is the talk of all the prominent politicians out here, and it is being taken up by the newspapers everywhere. . . . The Governor himself feels first rate. . . ."32

To McKinley, four more years of Grover Cleveland in the White House gave assurance that the one issue on which he felt strongest, the tariff, would remain alive. Cleveland was at the front of the low tariff advocates and would work for drastic revisions. Fortunately for Republican prospects, the Democrats in 1894 passed the Wilson-Gorman tariff. It was the kind of compromise that pleased no one: *many* rates were lowered, but few drastically; sugar was *dutied* again after McKinley had freed it; reciprocity was *done away with*. Important to Ohio, raw wool was put on the *free list*. Finally, a small income tax was included in the law, though the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional

³²Charles M. Bawse to Lydia Lindsey, Nov. 17, 1892, Charles M. Bawse papers in possession of Miss Helen M. Bawse, Washington, D. C.

as soon as it was given the chance. All tariffs are easy to find fault with, and McKinley was able and willing to do so with this one.³³

For all its complexity, the tariff issue was simplicity itself compared to the mystery of the great panic and Depression that fell on the country starting early in 1893. This was no mere case of Wall Street hysterics, but a fully-grown modern depression. It began in the spring of 1893 with a series of railraod failures that shook the New York Stock Exchange into panic. From there it spread along the coast and out through the Middle West, collapsing hundreds of banks and thousands of businesses. Unemployment spread like an epidemic through the cities and infected the countryside with bands of unwilling migrants and hoboes. The South, already poor, fell into a deeper decline. The West, weakened by drought, blizzards and debt for several years, was near dispair. The second year was worse. As much as twenty per cent of the labor force was unemployed. Their plight was dramatized by the tramping columns of Jacob Coxey's "petition in boots" as it crossed the mountains from Massillon, Ohio, to Washington, only to end ingloriously when its leaders were arrested for trespassing on the Capitol lawn. Similar armies of unemployed--at

³³Leech, McKinley, pp. 60-62.

least sixteen of them--straggled across from California, Montana and other points, all aimed at what they thought was the center of national power in Washington.³⁴

In this crisis, however, there was no center of national power. The single effort made by the Cleveland Administration related to the Depression was directed at keeping the country on the gold standard. In this it succeeded, though only by meeting the terms of a Morgan-Rothschild banking syndicate and by repealing the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. The latter move slightly reduced the supply of money and greatly increased the anger of Western voters. The strongest display of positive federal action on the labor problem in this period was the crushing of the Pullman strike at Chicago in 1894.³⁵

Two obstacles prevented effective governmental action against the Depression. One was simple ignorance of its origins and pathology. To an even greater degree than in the Depression of forty years later, there were offered *hundreds of quack nostrums*, a few weak palliatives and no *truly sophisticated over-all analysis and remedy*. The second obstacle was the unwillingness of the Administration

³⁴On the impact of the Depression see Harold U. Faulkner, Politics, Reform and Expansion, 1890-1900 (N. Y., 1959), pp. 141-146, 163-168 and notes.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 151-154, 170-181 and notes.

to accept any responsibility for giving emergency aid or for initiating economic reforms. Cleveland's dictum of 1887 in his veto of a minor relief bill still guided him: "the lesson should be constantly enforced that, though the people support the government, the government should not support the people." This was solid conservative doctrine, shared by the leadership of both major parties. In Cleveland's hands it was observed to the letter.³⁶

Here was in summary the ammunition provided McKinley and his friends by the four years of Grover Cleveland's second administration. A Democratic tariff, a major depression that brought misery to every section and interest in the country; and a deep split in the Democratic party over the demonetization of silver and the Administration's reliance on Wall Street bankers to maintain the gold standard. There were other materials from which to make issues, but these were outstanding. It was almost irrelevant whether McKinley offered new wisdom on the problems before the country. Certainly he wanted to be right as well as president, but his first need was for majorities. The

³⁶See ibid., pp. 143, 144 on analyses of the Depression. The Cleveland quotation is from his veto of the Texas Seed Bill, as given in George F. Parker, The Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland (N. Y., 1892), p. 450. On Cleveland's response to the Depression generally, see Allen Nevins, Grover Cleveland, A Study in Courage (N. Y., 1938), chs. 32, 33, 35.

issues he chose to develop will be taken up later, as they come into focus only at a point close to the national convention. Other problems came first in point of time.

First, he must keep himself personally available, staying clear of damaging associations and obligations. Second, he must make himself known to as many of the leaders of the party as possible, studying their wishes and deciding how far he could go in satisfying or reconciling them. In places where established leaders opposed him, he must decide whether to concede the fight or make his challenge with a new group of leaders. The first problem, that of personal availability, was defensive in nature; the second was the problem of offensive strategy. Both had to be considered concurrently and continually. Threats and opportunities arrived impatient and unannounced at any time.

No greater threat to the Ohio Governor's political future could be imagined than that of bankruptcy. Yet no sooner had the first symptoms of the great Depression appeared than McKinley suddenly found himself helpless under a deluge of debt. The story of his bankruptcy--for it was that in substance if not in law--involved Hanna and his friends profoundly. To begin with, the failure was not one of McKinley's business judgment at all, but the failure of a friend in whom he had misplaced his confidence. Robert L. Walker was an old personal friend who had done

several favors for McKinley. He was a businessman engaged in, among other things, the manufacture of tin cans. Once or twice when he needed cash he obtained McKinley's endorsement on his notes for about \$17,000. Later, with assurances that he was only renewing the old loans, he secured his friend's endorsement on blank notes that eventually brought the obligation to some \$130,000.³⁷ Then in mid-February of 1893 he met his downfall. The full amount of McKinley's obligation was determined only gradually.

When the news first broke, Hanna was in Chicago. McKinley went to Myron Herrick's home in Cleveland and stayed there almost a week in secluded misery. Henry H. Kohlsaat, a mutual friend who owned a large bakery business and control of a newspaper in Chicago, was also present. Herrick and Kohlsaat made their first plan for McKinley's recovery on the assumption that he was obligated to only \$60,000. McKinley's own net worth of some \$20,000, together with the \$70,000 in properties of Mrs. McKinley, would have been sufficient to cover all demands. If his friends gave him unsecured personal loans at interest he would be able to

³⁷Leech, McKinley, pp, 58, 59 and notes. See also Hanna to Sherman, Feb. 22, 1893, Sherman papers, which outlines the background and angrily calls Walker "a fraud and all of his concerns rotten to the core."

take his time in liquidating.³⁸ In a few days, however, they found the total obligations mounting beyond the limits of the McKinleys' capacity to pay. Offers of help were coming in the mail. A new plan was needed. The friends consulted behind McKinley's back, devised a scheme and obtained Hanna's approval from Chicago.³⁹ On February 22, he returned and took his place next to Herrick at the center of the stage. All else was put aside for the next few weeks--"I have no heart for any other work until McKinley is relieved from this awful strain," he wrote Dick.⁴⁰

The new plan was for the friends to take over all the McKinleys' property as trustees, letting them believe that

³⁸Herrick to Sherman, Feb. 18, 1893, Sherman papers. This was written the same day McKinley arrived in Cleveland, but Herrick described the loan plan as that of "his [McKinley's] friends." On the McKinleys' estate, see Leech, McKinley, p. 59. But McKinley's assets were appraised at some \$77,000 in mid-1893, according to McDougall to Herrick, Sept. 12, 1893, McKinley-Duncan papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland. These papers were given the Society by John A. Duncan, grandson of McKinley's brother-in-law Andrew J. Duncan, in 1955. They appear never to have been a part of McKinley's files--he probably never saw them--but rather a part of Myron Herrick's files later separated from his own papers on the basis of their subject matter.

