Library
of the
Ohio State University
THE CAREER OF WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
POLITICIAN-JOURNALIST

DISSERATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of the Ohio State
University

By

EDGAR LAUGHLIN GRAY, B. S. Ed., M. A.

The Ohio State University
1951

Approved by:

Eugene H. Rosedoom
Adviser
INTRODUCTION

William Henry Smith as a politician and journalist was an important figure in the second half of the nineteenth century. His life embraced some of the momentous years in the history of the United States, and the nature of his profession brought him into close contact with many of the most important men and events of his time. Today his name is practically unknown except to journalists and historians; and to most of these his personality and achievements may be blurred and indefinite. The following study is an attempt to reconstruct his personality and attainments against the background of his time.

It is with pleasure that the author acknowledges his debt to the many individuals and libraries that have contributed to this study. He wishes to express his appreciation to his adviser, Professor Eugene H. Roseboom of the Department of History, The Ohio State University. His penetrating comments and constructive criticisms were especially helpful. Two other members of the same department, Professors Henry H. Simms and Francis P. Weisenburger, read the entire manuscript. Their keen interest, kindly encouragement, and helpful suggestions are sincerely appreciated.
The author also wishes to express his gratitude to those who assisted him in various research centers. He is indebted to Watt P. Marchman and Ruth Ballenger of the Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio, who were helpful in placing the Hayes Papers at his disposal and in making suggestions as to their use. Many members of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society gave him valuable aid. Special mention should be made of Dr. James H. Rodabaugh, Elizabeth C. Biggert, and Vinnie Mayer. Particular acknowledgment is made of the help rendered by Caroline Dunn and her staff at The William Henry Smith Memorial Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

The author wants to make it clear that the persons who have assisted him in this study are in no way responsible for its defects. Full responsibility is also taken for the interpretation given any controversial issues.

Edgar L. Gray

Columbus, Ohio
May 10, 1951
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE OF CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. ENTRANCE INTO POLITICS</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. SECRETARY OF STATE</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. GENERAL MANAGER OF THE WESTERN ASSOCIATED PRESS</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. ELECTION OF 1876</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. HAYES THE VICTOR</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. GENERAL MANAGER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. LATER LIFE</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE CAREER OF WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
POLITICIAN-JOURNALIST

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE

This is the study of an Ohio politician-journalist whose life lay largely in the second half of the nineteenth century. The central character had none of the striking characteristics that made for political greatness, yet his influence was felt in the highest circles of the Republican party. Biographers and historians always preserve the fame of "great men," but many times neglect the work and influence exerted by people who do not seek the limelight. In the present study the life and background of one of the most influential of these forgotten men will be portrayed. The evidence will speak for itself.

William Henry Smith, the subject of this dissertation, first saw the light of day on December 1, 1833, in Austerlitz, Columbia County, New York. His ancestry was a mixture of English, Scotch, and Dutch. ¹ His father, William DeForest

¹ William Henry Smith to Francis E. Browne, Dec. 28, 1887. Smith MSS. (The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio). Hereafter cited as Smith MSS.
Smith, was born in Litchfield County, Connecticut, in 1805 and was a descendant of Rev. Henry Smith, a Congregational clergyman, who was an active figure in the early life of the colony. His mother, Almira Gott Smith, was a daughter of Deacon Story Gott, who was a lieutenant in the Revolutionary War, and was descended from Daniel Gott, who settled in the Connecticut Valley in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

The other children of William DeForest and Almira Gott Smith were: Ann Elizabeth, born 1828; Mary Adelaide, born 1829; Charles Warren, born 1831; and Celia J., born 1841.

Early in 1834 William DeForest Smith and his family left Columbia County, New York, for the West, accompanied by Smith's brother-in-law, Dr. Benjamin Davenport, and his family. The families of the two young men were left in charge of Smith at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, in the picturesque Lehigh Valley, while Dr. Davenport surveyed the

---

3 Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio, II, 714.
4 Charles Warren Smith later became general manager of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad.
5 The History of Union County Ohio, Part V, 247.
promised land for a site on which to build new homes. He selected the Darby Plains in Union County, Ohio, where his cousin, James Miller, was already residing. The next year the families followed, crossing the Appalachian Mountains in a Conestoga wagon to Pittsburgh. They then took a flatboat down the Ohio River to Marietta and up the Muskingum to Zanesville, and traveled thence by wagon to Homer, Ohio. Homer was a growing village with a saw mill, a large general store, a woolen and carding mill, a furniture factory, and several small industrial shops. To these Smith added a wagon and carriage shop which was the first in the county. In later years he added to the diversity of his employment by farming.

There were about five hundred inhabitants in Union County when the Smiths arrived, and half of these lived in Milford Center, which was the first village laid out in the county. The county post office was located in this village and all of the inhabitants of Homer had to go there for their mail.

William Henry attended the public schools in Union

---

6 Howe, op. cit., II, 714-715. This village should not be confused with the town of Homer in Licking County.

7 The History of Union County Ohio, Part V, 246.
County. He was also a member of a group which held weekly meetings in which topics of the day were discussed. The leading members of the group were Dr. Benjamin Davenport, Samuel and Hiram Colver, and Bushrod Washington Converse. The last named, a Vermonter and a Harvard graduate, was the leader of the group. He was an outstanding orator and was frequently called upon to address meetings throughout Union County on religious questions.\footnote{Howe, \textit{op. cit.}, II, 716.}

One of the most influential men of the community was Cornelius S. Hamilton, editor of the Marysville \textit{Tribune}. He encouraged William Henry to write and thus influenced his choice of a career. This friendship grew and continued throughout the life of Mr. Hamilton.

The anti-slavery movement found supporters among many of the people of Union County. A branch of the underground passed through the southern part of the county and the adjoining part of Champaign County. Run-away slaves were often concealed in the homes of Dr. Benjamin Davenport and Anson Howard in Rush Township, Champaign County.\footnote{Wilbur H. Siebert, \textit{The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom}, 418.} William Henry was secretary of one of the branches of the underground
railroad.10

William Henry grew up in a conservative Whig home. His father, a faithful follower of Henry Clay and Thomas Corwin, was heart-broken when Clay was defeated for the presidency in 1844 by James K. Polk.11

After young Smith completed his public school education in Union County he attended Green Mount Seminary, a Quaker school located near Richmond, Indiana. After graduation he served for a year as a tutor.12

At this time the Know-Nothing movement, joint product of the alarm of the Atlantic seaboard over the tremendous influx of immigrants around 1850 and of a long-continued anti-Catholic agitation, was spreading over the Northwest with amazing rapidity and was exerting an influence upon the newly formed Republican party. Smith called attention to the harmful influence of this movement in an article entitled "Native Americanism," which appeared in a phonetic newspaper in Cincinnati, the Type of the Times.13 In this

10 William Henry Smith to William Curtis, June 15, 1885. Smith MSS.

11 Howe, op. cit., II, 716.

12 Newspaper clipping in Smith MSS. Name of newspaper and date not given.

13 Type of the Times, Feb. 17, 1855. This was a newspaper that attempted to change the spelling of words to the way they were pronounced.
article he stated:

I must oppose such exclusive principles, or whatever tends to restrict the powers of the American government, or tends to bind and cramp the free expansion of liberal feelings, of that open-hearted loving kindness that recognizes all men as children of the same God, with equal rights and privileges on the same broad earth....

Such straight jacket conservatism as is displayed by the Native American party has not been witnessed since the days of British religious feuds or Puritan persecution....

The Native Americans are in league with the Pro-Slavery party of the South, and while they pretend to be working for the good of Americans, they are riveting more firmly the chains of the slaves....

Then comes Know-Nothing Democracy. "War to the hilt on the Catholics,--no foreigners in office--America for Americans"—and under the cloak of opposition to the old parties, and in favor of the restitution of the Missouri Compromise, it swallows up the Free Soil party of the North....

Here is something to be dreaded more than Catholicism, or the immigration of foreign paupers, yet we allow it to sleep peacefully in our midst—a serpent warmed to our bosoms, whose viperine influence is more to be feared than that of the united Church of Europe....

As a result of this article Smith was asked to become an editorial contributor to the Type of the Times. On May 11, 1855, he left Green Mount for Cincinnati to become

---

14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., March 3, 1855.
Cincinnati, at the time Smith arrived to begin his journalistic career, was the leading city in the West. It was not only a manufacturing center but a distributing point for the vast areas of the United States stretching to the South and West. It was a great commercial center because it was accessible by rivers, canal, railroads, as well as by important highways. The majority of its population were people whose parents or grandparents had lived in the back country of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The principal racial strains were Scotch-Irish and German. It was not only the "queen city of the West" but also a market for the staples of the South and the commodities of the East. In addition to its importance as a commercial and industrial center, it was described as an intellectual and cultural center that included schools, churches, libraries, and literary societies in its environs.


In the columns of the Type of the Times Smith supported Salmon P. Chase for governor of Ohio on the Republican ticket in 1855. In an editorial on May 19, 1855, he said that he favored Chase because he considered him one of the people, a man as free from the prejudices and favor of party as could be found, and possessing at the same time the requisite qualifications for the responsible position of governor of Ohio. Smith went on to say that Chase was honest, industrious, intelligent, and independent, the very man to guard with jealous care the rights of the people, and one who would fulfill the duties of the office with honor to the State and credit to himself. On October 6 Smith wrote that he hoped the Republican ticket would be elected in Ohio for the sake of reform and for the sake of the State. He asked his readers to be honest in the selection of the candidates for whom they voted. He also said, "It is every man's duty to go to the polls and vote, and it is his duty to make that vote a conscientious one. We shall endeavor to do so, and therefore shall vote for Salmon P. Chase for Governor." 

In commenting on Indiana politics in 1855 the asso-

18 Newspaper clipping in Smith MSS. Name of newspaper and date not given.
19 Type of the Times, May 19, 1855.
20 Ibid., Oct. 6, 1855.
ciate editor of the *Type of the Times* said that the part the Democratic party was playing was then at best a farce; in comparison to Democracy of early memory it was nothing more than a mockery. He also asserted that if it were not for the treasury eaters and office seekers there would be in national politics but one sentiment and one party.  

According to a later reference by Smith the life-long friendship between Smith and Rutherford B. Hayes started soon after Smith arrived in Cincinnati. They first met at a "Free Soilers" meeting at Greenwood Hall, at which Hayes presided. At this time Hayes was a struggling young lawyer and was just becoming active in politics. The two men began to work with Frederick Hassaurek and others in organizing the Republican party in Hamilton County.  

Within a few months after Smith reached the Queen City he was welcomed as a member of the Literary Club. This club was organized on October 29, 1849, for the purpose of discussing the leading social, political, and literary topics of the time. To the present day this club has held a leading position among the social and literary organizations of the city and has achieved a national reputation,

---

21 Ibid., Sept. 8, 1855.
22 William Henry Smith to T. W. Davenport, July 25, 1876. Smith MSS.
23 Ibid.
both by reason of the character of its membership and the success with which it has maintained its position for over a century. This club has numbered among its members the most prominent citizens of Ohio. The most distinguished have been Salmon P. Chase, Rutherford B. Hayes, Edward F. Noyes, Stanley Matthews, General William H. Lytle, Robert H. Stevenson, T. Buchanan Read, James Murdock, Colonel Delvan Mussey, and others. During the Civil War forty of the members of the organization became officers in the Union Army.

On January 21, 1859, Smith was initiated into the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in Columbus, Ohio. He became editor of the organization's literary monthly magazine, The Odd-Fellows' Casket and Review, and held the position for three years.

On August 11, 1855, William Henry Smith married a childhood sweetheart, Emma Reynolds, at New Garden, Indiana. Mrs. Smith was a Quaker from Wayne County, Indiana,

25 William Henry Smith to T. W. Davenport, July 25, 1876. Smith MSS.
26 Ibid.
27 Certificate of membership, Smith MSS. (Ind.).
28 Inter Ocean [Chicago] , July 28, 1896. Newspaper clipping in Smith MSS.
and was a graduate of Green Mount Seminary. 29 Three children were born to the Smiths, but only two reached maturity, a daughter Emma Almira, who became the wife of Charles R. Williams, and a son, Delavan. 30 Mrs. Smith was a faithful wife and loving mother.

During the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, Ohio was a battleground for reformers. Many of them were interested in emancipating women from the restrictions that a man-made world had placed about them. The agitation for legal and political equality began in Ohio in 1850, and by the middle of the decade the movement had supporters in many parts of the State. At the national convention of woman's rights advocates held in Cincinnati on October 17, 1855, Smith was selected as one of the secretaries. 31 The convention was attended by such well-known reformers as Mrs. Frances Dona Gage, Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Ernestine Rose, and Lucy Stone; and by a series of resolutions expressed the need for legal reform in the position of women in such matters as education, suffrage, labor, and social rights. This,

29 Baltimore Sun, May 12, 1891. Newspaper clipping in Smith MSS. (Ind.).

30 Biographical sketch of William Henry Smith prepared by Florence Venn, Librarian of the William Henry Smith Memorial Library, Indianapolis, Inc. Smith MSS.

31 Cincinnati Gazette, Oct. 18, 1855.
they asserted, would raise woman to a higher position of responsibility and usefulness. Smith also supported the movement in the columns of the *Type of the Times*. On October 27 he wrote that nothing was more silly than the utterances by the opponents of woman’s rights that woman was not fit, by nature, either physically or mentally, to act in a higher or more responsible sphere. He went on to say that woman must and would, in spite of all opposition, fulfill the highest destiny of the race.

---

32 *Type of the Times*, Oct. 27, 1855.

33 Ibid.
CHAPTER II

ENTRANCE INTO POLITICS

On January 1, 1858, Smith joined the staff of the Cincinnati *Commercial* and served as its Columbus correspondent for two years, 1858 and 1859, writing under the *nom de plume* of Paul Crayne.¹ He began by reporting with a Republican bias the happenings in the Democratic state legislature. After the legislature had been in session for five weeks, he reported that nothing had been done and that most of the hundred bills introduced were of questionable importance.² On February 4, he wrote that the only accomplishments Samuel J. Andrews, the Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, possessed which should have entitled him to the leadership of the majority were self-confidence and disgusting impertinence. He added, "There is nothing attractive about him, and he is universally voted the bore of the House. It was his impertinence and politics which placed him where he is. He constantly causes me to paraphrase the following from Ben Johnson [*sic*]:

¹ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Jan. 1, 1858.
"Hood an ass with reverend purple
So you can hide his two ambitious ears,
And he shall pass for a Cathedral doctor."

The House of Representatives passed a resolution expelling Smith from the privileges of the floor of the House for the remainder of the session, as a result of his comments on Andrews. The Ohio Statesman asserted, "The punishment which the House has inflicted upon Smith was fully deserved."

In the early part of 1859 Smith left the Cincinnati Commercial and joined the staff of the Cincinnati Gazette. He represented the latter paper as a reporter at the Republican State Convention which met in Columbus on June 2, 1859. He reported that the convention was orderly, quiet, and agreeable, in comparison with the Democratic convention which was held the last of May. The Republicans nominated William Dennison for governor by acclamation. Then they adopted a platform which asked for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and a reorganization of the federal judiciary

---

3 Ibid., Feb. 4, 1858.
5 Ohio Statesman [Columbus, Ohio], no date. Newspaper clipping in Smith MSS.
6 Cincinnati Gazette, June 2, 1859.
7 Ibid.
circuits, and condemned the extravagance and corruption in the National Administration. The platform also opposed the reopening of the African slave trade, indorsed the homestead bill, opposed any discrimination between native and naturalized citizens, and criticized the measures of the Democratic legislature.

As a reporter for the Gazette Smith attended the Antioch College commencement exercises at Yellow Springs, Ohio, on June 30, 1859. It was here that he first met Whitelaw Reid, who was then editor of the Xenia News. This was the beginning of a close personal friendship which continued without abatement until Smith's death in 1896.

Smith took a very active part in the election of 1860. He was on the Executive Committee of the Central Republican Wide Awake Club in Cincinnati. The purpose of the club was to promote the election of Lincoln and Hamlin. He was also a member of the committee on organization of the Young Men's National Republican Association.

---

8 Joseph P. Smith, History of the Republican Party in Ohio, I, 90-91.
9 A note written by Smith in Smith MSS.
10 Newspaper clipping in Smith MSS. Name of newspaper and date not given.
As chairman of the committee he presented a constitution for a Central Lincoln Club. According to the constitution the members of the club were required to hold themselves ready to do active campaign services; to provide themselves with appropriate badges; to attend in procession Republican meetings; and to aid in securing a thorough organization of the party.  

Abraham Lincoln stopped in Cincinnati on February 13, 1861, on his way to Washington to be inaugurated President. A magnificent ovation greeted the President-elect and the scene was vividly described by Smith who witnessed it. He reported that the day was mild for mid-winter, but the sky was overcast with clouds, emblematic of the gloom that filled the hearts of the people who thronged the streets and covered the house-tops. Lincoln rode in an open carriage, standing erect with uncovered head and holding to a board fastened to the front of the vehicle. His face was very sad, but he seemed to take a deep interest in everything. The parade ended at the City Hall where Mayor Bishop welcomed Lincoln to the city.

11 Newspaper clipping in Smith MSS. Name of newspaper and date not given.

12 William Henry Smith to Francis E. Browne, Nov. 14, 1885. Smith MSS.
In response to the mayor's welcoming address the President-elect said that he was overwhelmed by his reception in Cincinnati and thanked the people for it. He went on to state that it was given by all political parties and this was as it should be. He hoped that the people would give such a reception to the constitutionally elected President of the United States every four years. Lincoln also said:

I have spoken once before this in Cincinnati. That was a year previous to the late presidential election. On that occasion, in a playful manner but with sincere words, I addressed much of what I said to the Kentuckians. I gave my opinion that we as Republicans would ultimately beat them as Democrats, but that they could postpone that result longer by nominating Senator Douglas for the presidency than they could in any other way. They did not in the true sense of the word nominate Douglas, and the result has come certainly as soon as I expected. I also told them how I expected they would be treated after they should have been beaten; and I now wish to call or recall their attention to what I said upon that subject. I then said: "When we do, as we say, beat you, you perhaps will want to know what we will do with you. We mean to treat you as near as we possibly can as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone and in no way interfere with your institutions, to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution; and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you as fair as degenerate men, if we have degenerated, may according to the examples of those noble fathers, Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we—that there is no difference between us—other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as good as we claim we have, and treat you accordingly.
Fellow citizens of Kentucky, friends, brethren. May I call you such? In my own position I see no occasion and feel no inclination to retract a word of this. If it shall not be made good be assured that the fault shall not be mine.

And now, fellow-citizens of Ohio, have you who agree in political sentiment with him who now addresses you ever entertained other sentiments towards our brethren of Kentucky than those I have expressed to you? (Loud and repeated cries of "No!" "No!" If not, then why shall we not, as heretofore, be recognized and acknowledged as brethren again, living in peace and harmony, one with another? (Cries of "We will!") I take your response as the most reliable evidence, trusting to the good sense of the American people, on all sides of the rivers in America, under the Providence of God, who has never deserted us, that we shall again be brethren, forgetting all parties--ignoring all parties.13

This is Smith's version of the speech as it appeared in the Gazette. The significant final paragraph was not included in the other accounts of Lincoln's remarks.14

Smith also records another incident which illustrates Lincoln's political acumen as well as his cautious approach to the problems confronting the nation. It was the opinion of Smith that many of the leaders of the radical wing of the Republican party were afraid that Lincoln was going to betray his party and its policies. They decided to make him state his future course of action. However, the President-elect had planned to wait until he delivered

13 Cincinnati Gazette, Feb. 13, 1861.
14 William Henry Smith to Francis E. Browne, Nov. 14, 1865. Smith MSS.
his inaugural address to set forth his future policy.\(^{15}\) Lincoln knew that it was very easy to misinterpret speeches. In an address at Indianapolis he had stated: "Solomon says, 'There is time to keep silence; and when men wrangle by the mouth, with no certainty that they mean the same thing while using the words, it perhaps were as well if they would keep silence.'"\(^{16}\) In spite of this statement the radical Republicans decided upon a scheme to get Lincoln to express himself. Smith recorded their plan and how it was successfully resisted by the President-elect. In the evening, Smith, R. M. Stephenson, and Edward F. Noyes called at Lincoln's rooms at the Burnet House to pay their respects. The President-elect had put off the melancholy mood that appeared to control him during the day, and was entertaining those present with genial, even lively, conversation. The pleasant entertainment was interrupted by the announcement that a delegation of German workmen were about to serenade Lincoln. Lincoln proceeded to the balcony and faced about two thousand of the substantial German citizens "who had voted for Lincoln because they believed him

\(^{15}\) Daniel J. Ryan, *Lincoln and Ohio*, 144.

\(^{16}\) Ibid.
to be a stout champion of free labor and free home-
steads." 17

The object of the serenade was disclosed when
Frederick Oberkleine stepped forward and in almost aggres-
sive tones spoke as follows:

We, the German workmen of Cincinnati, avail
ourselves of this opportunity to assure you, our
chosen Chief Magistrate, of our sincere and heart-
felt regard. You earned our votes as the cham-
pion of Free Labor and Free Homesteads. Our
vanquished opponents have, in recent times, made
frequent use of the terms "Workingmen" and "Work-
ingmen's Meetings," in order to create an impres-
sion that the mass of workingmen were in favor of
compromises between the interests of free labor
and slave labor, by which the victory just won
would be turned into defeat. This is a despicable
device of dishonest men. We spurn such compromises.
We firmly adhere to the principles which directed
our votes in your favor. We trust that you, the
self-reliant because self-made man, will uphold
the Constitution and the laws against secret treach-
ery and avowed treason. If to this end you should
be in need of men, the German free workingmen, with
others, will rise as one man at your call, ready
to risk their lives in the effort to maintain the
victory, already won by freedom over slavery. 18

"This," according to Smith, "was bringing the rugged
issue boldly to the front, and challenging the President-
elect to meet the issue or risk the loss of the support of
an important section of his own party. Oberkleine spoke

17 William Henry Smith to Francis E. Browne, Nov.
14, 1885. Smith MSS.
18 Ryan, op. cit., 142.
with great effect, but the remarks were hardly his own. Some abler man had put into his mouth these significant words." The President-elect immediately understood the scheme of Oberkleine, and unhesitatingly, yet in such a manner that impressed the audience with the fact that he thoroughly understood their purpose, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman: I thank you and those you represent, for the compliment paid me by the tender of this address. In so far as there is an allusion to our present national difficulty, and the suggestion of the views of the gentlemen who present this address, I beg you will excuse me from entering particularly upon it. I deem it due to myself and the whole country, in the present extraordinary condition of the country and of public opinion, that I should wait and see the last development of public opinion before I give my views or express myself at the time of the inauguration. I hope at that time to be false to nothing you have been taught to expect of me. [Cheers]

I agree with you, Mr. Chairman, and with the address of your constituents in the declaration that workingmen are the basis of all governments. That remark is due to them more than to any other class, for the reason that there are more of them than any other class. And as your address is presented to me not only on behalf of workingmen, but especially of Germans, I may say a word as to classes. I hold that the value of life is to improve one's condition. Whatever is calculated to advance the condition of the honest, struggling laboring man, so far as my judgment will enable me to judge of a correct thing, I am for that thing.

An allusion has been made to the Homestead Law. I think it worthy of consideration, and that the wild lands of the country should be distributed

---

19 William Henry Smith to Francis E. Browne, Nov. 14, 1885. Smith MSS.
so that every man should have the means and opportunity of benefitting his condition. 

[Cheers] I have said I do not desire to enter into details, nor will I.

In regard to Germans and foreigners, I esteem foreigners no better than other people, nor any worse. [Laughter and cheers] They are all of the great family of men, and if there is one shackle upon any of them, it would be far better to life the load from them than to pile additional loads upon them. [Cheers] And inasmuch as the continent of America is comparatively a new country, and the other countries of the world are old countries, there is more room here, comparatively speaking, than there is elsewhere; and if they can better their condition by leaving their own homes, there is nothing in my heart to forbid them coming, and I bid them all, God speed. [Cheers]

Again, gentlemen, thanking you for your address, I bid you good night. 20

The preservation of this speech was due to Smith's accidental presence. The visitation of the Germans was not on the program, and none of the representatives of the press charged with the duty of reporting the events of the day was present. On observing this, Smith took shorthand notes on an old letter loaned him by Stephenson and afterwards transcribed them. 21

After the outbreak of the Civil War Smith took an active part in the raising of troops and in the forwarding of supplies, and he also supported the Union cause.

20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
through the columns of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. The paper was one of the leading newspapers in the West and was also one of the most influential. Throughout the southern part of Ohio, public opinion advanced to the position occupied by the *Gazette*. It tried to preserve the highest interests of the Republic and to employ its power to secure the reform of abuses. Since none of the articles in the *Gazette* were signed, it is not possible to determine which ones were written by Smith.

In the spring of 1863 Smith helped to bring John Brough to the front as the candidate for governor on the

---

22 William Henry Smith to Francis E. Browne, Dec. 28, 1887. Smith MSS.

23 Henry C. Hubbart, *The Older Middle West, 1840-1880*, 55. The Gazette's circulation in August, 1861 was 36,000 dailies. Since the weekly edition was always much larger than the daily, the circulation of the Gazette seems to have been highly satisfactory. Muriel Burnitt, ed., "Letters of Richard Smith of the Cincinnati Gazette," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXVI (March, 1940), 536.


25 Memorandum in Smith's handwriting in Smith MSS.
Union ticket. John Brough, president of the Bellefontaine Line, a railroad from Indianapolis to Cleveland, had not been active in politics since the eighteen-forties. As state auditor from 1839 to 1845, he had established a reputation as an efficient, incorruptible, and fearless public official. He and his brother Charles had founded the Cincinnati Enquirer, but he had abandoned politics for railroad management in 1848 and had been forgotten by party leaders until shortly before the Union convention of 1863. A strong Union speech, delivered to his former fellowtownsmen at Marietta on June 10, was reported by Smith for the Gazette. In describing the gathering he said that politics was not the object of the meeting. Party was buried in the tremendous issues which involved the life or death of the nation; and as a band of patriots the Democrats, the Whigs, the Republicans, and the Americans of the past were united under the old flag, in support of their common country.

28 Cincinnati Gazette, June 11, 1863.
the speech of Brough he said that the former state auditor spoke for an hour and a half and was listened to with marked attention. Brough defined his position as that of a Democrat, but as one whose principles taught him that the first duty was to his country. He stated that in a crisis like this when the country was assailed by a formidable rebellion, party should be swallowed up in that higher patriotism of devotion to the common cause. Although he did not vote for Lincoln and often disagreed with him, yet it was his duty to support his administration and give it all the aid in his power. He did not see in Lincoln the head of a party, but the head of a government, and no proposition for compromise should be entertained at this time short of unconditional submission to the laws. The only way to make an honorable peace was to conquer it with the sword.29

The two Cincinnati newspapers, the Commercial and the Gazette, began a vigorous campaign for Brough. In an editorial the Gazette commented that in view of the tremendous crisis it was important that the people throughout the State should carefully weigh the selection of a man to oppose Vallandigham for governor; and if it appeared to

29 Ibid.
them, as it did to the Gazette, that John Brough was the man, personal preference should be cast aside, and the voice of the convention, which was to assemble the next week, should echo the voice of the people and put the right man in the right place.30 The two Cincinnati newspapers cooperated with the Cleveland radicals and their organ, the Cleveland Leader, in supporting him to head off Governor Tod.31 Since Brough was a resident of Cleveland, the movement had a popular appeal in the northern part of the State, though he was not a radical.

The Union party convention was held in Columbus on June 17. The party leaders attempted to draw a larger crowd than the Democrats had several days before.32 The Ohio State Journal said that more people attended the convention than were ever assembled in Columbus before.33 The temporary chairman was Lewis D. Campbell, but William

30 Ibid., June 13, 1863.
32 Cincinnati Gazette, June 18, 1863.
33 Joseph P. Smith, op. cit., I, 155-160.
Dennison was made permanent chairman. Delegates representing the soldiers in the field and Camp Dennison were present at the convention. When the ballot for governor was taken Brough had 216 votes to 183\(\frac{3}{4}\) for Tod.\(^3\) G. Volney Dorsey was renominated for state treasurer, but the other places were filled with new men. The Gazette declared that it was seldom that a ticket presented so much character and talent.\(^3\) Senator Wade presented the brief platform which praised President Lincoln and Governor Tod and stressed the need for a vigorous prosecution of the war, but nothing was said about emancipation.\(^3\)

The campaign which followed was a turbulent one, and the interests of the people were aroused to a high pitch. It was watched with great interest throughout the nation. The Gazette gave an extraordinary amount of space on its front page to all of Brough's speeches and printed many of them in full.\(^3\) In editorializing on the election

\(^3\) Cincinnati Gazette, June 18, 1863.

\(^3\) Ibid.

\(^3\) Joseph P. Smith, op. cit., I, 155-156.

\(^3\) Cincinnati Gazette, June 24, Aug. 13, 17, 1863.
the Gazette said that anyone who voted for Vallandigham arrayed himself side by side with the aiders and abettors of treason, dishonored the memory of his father, and would be cursed by his children for the deed. It insisted that whoever voted for John Brough would plant himself on the side of freedom and Union, and that posterity would rise up and call him blessed.\textsuperscript{38}

Smith, as one of the editors of the Gazette, worked very diligently for the election of Brough. On October 6 he received a letter from Delvan Mussey which said, "I am very much interested in the size of the majority you will give Brough this day [next] week. The soldiers' vote, if they have an opportunity to vote, will be largely for Brough as to be almost unanimous...."\textsuperscript{39}

On election day the success of the Union party was overwhelming. Brough had 288,374 votes to Vallandigham's 187,492, a majority of 100,882. The soldiers in the field gave the former 41,467 votes to 2,288 for the Democratic candidate.\textsuperscript{40} Without the soldier vote Brough still had a

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., June 24, 1863.

\textsuperscript{39} Delvan Mussey to William Henry Smith, Oct. 6, 1863. Smith MSS.

\textsuperscript{40} Wood Gray, The Hidden Civil War: The Story of Copperheads, 151; George F. Milton, Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column, 189.
lead of 61,703 votes. The tremendous total vote, the largest cast in the State to that time, indicated the widespread interest in the contest. Despite the crowds and the enthusiasm the Democrats had carried but eighteen counties, the majority being in the northern and central parts of the State.

The overwhelming Union victory was a shattering blow to Copperheadism as a political force and a ringing indorsement of the war. In commenting on the results the Gazette said "Thank God! The good name of our noble State is once more free from stain!.... Our People forgot Party when Patriotism was involved; and from the River to the Lakes their condemnation of Traitors...has sounded out in tones so clear, so loud, that through the whole length of this Nation, rebel or loyal, none can fail to hear."42

A few days before John Brough was inaugurated governor of Ohio he invited Smith to be his private secretary. Smith accepted and resigned from the editorial staff of the Cincinnati Gazette to take up his new position.43

---

41 Osman Castle Hooper, "John Brough," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XIII (July, 1904), 40.
43 Ibid., Jan. 7, 1864.
As private secretary Smith handled many of the administrative duties for the Governor. Many times when Brough was busy attending to affairs relating to the war, Smith would represent him at the dedication of monuments and buildings throughout the State.

When Whitelaw Reid was writing *Ohio in the War*, Smith supplied him with most of the material relating to Governor Brough and the part he played in the war.\(^44\)

One evening in July, 1864, Smith paid a personal visit to Governor Brough who had just returned from Washington, where he had been conferring with members of the national government. While Brough was in the National Capital, Secretary of Treasury Salmon P. Chase resigned. The Governor went to the White House and tried to patch up the difficulty as he had done once before, but President Lincoln had decided that he could get along without the troublesome Ohioan.\(^45\) Lincoln offered the office to ex-Governor Tod, apparently on the advice of Dennison and Delano, but he refused it. The President then offered the position to Governor Brough and he also refused.