³⁹Herrick to Sherman, Feb. 20, 1893; Hanna to Sherman, Feb. 22, 1893 ("He has had hundreds of telegrams and many offers of assistance."); both in Sherman papers.

⁴⁰Hanna to Dick, Feb. 23, 1893, Dick papers, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

they would apply it against the debts. Secretly, however, they committed themselves to raising the entire amount themselves and returning the estate intact. Hanna was given Mrs. McKinley's property in escrow and a committee was formed of himself, Kohlsaatt and Thomas McDougall, a Cincinnati lawyer friend, to rescue her assets.⁴¹ Herrick and McKinley's old law partner William R. Day were delegated to look after the governor's assets and keep track of accounts and legal technicalities.

The work of salvage went ahead so quickly that there were differences of opinion on methods that were never finally resolved. Advice was plentiful: open a popular subscription of dollar donations--McKinley protested against this as beggary; limit donations to Ohio--this was given up as impractical; keep it all secret--this was only partly accomplished; keep it among non-political friends of the governor--Hanna urged this strongly but was unable to enforce it. There was no clear distinction between his personal and political friends, and newspaper publicity brought in unsolicited donations that were difficult to refuse.⁴² Then there were divisions of opinion within the inner

⁴¹Herrick to Sherman, Feb. 20, 1893; Hanna to Sherman, Feb. 22, 1893; both in Sherman papers.

⁴²Herrick to Sherman, Feb. 20, 1893; Hanna to Sherman, Feb. 22, 1893; both in Sherman papers; Hanna to John P. Hopley, Feb. 25, 1893, Hopley Family papers.

circle. Kohlsaas, for example, pledged \$40,000 from himself and his Chicago friends.⁴³ But he had to raise it in his own way: shortly after his return home he wrote Herrick:

I have asked the Illinois Steel Company for \$10,000. They undertook to give me the usual talk about giving away stock-holders' money. . . . [I] told them that that kind of talk outside might do, but I was not running anything of that kind.

Mr. H. H. Porter said he would give personally. I told him that was all right but that I wanted a subscription from the Illinois Steel Company. . . .

Mr. Porter agreed to consult with his directors and left his caller feeling optimistic. There was no real concern for McKinley's honor in Kohlsaas's approach. He went on to suggest in the same letter, after knowing that McKinley had pledged publicly to repay every dollar, that "an effort should be made at once to buy paper endorsed by Governor McKinley. . . . If [it] can be bought at, say, 75 cents, it could then be held, and if Mr. Walker was able to pay anything for it, we could refund the money pro rata to the contributors. But there is no time like the present to clean it up. If they find a fund has been raised to cancel his obligations, it will be difficult to buy the paper at less than face. . . ." ⁴⁴

⁴³Hanna to Sherman, Feb. 22, 1893, Sherman papers.

⁴⁴Kohlsaas to Herrick, Feb. 25, 1893, McKinley-Duncan papers.

Hanna asked Senator Sherman to solicit contributions from Washington friends and then set out for Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and New York. The ground had been prepared in advance so that on his return to Cleveland, sick with a heavy cold, he could report encouragement at the welcome responses he had received. "Like yourself," he reported to Sherman, "I avoided all complications by going only to men whom I knew would be prompted by the right motive."⁴⁵

The canvass continued intermittently into the next three months and gradually the original plan was carried out.⁴⁶

No full accounting of the contributions has survived, though some idea of their size and range is available. In the Hanna papers is a copy of a subscription agreement for Mrs. McKinley's benefit listing twenty-one names pledging \$38,500--obviously an incomplete record, as it covers only about half of the amount needed to match the value of her estate. The three trustees, Hanna, Kohlsaat and McDougall, subscribed \$5,000 each; Samuel Mather and John Hay joined to pledge the same amount between them. Andrew Carnegie was down for \$5,000, and Henry Clay Frick for \$2,000. The

⁴⁵Hanna to Sherman, March 11, 1893, Sherman papers. James H. Hoyt, a prominent young Cleveland attorney, had been to Pittsburgh earlier: Hoyt to Herrick, Feb. 25, 1893, McKinley-Duncan papers.

⁴⁶McDougall to Herrick, Sept. 12, 1893, McKinley-Duncan papers, shows \$19,500 in unpaid Walker-McKinley paper. Day to Herrick, Feb. 10, 1894, *ibid.*, discusses vaguely closing an account and signing a deed to McKinley.

majority were familiar Cleveland names--Wade, Pickands, Chisholm, Brush and Hoyt. Cincinnatians Charles P. Taft and John R. McLean were also included. The latter name surprises. McLean was proprietor of the virulently Democratic Cincinnati Enquirer, and never by any standards a friend of McKinley. It can only be assumed that it humored him to patronize the governor with a \$500 contribution.

A subscription book kept by Herrick through March 11 lists \$24,556 in pledges, most of which were paid by that date. Almost half of the 128 names were put down for less than \$100 each; 14 were for \$2 or less. There were 12 for \$1,000 but none larger. Herrick, who was still relatively young and thin of purse, was among them. So was one corporation, a Canton bank.⁴⁷ But many of the larger donations recorded elsewhere are not included in the list. Kohlfaat's efforts in Chicago produced \$5,000 each from George Pullman, Philip D. Armour and Harlow N. Higinbotham, and \$1,000 each from Martin A. Ryerson and the Henry H. Porter mentioned in Kohlfaat's letter quoted above.⁴⁸ Senator Sherman gave \$500 and collected similar amounts from his colleagues James McMillan and Redfield Proctor and \$1,000 from Leland

⁴⁷The subscription book is in the McKinley-Duncan papers.

⁴⁸Kohlfaat to Herrick, March 14, 18, 1893, both in McKinley-Duncan papers.