\(^{44}\) William Henry Smith to Whitelaw Reid, June 27, Sept. 5, 20, Oct. 21, 1867. Smith MSS.

\(^{45}\) William Henry Smith to Francis E. Browne, Nov. 14, 1885. Smith MSS.
Brough then suggested that William Pitt Fessenden be appointed Secretary of the Treasury and he accepted. After Smith returned home that evening, he took down his conversation with Brough in shorthand and later transcribed it. Smith's record of Brough's conversation with Lincoln concerning Chase's resignation from the Cabinet is the only one available. 46

In the summer of 1864, the Republicans were apprehensive about the approaching election. The belief was widespread that the administration had not measured up to the requirements of the great emergency. The principal effort of the Republican leaders of the political campaign in Ohio was directed to obtaining the nomination of the most popular citizens for the various offices. This was particularly true in the Congressional districts. At the Republican Convention in the Second Ohio Congressional District Rutherford B. Hayes, who was a Colonel in the Twenty-third Ohio Brigade, was nominated for Congress. The nomination was largely the work of Smith, who must have realized in Hayes future political possibilities. 47

46 Both the shorthand and the transcribed notes are in Smith MSS.

47 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, Aug. 24, 1864. Smith MSS.
had given a reluctant consent to the use of this name on
the assurance that it was necessary to make the Second
District safe. He received word of his nomination while
he was on the march and noted the fact without comment in
his diary. In commenting on the campaign of Hayes the
Cincinnati Gazette said that, in making the canvass of his
District in a national way in the field of war, he was
fighting the country's foes. Instead of organizing wards,
he was marching with his men to danger, death, and victory.
He was attacking the enemy in the front, leaving the fire
of the enemy in his rear to be taken care of by the loyal
people at home.

On August 7 Hayes received a letter from Smith asking
him to come home and make speeches in his district.
Hayes's reply was that an officer fit for duty ought to be
scalped who would abandon his post to electioneer for a

48 Charles R. Williams, The Life of Rutherford Birch-
ard Hayes, I, 234. In a letter to Silas Burchard, July 10,
1864, Hayes wrote, "As to that candidacy for Congress, I
care nothing at all about it--neither for the nomination
nor for the election. It was merely easier to let the
thing take its own course than to get up a letter declining
to run and then explain it to everybody who might choose to
bore me about it." Ibid.

49 Cincinnati Gazette, Sept. 22, 1864.
seat in Congress. 50 One author calls the letter one of
the most astute ever written. 51 There can be little doubt
that Hayes's patriotism was ardent, but to his shrewd mind
it was evident that political rewards would come in time
to soldiers who did their duty to the last.

His letter gained him more votes than a dozen speech-
es. Ohio was touched by the picture of the good soldier who
refused to come home to run for Congress. The result was
that on October 11, Hayes was elected by a majority of
3,098 votes, including the soldier vote. 52

In the spring of 1864 Smith decided to run for the
office of Secretary of State. With the assistance of the
Cincinnati Gazette he was able to secure the support of
many delegates before the convention met. When the Union
State Convention assembled in Columbus on May 25, 1864, un-
der the chairmanship of ex-Governor Dennison, he was nom-
inated on the first ballot. 53

50 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, Aug.
24, 1864. Smith MSS.

51 Hamilton J. Eckenrode, Rutherford B. Hayes,
Statesman of Reunion, 72.

52 Joseph P. Smith, op. cit., I, 195.

53 Ohio Statesman [Columbus, Ohio], May 25, 1864.
In commenting on Smith's nomination the Gazette said that no action of a state convention for a long time had been better deserved.\textsuperscript{54}

Since 1864 was a presidential election year the campaign for minor state offices faded into the background. In the course of the contest Smith made a number of speeches throughout the State, but in each one he touched upon national problems and pledged his full support to the administration in its conduct of the war.

On October 11, Smith received a total vote of 238,145 and his opponent, William W. Armstrong, 183,842, or a majority for Smith of 54,303.\textsuperscript{55} Of this vote the soldiers in the field cast 32,887 votes for Smith and 4,396 for Armstrong.\textsuperscript{56} After Smith heard the news of his election he wrote in his diary: "This day was won a great victory for the good cause of the preservation of the Union in all its integrity. The majority for the Union ticket reached about 56,000--unexpected on account of dissatisfaction among many and the frequent

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{54} Cincinnati Gazette, May 31, 1864.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Ohio Senate Journal, 56th General Assembly, IXI, 19.
\item \textsuperscript{56} Joseph P. Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, I, 195.
\end{itemize}
calls made on the people during the year...." 57

On January 14, 1865, Smith resigned as private secretary to Governor Brough to take his new position as Secretary of State. Upon receiving his resignation Governor Brough wrote him a letter in which he said:

"On your retiring from the position of private secretary I desire to express to you my deep sense of obligation for the manner in which you have discharged its delicate and responsible duties. Your labors have been constant and arduous; but in every particular they have more than fulfilled my expectations. I only regret that they have not been better compensated by the State you have served so well. In calling you to another department of the public service the people of the State have honored you less than they have benefited themselves; for they have thereby secured the services of an honest, competent, and faithful public officer." 58

57 Smith MSS.

CHAPTER III

SECRETARY OF STATE

Upon taking office as Secretary of State on January 9, 1865, Smith found that no attempt had been made to preserve and to collect the public records of the State and the papers of its most prominent citizens, which are so essential in determining the character, growth, and progress of a people. Many of the public documents and much of the correspondence of the pioneers had been thrust into corners to be eaten by rats or moths, carted to a paper mill, or otherwise ruthlessly destroyed.¹ Smith immediately appealed to the State Legislature for help. He asked that he be authorized to collect all such records that might be obtained either in other departments or from individuals in the State and cause them to be filed in a form convenient for reference. He also asked that the Secretary of State be authorized to set up in his office a memorandum index of all important subjects treated in the

¹ William Henry Smith to John Scott Harrison, Nov. 6, 1867. John Scott Harrison MSS. (Library of Congress).
messages of the Executive, the accompanying reports, the
House and Senate Journals, and of all important laws
passed. The legislature immediately granted his request
and appropriated five thousand dollars to carry out the
project. Smith appealed to the descendants of the early
governors of Ohio and the early settlers of the State for
their manuscripts. The response of the people was gener-
os. Smith was able to collect and to file many of the
papers of Governors Thomas Worthington, Jeremiah Morrow,
R. J. Meigs, Ethan Allen Brown, General Nathaniel Massie,
and other historical figures of Ohio. The work of col-
lecting and cataloguing historical manuscripts inaugurated
by Smith was continued by Ohio Governors, especially
Rutherford B. Hayes.

The General Assembly directed Smith on March 16,

---

2 Annual Report of the Secretary of State, Ohio
Executive Documents, 57th General Assembly, Part I, 346.

3 William Henry Smith to James F. Worthington,
July 27, 1867. Smith MSS.; William Henry Smith to William
Allen, Sept. 20, 1867. Smith MSS.

4 William Henry Smith to James G. Breslin, May 22,
1867. Smith MSS.

5 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, Oct.
24, 1871. Smith MSS. (Ind.)
1867, to secure the portraits of the State and Territorial Governors of Ohio for the Governor's office. He wrote to the descendants of the governors and also to some of the oldest citizens of the State to secure them. He was able to secure the originals or copies of the portraits of most of the governors. This work was also continued by Governor Rutherford B. Hayes after Smith retired from office.

A new seal was procured for the State of Ohio while Smith was Secretary of State. On March 25, 1803, the legislature of Ohio passed a law giving the State a seal. The law stated that the design should be made as follows:

On the right side, near the bottom, a sheaf of wheat, and on the left a bundle of seventeen arrows, both standing erect; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a mountain over which shall appear a rising sun. The state seal to be surrounded by these words: "The Great Seal of the State of Ohio."  

The artist who made the design did not follow the law exactly. He made three mountains instead of one; and he

---


placed a flowing river at the foot of the mountains. There is a local tradition in Chillicothe that the engraver used the outline of Mount Logan, which is located east of the city, for the center mountain, and that the Scioto River represents the river which flows along the base of the hill.  

On February 19, 1805, an act was passed repealing the above-named act and the territorial law of January 1, 1802, and enacting the following section on this subject:

Section 5. That the Secretary of State shall procure a seal of the Supreme Court, for each clerk thereof that may be appointed, of one inch and three-fourths in diameter; and also one other seal, one inch and a half in diameter, for the use of each and every country hereafter to be created, on which seals shall be engraved the following device: On the right side, near the bottom, a sheaf of wheat, and on the left a bundle of seventeen arrows, both standing erect; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a mountain, over which shall appear a rising sun. ..

The act of February 19, 1805, was repealed on January 31, 1831, and nothing was enacted in place of it.

Without any legalized form, and left to the capriciousness of taste, it was not long until the simple

---

8 Ibid., 490.
9 Annual Report of the Secretary of State, Ohio Executive Documents, 57th General Assembly, 1, 437.
10 Ibid.
device of the First General Assembly for a State seal was modified. A favorite device was: On the left, in the foreground, a sheaf of wheat and a bundle of arrows, sometimes standing erect and sometimes recumbent; in the background a range of mountains, over which appeared a rising sun; at the foot of the mountains, and between them and the sheaf and arrows, flowed a stream—La Belle Riviere—on which floated a "broad-horn," apparently the identical boat familiar to pioneer history.11

In January, 1866, Smith suggested to the State Legislature that an entirely new seal be devised or the old one be made to conform with the position occupied by the State. As a result of his suggestion the Legislature passed an act on April 6, 1866, which specified:

The coat-of-arms of the State of Ohio shall consist of the following device: A shield, upon which shall be engraved on the left in the foreground, a bundle of seventeen arrows; to the right of the arrows, a sheaf of wheat, both standing erect; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a range of mountains, over which shall appear a rising sun; between the base of the mountains and the arrows and the sheaf, in the foreground, a river shall be represented flowing toward the right foreground.... At the bottom of the shield there shall be a motto, in these words: "Imperium in imperio."12

11 Ibid.
12 Journal of the Senate, 57th General Assembly, LXII, 531.
The design really followed the engraver's first seal of the State. The motto was the only really new addition. Many of the people protested when they learned that the motto meant "An empire within an empire." They thought that it followed too closely the state rights doctrine of the Confederacy.  

The next General Assembly abolished the motto by the act of May 9, 1868, which stated:

That the coat-of-arms of the State of Ohio shall consist of the following device: A shield, in form of a circle. On it, in the foreground, on the right, a sheaf of wheat; on the left, a bundle of seventeen arrows, both standing erect; in the background, and rising above the sheaf and arrows, a mountain range, over which shall appear a rising sun.

This really re-established the seal of 1803, with the addition of the phrase: "a range of mountains" instead of a "mountain." However, when the engraver made the design he left the river in, even though nothing was said about it in the act.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Smith manifested an interest not only in procuring an appropriate seal for the State of Ohio but also in raising

13 Knabenshue, loc. cit., 490.
contributions to erect memorials to Lincoln and also to the soldiers killed in the Civil War. In May, 1865, Smith was appointed to a committee of three to raise contributions to construct the memorials. The response of the people of Ohio was magnanimous and enough money was raised to construct both memorials. Thomas D. Jones, who did portrait busts of Chase, Corwin, Clay, and General Taylor, was employed to make a Lincoln memorial for the State House. A monument was also erected in the Capitol grounds to those who fell in defense of the nation in the Civil War.

While Smith was Secretary of State he was a dispenser of political patronage. He received many requests for political positions and was also asked to intercede for people in getting them positions that were not directly under his control. He received one such request from Joseph B. McCullogh, who was secretary to Senator John Sherman. Mr. McCullogh asked that his brother, John, be given a position as clerk in the Custom House in Cincinnati. In a letter to Smith he said, "I know that a little

---

15 William Henry Smith to the Ohio State Journal [Columbus, Ohio], May 5, 1865.
16 Edna M. Clark, Ohio Art and Artists, 140-141.
effort of yours will do the work. Will you do it for me [?]. If not, why not, and if so how much [?]."

The most prominent members of the General Assembly, together with several of the most prominent citizens of the State, attended a meeting in Columbus in the spring of 1865 to discuss the political situation in Ohio. All of the members came to the conclusion that Governor Brough should be renominated for a second term. They felt that his clear judgment in the midst of difficulties, his great executive ability, and his inspiring patriotism could not be spared when the people of Ohio were to emerge from military to civilian life again. A delegation was appointed consisting of William Henry Smith of Cincinnati, Peter Odlin of Dayton, Samuel Williamson of Cleveland, James C. Hull of Toledo, and John E. Stevenson of Chillicothe, to convey the wishes of the group to the Governor. Governor Brough did not give the group a positive refusal but said with characteristic firmness, "I shall reserve to myself the right to decline before the convening of the delegates if in my judgment it is best for all concerned to do so."

17 J. B. McCulloch to William Henry Smith, June 7, 1866. Smith MSS.

18 Smith's Diary, Smith MSS. Smith did not keep a regular diary and many of his entries are not dated.
Smith continued to work for the renomination of Brough by corresponding with his friends in various parts of the State and asking them to support the Governor. He received a letter from George Hoadly who said, "I am desirous of Governor Brough's reelection." Edward F. Noyes responded to one of Smith's letters and remarked, "I fully concur with you in regarding Governor Brough as an officer of undoubted patriotism. I am sure that no essential interest of the state is likely to suffer in his hands." Richard "Deacon" Smith, the editor of the Cincinnati Gazette, wrote, "B[rough] is so tremendously unpopular in the army that I fear we shall have to drop him--pretty sure. Personal habits, too, very bad."

A few days before the Union Convention met Smith paid a personal visit to the Governor and showed him a detailed statement of the returns of the delegate elections. This statement gave Brough a majority of seventy

---

19 George Hoadly to William Henry Smith, June 5, 1865. Smith MSS.
20 Edward F. Noyes to William Henry Smith, May 10, 1865. Smith MSS.
21 Richard Smith to William Henry Smith, April 11, 1865. Smith MSS.
votes even when the army delegates were counted as solid for General Jacob D. Cox. According to Smith, if the vote had ever been taken the majority would have been greater because the most illustrious soldiers were for Brough. The Governor expressed his gratitude when he saw the statement but said, "Now, Smith, you will permit me to decline." Smith protested but to no avail. 22

Several days later the Governor sent for Smith. When the latter arrived at the Governor's office, Brough read him a characteristically frank statement he had written, in the course of which he used these words, which were soon to acquire significance:

I very much doubt whether my health--much impaired by close confinement to official duties--would sustain me through a vigorous campaign; while increasing years and the arduous labors of a long life in public positions, strongly invite me to retirement and repose during the few years that may yet remain to me. 23

Once again Smith protested the Governor's decision, but Brough said, "I am acting according to my convictions of duty, and regret that you cannot see the situation as I do." Then after a short pause Brough said, "I shall have

---

22 Smith's Diary. Smith MSS.

23 Hooper, loc. cit., 68.
to ask you that this gets into print." 24

However, Brough died before he finished his term of office. He received a severe ankle sprain in the summer of 1865 and gangrene soon developed in his foot. After suffering for several weeks, he died on August 29, 1865. 25 Thus Ohio's ablest Civil War Governor outlived Lincoln by only a few months. The remainder of Brough's term was filled by Lieutenant-Governor Charles Anderson, who had once been a Whig. 26

On the death of Brough, Smith, as Secretary of State, wrote a letter to the people of Ohio in which he said, "In his death the people of the State and nation lose a friend devoted to the advancement of their best interests; an able, conscientious and wise public servant." He went on to state, "Proudly is the history of John Brough interwoven with that of the State which gave him birth, and never failed to honor him with her highest confidence." 27 Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase wrote a

24 Smith's Diary. Smith MSS.
25 Whitelaw Reid, Ohio in the War, I, 236-237.
27 William Henry Smith to The People of Ohio, Aug. 29, 1865. Smith MSS.
letter to Smith expressing his condolence on the death of Governor Brough. In Smith's reply to the Chief Justice he said, "So well did you know his [Brough's] worth—justly estimating his integrity, his patriotism, and his devotion to principle—I should do injustice to my own feelings if I did not thus promptly express to you my thanks for your remembrance of one who was to me the best and most generous of friends...."28

In the spring of 1866 Smith decided to run for a second term as Secretary of State. When the Union Republican party county conventions met, they were perplexed at the growing rift between the party majority in Congress and the President; and they tried to ignore the problem. The state convention which met in Columbus on June 20 took an equivocal position in regard to many of the problems facing the delegates. All of the speakers emphasized harmony.29 The platform demanded the establishment of peace on such foundations that rebellion and secession would never again endanger the nation, indorsed the proposed Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United


29 Roseboom, op. cit., 453.
States, and, as usual, praised the soldiers and sailors and promised to care for the widows and orphans of the fallen.  