Stanford.⁴⁹ Congressman Bellamy Storer of Cincinnati gave at least \$2,500 and perhaps as much as \$10,000.⁵⁰

McKinley seems never to have known of most of the contributions to these funds. After putting his affairs into the hands of Hanna, Herrick, McDougall and Kohlsaat, he left for Columbus and thereafter forwarded his mail on the subject to Herrick along with his current income.⁵¹ His initial despair over his prospects of remaining in politics was soon overcome by his friends' response and the sympathetic public reaction to newspaper publicity of the affair. As he had trusted Walker before, now he trusted his friends gathered in Cleveland.

The secret was so poorly kept that it is not unlikely that McKinley knew more of what was going on than he would admit. On the other hand, it is unnecessary to insist on it, for after the initial shock he may well have borne up with the same fatalistic calm had he not known. It was characteristic of him to put away his worries once he had

⁴⁹Undated note in Sherman papers, vol. 595, item 60504, in Sherman's hand. See also Hanna to Sherman, March 11, 1893, ibid.

⁵⁰Hanna to Herrick, March 5, 1893, McKinley-Duncan papers, notes enclosure of a \$2,500 check from Storer. Years later, Herrick said Mr. and Mrs. Storer had promised \$5,000 each. See T. Bentley Mott, Myron T. Herrick, Friend of France (Garden City, N. Y., 1930), p. 73.

⁵¹McKinley to Herrick, Feb. 24, March 7, 1893, both in McKinley-Duncan papers.

done his best with them. His traits of cautiousness and self-deprecation were not of the neurotic variety. They channelled his energies toward the work of the day before him. His very lack of exceptional imaginative powers saved him from distracting speculations. McKinley was a simple man, healthy, predictable and conventional both in what he sought and gave.⁵²

Was his trust in these friends justified? They knew the steady warmth of ambition that smoldered within him however cool he appeared on the surface. What price did they exact for saving his career? Specifically, can any direct connection be established between this episode and Hanna's rise to power in the party and the senate, Herrick's nomination for the governorship, Storer's appointment as minister to Brussels, or Day's appointments to the bench and State Department--just to name those whose help the future president knew of with certainty. In general, the answer is no, and the reasons are several. First, the trustees were in fact all close personal friends of the governor, and came to his aid with a promptness incompatible with a measured estimate of their own advantage or loss. While it is true that initially they proposed a less generous plan than that finally adopted, since they

⁵²See Leech, McKinley, pp. 10-12, 25 for elaboration and evidence of these characteristics.

believed the McKinleys' assets would cover the obligations, it seems more important to note that they met together as early as they did, while the situation was still in flux, and that their first move reflected a respect for the victim's wishes. An overeagerness to take over for him would have been more suspect. Then, too, these men were also more or less friends among themselves, and as fellow conspirators they ought to have acted as restraining influences on one another, guarding, if it were necessary, one another's honor. Finally, it might be noted that in every case the favors they received later were amply deserved on other grounds. Herrick, to whom McKinley turned first (or was it second?--Hanna was out of town), did not run for governor until two years after McKinley's death. By that time it was Hanna's support that counted above all. During McKinley's later years Herrick remained a loyal partisan in politics as well as the president's personal friend and investment counsellor.⁵³ But if his success as a banker in these years was due in part to his political connections, it was also due to a talent for business that would doubtless have brought him wealth in any case.

⁵³On Herrick as friend and investment counsellor see Herrick to McKinley, April 12, 1901, Myron T. Herrick papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland; Leech, McKinley, p. 68, and Mott, Herrick, pp. 50-55.

William R. Day, as has been noted, was a former law partner of McKinley. His first appointment as a federal district judge predated the Walker affair by four years. When he went to Washington as First Assistant Secretary of State in 1897 he had to be begged to do it as a personal favor. He was needed as a support for the aged Secretary. Leaving Washington in 1898 after having made an important contribution to the war and peace negotiations, he was again appointed to the federal bench. His elevation to the Supreme Court came during the Administration of Theodore Roosevelt.

Kohlsaat remained a cordial but not intimate friend of McKinley until their falling out over a matter of policy in 1900. Though he was once considered for the post of minister to Germany, his name was withdrawn when Foraker, then in the senate, "drew the line."

Bellamy Storer, with his popular and ambitious wife Maria, was a prominent Cincinnati who had lavished his attentions on McKinley for some time. Storer let himself be defeated for congressional renomination by Cox and Foraker in 1894 and his appointment abroad in 1897 was doubtless a personal one. But if it be suspected that the Storers bought and flattered their way ahead at least in part, it must also be added that they succeeded almost as well with Theodore Roosevelt. Storer was promoted to the

Vienna ambassadorship during Roosevelt's Administration after being refused Paris and London, and he stayed in Vienna until a political indiscretion caused his removal in 1902.⁵⁴

To say that McKinley did not become a captive of his saviors is not to deny that the Walker failure episode was significant. It exposed something basic in the structure of his relationships with his friends, Hanna included. A few surmises on this and a closer look at the Hanna-McKinley friendship itself as it was developing may be in order. While neither of them ever commented on the Walker affair himself, the experience must have drawn the two men closer, for it brought out the best in each of them. It might also be suggested that it had the effect of pampering McKinley. He had, or he developed at some point, a selfish streak that was none the less real than the more familiar magnanimity of his better nature. Charles Dick, in discussing McKinley later with a friendly interviewer, said that at least by the time he reached the presidency, McKinley had been "petted and flattered until he thought all the fruit on the tree was his." Dick held no personal grudge; his

⁵⁴On Storer, see Julia B. Foraker, I Would Live It Again, pp. 241-243, and ch. XVII; Walters, Foraker, pp. 119-121. Herrick feared from the start that the Storer's would come back for favors, and said later that Roosevelt's appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy came through their influence. See Mott, Herrick, pp. 72-74.

views probably reflected Hanna's to a great extent. Others who knew him felt the same way.

Ben Butterworth talked with me along this very line [Dick recalled]. He said that if he and McKinley should come to an apple tree and should see an especially fine apple up in the top of the tree, McKinley would say: "Ben, go up and get it." "I would climb the tree [Butterworth continued], and just as I picked the apple McKinley would order me to drop it and I would and he would get it. After I had done all the work and had run all the risk, McKinley would take the apple and I would be and we all would be fools enough to let him have it." McKinley never hesitated to call on his friends. He used all his friends.⁵⁵

Others who knew and liked McKinley also remembered incidents from his later career that substantiate this parable of the fruit tree. The editor James B. Morrow even remembered hearing Hanna speak of it. The two of them had ridden back to Cleveland together after the national convention of 1900--an unhappy event for Hanna. He had talked freely to Morrow then about McKinley, and among other things "complained good-naturedly of his selfishness."⁵⁶

This willingness to use his friends was perhaps a useful trait in a man who was to become president. If the

⁵⁵Charles Dick interview. A variant of this story, also attributed to Butterworth, appears in Orlando O. Stealy, Twenty Years In The Press Gallery (N. Y., 1906), p. 228.

⁵⁶James B. Morrow interview. See also Elmer Dover interview. Croly, Hanna, p. 364, offers the view that "Mr. McKinley was solicitous of the appearance which he was making to the world and posterity, and this quality might sometimes give his behavior at least the appearance of selfishness."

alternative was a weakness for being used by them, it was certainly the lesser fault. A larger question, however, is how McKinley kept his close friends. Despite a scattering of critical comments such as those quoted above, he made and kept a number of friends, and those who came close to him stayed close. There were no unhappy breakdowns of intimate associations such as that between Woodrow Wilson and Edward House. McKinley measured cautiously the affection he gave, and he usually gave a shade less than he received. But what he did give was welcomed. He had a capacity for bringing out the better qualities in those around him, making them feel and act more like the men they imagined themselves to be. And he was dependable. He had the tact and gentleness that put men at their ease as well as in their place. In conversation he was quiet, a good listener who inspired confidences. He was flexible but not pliable. He was smooth but not featureless. He was outwardly soft but not weak. Within there lay a man of stubborn purpose that was not be trifled with. All his friends were men, and while they may have envied the poised charm that was almost feminine in its

sensitivity to others, they respected him as one of themselves.⁵⁷

Today McKinley can only be seen from the distance of over half a century, and then not as clearly as some of his more expressive contemporaries. The face was always the same in photographs--handsome, self-possessed, dull. Because he was so much the middle-class Victorian gentleman it is difficult to think of him as anything but stuffy--"He walked among men a bronze statue, for thirty years determinedly looking for his pedestal," one journalist quipped later. He was only a steel engraving, like Washington, said another.⁵⁸ Lastingly popular presidents have other qualities: Lincoln's humor, homeliness and fresh wisdom; Theodore Roosevelt's supercharged energy and range of enthusiams; Jackson's soldierly dash and scrappiness. But millions of McKinley's contemporaries--who knew him only as a public man--were not looking for a colorful or brilliant leader. They placed a high value on dignity in those days, and he had that in abundance. His private life

⁵⁷See Leech, McKinley. pp. 26, 32, 36, 68, 373, 374.

"A marked difference between Mr. R[oosevelt] & Mr. McKinley is that the latter was a great listener & the former a great talker," James R. Garfield entered in his diary, Oct. 9, 1901; in James R. Garfield papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁵⁸W. A. White, Masks in a Pageant, p. 155; Charles Willis Thompson, Presidents I've Known, and Two Near Presidents (Indianapolis, 1929), p. 15.

was exemplary. They appreciated the almost saintly devotion he gave his wife, a clinging semi-invalid who suffered from a mild epilepsy and other infirmities. Indeed, when Ida McKinley's demands are considered, the wonder is not that her husband seemed detached and reserved in some of his other relationships, but that he had any patience or warmth left over.⁵⁹

Most important to the public, McKinley told it what it wanted to hear. His tone and style struck a responsive chord regardless of issues he might discuss or evade. Consistently through the nerve-wracking decades of the Eighties and Nineties he reassured Americans that, as his latest biographer, Margaret Leech, puts it, "they were becoming the noblest, as they were fast becoming the richest people in the world." He could ring all the changes on Home, God and Country and do it sincerely. "In brain and heart," Miss Leech writes, "he was himself the average middle-class American, abounding in optimism, proud of the national efficiency and enterprise; respectful of self-made success, and pious in devotion to the past."⁶⁰ It is true that he posed in public, as politicians will do. But like a good

⁵⁹On Mrs. McKinley, see Leech, McKinley, pp. 27-31, and ch. 9; Julia B. Foraker, I Would Live It Again, p. 257.

⁶⁰Leech, McKinley, p. 35.

salesman, he believed in his product. And so did his friends in Cleveland.

The special quality of the Hanna-McKinley relationship lay not in their similarity of outlook, though they shared much of that, but in their contrasting temperaments and talents. Hanna was a bluff, aggressive manager of campaigns and collector of funds who said little of the issues and cared nothing for ceremonials but spoke plainly of men and money. McKinley shrank from organizational work and seemed uneasy when dealing with contributions, but he studied his position on the issues carefully and took his part gracefully in the ceremonials of Republican politics. McKinley had ambitions for office and a professional need to stay in the public eye. Hanna had ambitions to stay out of office. He traded that for the backstage power of the office-giver. McKinley had no stomach for dealing with the "bummers" of city and county courthouse rings. Hanna waded into them, armed to the teeth with the only weapons they respected. By dove-tailing their talents, their tastes and their ambitions both men succeeded further than either would have separately. "Together," as Miss Leech put it, "these two made one perfect politician."⁶¹

In their personal relations it was Hanna who gave his heart. McKinley gave appreciation, support and confidence.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 69.

As they sat up at nights with their cigars and their plans for the future it was Hanna who did most of the talking. But because he was more anxious to please McKinley than McKinley was to please him, Hanna was never the dominant partner. To have overheard snatches of their conversation would probably have given a kibitzer the same distorted impression that is given by a glance at their correspondence. Hanna was direct, blunt and sometimes petulant. McKinley was indirect, cordial and diplomatic. But his patience smoothed over Hanna and won him quietly to his view. This is not to say that Hanna had the greater need for McKinley in any objective sense. On the contrary, Hanna could have thrown up his hands and returned to his own business enterprises with little apparent loss. For McKinley, the road back led only to a provincial law practice and memories of past glory. Subjectively, however, Hanna became the submissive partner because he let McKinley become his hero.⁶²

⁶²The conclusions reached in the above two paragraphs on the Hanna-McKinley relationship must stand on the support given them in the narrative of these pages, but it might be noted that in general they correspond to the views of Leech, McKinley, pp. 67-69; Croly, Hanna, pp. 364, 365; and White, Masks in a Pageant, pp. 157, 158, 170. See also Rhodes, McKinley and Roosevelt Admins., p. 10. Thomas Beer was curiously negligent as an interpreter of the friendship, giving the impression that he found the whole idea distasteful. See his Hanna, pp. 111, 180, 276 for hints, and ibid., pp. 102-110 for his sketch of McKinley.

Where Hanna would exercise real power was in the business of campaign management. It was a delegated power, but a vital one. Once McKinley and he had agreed on their objectives and general strategy, the tactics and execution were usually left to him. And because his activities exposed him to heavy fire at times, the wounds of the enemy were often left to him as well. Part of Hanna's job was to shield his candidate, keep him clean, scrubbed and unscarred, presentable to the public. It was necessary work, but not the kind many men find agreeable.