Four names were submitted when it came time to nominate a candidate for Secretary of State. They were: William Henry Smith, of Hamilton County; Thomas F. Wildes, of Athens County; James S. Robinson, of Hardin County; and Henry B. Banning, of Knox County; but the last name was withdrawn before the balloting began. The delegates made frequent changes in their votes before the first ballot was completed. The military delegates were working for Wildes and the civilian delegates for Smith. The excitement was very tense throughout the balloting. Before the first ballot was tabulated, a motion was made to take the ballot over again. After a lively and acrimonious debate the motion carried. The name of James S. Robinson was withdrawn and the contest was then between Smith and Wildes. The outcome could not be determined until the last county (Wyandot) had been called, when it was decided that Smith was the victor by a majority of five votes—Smith 225, Wildes 220.

---

Smith's nomination was then made unanimous.\(^{31}\) It is not known why there was so much opposition to Smith, unless it was because he was not in the army and thus did not have to endure the hardships of the soldiers in the field. Since Smith was Governor Brough's private secretary, perhaps many of the soldiers felt that he was partly responsible for Brough's brusqueness and his disregarding of military etiquette.

In the campaign that followed, the chief interest centered on the Congressional candidates; and the contest for the three state elective offices faded into the background. Smith made a number of speeches throughout the State, but he refused to indorse the policy of the radical Unionists; he favored a more moderate policy. In commenting on Smith the Volksblatt (Cincinnati, Ohio) in an editorial said, "[Smith is] firm in politics, accomplished in literature and obliging in manner; he is in the best sense of the word a gentleman. He has proved to his home Cincinnati, and the State of Ohio an honor."\(^{32}\)

On October 9, Smith was reelected for a second term when he received 256,302 votes and his opponent, Benjamin

\(^{31}\) Ibid., I, 226-227.

\(^{32}\) Newspaper clipping in Smith MSS. Date not given.
Early in 1867 the Republican party leaders were on the alert to choose a candidate who would be most likely to carry the party to victory in October. On January 26 Smith wrote a letter to Rutherford B. Hayes urging him to enter the contest for the Governorship of Ohio. General Hayes was at first extremely reluctant to permit the use of his name. While the duties of a Congressman were not particularly congenial to him, and he had no ambition for a prolonged career as a legislator, yet having been elected to represent the Second District in Congress for two years, he felt that it would not be quite fair to his constituents to abandon the post to which they had elected him.

Hayes was a practical politician. He was first of all a party man who could never understand Carl Schurz's

---

33 Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, 57th General Assembly, LXII, 12.
34 The letter Smith wrote to Hayes is missing but Hayes refers to it in a letter he wrote to Smith on Jan. 29, 1867. Hayes MSS. Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio. Hereafter referred to as Hayes MSS. (Fremont, Ohio).
independence and his changes of party allegiance. He voted with his party and always counted himself a Union man, even to the extent of wanting President Johnson removed.36 He let the orators talk while he worked inconspicuously but faithfully. His specialty was adjusting war claims of Ohio citizens. He spent his time running to the departments and answering letters from soldiers. He secured the payment of soldier bounties and pensions for many a humble Ohioan and gained the invaluable reputation of being the soldiers' friend.37

Hayes outlined the conditions under which he would consent to become his party's nominee for governor.38 He never wanted to announce himself as a candidate if there was the slightest doubt that he would fail. In May, 1867, Smith assured his friend that the road was clear for the Republican nomination for governor.39

On June 19 the Union Republican party, as it was now


37 Hamilton J. Eckenrode, Rutherford B. Hayes, Statesman of Reunion, 82.

38 Letter Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith [undated], 1867. Hayes MSS. (Fremont, Ohio).

39 Letter William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, May 24, 1867. Smith MSS.
called, held its state convention in Columbus. Since the radicals were in control of the convention they selected Robert C. Schenck as temporary chairman, who made a speech attacking President Johnson. The convention adopted a platform approving of Congress's policy of reconstruction, and indorsing equitable manhood suffrage, as stated in the proposed amendment to the State Constitution. It also indorsed General Philip H. Sheridan's military administration in Texas and Louisiana, and lauded Governor Cox's administration.\footnote{Joseph P. Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, I, 233-238.}

Since the Governor knew that his views were unacceptable to the radicals now in control of the party, he would not consider running for a second term.\footnote{George L. Pry, "Jacob Dolson Cox: His Career in the Legislature and as Governor of Ohio," (M. A. thesis, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1950), 58.} When it came time to nominate a candidate for governor, there was a heated contest between two factions within the convention. The controversy had really started before the convention assembled. One group was the Chase-Sherman-Dennison men, who were working with shrewdness to effect an organization that would nominate Benjamin F. Cowen or Samuel Galloway for governor, control the election of a United States Senator, and secure the vote of the State in the next national convention for Chief Justice Chase. The most active members
of the faction were James M. Ashley, Benjamin F. Cowen, James A. Garfield, and James M. Conly. They had the active support of the Cincinnati Commercial, the Ohio State Journal, and the Cleveland Herald. The other faction was working for the nomination of Rutherford B. Hayes for governor and the re-election of Senator Benjamin F. Wade. The leaders of this group were Smith and Senator Wade. On the second ballot they were able to nominate General Hayes, who received 286 votes to 208 for Galloway.

In a letter to General R. D. Mussey after the convention Smith said, "I put Hayes through, and in other respects secured a very able ticket...."

After the nomination of Hayes, the Chase group swore everlasting vengeance upon Smith if he should ever run for an elective office again. Samuel Galloway, the defeated candidate, remarked, "We must clean out the Henry Smith clique...."

After the convention Smith said that he would

---

42 William Henry Smith to General R. D. Mussey, June 29, 1867. Smith MSS.

43 Joseph P. Smith, op. cit., I, 236.

44 William Henry Smith to General R. D. Mussey, June 29, 1867. Smith MSS.

45 William Henry Smith to Donn Piatt, July 26, 1867. Smith MSS.
never have anything more to do with political affairs, except as a journalist. 46

The Democrats had held their convention on January 8, the anniversary of Jackson's victory over the British at New Orleans. The convention was controlled by Allen G. Thurman, Clement L. Vallandigham, and George H. Pendleton. Thurman received the nomination for governor, Vallandigham obtained the party's indorsement for the United States senatorship, and to Pendleton went his State's support for the presidential nomination in 1868. 47 The Peace Democracy of war days seemed to be dominant. The platform denounced the reconstruction measures of Congress and opposed Negro suffrage. 48

In the campaign Hayes supported the reconstruction measures of Congress and the principle of impartial suffrage. He was most effective in relating the war record of the Democrats and reviving the issue of Copperheadism. 49

46 William Henry Smith to Joseph N. Barrett, June 29, 1867. Smith MSS.

47 Roseboom, op. cit., 459.


The first reports on election night indicated a Democratic victory, and Hayes accepted his supposed defeat with good grace. But complete returns indicated that Hayes had won by a majority of 2,983 votes.

On January 14, 1868, Smith resigned as Secretary of State to join the staff of the Cincinnati Chronicle. Governor Hayes immediately appointed John Russell, of Champaign County, who had been acting as chief clerk in the office of the Secretary of State, to fill the vacancy.

---

50 Diary and Letters of Hayes, III, 48.
51 Joseph P. Smith, op. cit., I, 238.
52 John Russell to Mrs. E. R. Smith, Jan. 15, 1868. Smith MSS.
53 Joseph P. Smith, op. cit., I, 244.
CHAPTER IV

GENERAL MANAGER OF THE WESTERN ASSOCIATED PRESS

In March, 1868, Smith joined the staff of the Cincinnati Chronicle and took charge of the editorial department. In commenting on the newly formed paper James M. Ashley, Representative from Toledo, said in a letter to Smith, "It is one of the best looking in typographical appearance of any paper I receive, and I know from the men engaged in it, that it will be a live and reliable Republican paper." However, Smith remained with the paper for only a short time and had to resign on account of ill health.

On October 26, 1869, Smith became General Manager of the Western Associated Press. The association was formed in 1861 by a group of newspaper publishers in the Middle West for the purpose of cooperating in the collection and distribution of news. The association

1 James M. Ashley to William Henry Smith, March 21, 1868. Smith MSS.

2 On April 29, 1871, the Cincinnati Chronicle combined with the Cincinnati Times to form the Cincinnati Times and Chronicle.
was put on a legal basis in 1865 when it obtained a charter of incorporation from the State of Michigan. 

When the publishers met in the Masonic Temple in Louisville, Kentucky, on November 22, 1865, to perfect their recently chartered organization, there was a general feeling of unity. The meeting adopted rules for news handling which stood for years to come:

Telegraph reports should above all else be reliable; they should be as brief as possible; information should be selected for its interest to the subscribing papers; also news items should be compiled without giving credit to papers except where the authority is an essential part of the news. 

Small papers, as well as large, were represented in the Western Associated Press; and it was necessary that action be taken to dispel any fears of the little publishers that the wealthier newspapers would dominate. The small papers were receiving the same amount of news as their more affluent contemporaries, although at lower assessments; and in most cases the wording was ample for their needs. They were afraid that a larger report would saddle them with increased expense for news which only the big papers could handle.

---

To reassure them, a resolution was adopted specifying that newspapers having the need and the larger resources could obtain more news without obligating proprietors of the small papers. This regulation was made part of the working constitution of 1865. Also at this meeting J. D. Osborne, of the Louisville *Journal*, was elected president to succeed Joseph Medill of the Chicago *Tribune*.5

In 1866 friction developed between the Western Associated Press and the New York Associated Press. The latter was made up of the seven leading newspapers of New York City. They were the *Tribune*, *Herald*, *Times*, *World*, *Express*, *Sun*, and *Journal of Commerce*. These seven newspapers really controlled the distribution of news throughout the entire United States.6 In December, 1866, the Western Associated Press appointed a committee composed of Joseph Medill and Horace White of the Chicago *Tribune*, H. N. Walker of the Detroit *Free Press*, Richard Smith of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, and Murat Halstead of the Cincinnati *Commercial* to meet with representatives of the New York Associated Press to work out


6 Speech delivered by Charles P. Taft before the Literary Club of Cincinnati, Ohio. Copy of speech in Smith MSS. Date of speech not given.
an agreement between the two organizations. After several
days of acrimonious debate a pact was signed between the
two associations. It contained the following provisions:

1. Those papers that left either association during
the difficulties are readmitted.

2. The New York association is to furnish all its
news, for the exclusive use of the Western
Associated Press within its territory, to the
Western agent in the New York office.

3. The Western Associated Press is to collect and
furnish all news of its territory to the agent
of the New York Associated Press at Cleveland
or Pittsburgh.

4. Delivery of news is to be made as rapidly as
received.

5. Both associations agree not to compete for papers
in the other's territory.

6. The Western association is to pay: For general
news, $8,000 per annum; for cable news 22 per
cent of the expense of obtaining the same, but
not exceeding in gross expense $150,000 per
annum; for California news 20 per cent of the
whole cost to the New York Associated Press at
Chicago.

7. The Western Associated Press is to deliver at
Chicago its report for California customers
of the New York Associated Press and for cus-
tomers at other points west of the territory
of the Western Associated Press.7

The so-called peace, which was to last for fifteen
years, left New York still master in the field of news.

7 Gramling, op. cit., 76.
Although the old organization had lost some prestige, it still retained a tight grip on the highly important cable news, Washington news, and the news of financial New York. Besides such psychological advantages as the West reaped, it also won a satisfactory financial agreement with New York and a limited degree of recognition.8

When Smith became General Manager of the association, he was quick to see the great possibilities of the organization and he put all his energy into the work of building it up, perfecting its organization, and improving its service. When he took charge, the association's headquarters were moved from Cleveland to Chicago where they would be more centrally located. Smith's office was located on the third floor of the Tribune building, and there was neither clerk, bookkeeper, nor messenger to give him assistance of any kind. The association was practically bankrupt with a debt of $18,000 and was giving very inferior service to its members. Most of the news it was sending out was in the form of printed specials aggregating about 8,000 words per day.9

By constant economy and sagacity Smith was able to

8 Ibid., 77.

9 William Henry Smith to Cyrus W. Field, Jan. 8, 1885. Smith MSS.
pay off the debt, and it was not long until the books of
the organization showed a balance of $50,000, then of
$100,000, and he was able to keep it at the latter figure.
By the employment of new agents and a firmer integration
of the association he was able to bring about an *esprit de
corps* among the members of the organization. Smith was
also zealous for improving the quality of the news reports,
and under his able direction there was great improvement;
furthermore, he injected new life into the dispatches. The
number of words each major newspaper received per day was
increased from 8,000 to about 20,000. He also instituted
a night "pony" report of 1,500 words, abstracted from the
larger night report, which was filed out of Cleveland to
Wheeling (West Virginia), Madison and New Albany (Indiana),
and Zanesville, Columbus, Dayton, and Sandusky (Ohio).

When Smith became General Manager of the Association,
it was having trouble with the Western Union Telegraph Com-
pany. The operators were not always prompt in sending out
or transmitting the news reports and many times the morning
papers had to go to press without sufficient news. As a
result of Smith's constant protests the telegraph company
employed more reliable and more efficient operators.\(^{10}\) Many

\(^{10}\) William Henry Smith to William Orton, Sept. 20,
1870. Smith MSS.
times the operators altered the news reports and this practice drew protests from Smith until it ceased.

The telegraph rates were always of great concern to Smith, but in the latter part of the eighteen-seventies he was occupied with an entirely different aspect of the organization's transmission problems. Always in the past the telegraph company had controlled the wires over which the association transmitted its news. Smith wanted to lease a wire outright connecting several of the largest cities in the Middle West to move the heavy volume of inter-city news. He thought such a policy would be more economical and would speed the work. The telegraph company did not think the request was practicable, but Smith persisted in his campaign. Western Union finally gave in, and Smith obtained the first leased-wire for the transmission of news to newspapers in the Middle West.¹¹

This was a transition period in American journalism when Smith was General Manager of the Western Associated Press. The newspapers of the Civil War period were largely personal organs; their four or eight pages were given over

¹¹ *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, I, 588.
chiefly to politics, reprints of foreign news, editorials, and personal advertisements. In the evolvement of the newspaper of the eighteen-forties into the present-day paper, such as the New York Herald-Tribune or The Christian Science Monitor, we can perceive great changes in the field of American journalism. Some of these changes are: (1) The subordination of politics to "news," with a resultant development of highly efficient machinery of reporting and newsgathering. (2) The passing of the personal element in journalism. With the deaths of such editors as James Gordon Bennett of the New York Herald and Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune in 1872, personal journalism comes almost to an end. In most cases newspapers stopped being organs for the tenets of editors, and became large and generally impersonal business organizations. (3) A remarkable enlargement and improvement in the physical appearance of the newspapers. 12

The decade of the seventies was a period of great news events. The year 1871 was the year of the disastrous Chicago fire. It was nine-thirty on an October Sunday night when the flames, fanned by a strong wind, started to race through seventy-three miles of streets in one mighty:

appalling conflagration. Two hundred lives were lost; 98,500 people were homeless; 17,500 buildings were destroyed, and some $200,000,000 worth of property went up in smoke. Together the New York and Western Associated Presses brought the people the story of the Chicago disaster. When special correspondents arrived in the stricken city, they found telegraph offices would not permit their reports to interfere with the transmission of the thousands of messages being sent for relief. There was only one exception—the dispatches of the New York and Western Associated Presses received the right-of-way.

There was also a great volume of news the next year, including the presidential campaign which gave U. S. Grant his second term, and the malodorous Crédit Mobilier scandal investigation. Cable tolls alone exceeded $200,000 and special assessments were imposed generally on both the New York and Western Associated Presses. 13

Many great news events occurred in the second half of the decade. The most important were: the contested presidential election between Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden, the Russo-Turkish War, the reign of the

13 Gramling, op. cit., 82.
"Molly Maguires" in Pennsylvania, and the election of Pope Leo XIII. All of these events were given adequate coverage by the Western Associated Press.

The pact signed between the two press associations in 1866 had proved to be an empty coup in most respects, and an unending succession of differences continued. Convinced that it still occupied a position of nominal servitude, the West again debated whether to try gaining recognition from New York or to make an attempt at a national cooperative service of its own. There were some members who favored preserving the status quo, but the majority wanted action. 14

The time seemed propitious for the West to assert itself, since under the able leadership of Smith the association had absorbed not only the entire press of the Middle West, but was also making gains in the South and on the Pacific Coast. 15

The seven members of the New York Associated Press realized something had to be done to placate the West. They sought to catch the West off guard by offering

15 William Henry Smith to [first name not given] Houser, Nov. 28, 1882. Smith MSS.
unsolicited minor concessions. The strategy failed, and the New York Board of Directors called a meeting to consider the problem.

David M. Stone, of the Journal of Commerce, who had been president of the New York Associated Press since 1869, proposed immediate recognition of the West's claim for full membership and the creation of a joint board of control of seven Westerners and seven New Yorkers to administer the combined organization. This was too much of a surrender for most of his colleagues, and Charles A. Dana, editor of the Sun, called for "a more specific and guarded substitute." He suggested an arrangement by which both associations would pool their news under the direction of a five-man executive committee, two members from each association and a chairman chosen by the New York association. Such a plan, he pointed out, would give the New York organization a three-to-two balance of power.16

The Dana proposal failed to appeal to the Western Associated Press. The association at its annual meeting in Detroit in October, 1882, voted unanimously for a separation from the New York Associated Press and instructed

16 Gramling, op. cit., 90-91.
the Board of Directors to push the "war" vigorously. 17 Joseph Medill, publisher of the Chicago Tribune, who made the most vigorous "war" speech at the convention, was elected president of the association for a second time. Smith was instructed by the Board of Directors to proceed immediately to arrange for a cable service and for complete returns from Washington and all other points covered by the New York Associated Press. 18 This was followed by the statement that the association was going to supply news to the papers in Colorado, California, Texas, and Louisiana. 19

The gage of battle was flung at the feet of the New York Associated Press. The Easterners did not want a recurrence of the costly conflict of 1866. Finally they agreed to extend an invitation to the Executive Committee of the Western Associated Press to meet with a special committee of the New York Associated Press in New York to try to reach an understanding. 20

17 William Henry Smith to [first name not given] Houser, Nov. 28, 1882. Smith MSS.

18 Ibid.


20 Address by Henry W. Odion, "Relations Between the Western Associated Press and the New York Associated Press." Copy of address in Smith MSS. Date not given.
When negotiations between the committees were started in New York on November 14, the New Yorkers learned that, if they would make territorial concessions, the West might be prevailed upon to agree to a union under the five-man joint committee plan advanced by Dana. The New York committeemen seized the chance and offered to surrender considerable territory in the South and West. This made the bargain appear more attractive to the Western committee. Finally, a five-year contract was evolved and ratified on January 1, 1883. The business relationship between the two associations, with reference to exchange of news, Washington service, and exclusive control in respective territory, was to be substantially unchanged. 21

But there was to be a Joint Executive Committee, made up of two members from the New York Associated Press, two from the Western Associated Press, and a chairman chosen by the former, with a General Manager to be selected by the committee as the active executive. 22

To Smith belongs the honor of being appointed as General Manager. He was calculated to inspire confidence in

---

21 Copy of contract in Smith MSS. (Ind.).

22 William Henry Smith to W. P. Phillips, Nov. 21, 1882. Smith MSS.
the West where his ability was well known. As proof of the new unity in news-gathering, Smith also retained his position as general agent of the Western Associated Press. Thus he became the unifying head of the two organizations.
CHAPTER V

ELECTION OF 1876

As the election of 1876 approached there was real uncertainty as to who would be chosen to lead the Republican party. No Republican leader towered so high above all the others as to arouse in the popular consciousness an overwhelming demand for his selection. The sentiment of the party and the condition of the country had opened the way for a real contest, and the rivalry of ambitious leaders for the supreme party honor began to develop early. There was much talk about a third term for President Grant, but it was given up when a Democratic resolution passed the House of Representatives on December 15, 1875, with a bipartisan majority of 234 to 18 condemning any departure from the two-term tradition.¹

Search for an "available" candidate to draw back into the party the discontented Liberals who had voted for Greeley in 1872 was seriously handicapped by the determination with which several of the least liberal of the Republican leaders sought the presidential prize for themselves. James G. Blaine of Maine, the last Republican

¹ Congressional Record, 44th Cong., 1 sess., 228.
Speaker of the House of Representatives, won an early lead lead by frantically "waving the bloody shirt," an exercise which immediately pleased the regulars, but was ill-calculated to bring many of the straying Liberals back home. 2

No less unbending on the Southern question was Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, whose ideas on soft-money, however, had a strong appeal for the farmers of the Middle West. 3 His chances were greatly lessened by the fact that he was so infirm physically that he was obliged to use crutches. 4

The regular of regulars was Roscoe Conkling—the vain, sensitive, aggressive, high-handed, ruthless "boss" of New York. 5 More pleasing to the Liberals were Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky, who as Secretary of Treasury had helped to expose the "Whiskey Ring," 6 and Governor Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, whose upright character and civil service reform views had pleased the Liberals.

2 George F. Hoar, Autobiography of Seventy Years, I. 378.

3 Harper's Weekly, XX (Jan. 3, 1876), 443.


In his Presidential aspirations Hayes was helped by Smith. After resuming his journalistic career in March, 1868, Smith kept his fingers on the political pulse of the nation. Through his correspondence with Hayes he kept the Governor informed about the political forces of the country, and he constantly urged the Governor to seek higher political office.

He discussed the formation of General Grant's cabinet in a letter to the Governor on October 28, 1868, in which he stated that Grant should have "a cabinet composed of reliable discreet Republicans." He thought that the General would probably select a member of his cabinet from Ohio. He went on to say, "If Ohio is to have a cabinet officer...the safest man for the party and especially for Grant is General Hayes." When Hayes was nearing the end of his first term as governor, Smith informed him that many of their mutual friends would like to see the Governor go to Washington. Smith, however, believed that Hayes should decide his own political future. In December, 1871, as Hayes's second term as governor was drawing to a close, Smith said that he regretted that Hayes did not have

---

7 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Oct. 28, 1868. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
8 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Feb. 13, [1869]. Smith MSS.
another term in the gubernatorial chair. Later that same month Smith asked the Governor if he would permit the use of his name before the Senatorial caucus. Hayes's answer was that he would not be a candidate under any circumstances.

The political scene in Ohio from 1872 to 1876 was anything but bright for the Republicans. Although they were able to elect Edward F. Noyes as governor in 1871 his administration did not prove to be a distinguished one. The Grant administration became involved in a series of frauds and mismanagement which embarrassed the Republicans in the State. While they were attempting to defend the national administration the Panic of 1873 added to their difficulties. The Democrats, of course, made the Grant administration responsible for the collapse of the economic structure and the resulting period of depression. It was aggravated by a poor agricultural crop throughout the State in 1873 and by low wages and unemployment. In that same

---

9 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Dec. 15, 1871. Smith MSS.

10 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Dec. 27, 1871. Smith MSS. (Ind.).

11 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, Dec. 28, 1871. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
year William Allen, a Democrat, defeated Noyes in his bid for reelection. Allen so conducted the business of the State in a safe, sound, and conservative manner that his administration began to attract national attention and he seemed to grow in favor with his constituents and party. In the early months of 1875 there was little on the political horizon that was reassuring for the Republicans.

The most prominent Republicans of the State finally persuaded Hayes to accept the nomination for governor, and to try to unseat Democratic Governor William Allen and redeem the State for the Republican party.\(^{12}\)

The campaign that followed was fought mainly on two issues: the currency issue, involving the resumption of specie payments as against greenback inflation, and a religious issue involving the public schools.\(^{13}\) The contest was of nation-wide importance and was a preliminary for the Presidential election of the following year.

In September Smith viewed the campaign with alarm. In a letter to Horace White he said that the public mind

\(^{12}\) Forrest W. Clonts, "The Political Campaign in 1875 in Ohio," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXXI (Jan., 1922), 68

\(^{13}\) *Ibid.*, 66-68. The public school question was brought in because the passage of the Geghan Bill by the legislature was alleged to favor the Roman Catholic Church. The whole charge hinged on the circumstances surrounding the passage of the measure rather than the actual contents of the act.
was feverish on account of financial uncertainty. He went on to state that he would not be surprised to hear of a Democratic victory in Ohio on the second Tuesday in October, but he thought there was a chance that Senator Carl Schurz's speeches in favor of a sound money system might be able to stem the tide.  

On October 12 Hayes was the victor with a majority over Allen of 5,541 votes. The veterans together with a large part of the civilian population stood by him. "Now then," stated the jubilant Cincinnati Commercial, "confidence will abound, and we can have good times in earnest, with honest money for a basis." This election of Hayes made him a Presidential possibility in 1876.

A few days after Hayes was inaugurated governor of Ohio for the third time, Smith made plans to secure the

14 William Henry Smith to Horace White, Sept. 22, 1875. Smith MSS.
15 Ohio State Journal [Columbus, Ohio], Oct. 13, 1875.
16 Hamilton J. Eckenrode, Rutherford B. Hayes, Statesman of Reunion, 103.
17 Cincinnati Commercial, Oct. 13, 1875.
Presidential nomination for him. Smith was one of the leaders of a group of astute Ohio politicians usually referred to as the "Ohio Dynasty," whose aim was to secure the Presidential nomination for Hayes.\textsuperscript{18} Besides Smith this group included the most outstanding Republicans in Ohio, such as Senator John Sherman, Representatives James A Garfield and Charles Foster, Samuel Shellabarger, General Edward F. Noyes, Judge Stanley Matthews, ex-Governor William Dennison, and Alphonso Taft. This group also included the leading Ohio newspaper editors such as the editors of the \textit{Ohio State Journal}, the \textit{Cincinnati Gazette}, the \textit{Cincinnati Commercial}, and the \textit{Dayton Journal}, and former Ohioans such as the editors of the \textit{Atlantic Monthly}, the \textit{Chicago Tribune}, and the \textit{New York Tribune}.\textsuperscript{19}

On January 26 Smith gave Hayes a report on the political sentiment in the Northwest. He said that General Philip H. Sheridan would throw a large military influence Hayes's way once Grant was out of the picture. Smith also found that there was no commitment to any particular candidate.


\textsuperscript{19} Frank J. Krebs, "Hayes and the South," (Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1950), 43.
date. The preferences of the people--so far as they had
developed--were divided between James G. Blaine, E. B.
Washburne, and Benjamin H. Bristow. According to Smith
the last named was being considered more for the Vice-
Presidency than for the Presidency. He thought that
Washburne's friends would nominate him if it appeared that
neither Blaine nor Morton could be named. Smith told the
Governor that this condition was not unfavorable to his
candidacy. It was Smith's belief that the Republican
ticket and platform should be of such a character as to
give the "Grand Old Party" the states of New York, Penn-
sylvania, and Indiana. In his opinion a ticket of
Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler would carry
the above states. 20

In February Smith canvassed the newspapers in Wis-
consin and Minnesota, and found that Blaine was first
choice and Hayes second. 21 He knew that many of the can-
didates had to be eliminated if Hayes were to be nominated.

20 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Jan.
26, 1876. Smith MSS.

21, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
On February 15 Smith informed the Governor that the list was getting smaller as the convention approached and that Roscoe Conkling and Blaine would be eliminated. Smith stated that he could not give the reasons until the work was completed. \(^{22}\)

In February Smith began to work to eliminate Blaine with the aid of General H. V. Boynton, Washington correspondent for the Cincinnati *Gazette*, Richard "Deacon" Smith, editor of the *Gazette*, and the friends of Bristow. General Boynton had uncovered documents exposing Blaine's corrupt connection with the bankrupt Fort Smith and Little Rock Railroad. \(^{23}\) Blaine was informed of the evidence against him, but in a letter to Richard Smith he disclaimed any wrongdoings. \(^{24}\) William Henry Smith then showed this letter to Joseph Medill, editor of the Chicago *Tribune*, and also a letter from Boynton explaining Blaine's connection with the railroad. \(^{25}\) Medill, who was supporting Blaine for the nomination, was shocked but was not entirely convinced that the

---

\(^{22}\) William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Feb. 15, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).

\(^{23}\) H. V. Boynton to William Henry Smith, Feb. 6, 1876. Smith MSS.

\(^{24}\) James G. Blaine to Richard Smith, Feb. 11, 1876. Smith MSS.

\(^{25}\) William Henry Smith to Richard Smith, Feb. 22, 1876. Smith MSS.
story was true. 26 William Henry Smith, Richard Smith, Boyn-
ton, and Medill met in Cincinnati the last of March to dis-
cuss the stories affecting Blaine.27 They also wanted to
assure Medill that Blaine could not be nominated, and if
nominated he could not be elected because three leading
Democrats knew all about Blaine's deals with the railroad
and would "kill him off" at the proper time.28

The story of Blaine's connection with the railroad
became known before Smith and his friends had planned. On
April 24 Blaine rose in the House of Representatives and
read a carefully prepared statement in which he denied he
had done anything wrong.29 The accusation against Blaine
finally led to an investigation by the House of Representa-
tives and to the famous Mulligan letters.30

26 Joseph Medill to William Henry Smith, [Feb.] 21,
1876. Smith MSS.

27 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, April
18, 1876. Smith MSS. The Cincinnati Gazette, April 17,
1876, discussed the conference but omitted William Henry
Smith's name.

28 Ibid.

29 Congressional Record, 44th Cong., 1 sess., 2724-
2725.

30 For a detailed account see David S. Muzzey,
James G. Blaine, 89-100.
On April 21 Smith believed that Blaine was effectively out of the way. He informed Hayes that he was of the opinion that Blaine and Conkling would kill each other off and that Bristow could not be nominated.

In the meantime Hayes was playing the game carefully and cautiously. He disclosed, in a letter to Smith on May 31, that he was growing more indifferent to his own candidacy as the time for a decision approached. Likewise this indifference made it easier for him to keep himself clear of complications. He went on to state that he had told the Ohio delegates that his name ought not to be thought of unless it would promote harmony and the prospect of success. Furthermore, he stipulated that his name should be withdrawn when the convention came to an impasse.