After the clouds of bankruptcy had cleared the sunshine of a victorious political campaign seemed all the brighter. McKinley's reelection in October, 1893, by a wide majority followed his safe but unremarkable record in office and his effectiveness in debating national issues. He defended his tariff more successfully then, since prices had recently fallen off. He attacked the Cleveland Administration for not "doing justice" to silver currency. And when the returns were in, he read scores of congratulatory telegrams hailing him as the next president.⁶³

New opportunities to make himself heard outside Ohio came with the congressional campaigns of 1894. This time he had a new target in the Wilson-Gorman tariff. Republican groups in sixteen states cheered his assaults on

⁶³Leech, McKinley, p. 60.

Democratic "free trade" errors as he delivered 371 speeches.⁶⁴ He was a success; the party was a success. Republicans captured a strong majority in the House. They won majorities all though the border states. They held the silver states away from the Populists. Surely now the party nomination was a tempting prize. Nothing that could bring it to the Ohio governor must be allowed to go by default.

The convention was almost two years away, however, and during most of 1894 both Hanna and McKinley tried to attend primarily to their current business. McKinley had his hands full with labor troubles in the spring. A widespread coal miners' strike required a call for the militia when trains carrying "scab" coal were sabotaged. The troops restored order without violence, however, and the governor's action was approved generally as prudent and necessary. McKinley retained the respect of large segments of labor by his active support of arbitration procedures and his backing of some friendly labor legislation.⁶⁵

Hanna, meanwhile, was trying to keep his own business enterprises afloat in the storm of the Depression. It was an uneasy time, but he survived it with no worse effects

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 61, 62.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 53, 54.

than a somewhat reduced profit.⁶⁶ While the state legislature was in session he kept in touch with pending bills that affected local business or the party generally. To some extent he and Foraker worked together as lobbyists in this period, for the ex-governor now was a political lawyer representing several large utility firms.⁶⁷

Much of the work on behalf of McKinley's future was left to Charles Dick and Joseph P. Smith during 1894.

Dick, as chairman of the state executive committee, was in an obvious position to help. Joe Smith was the young ex-editor who had first established his usefulness during the fight for Sherman's renomination in 1891. He operated from his new office as state librarian, a willing and worshipful factotum who served his chief and friend the governor continually until his early death in 1898.⁶⁸

Hanna kept in touch with Dick and Smith and helped direct their work as best he could during his spare time, but it was not until the end of 1894 that he took steps to

⁶⁶Hanna to Sherman, June 8, 1894, Sherman papers.

⁶⁷A glimpse of Hanna's close concern with state and local affairs may be had in his letters to Cuyahoga County state representative Martin Dodge of March 13, May 10, 14, 15, 16, 1894, in Martin Dodge papers, in possession of heirs of Homer Dodge, Washington, D. C. On Foraker's work as a political lawyer, see Walters, Foraker, pp. 123, 124.

⁶⁸Leech, McKinley, pp. 26, 515; Morrow interview with Charles Dick, Hanna papers.

arrange his affairs to give more attention to the campaign. His brother Leonard remembered that he seemed vague about his plans. He talked of retiring from business at least partly, and getting more enjoyment out of his last years.⁶⁹ As if he were thinking of taking up a hobby like stamp collecting or cabinetmaking. What arrangements were made in detail are still unknown, but he kept the presidencies of his street railroad and bank, and he held on to a significant share of his coal and iron business. It is unlikely that his share dropped below thirty-two and one-half per cent, for he had that much at the time of his death.⁷⁰ Brother Leonard, however, took active charge of the firm beginning in 1895.

Thus the campaign for McKinley's nomination shifted into second gear.

⁶⁹Morrow interview with Leonard C. Hanna, Hanna papers.

⁷⁰M. A. Hanna Estate Book.

CHAPTER VIII
FROM THOMASVILLE TO ST. LOUIS

Among professional politicians it was no secret that McKinley was a leading contender for the nomination in 1896. "Ohio has always had its candidate," one of the party's elder statesmen observed after the elections of 1891, and it was apparent to him that McKinley would be the man to follow Sherman in that role. The governor's popular success at the convention of 1892, his survival of the Walker failure, his emphatic endorsement by the electorate for a second term, his position as the party's leading exponent of a leading issue, the tariff, all combined to force the name McKinley into the thoughts of those who wanted him and those who feared him. There was no need to announce his candidacy. He was treated as a candidate by the professionals and the press regardless of his silence. The office was seeking the man.

Secrecy would have been undesirable if it had been possible, but a protective discretion was among the first requirements for the nourishment of McKinley's hopes. Thus

¹James G. Blaine to Russell A. Alger, Nov. 5, 1891, Alger papers.

it was a happy inspiration that led to the establishment of the Thomasville "headquarters."

Thomasville is a small resort town near Georgia's southern border where Hanna had taken his family for short winter vacations for several seasons previously. After he had arranged his affairs in Cleveland, Hanna returned to Thomasville, rented a large house there for five years and settled down to his next item of business--winning southern delegates for McKinley.²

A Republican candidate who hunts convention delegates in the states of the old Confederacy needs only a few weapons, but they must be sharp and in good order. He must arrive on the scene early and have considerable sums of money to spend through state leaders to subsidize their chosen delegates from district convention to state convention and on to the national convention. He must impress office-seekers with his reliability in patronage matters and with his strong chances of winning. For without federal patronage the party of Lincoln in the South lacks that binding material that holds parties together. McKinley was fortunate in his preconvention canvass because there was no incumbent Republican Administration in Washington. Seekers of office were plentiful and incumbents few.

²Hanna to Sherman, Feb. 5, 1892, Sherman papers; Leonard C. and H. M. Hanna interviews.

For three weeks of March, 1895, Mr. Hanna of Cleveland and his guest the governor of Ohio received visiting southern Republicans in the sun parlor of the big house at Thomasville. Hanna had already been on the scene long enough to line up a schedule of visitors and size up the problems each would present. No reports of their work from either man survive, but except that the governor caught a cold toward the end of his stay, all seems to have gone well enough.³

Essentially this style of approach was the same that Hanna had perfected at home in Cleveland. There were no speeches, no rallies or banquets. Only a trickle of well-chosen "principals" each in turn brought to the center of attention and entertained as his self-importance desired. It was a style as congenial to the Ohioans as to the southerners. After the national convention the following summer, when popular interest in Hanna had spread widely enough to include readers of the New York dailies, a friend of Hanna explained to a Tribune reporter that one explanation for his quick success was his long habit of entertaining nearly every prominent visitor to Cleveland that he could reach. Over the years he had built a long list of

³McKinley to James M'Crea, Pittsburgh, Pa., Feb. 25, 1895; McKinley to Hanna, April 13, 1895, copies of both in McKinley papers; H. M. Hanna interview.

influential friends who remembered him not as a politician so much as a good host.⁴ If many of Hanna's friendships were originally based on political associations, it is probably equally true that a number of his political associations were later extensions of friendships that began at his dining room table in Cleveland.

McKinley's soirees at Thomasville by no means conquered the southern problem. Later there would be calls for Charles Dick and others to represent him at district conventions that were burlesques of the democratic process. Dick remembered vividly the barrel of whiskey in the corner of the meeting room, its head knocked in and a tin cup attached, the milling hundreds of dark-skinned citizens foggily enjoying their day of enlightened deliberation. He remembered, too, the telegrams from the far-off Texan boss: "Send me two thousand dollars by wire. Convention red hot. I am going to get these delegates or bust the bank." When the count was taken at the national convention, McKinley had the southern vote corralled at last: all but 25 of the 222 votes from the old Confederacy were his.⁵

Hanna's attention had been so far diverted toward McKinley's national campaign that he was caught napping when Joseph Benson Foraker made his bid for a comeback to power in the spring of 1895. Still smarting from memories

⁴New York Tribune, June 26, 1896.

⁵Morrow interview with Charles Dick, Hanna papers.

of Hanna's epitaph for him of three years before, the fiery ex-governor from Cincinnati had stolen a march on him at the Zanesville state convention May 28. Foraker had found a candidate amenable to himself and boss George Cox in Asa Bushnell--"Old Bushy" Hanna had once fondly called him--of Springfield. More than that, he had put across the rest of his state ticket and won an unprecedented and unqualified endorsement for himself as senator in 1896. Hanna's gubernatorial choice, the Columbus judge George K. Nash, would have to wait his turn later. Foraker's secretary and manager Charles Kurtz replaced Dick as chairman of the state executive committee. The one consolation Hanna salvaged from this rout was the endorsement of McKinley for president. But this was a poor trade for the threat of a national convention delegation that would be riddled with unreliable Foraker adherents. Apparently through nothing but overconfidence, Hanna and his friends had been beaten on their home grounds. Nevertheless, a show of harmony was maintained through the hugely successful fall campaign. Bushnell was easily elected, Foraker was sure to be elected to the senate by the new legislature,

and McKinley proved again his popularity with varied audiences as he stumped the state for the ticket.⁶

For Hanna the latter half of 1895 was hectic with the demands of a swiftly changing political struggle and the strains of domestic crises. Mrs. Hanna spent the summer recovering from a fractured hip. Later in the year she contracted typhoid fever. First with one and then the other, her husband felt needed at home far more than usual. There were times when he despaired of fulfilling his obligations to her and keeping up with the campaign, but by the end of the year she had recovered and his health problems were again limited to his own occasional bouts with influenza and cold infections.⁷

Hanna's initial approach to his candidate's problems was entirely orthodox. After the home state was secured, the obvious place to begin gathering delegates was in the south. A show of success there gave bargaining power in later dealings with northern leaders. Next came the great blocs of votes controlled by the bosses of New York and

⁶Foraker to Kurtz, Feb. 23, 1895, copy in Foraker papers; Walters, Foraker, pp. 107-109; Leech, McKinley, p. 64. Substantiating the suspicions of Foraker's reliability are passages in J. S. Clarkson to W. B. Allison, June 17 and Sept. 16, 1895, both in Allison papers, Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, Des Moines (transcript by Stanley L. Jones).

⁷Morrow interview with Mrs. C. A. Hanna, Hanna papers.

Pennsylvania. These states were often Republican in November; they were always desirable wheels on which to roll a convention bandwagon. Then attention could be given to the search for blocs of supporters from other sections of the country. The states of the Great Plains and Rockies must not be alienated if the candidate is to be given a truly national appeal. Thus it was important to avoid a crisis on the currency issue especially. Meanwhile, attention must be given to winning over a majority of the National Committee, in order to secure friendly convention committees. With this breadth of support it would be difficult to deny the claims of a prospective party candidate, even if he failed to win on the first ballot.

But such a simple scheme was stalled before it was fairly under way. Hanna hoped to present his man as a national figure and win on the first ballot. But the convenient process of arranging such a matter with state and local bosses soon had to be dropped. The South had responded well. New York's Tom Platt and Pennsylvania's Matt Quay, however, demanded more for their allegiance than McKinley would give. Their exact terms are unknown, but a friend remembered McKinley concluding among other things that if he could not be president without making Tom Platt Secretary of the Treasury he would never be president.⁸

⁸Kohlisaat, McKinley to Harding, pp. 30, 31.

Somehow the canvass must proceed without the support of these two largest states. It would not be easy. A new tactic was called for.

Not only were Quay and Platt uncooperative, but a bevy of other obstacles soon arose. Senators Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois and William B. Allison of Iowa were attempting to tie up their states for themselves; old Benjamin Harrison was toying with the idea of asking for Indiana's vote. Of course, not all the contenders could be dismissed as merely favorite sons. Allison was a real threat if second choices entered into late ballot considerations. Thomas B. Reed of Maine was a legitimate claimant representing the eastern "gold bugs" on the currency issue. But Cullom and Harrison were sham candidates, even if they were unaware of it themselves. So were elderly Levi T. Morton, the New York banker and former vice-president chosen by Platt as his pawn, and Matt Quay, who certainly did not take his own prospects seriously as Pennsylvania's favorite son. Even in late 1895, managers for all these men were more or less involved in a combine to stop McKinley from a first ballot victory. If they could do that, they reasoned, they could

worry later about whom they might unite on.⁹ It would not be McKinley, for he was under no obligations to them. It would not be Harrison, for he would acknowledge no obligations and would lose the election in any case. Probably it would not be Reed, for he was a sectional candidate at one extreme of the party's thinking on the currency issue and was too independent of mind to satisfy Platt or Quay. The plans of the combine never matured far enough to test any answer that might be suggested, but the likeliest choice would seem to have been the man most like McKinley in all but his success in gathering delegates pledges. That would

⁹On Cullom, see Cullom to P. S. Grosscup, April 4, 1896 (copy), Grosscup to McKinley, April 8, 1896; both in McKinley papers; and William E. Pitkin, "Shelby M. Cullom: Presidential Prospect," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society XLIX:4 (Winter, 1956), 375-386. On Allison, see Leland L. Sage, William Boyd Allison: A Study in Practical Politics (Iowa City, 1956), especially p. 263 ff. On Reed, see William A. Robinson, Thomas B. Reed, Parliamentarian (N. Y., 1930), p. 322 ff. On Morton, see especially Chauncey M. Depew to Morton, March 4, 1896, Morton papers, New York Public Library. On Harrison and the Indiana fight after his withdrawal, see A. Dale Beeler, ed., "Letters to Colonel William R. Holloway, 1893-1897," Indiana Magazine of History XXXVI:4 (Dec., 1940), 371-390. There were also brief attempts to put forward Charles F. Manderson in Nebraska and Cushman Davis in Minnesota. The combine's strategy is clearly revealed in Clarkson to Allison, Dec. 14, 1895, Allison papers (Jones transcript), and Chauncey Depew to L. P. Morton, March 4, 1896, Morton papers.