Smith was certain before the convention met that Hayes would be nominated. On June 12 he stated in a telegram to the Governor, "At this hour I can safely predict that Ohio will win." However, Hayes did not share Smith's

---

31 William Henry Smith to H. V. Boynton, April 21, 1876. Smith MSS.
32 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, May 28, 1876. Hayes MSS.
33 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, May 31, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.)
34 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, June 12, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
confidence, for as late as June 14 he wrote in his diary that Blaine might be chosen upon the first or a very early ballot.35

The convention met in Cincinnati on June 14 in Exposition Hall where a stage had been erected from which arose towers of seats. It was called to order by the chairman of the National Republican Committee, ex-Governor Edwin D. Morgan of New York, who had performed the same service twenty years before at Philadelphia at the first Republican convention. In his opening address ex-Governor Morgan reminded the delegates that, for the first time in sixteen years, the convention would be faced with the responsibility of actually choosing a standard-bearer, and not merely ratifying a choice already designed by public opinion.36 Then George William Curtis, editor of Harper's Weekly, read an address from the Republican Reform Club of New York City which, in no uncertain terms, demanded honesty in administration, reform in civil service, and a sound financial policy. Edward McPherson of Pennsylvania was then chosen permanent chairman.37

35 Diary and Letters of Hayes, III, 324.
36 Muzzey, op. cit., 103.
37 Myers, op. cit., 221.
On the second day the platform was presented to the convention. It bristled with bloody-shirt allusions and declared for tariff protection and civil service reform. It was adopted after a brief discussion and then the nominating oratory began. Stewart L. Woodford presented the name of Conkling; John M. Harlan nominated Bristow; and Richard W. Thompson placed Morton's name before the delegates. Then Robert G. Ingersoll, the silver-tongued orator, rose and presented the name of Blaine in one of the most eloquent of convention speeches. He said, "Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor." In editorializing on the speech the next day the Cincinnati Gazette said, "While it was a speech to which the man of culture, taste, and experience could listen with unflagging interest, it was at the same time purely and simply a magnificent rabble-rousing effort." The Cincinnati Commercial

38 Edward Stanwood, History of the Presidency, 369.
40 Cincinnati Gazette, June 16, 1876.
stated, "It is a pity to see so much splendid capacity as he [Ingersoll] displayed yesterday lavished in so bad and so fatal a cause."\(^\text{41}\)

The supporters of Hayes had been impatiently waiting for Noyes to place the name of Hayes before the convention. "Governor Hayes," he declared, "is honest; he is brave; he is unpretending; he is wise, sagacious, a scholar and a gentleman.... The simplicity of his private life, his modesty of bearing, are a standing rebuke to the extravagance which leads to corruption in public and in private places...."\(^\text{42}\)

The nomination of the remaining candidates followed and it was 5:15 P.M. when the last one was presented to the delegates. There were still more than two hours before sunset in Cincinnati on that day in mid-June, but on the pretext that there was no gas for the evening session the convention adjourned until ten-thirty the next morning.\(^\text{43}\) It was thought that if the balloting had followed the nominating speeches Blaine would have been nominated.\(^\text{44}\)

\(^{41}\) _Cincinnati Commercial_, June 16, 1876.

\(^{42}\) _Cincinnati Gazette_, June 16, 1876.

\(^{43}\) _Muzzey, op. cit._, lill.

\(^{44}\) Ibid.; James F. Rhodes, _History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850_, VII, 209.
That night an agreement was reached between the managers of Bristow, Morton, and Hayes to consolidate their vote at the appropriate time on one candidate.\textsuperscript{45} It was alleged that John M. Harlan, Bristow's manager, was promised a place on the Supreme Court for bringing the Kentucky delegation to Hayes.\textsuperscript{46}

As the balloting progressed the next day there was a decided movement toward Hayes on the fifth ballot and he was nominated on the seventh.\textsuperscript{47} William A. Wheeler of New York was then speedily nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

Smith was present and very active at the convention, but it is not known exactly what part he played in securing the nomination of Hayes; undoubtedly it was very important. After the convention Hayes wrote Smith expressing his gratitude for what he had done. He also said that he would perhaps never know what part Smith had played, but he did

\textsuperscript{45} Eckenrode, \textit{op. cit.}, 130.

\textsuperscript{46} Matilda Gresham, \textit{Life of Walter Quintin Gresham}, II, 459.

\textsuperscript{47} Cincinnati Gazette, June 17, 1876. When Blaine heard that Hayes had received the nomination he sent a telegram to Hayes congratulating him and offering him whole-hearted support during the ensuing campaign. Rhodes, \textit{op. cit.}, VII, 212.
know that it was a very potent one. Hayes's biographer, Charles R. Williams, says that Smith did more than anyone else, outside of Ohio, to prepare the way for Hayes's nomination for the Presidency.

It was the opinion of Smith that General Edward F. Noyes had done much to secure the nomination for Hayes. On June 21 Smith wrote Hayes praising the leader of the Ohio delegation. He added that it was of first importance to have such a leader as Edward F. Noyes. He went on to say, "Better management I never saw. It was able, judicious, untiring, unselfish, inspiring, adroit. If there was a mistake made I did not discover it.... His conduct was that of a noble, chivalrous, honorable gentleman." Smith did not think that the General ever slept, his eyes were everywhere, and discipline was preserved with as much vigor as on the field of battle. Smith said that in the moment of triumph he felt like giving grateful thanks to Providence for the victory. He felt that it once more rendered possible

---

48 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, June 19, 1876. Smith MSS.

the triumph of the Republican party and peace to the country. He believed that Hayes was charged with a great mission and asked that God give him strength to carry it out.50

Meanwhile, the Democratic National Convention met in St. Louis on June 27, 1876, and nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, who, by reason of his success in destroying the corrupt "Canal Ring" in New York politics, had won nationwide renown as a reformer. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was selected as his running mate.51 The platform had for its text "the urgent need of immediate reform," and from this it skillfully developed a telling indictment of the Republicans, involving all the scandals of the Grant administration.52

The campaign of 1876 has been described as loud, dramatic, and bitter.53 The scandals of the Grant administration furnished abundant campaign material for the

50 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, June 21, 1876. Hayes MSS.
51 John Bigelow, Life of Samuel J. Tilden, I, 305.
52 Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1876, 787.
53 Jordan, op. cit., 57.
Democrats. The Republicans, in order to avoid the defensive and as a means of beclouding the issues, strenuously endeavored to revive the hatreds of the Civil War.

Smith was one of the foremost advocates of waving the "bloody shirt." In a letter to James M. Conly, editor of the Ohio State Journal, he said that there was one thing the Republicans always had that could be used to stir up their partisans in the West, when everything else failed, and that was the "bloody shirt." Smith advised him to get it into the canvass in the interior of Ohio without delay. He told Comly to telegraph Colonel Robert Intersoll, who was wasting his time in Maine, and turn him loose in Ohio. He thought that Ingersoll and Noyes should roam over Ohio until election day reviving sectional hatred.

Even Hayes himself urged prominent speakers to stress the danger of giving the rebels the government because he

---

54 William Henry Smith to James M. Comly, Aug. 26, 1876. James M. Comly MSS. (The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio). Hereafter cited as Comly MSS.

55 Ibid.
felt that it was the topic in which the people were most interested.\footnote{56} He said that the Republicans must choose their own topics.\footnote{57} In a letter to Blaine on September 14, 1876, he stated that it was now imperative to kindle again sectional fear and hatred, terror of discord and rebellion. "Our strong ground," Hayes wrote Blaine, "is the dread of a solid South, rebel rule, etc., etc. I hope you will make these topics prominent in your speeches. It leads people away from 'hard times' which is our deadliest foe."\footnote{58}

The Republican stump orators, Blaine, Morton, and above all the stentorian Ingersoll, now outdid one another in sounding all the notes of a fanatical patriotism which might effectively "lead people away from the 'hard times.'"\footnote{59} The impassioned rhetoric of Ingersoll was in keeping with the grand design:

Every State that seceded from the Union was a Democratic State. Every ordinance of secession was drawn by a Democrat. Every man that endeavored to tear the old flag from the heaven it

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{56} Rutherford B. Hayes to James A. Garfield, Aug. 6, 1876. Garfield MSS. (Library of Congress).
\item \footnote{57} Ibid.
\item \footnote{58} Mary A. Dodge, \textit{Biography of James G. Blaine}, 422.
\end{itemize}}
enriches was a Democrat.... Every man that shot down Union soldiers was a Democrat.... The man that assassinated Lincoln was a Democrat.... Every man that raised bloodhounds to pursue human beings was a Democrat.... Every man that tried to spread smallpox and yellow fever in the North was a Democrat.... Soldiers, every scar you have on your heroic bodies was given you by a Democrat. Every scar, every arm that is missing, every limb that is gone, is a souvenir of a Democrat. 60

Benjamin Harrison also helped revive sectional hatreds in the campaign when he said, "I prefer the old gray army shirt, stained with but a single drop of a dead comrade's blood, to the black flag of treason or the white flag of cowardice." 61

Smith felt that the German vote was very important in the campaign and he worked very diligently to secure it for Hayes. 62 He advised Comly that Schurz should talk to the Germans in the cities of Ohio and Indiana. 63 Smith cooperated with many of the leading Germans in Illinois to swing the German vote in that state to Hayes. He worked with George Schneider, president of the National Bank of Illinois, and Colonel Frederick Hacker, a Civil War veteran. 64 Smith also helped many German immigrants in Chicago

---

61 Eckenrode, op. cit., 144.
62 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Oct. 30, 1876. Smith MSS.
63 William Henry Smith to James M. Comly, Aug. 26, 1876. Comly MSS.
64 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, July 6, 1876. Smith MSS.
secure their naturalization papers before the election. He believed that the injection of the Catholic or parochial school issue into the campaign would hold the liberal German vote for the Republicans.

The Democrats made a persistent effort to deflect the foreign vote from the Republican party by charging that Hayes was committed to the principles of the American Alliance, an organization which favored the restriction of the right of suffrage to native-born citizens. At a meeting of the Grand Council of the Alliance, held in Philadelphia on July 4, resolutions were adopted opposing Roman Catholic influence in politics, commending the public school system, urging friendlier relations between North and South, and favoring a sound currency and a speedy return to specie payments. A copy of the resolutions was sent to Governor Hayes. His private secretary, Alfred E. Lee, acknowledged receipt of the resolutions.

65 William Henry Smith to Colonel A. E. Lee, Nov. 4, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).

66 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Oct. (no date), 1876. Hayes MSS.


68 Williams, op. cit., I, 477-478.
Smith counteracted the American Alliance charge by writing to the Milwaukee Herald that, in 1853-1855, Hayes was associated with Frederick Hassaurek, editor of the Cincinnati Volksblatt, in opposing the Know-Nothing Party. However, Smith and several of the Republican managers were somewhat apprehensive of the effect this episode would have upon the campaign. But Hayes was not disturbed. In a letter to Smith on October 5, he wrote that he saw nothing damaging in the letter acknowledging receipt of the resolutions. He also stated that three of the most intelligent Germans in Cincinnati did not think it would hurt a particle.

During the campaign two stories were revived, or started, charging Hayes with having retained for his own use money that fell into his hands while in the military service. One story was to the effect that a private of the Twenty-Third Regiment, named Leroy, just before the battle of Winchester had given General Hayes eight hundred or one thousand dollars for safekeeping to be sent to his

---

69 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Oct. 19, 1876. Hayes MSS.
70 Williams, op. cit., I, 477-478.
mother in case he fell in battle. Leroy was killed in the ensuing engagement. While Hayes was making his second canvass for governor in 1869, he received letters from Leroy's father demanding his son's money. Hayes wrote the man that there was absolutely no basis for his claim; that he was either deceived or was seeking blackmail. In the campaign of 1876 the father of the army private told the story to the Chicago Times, which gave it banner headlines. As soon as the story appeared in the Chicago Times, Smith sent dispatches to all of the newspapers in the Middle West repudiating the Leroy story.

A somewhat similar story was started in West Virginia. It charged that during the war a deserter, before he was shot, has turned over four hundred dollars to Hayes, which was never accounted for. Smith and Comly thoroughly investigated the charge by writing to many soldiers of the Twenty-Third Regiment and found that there was no truth to the

---

71 Ibid., 475.

72 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Oct. 3, 1876. Smith MSS.

73 Eugene Kleinpell, "James M. Comly, Journalist-Politician" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1936), 151.
accusation. 74

Tilden came in for his share of mud-slinging at the hands of professional politicians who knew the art of besmirching a man's character. The charge most in evidence was that he had made a false income return for the year 1862. There was no direct evidence that he had done so. The violent and abusive language employed by the New York Times in supporting this accusation has rarely been exceeded. In the review of Tilden's war record it was charged that he had vindicated slavery, abetted secession, was responsible for Andersonville, rejoiced in Southern victories, and was guilty of the blackest treason to the Federal Government. 75 Tilden's political foes also sought to blacken his personal character. He was accused of being a victim of paresis, a bluffing egotist, an inconsistent hypocrite, false to his friends, immoral, dishonest, and utterly unreliable. As a lawyer, he was a tool of corporations, bankers, and Wall Street gamblers who made millions out of wrecking railroads and crooked business deals. 76

74 Cf. numerous letters in Smith MSS. and Comly MSS.

75 Alexander C. Flick, Samuel J. Tilden; A Study in Political Strategy, 309-310; Eckenrode, op. cit., 171.

76 Flick, op. cit., 312.
Smith acted as one of Hayes's chief correspondents during the campaign. Since the Governor took no active part in the contest, he was kept informed of the progress of the canvass by frequent communications from the secretary of the Republican National Committee and from other leaders closely connected with the Republican organization. On August 25 Hayes told Smith, "You are the most interesting, considerate, satisfactory and best correspondent I have got. Don't drop it, but believe me."77 After the election Hayes informed Smith, "No correspondent during the 44 days has been so valuable as you."78

In October the Republican leaders, including Smith, were disturbed over the chances of the Republicans carrying New York. There was a feeling among many of the most earnest Republicans that the Executive Committee of New York was not conducting the canvass with vigor and thoroughness. Many of the Republican leaders of New York took very little part in the contest. Senator Roscoe Conkling made only one speech during the campaign in Utica, New York.

77 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, Aug. 25, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
78 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, Nov. 13, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
on October 3, 1876.\textsuperscript{79} In this speech he carefully refrained from mentioning the names of the Republican candidates.\textsuperscript{80} The Surveyor of the Port of New York, Alonzo Cornell, was also disappointed in the nomination of Hayes and gave him lukewarm support.\textsuperscript{81} Charles A. Boynton informed Smith that there were a number of political blunders in the State. One of these concerned the sending of an anti-Catholic speaker into an Irish community in New York City, which, up to that time, had about made up their minds to support Hayes and Wheeler.\textsuperscript{82} 

Several years after the election Smith held a conversation with Murat Halstead, editor of the Cincinnati Commercial, about the election of 1876 in New York. The editor related how Zachariah Chandler traced John C. New, a member of the Republican National Committee, three times to Tilden's home in Gramercy Park where he told Tilden of the secret plans of the Republican National Committee.\textsuperscript{83}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{79} Alfred R. Conkling, \textit{op. cit.}, 509-511.
  \item \textsuperscript{80} Harper's Weekly, XXIII (Feb. 8, 1879), 102.
  \item \textsuperscript{81} Charles A. Boynton to William Henry Smith, Oct. 22, 1876. Smith MSS.
  \item \textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{83} Memorandum in Smith's handwriting in Smith MSS.
\end{itemize}
Smith worked with Dr. F. W. Davenport, leader of the Independent Republicans in Oregon, to bring the State into the Republican column. In July, Davenport asked Smith if he could tell the people of Oregon that Hayes's election would mean reform for that state. He said that if he could, Tilden would come out as Seymour did in 1868. Smith assured Davenport that if Hayes were elected the Republican party would move to a higher plane. As soon as Davenport received this assurance, he proceeded to organize the Independent Republicans and effected a harmonious union with the regular Republicans. After the election Smith stated that the Republicans carried the State solely on account of the pledge he gave to the Independent Republicans.

Money was freely used by both parties but, as in the Grant campaigns, the Republicans were the most conspicuous offenders in this respect. They could command the larger

---

84 F. W. Davenport to William Henry Smith, July 10, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
85 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Aug. 19, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
86 William Henry Smith to Carl Schurz, March 15, 1877. Smith MSS.
sums. They could assess and collect from the great body of federal officeholders who were the adherents of the party. Responsible for this was the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Zachariah Chandler. He sent circulars soliciting "voluntary" contributions to all federal officeholders receiving more than one thousand dollars a year for the "laudable purpose of maintaining the organization of the Republican party." In the state organizations of the party, such as that of Pennsylvania the circular ran:

Our books show that you have paid no heed to either of the requests of the committee for funds ...we look to you as one of the Federal beneficiaries to help bear the burden. Two per cent of your salary is ______. Please remit promptly.

At the close of the campaign we shall place a list of those who have not paid in the hands of the head of the department you are in.