have been William B. Allison, the equally cautious, equally midwestern and equally experienced senator from Iowa.¹⁰

Only one choice remained for McKinley's managers. They must fight a campaign against the bosses of the "combine." Their man would be presented--and it seems to have been Hanna's inspiration--as the "advance agent of prosperity," the peoples' friend, the bosses foe.¹¹ Applying the converse of an old maxim, they concluded that "if you can't join 'em, lick 'em." In some states--Arkansas under Powell Clayton, Michigan under Russell Alger, Wisconsin under Henry C. Payne and others--this was unnecessary. In many of the states where a fight was made against strong opposition there were established leaders on hand to carry the burden: California, Missouri, Vermont, Minnesota, Kentucky

¹⁰This is speculation on Allison's potential for victory in circumstances that never arose. Reed's campaign won more delegates before it stalled, but this does not mean that he was the greater threat, as Peck, Croly, Leech and others have concluded. None of McKinley's rivals won enough delegate pledges to threaten him. The potential threat lay in the action the anti-McKinley combine might have taken had it had the opportunity at convention time. John Hay to Hanna, Jan. 27, 1896, McKinley papers, estimates the dislikes of Platt and Quay substantially as given above.

¹¹Croly, Hanna, pp. 171, 178; Leech, McKinley, p. 72. Charles Gates Dawes' private journal, Jan. 28, 1896, Dawes papers, Deering Memorial Library, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (Though the author has used and will cite the original of this valuable journal, it is also available in nearly complete form in Bascom N. Timmons, ed., A Journal of the McKinley Years (Chicago, 1950). Herrick gave credit for the campaign's new direction to McKinley: see Mott, Herrick, p. 63.

and Indiana were examples. In all of these success was complete. In a few crucial states the early situation looked so desperate that there was some question whether any fight at all should be attempted. The risk of further antagonizing Platt and Quay was taken when supporters in their states agreed to make a fight, and they succeeded in snatching enough delegates in Pennsylvania and New York to break the solidarity of the favorite sons' support.¹²

Both the leaders of the combine and McKinley felt that the decisive clash would come in Illinois. "We must gather up our loins there," warned Allison's manager Ret Clarkson excitedly, "for that is the heart of it all;" the "Gettysburg," Dick would call it.¹³ If the state convention on April 28, 1896 did less than instruct for McKinley, the race would still be considered open. There seemed to be a diffuse sentiment in the state favorable to McKinley but the established organization under John R. Tanner, William Lorimer and others held out for Senator Cullom. McKinley's friends kept some hope of a rapprochement until late in 1895,

¹²The preconvention fights were covered widely in the press and are documented especially well in the papers of Dawes and Allison. See also the Charles Dick interview, in which he observes that McKinley seemed to desert his New York and Pennsylvania friends after the convention when he came to terms with Platt and Quay.

¹³Clarkson to Allison, Dec. 23, 1895, Allison papers (Jones transcript); Morrow interview with Charles Dick, Hanna papers.

but meanwhile someone had to be found to represent him who could be trusted. Under the circumstances it was not to be expected that able politicians with vested interests to protect would fall over themselves to apply for such work. The man Hanna finally speculated on early in 1895 was a thirty year old lawyer and gas company financier recently moved to Chicago from Nebraska named Charles Gates Dawes. He came from a prominent Marietta, Ohio, family but had practically no political acquaintance in his new home in Chicago. In looks, age and experience he came poorly recommended. All he could offer were the essentials: loyalty, energy and brains. He gathered a group of lieutenants about him, amateurs and outsiders like himself, for the most part, and started to work.¹⁴

As late as Christmas of 1895, Hanna was still not wholly convinced that aggressive measures in Illinois were the best tactic. According to entries in Dawes' diary, it was McKinley who showed the more aggressive spirit on the subject at this time, for what reason is not clear. Hanna

¹⁴Dawes journal, March 10, Dec. 23, 1895, Dawes papers; W. G. Edens to Dawes, Dec. 11, 1895, postscript by Dawes, Dawes papers; J. P. Smith to Dawes, Dec. 30, 1895, *ibid.* One final move toward reconciliation failed in late January, 1896. See J. P. Smith to Dawes, Jan. 27, 1896, and Dawes journal, Jan. 29, 30, 1896, both *ibid.* On Dawes, see Timmons, ed., Journal of the McKinley Years, pp. ix-x, and Kohlfaat, McKinley to Harding, pp. 21, 22.

did not lag for long, however, but followed events closely from the first of the county conventions through the triumphant climax in April.¹⁵

Two other victories in the preconvention campaign were notable. In Nebraska there was a fight similar to that in Illinois, and Dawes had also been put in charge there in the early stages. Then another young man, Frederick Collins, took over on the ground and succeeded in winning instructions for McKinley against the wishes of such powers as the railroads' attorney and senatorial candidate John M. Thurston.¹⁶ And in Vermont, under Redfield Proctor's guidance, the expected solidarity of New England for Tom Reed was broken. By the end of April, success in Illinois and Vermont made it clear to his supporters that McKinley was safe. The New York publisher Whitelaw Reid expressed it well when he wrote to the governor that since it was obvious that the bosses who still held out "must either *fall in with the procession or get run over by it, you do*

¹⁵Dawes journal, Dec. 23, 1895; J. P. Smith to Dawes, Dec. 30, 1895, both in Dawes papers; Morrow interview with Charles Dick, Hanna papers.

¹⁶Thurston was not against McKinley but did oppose instructions. Another railroad attorney, ex-senator Charles F. Manderson, was the organization's favorite son. See Dawes to F. W. Collins, Jan. 21 (copy), Collins to Dawes, Feb. 8, 1896; J. P. Smith to Dawes, March 3, 1896, all in Dawes papers; Morrow interview with Charles Dick, Hanna papers.

not seem to be called upon to offer them many premiums to reward them for not committing suicide."¹⁷

Hanna's personal role in the preconvention campaign was so pervasive and yet so sketchily recorded on paper that it is difficult to assess in detail. He and McKinley had telephone connections between the Canton home and Hanna's campaign headquarters in the Perry-Payne Building in Cleveland. They used this and messengers more often than written messages when their consultations were not held in person.¹⁸ Then too, the team they were building around them included men of no little force in their own right. Dawes was never afraid to speak up, nor were his friends in the field. Old campaigners like Albert C. Thompson and Charles Grosvenor would have felt free to act and advise with some assurance, though their contributions are largely unrecorded. Young Joe Smith overflowed with opinions and enthusiasms that were his own even though they reflected the views of his chiefs to the degree that he was allowed to answer many of their letters, sometimes in their

¹⁷Reid to McKinley, May 12, 1896, copy in Reid papers, box 151, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

¹⁸Leech, McKinley, p. 64. See also the Charles Dick interview, which indicates that Dick and McKinley also were connected by telephone between their Akron and Canton homes.

names.¹⁹ Morale was high at the start and rose higher with each new victory.

It was during this preconvention campaign that Hanna's successes began to enlarge his circle of enemies as well as friends. The public image of Mark Hanna the wicked millionaire was spreading beyond Ohio. In March, 1896, he made what was ostensibly a business trip to Buffalo, but his presence within the domain of Tom Platt awakened such fears in the breasts of New York party leaders that the pro-McKinley New York Tribune's editorial writers found material for burlesque. Hanna

has tackled the Empire State from the Lake Front of Buffalo, and is making arrangements to devastate the face of the country from that point to Montauk. He is coming down . . . "like the wolf on the fold" and his "cohorts"--no: he is not yet reported as having "cohorts"--but he himself "is gleaming with silver and gold." . . . He is reported to have jags and jags and swags and swags and slathers and slathers of money. He reeks with it. It leaks out of his trousers pockets as he staggers along under the burden of it.²⁰

¹⁹See e.g., Smith to Dawes, March 3, 1896, Dawes papers: "I shall write Cheadle and Cragen of Indiana in Mr. Hanna's name. . . ." Copies of these letters--personal, spirited and encouraging--are also in the Dawes papers. Grosvenor was looked to by reporters as the statistician of McKinley's progress, issuing weekly claims and prophecies. See Arthur W. Dunn, From Harrison to Harding (2 vols., N. Y., 1922), I, 163. Grosvenor's role may also be glimpsed in his letters included in Beeler, ed., "Letters of Col. William R. Holloway."

²⁰New York Tribune, March 19, 1896.

In truth, not only the New Yorkers but New Hampshire's redoubtable Senator William E. Chandler took the occasion to greet the "boodler" from Ohio. Hanna issued a calm statement from Buffalo pleading innocent even of plans to go down to New York City on that trip.²¹ After his return to Cleveland he heard of a second attack by Chandler and replied this time with more of the angry hurt that he felt: "Sewer gas must have an outlet. . . . The best way is to let him alone," he told the press. "I care nothing for what he thinks or says about me. . . . My reputation is as good as his."²² But the price of his new power was becoming more evident each week. On the same day the Vermont convention instructed for McKinley the Brooklyn Young Republicans Club was reported giving him its endorsement over the protests of a minority that called his manager "the worst type of political boss." Hanna was "not content with running the Republican party in Ohio [but was] endeavoring to control it throughout the country."²³ Again Hanna was reminded that if the only way to move the Republican beast to its destination was by use of the carrot and stick it would be his lot to wield the stick while McKinley held out the carrot.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., March 24, 1896.

²³Ibid., April 28, 1896.

Hanna paid the bulk of preconvention expenses himself. A few friends helped in the later stages, but his own share has been estimated at \$100,000. Dick remembered that sometime in the fall of 1895 he got a glimpse of the books that showed \$60,000 charged to Hanna then.²⁴ There is a record of \$6,000 sent the following February by Philander C. Knox and four of his Pittsburgh friends. Both McKinley and Hanna sent their thanks for the help, and nowhere is the difference in their styles more evident than in these two letters. The candidate wrote three sentences:

I am deeply grateful for the remembrance of yourself and friends received a few days ago. It was most considerate and generous and accompanied as it was by expressions of friendship, is all the more gratefully appreciated. Will you please receive for yourself and convey to the gentlemen associated with you my sincere thanks for this manifestation of the good will which I want you to know I will always cherish. With warm personal assurances to yourself.

I am your faithful friend²⁵

Hanna wrote:

I was made glad this morning on receipt of your cheque in remitting contributions from Pitts friends to the McKinley campaign fund (in which you cut such a prominent figure). I assure you it came at an opportune time for just now the

²⁴Hanna to John Hay, Oct. 7, 1895, Hay papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; *Croly, Hanna*, p. 184; Charles Dick interview.

²⁵McKinley to Knox, Feb. 29, 1896, Knox papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; replying to Knox and others to McKinley, Feb. 26, 1896, McKinley papers.

"combine" are making a terrible fight against us in the south where money is such a potent factor. I do not propose to buy any support with money given into my hands but will be obliged to keep a large number of men actively in the field to keep our lines intact. Then we have to pay travelling expenses to most of the delegates to the Convention. So while the fight is kept up we will have to stand by our leaders. Thus far we have held our own--having gotten 10 out of 12 delegates chosen in Ga.

I do not see any of our Iron Manfrs. on your list and particularly Mr. Frick. Will you see them or shall I write to them direct. I had intended going to Pitts before this but am chained at home by important matters in connection with the campaign which come up every day. However will be glad to cooperate with you.²⁶

A contrast in personal styles and in the roles they fitted--one the smiling public man, safe distant and dignified; the other the hard-headed colloquial and confiding manager.

Some indication of where the money went in these months has already been given. Printing and mailing costs were also heavy. "McKinley has plastered the land from his literary bureau," Clarkson complained at the height of the struggle.²⁷ Newspapers friendly to the cause were sometimes mailed to elected delegates for their edification. Buttons and banners were distributed in quantity.²⁸ Hanna's

²⁶Hanna to Knox, Feb. 28, 1896, ibid.

²⁷Clarkson to Allison, March 10, 1896, Allison papers (transcript by H. Wayne Morgan). See also C. M. Depew to L. P. Morton, March 4, 1896, Levi P. Morton papers, New York Public Library, New York City.

²⁸J. P. Smith to Dawes, March 17, 1896; Samuel Roberts, Lexington, Ky., to J. P. Smith, April 6, 1896; both in Dawes papers.

assertion that votes were not being purchased outright was supported by more direct evidence than the letter to the donors quoted above. In January he had written a worker in the south--perhaps it was the Texan who threatened to "bust the bank"--that "you are laboring under the impression that there is a liberal fund provided for distribution. Such is not the case. I am personally providing what seems to be necessary for such expenses as are legitimate. . . . We will not find fault with you if you secure no districts which cannot be won on the merits of Mr. McKinley as a candidate."²⁹ Early in February he sent out \$500 with a warning that he was still the campaign's sole provider and that he had to borrow the money he was enclosing. In short, the evidence suggests that it was Hanna's skill in stretching the available dollars rather than in collecting new ones that made it possible to finance the campaign successfully.³⁰

It was not entirely by choice that so much depended on Hanna's money, though as he explained to John Hay in October, he hesitated to seek outside assistance until he was sure of who McKinley's real friends were.³¹ In the fall of

²⁹Quoted in Croly, Hanna, p. 185.

³⁰Ibid. Note also Dawes journal, Feb. 1, 1896 ("Hanna is being greatly disappointed in his canvass for funds"), Dawes papers.

³¹Hanna to Hay, Oct. 7, 1895, Hay papers.