Smith in a letter to Hayes on August 8 said that he did not feel so bad about assessment. However, Hayes did


88 Albert B. Paine, Thomas Nast, His Period and His Pictures, 165.

89 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Aug. 8, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
not approve of this practice. In his reply to Smith's letter he stated, "I hate assessments. They are all wrong, and are sure to do more harm than good. Officeholders, like other people, should be left free to contribute or not as they choose." 90

Smith was handed a letter the last of October from the postmaster of Milwaukee, H. C. Payne, asking for financial help. The postmaster said that the Republican State Committee of Wisconsin did not have a dollar to pay for notaries, ticket peddlers, wagons to bring voters to the polls, and for the many other uses to which money contributes so effectually. The letter went on to say, "The federal officials have been bled until I am ashamed to ask for more.... If you know of any possible way to raise funds for 'God's sake' do it." 91 Smith immediately telegraphed Zachariah Chandler and asked that financial assistance be given to the Republican State Committee of

90 Williams, op. cit., I, 483.

91 H. C. Payne to A. C. Botkin, Oct. 30, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
Wisconsin. 92 After this Chandler promptly sent a thousand dollars to the chairman of the Republican State Committee of Wisconsin. 93 After the election Charles A. Boynton wrote Smith, "The gentleman who woke up to the situation in Wisconsin and stirred up matters so that the state was saved to the Republicans is deserving of about as much from the party as anyone in the country. That saved Hayes and nothing else." 94

On November 7 the campaign of 1876 ended with the casting of the votes. In the evening the nation eagerly awaited the results. It was the opinion of most competent political observers that the election would be close. Hayes with a group of close friends, received the returns from telegraph messenger boys who carried the results to his Columbus home. He focused his attention on the doubtful northern states of New York, New Jersey, Indiana, and Connecticut. As the returns from these states came in showing that Tilden was leading, Hayes's prospects seemed

---

92 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Nov. 6, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).

93 Ibid.

94 Charles A. Boynton to William Henry Smith, Nov. 23, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
to melt away. "From that time," he wrote in his diary, "I never supposed there was a chance for Republican success." At midnight he went to bed, feeling that he had lost the election.

Almost every Republican newspaper, including the rock-ribbed New York Tribune, conceded the election to Tilden. Zachariah Chandler, the Republican National Chairman, had closed the National Headquarters in the Fifth Avenue Hotel and gone to bed. But just after midnight Senator William H. Barnum, of Connecticut, called the editorial offices of the New York Times and asked for the returns from South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. This indicated that the Democrats were not sure about these three states, which were still under the control of the federal government. The editorial council of the Times found that if the nineteen electoral votes of these states were counted for Hayes, he would have 185 votes to Tilden's 184 in the electoral column.  

95 Diary and Letters of Hayes, III, 373.

96 Haworth, op. cit., 45; Allan Nevins, Abram S. Hewitt, 319.

John C. Reid, the red-faced, bloated, hot-tempered managing editor of the Times, set out to find Zachariah Chandler in the Fifth Avenue Hotel. At the door of the hotel he met William E. Chandler, secretary of the National Republican Committee, and told him that Hayes would be elected if he carried South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida. The two men then hastened to Zachariah Chandler's room and explained the situation to him. The latter gave the two men his consent to act as they wished in the matter. William E. Chandler and John C. Reid went at once to the Western Union Telegraph office where Chandler sent telegrams to the Republican leaders in the three Southern states: "Hayes is elected if we have carried South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. Can you hold your State? Answer immediately."\(^98\) Chandler was well acquainted with the infamous characters who dominated the Republican party in these three states and knew that his appeal would not go unheeded.

\(^{98}\) Haworth, op. cit., 51.
CHAPTER VI

HAYES THE VICTOR

Smith played an important part in changing Hayes's apparent defeat of November 7, 1876, into the victory of March 5, 1877. He never doubted for a moment that Hayes was the winner. To demonstrate his conviction he sent the Governor a telegram on the morning after the election in which he offered his congratulations.¹

Smith, an astute politician, very early realized that the Republicans virtually owned the canvassing boards of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida; and that these Boards were the key to the entire situation. But the Republicans would have to do more than claim the election; they must assure favorable returns from these states and they must act at once, for even if there were good Republicans on the canvassing boards, they could still be scoundrels and "sell out to Tilden."

As soon as Smith learned that the election was still undecided in Louisiana, he immediately got in touch with

¹ William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Nov. 8, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
the Republican military authorities in that state. He
warned them to be on guard against any Democratic move
to have the electoral votes counted for Tilden. He had
received a request from General J. W. Forsythe, a member
of General Philip Sheridan's staff in New Orleans, to
send some of the most prominent Northern Republican lead-
ers to Louisiana "to back up and sustain the governor
and Republicans in that State." Smith had immediately
complied with the request and sent some of "the best and
wisest" Republicans in Illinois to New Orleans to look
after the Republican interests. He said that the ablest
and wisest member of the group was C. B. Farwell.

Smith also informed Hayes that General Sheridan
had ordered his department to take the wisest precautions
and that three regiments would soon arrive in Louisiana.

---

2 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Nov.
10, 1876. Smith MSS.

10, 1876. Smith MSS.

4 William Henry Smith to James M. Comly, Nov. 10,
1876. Comly MSS.

5 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Nov.
10, 1876. Smith MSS. Farwell's name is not mentioned
by any historian as one of the "visiting statesmen."

6 Ibid.
Smith reported to the Governor that he had anticipated Ku Klux Klan activities in Florida and had asked many of his Eastern friends going to the South to be on guard against any mischief.7

Smith and James M. Comly, editor of the Ohio State Journal, were instrumental in having many noted Ohioans included among the prominent Republicans who went to Louisiana at the invitation of President Grant to witness the canvass of the votes. Among the "visiting statesmen" were: Senator John Sherman, Stanley Matthews, James A. Garfield, Edward F. Noyes, and John Little. Abram S. Hewitt, chairman of the National Democratic Committee, also issued a similar invitation to outstanding Democrats to go to New Orleans and Tallahassee and witness the counting of the votes. Among the Democrats were Henry Watter- son, Lyman Trumbull, Samuel J. Randall, W. G. Sumner, J. R. Doolittle, A. G. Curtin, and William Bigler.8

One of the worst mistakes the Ohio "visiting statesmen" made was to endorse the Louisiana Returning

7 Ibid.
8 Paul L. Haworth, The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876, 95; Allan Nevins, Abram S. Hewitt, 326.
Board. It was made up of four men, whose reputations were questionable. It was composed of James M. Wells, Thomas C. Anderson, and two Negroes, George Cassanave and Lewis M. Kenner, all Republicans. Nine years before, James M. Wells, the chairman of the Board, had been removed as governor of Louisiana by General Philip H. Sheridan. At that time General Sheridan informed President Grant that Wells had "embarrassed him by his subterfuge and political chicanery." The General went on to say that his removal of Governor Wells would be approved by every class and shade of political opinion in New Orleans. He also assured the President that Wells did not have a friend who was an honest man. In fact, since 1867, Wells had been known to be a part of Louisiana political corruption. Anderson, poor at the end of the war, had acquired considerable wealth as a state Senator and literally stank of corruption. Another member of the Board was Kenner who had been a servant in a gambling-house and had operated a house of prostitution a few doors from the state capitol.

---

10 House Misc. Doc., No. 34, 44th Cong., 2 sess., 506, 508, 509.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., 597-598.
Cassanave, a Negro undertaker and the most respectable member of the Board, was too ignorant to know the nature of his work. It would be naive to expect justice from such a Canvassing Board.

The Democratic Baltimore Sun paid its respects to the notorious Louisiana Returning Board by saying, "Since the day of the Star Chamber there never was a more arbitrary and odious instrument for the suppression of the popular will than this returning board, nor a more ingenious organization to deceive and defraud the community."

After the "statesmen" arrived in Louisiana they underwent a complete change of heart in their attitude toward the Board. In writing to Hayes of the Board, Senator John Sherman said, "I have carefully observed them, and have formed a high opinion of Governor Wells and Colonel Anderson. They are firm, judicious, and, as far as I can judge, thoroughly honest and conscientious..."

After a series of dinners, James A. Garfield said that in

---

13 Ibid., Part II, 52.
14 Baltimore Sun, Nov. 22, 1876.
his opinion the members of the Board were of a much higher calibre than he thought them to be before he arrived. He later praised the members for their integrity and courage.\footnote{16} Just a year before, when a Republican congressional committee had mercilessly denounced the Board, he had publicly called them "a graceless set of scamps."\footnote{17}

When Charles B. Farwell arrived in New Orleans, he informed Smith that the people in the North would never know the real condition of things in Louisiana. Farwell said that assassination for political opinions was very common and that almost any sacrifice would be made for the party.\footnote{18} In a letter to Hayes, Senator Sherman described the situation in Louisiana more like the history of Hell than of civilized and Christian communities.\footnote{19} The election of 1876 in Louisiana might be more accurately described, in Clausewitz's famous phrase, as "the continuation of politics by other means."\footnote{20} Frauds had been

\footnotesize


18 Charles B. Farwell to William Henry Smith, Nov. 19, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).


committed by both parties. The Democrats had intimidated the Negroes in some of the parishes, where a few cases of shocking violence occurred. This in turn gave the Returning Board an excuse for throwing out certain polls and parishes.

In New Orleans there was extensive fraud in the registration of voters by both sides, but the Republicans, through their control of the election machinery, were more successful. For instance, the names of over eighty thousand white voters were stricken from the registration books in New Orleans alone. In other cases, while many citizens were deprived of their franchise, the Republicans had Negroes register several times in the parish of New Orleans.

The Returning Board, according to the laws of Louisiana, had the right to canvass and compile the election returns and declare the results. The Board invited five Republican and five Democratic "visiting statesmen" to attend their open meetings. Both parties accepted the

---

21 For a more detailed account see Sen. Reports, No. 701, 44th Cong., 2 sess.


23 Special dispatch to the New York Staats Zeitung cited by New York World, Nov. 7, 1876.
invitation and Republican and Democratic witnesses were present at the meetings. 24

On December 6 the Returning Board declared the Hayes-Wheeler electors the victors. Before the Board could reach the decision, however, they had to throw out some 13,250 Democratic and 2,042 Republican votes. 25 On the same day, the Democratic electors met and cast their votes for Tilden and Hendricks.

Since 1876 historians have been trying to answer the question: Why did the Returning Board decide the election in that State in favor of Hayes and Wheeler? It is the opinion of the author that the Board was either paid a price or was promised certain political positions or both. There is sufficient evidence to prove that the Democrats were offered the electoral votes for a price. Henry Watterson, a very close friend of the New York governor, said that he knew the Presidency was offered to Tilden for a price and that he refused it; and that two other offers came to him, which he also declined. 26

25 Ibid., 232.
Abram S. Hewitt, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, revealed that the vote of Louisiana, prior to the final count of the Returning Board, was offered to the chairman for $200,000. It was stated that the larger portion of the money would go to Wells and Anderson, and a lesser amount to their colleagues on the Returning Board. Hewitt said that he declined to make the purchase and notified Tilden personally of the fact when the offer was made. Hewitt also revealed that some Democrats actually completed the arrangements for the purchase, and provided the amount of money required to be paid in New Orleans. This transaction came to the knowledge of Governor Tilden before the money had been paid and was stopped by his prompt intervention.

On the other hand, it is the author's opinion that Smith's special representative in New Orleans, Charles B. 

---


29 Allan Nevins, Abram S. Hewitt, 397.
Farwell, carried on negotiations to have the electoral votes declared for Hayes. For example, before the Returning Board counted the Louisiana electoral votes for Hayes, Farwell informed Smith that the popular votes cast, illegal and legal combined, were against Hayes. He went on to tell Smith that he had no reason to fear the result because he was in constant communication "with those who know and they had assured him all would be well." On December 5, 1877, Smith informed Hayes that Farwell was "our right hand man in Louisiana and it was he who first reached [William P.] Kellogg and [S. B.] Packard at New Orleans and thwarted the Democrats." And he continued, "Within the past two months he furnished $20,000 to keep Kellogg's Collector of Taxes from being indicted and matters from being aired in court." Several weeks after Hayes was inaugurated, Smith told him that there was not the least doubt that promises Farwell made to Kellogg and Packard determined the course adopted. It is not known

---

30 Charles B. Farwell to William Henry Smith, Nov. 22, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).

31 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Dec. 5, 1877. Hayes MSS. William P. Kellogg was the governor of Louisiana and S. B. Packard was the Republican candidate for governor.

32 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, April 19, 1877. Hayes MSS.
what promises Farwell made to Kellogg and Packard or how much money he spent, or for what purpose it was used.

Negotiations were carried on between several of the other Republican "visiting salesmen" in Louisiana and the canvassing board for the delivery of the electoral votes to the Republicans. Senator John Sherman held conversations with D. A. Weber and James E. Anderson in the course of which he promised to take care of them if the Board made the proper decisions. After thinking the matter over the two men wanted to get the promise in writing. In a letter to the Senator they stated that his assurance to take care of them was not specific enough. They went on to say, "In case we pursue the course suggested by you we would be obliged to leave the State." In reply Sherman said, "Neither Mr. Hayes, myself, the gentlemen who accompany me, or the country at large can ever forget the obligation under which you will have placed us, should you stand firm in the position you have taken." The Senator went on to assure the men that from a long and intimate acquaintance with Governor Hayes he was justified in assuming responsibility for promises made and would guarantee that they would be provided for as soon after March as practicable, and in such manner as to enable
them to leave Louisiana, should they deem it necessary. 33

After the inauguration of Hayes scarcely a man, from the highest to the lowest, connected with the transactions in Louisiana, failed to secure a federal appointment. Most of these were passed out through John Sherman, as Secretary of the Treasury. 34

Several years later the historian James Ford Rhodes, in reviewing the proceedings of the Returning Board said, "As a matter of fact, Wells and his satellites in secret conclave determined the Presidency of the United States." 35

Several years after Hayes retired from the Presidency, Smith held a long conversation with him about the election in Louisiana. In the course of the conversation Hayes said that justice and law were with the Republicans in Louisiana. He went on to state that the Democratic campaign in that State was a bloody series of outrages.


35 Rhodes, _op. cit._, VII, 233.
The plan of the Democrats, according to Hayes, was to bulldoze and terrorize the Republican parishes, and so attack the ballot boxes, that if the returns from these were thrown out as they expected, the State would be Democratic on the face of the returns from the other parishes. It was Hayes's opinion that the law clothed the Returning Board with power to defeat just such premeditated fraud.\textsuperscript{36}

The situation in Florida was not substantially different from that in Louisiana. It is to be remembered that Smith had no part in this election. In the election both parties had been guilty of fraud, but the Republicans far outdid the Democrats in this respect.\textsuperscript{37} As in Louisiana both parties sent "visiting statesmen" to the State to witness the canvassing of the returns. Both groups were active in advancing the interests of their respective candidates. The Returning Board met on November 27 and heard witnesses, accepted affidavits, exercised discretionary powers by rejecting certain votes, and finally ruled that the Hayes-Wheeler electors were the victors.\textsuperscript{38} The Florida Supreme Court ordered the Board to reassemble and

\textsuperscript{36} Smith's Diary, July 18, 1889. Smith MSS.

\textsuperscript{37} Eckenrode, \textit{op. cit.}, 191.

\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Sen. Reports}, No. 611, 44th Cong., 2 sess., II, 18-19.
to canvass the votes as cast. The result was that the Board declared the Democratic state ticket elected. Whereupon a set of Tilden electors was sent to Washington, certified by the new Democratic governor, G. B. Drew. 39

As in Louisiana most of the Republicans connected with the election in Florida received federal offices after Hayes was inaugurated. 40 In political slang they were "taken care of."

Likewise in the third Southern state under reconstruction, South Carolina, Smith played no role in this State's election. When the returns were first announced, Hayes and Wheeler had carried the State by a small majority; but the Democratic state ticket had been elected. 41 However, the Democrats claimed the State for Tilden.

The Returning Board met the last of November to decide how the electoral vote of South Carolina should be counted. It received affidavits and heard witnesses tell of frauds and intimidation of voters. On December 6 it decided that the Hayes-Wheeler electors had been elected. 42

42 *Diary and Letters of Hayes*, III, 387.
On the same day the Democratic electors met and cast their votes for Tilden and Hendricks, even though the State Supreme Court had refused their petition against the Republican election.\textsuperscript{43}

During the four weeks of returning board activity in the three Southern states, the nation was in a state of suspended animation. In an attempt to find something to stem the tide that was running against them, the Democrats found a hopeful state of affairs in Oregon. There was no controversy over the result of the election, for it was admitted by all that the three Republican electors had received a majority vote.\textsuperscript{44} It was discovered that one of the Republican electors, John W. Watts, was a postmaster, and according to the United States Constitution was disqualified from serving as an elector.\textsuperscript{45} Governor L. F. Grover, a Democrat, refused Watts his certificate and issued it to E. A. Cronin, who had received the highest vote of the Tilden electors. The Governor recognized Cronin and the two eligible Republicans as the proper electors of the State. In the meantime Watts resigned his position as postmaster. The Secretary of State, the

\textsuperscript{43} Haworth, \textit{op. cit.}, 154-156.
\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Sen. Reports}, No. 678, 44th Cong., 2 sess., 1-2.
\textsuperscript{45} United States Constitution, Art. II, sec. I, par. 2.
canvassing officer according to the laws of Oregon, declared the three Republican electors as duly elected. These three met on December 6; Watts resigned as elector; the vacancy thus created was filled by his reappointment, and the three cast their ballots for Hayes. When the two Republican electors refused to have anything to do with Cronin, he retired and declared two vacancies, and appointed Democrats to fill them. This electoral college cast two votes for Hayes and one for Tilden. The result was two sets of electoral votes from Oregon, the first of which gave three votes to Hayes and Wheeler, and the second two votes to Hayes and Wheeler and one to Tilden and Hendricks; but the latter return was the only one that was certified by the Governor, on which so much importance had been placed by the Republicans, especially so in connection with the Southern states.46

After the various canvassing boards in Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina, and Oregon had cast their votes, the scene shifted to Congress. There the contest was over the counting of the disputed returns. The Constitution did not specifically say who had the right to determine which electoral votes should be counted in case two

or more sets were received from any one state.\textsuperscript{47} Since the president of the Senate was a Republican, the Republi-
cans thought he should have the right to count the elec-
torial votes and decide which set should be counted. It
is doubtful whether the framers of the Constitution wanted
the president of the Senate to act as the judge of presi-
dential elections, since this would make him the supreme
elector.\textsuperscript{48} If Congress accepted none of the electoral
votes from the three Southern states neither candidate
would have a majority; and then the election would have
to be decided by the House of Representatives. The Re-
publicans wanted to avoid this at all costs.

To complicate matters further the Twenty-Second
Joint Rule of Congress, adopted in 1865, had provided
that when there was a dispute concerning the counting of
votes, each house should consider the matter separately,
and no vote could be decided upon except by concurrent
vote of both.\textsuperscript{49} Under this rule, in the count of 1873,
the vote of Louisiana had been thrown out by the joint

\begin{footnotes}
\item[47] United States Constitution, Amendments, Art. XII.
\item[48] Eckenrode, \textit{op. cit.}, 197.
\item[49] Flick, \textit{op. cit.}, 354.
\end{footnotes}
action of both houses of Congress,\(^\text{50}\) likewise that of Arkansas by action of the Senate alone. Since this rule might operate favorably for the Democrats, the Republican Senate in January, 1876, refused to adopt it.\(^\text{51}\)

The election, in all of its aspects, was discussed day by day throughout the nation and in both houses of Congress. The air was filled with rumors of civil war. Smith in a letter to H. V. Boynton, several weeks after the inauguration, revealed the view of one Southerner who saw the situation as follows: "The country is on the eve of a great crisis. If General Grant chooses, he can make himself dictator. The North seems to be ripe for it and we of the South cannot help ourselves."\(^\text{52}\) Smith believed that Tilden was responsible for all of the talk of war and that it was a scheme to create public opinion in the North to give moral support to Tilden.\(^\text{53}\) Smith wanted to thwart the propaganda of the Democrats by creating a division within their party so that the Northern section of the party could not count on the full support of the

\(^{50}\) *House Misc. Docs.*, No. 13, 44th Cong., 2 sess., 357-408.


\(^{52}\) William Henry Smith to H. V. Boynton, April 2, 1877. *Smith MSS.*

Southern section.\(^{54}\)

In the meantime Smith and several of his friends had been quietly at work trying to bring about an alliance with several Southern Democrats.\(^{55}\) Smith had been working on this plan several months before the election. He had been looking for a Southerner to get in touch with some of the leading men in the South and try to reach an understanding. He found such a man in Colonel Andrew J. Kellar, owner and editor of the Memphis \textit{Avalanche}.\(^{56}\) Kellar had been a Douglas Democrat before the war, and had commanded a Confederate regiment at the battle of Nashville. It was his earnest desire to aid in building up a conservative Republican party in the South that should effectually destroy the color line and save the colored people.\(^{57}\)

Smith and Kellar discussed the political situation in the South and the ensuing campaign during the Republican convention in Cincinnati and also at the Democratic convention in St. Louis. Kellar had expressed the opinion

\(^{54}\) William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Dec. 7, 1877. Hayes MSS.

\(^{55}\) William Henry Smith to H. V. Boynton, Dec. 15, 1876. Smith MSS.

\(^{56}\) Ibid.

\(^{57}\) William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Dec. 7, 1876. Smith MSS.
that Tilden was the most contemptible and dangerous politician this country had ever seen, and that no greater disaster could befall this country than to have his seated in the Executive chair. Both men agreed that Hayes was the man to carry out their plans. To further his political program Kellar suggested that the Republicans conduct an intensive campaign in the states of Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, and North Carolina. But the Republican National Committee did not see fit to conduct such a campaign. After the election he felt that by ignoring the South the Republican party had failed to do its duty to itself and to the country.

In December, 1876, while Congress was debating on how the electoral vote should be counted, Smith called upon some of his friends to help bring about Kellar's idea of an alliance between the Republicans and Southern conservatives. He discussed the situation with his friends in Chicago and also in Cincinnati, at the office of the Gazette. It was decided at the meeting to send Kellar to Washington and let him work with H. V. Boynton,

58 William Henry Smith to Andrew J. Kellar, Feb. 13, 1877. Smith MSS.

59 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, July 1, 1876. Hayes MSS.

60 William Henry Smith to H. V. Boynton, Dec. 15, 1876. Smith MSS.
Kellar and Boynton worked methodically and secretly in Washington. They were afraid that, if their scheme became known, the Northern Democrats would force the Southern men into line and then their plan would fail. They also feared that if their design was revealed it might alarm certain Republican Senators and cause a breach within the Republican party. 61

Boynton asked Smith if he could get Hayes to say that he would stand by his letter of acceptance and have the courage to carry it out. 62 Boynton thought that if this promise could be obtained it would prevent the Northern Democrats from forcing the Southerners into line. In answer to this request Hayes stated that he did not wish to be committed to details. He went on to say that it was desirable to restore peace and prosperity to the South. The two things he could be exceptionally liberal about were education and internal improvements of a national character. And he concluded, "Too much politics, too lit-

61 Ibid.

62 H. V. Boynton to William Henry Smith, Dec. 21, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
the attention to business is the bane of that part of our country."  

Boynton and Kellar took steps to secure the votes of thirty-six Democratic Representatives in order to prevent the passage of any measure in the House of Representatives that would be detrimental to the Republican cause. Kellar informed Smith on December 21 that Senator Benjamin H. Hill and Representative Casey Young could now express themselves more freely and that thirty Southern Representatives would follow them. The thirty-six Southern Representatives demanded a government subsidy for the Texas Pacific Railroad as their price for supporting the Republicans in the House of Representatives. Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and western Kentucky, as well as Thomas A. Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, were interested in securing the subsidy for the railroad. Scott was the most powerful railroad manager of the day.  

---

63 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, Dec. 24, 1876. Hayes MSS.  
64 Andrew J. Kellar to William Henry Smith, Dec. 21, 1876. Smith MSS. (Ind.).  
65 Ibid.
He used his persuasive powers with Southern members of Congress and Southern business men to reconcile them to the Republican succession. 66

Smith took one of the letters he received from Boynton and showed it to Joseph Medill, editor of the Chicago Tribune. At first Smith had serious misgivings about influencing Medill in the matter of the Texas Pacific Railroad, inasmuch as the Tribune was opposed to the government giving subsidies to railroads. Medill asked for time to change the policy of his newspaper, although he did approve of what Smith and his friends were doing. He asked Smith to tell Hayes that "no price was too high that would purchase the lives and peaceful protection of the poor colored people and peace for the South." 67

Smith kept Hayes fully informed of the current negotiations with the Southern Democrats. 68 Hayes expressed his approval of what Smith and his friends were doing in his behalf by stating, "I am hopeful that much good will

66 Williams op. cit., I, 520.
67 William Henry Smith to H. V. Boynton, Dec. 22, 1876. Smith MSS.
68 William Henry Smith to Whitelaw Reid, Dec. 18, 1876. Smith MSS.; William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Jan. 5, 1877, Hayes MSS.
come from friendly relations with good men in the South—sooner or later."  

Meanwhile Tilden's friends were urging him to hold public meetings to demand his right to the Presidency, and to organize Democratic lodges for the same purpose. Tilden did not believe in any public demonstration, but many Democrats held protest meetings throughout Ohio, Indiana, and Virginia on January 8. In writing of the meetings to O. H. Booth, a reporter for the Western Associated Press in Ohio, Smith said: "I suggest that we can best subserve the interests of the country and of the press by making no reference to them (Democratic meetings) in our reports. Our general rules exclude political matters anyhow and there never was a better time to bring them into action ...." The Democratic newspapers throughout the Middle West severely criticized Smith because he would not permit the Western Associated Press to carry reports of the Democratic meetings.

---

69 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, Dec. 16, 1876. Hayes MSS.

70 Flick, op. cit., 359.

71 William Henry Smith to O. H. Booth, Dec. 21, 1876. Smith MSS.

72 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Jan. 23, 1877. Hayes MSS.
In the meantime the cool-headed members of both parties in Congress agreed that some plan would have to be devised to get the electoral votes counted. On December 7 a resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives by George W. McCrary, a Republican member from Iowa, which provided for the appointing of committees from the House and Senate to decide methods of counting the electoral votes in Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina, and Oregon. As soon as Smith heard of the resolution he informed Senator John Sherman that in his opinion McCrary made a mistake in introducing the resolution. Smith asked Sherman: "Why concede that there is need for other [sic] rule than the plain language of the Constitution and early precedents?" He went on to tell the Senator that the Republicans should express no doubt on the matter.

However, Smith's opinion did not prevail. The resolution for the appointment of the two committees passed both houses of Congress. On December 21 each house appointed committees of seven to deal with the matter, and the

---

73 Cong. Record, 44th Cong., 2 sess, 91.
74 William Henry Smith to John Sherman, Dec. 8, 1876. Smith MSS.
two committees were instructed to work together. After weeks of intense consideration and acrimonious debate they agreed upon a bill. 75

The law provided briefly as follows: When from any state there were disputed returns received by the Vice President in regular order, and in joint session of Congress, objection was made to the receipt of any vote, all disputed sets of certificates were to be referred to the commission which was to report its decision. This decision was to stand unless overruled by the separate votes of both houses. The commission was to consist of five Senators, five Representatives, four Associate Justices of the Supreme Court designated in the bill, and a fifth Associate Justice to be chosen by his four colleagues. The difficult and important question of going behind the returns to ascertain who were the legal electors was left to the commission itself for decision with elaborate care in the working of the bill in order to avoid any suggestion as to what the decision should be. 76

On January 20 Smith wrote Senator Sherman that the

75 Congressional Record, 44th Cong., 2 sess., 713, 731.
76 U. S. Statutes at Large, XIX, 227.
bill was a wide departure from the letter and spirit of the Constitution. He asked the Senator if friends of Justices Miller and Strong could not prevail upon these gentlemen to refuse to serve. He said that their refusal would defeat the measure even if Congress approved it. It was Smith's opinion that the provisions of the bill naming four Justices of the Supreme Court was a direct reflection on the other members of the court, if not on the court as a whole.77

Tilden himself did not like the bill, as he felt that it was a device to jockey him out of the election.78 Both the New York Times and the New York Tribune desired the defeat of the bill,79 and the Republican press generally was arrayed against it.80

The committee reported the bill to both houses of Congress on January 18, 1877, and the debate thereupon continued for several days. On January 25 the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 47 to 17 and on the following day

77 William Henry Smith to John Sherman, Jan. 20, 1877. Smith MSS.
79 Royal Cortissoz, Whitelaw Reid, I, 359.
80 Ellis P. Oberholtzer, A History of the United States Since the Civil War, III, 296.
the House gave its approval by a vote of 191 to 86. On January 29 the bill became law when President Grant willingly affixed his signature.81

After the Electoral Commission Act became law The Nation editorialized: "We do not think we exaggerate in saying that nothing which has occurred in Washington since the foundation of the Government has exhibited so much political wisdom of the highest order and individual good sense and sober-mindedness as the report of the Joint Committee and the action on it of the two Houses of Congress."82

By an understanding between the two parties the Republicans were to have three Senators and two Representatives on the Commission; the Democrats, two Senators and three Representatives. These were selected by party caucuses of each house and elected by the total membership of each body.83 As stated above, four of the Justices of the Supreme Court were named in the bill, and a fifth Justice was to be selected by his four colleagues.

On January 25 an unexpected event occurred in the Illinois State Legislature that completely changed the course of events in Washington. Justice David Davis, of

---

81 Dunning, op. cit., 325-326.
82 Nation, XXIV (Feb. 1, 1877), 65.
the United States Supreme Court, was elected by the Legislature to succeed Senator John A. Logan. On December 18 Smith discussed the Senatorial election in Illinois in a letter to Whitelaw Reid, in which he said that Logan was undoubtedly the choice of nine-tenths of the Republicans in Illinois. Smith went on to say that the Democrats and a few Independent Republicans were working against the Senator. According to Smith one of the Independent Republicans offered to support Logan for a small sum of money, but Logan very indignantly refused to consider the offer. It was Smith's opinion that someone else in the meantime had contacted the "honest" representative and his associates. Smith informed Reid that, if he were a member of the Legislature, he would vote for Logan.84

While the Illinois Legislature was voting for a Senator, Smith told John Sherman that one of Tilden's lieutenants had been in Springfield for two weeks trying to secure the election of Justice David Davis. According to Smith if Davis were elected he would be under obligation to the Democrats and would be useful as a fifth judge on the Electoral Commission. Smith thought that if Davis

84 William Henry Smith to Whitelaw Reid, Dec. 18, 1876. Smith MSS.
were chosen Senator he should be excluded from the Commis-

sion. 85

After Smith spent several days in Springfield dur-
ing the closing days of the Senatorial contest, he informed
Hayes that the election of Davis was the natural result of
the selfishness of Logan. He also told the Governor that
the Democrats did not want Davis, but voted for him only
because Tilden commanded them to do so. 86

This proved to be a great blow to the Democrats,
however, because Justice Davis resigned his seat on the
Supreme Court and refused to serve on the Commission. The
Justices from whom the place must now be filled were all
dyed-in-the-wool Republicans. 87 Justice Joseph P. Bradley
was chosen for the fifth judge. 88 Webb Hayes, Governor
Hayes's son who was in Washington at the time, wired his
father, "The Judge, it is Bradley. In Washington the bets
are 5 to 1 that the next President will be Hayes." 89

85 William Henry Smith to John Sherman, Jan. 24, 1877. Smith MSS.
86 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Jan. 29, 1877. Smith MSS.
87 New York Times, Jan. 25, 26, 1877.
88 For members of Electoral Commission, see North-
rup, loc. cit., 934.
89 Letters and Diary of Hayes, III, 411.
The counting of the electoral votes began on February 1, 1877. Senator Thomas W. Ferry of Michigan, President pro tempore of the Senate, presided over the joint session. The count proceeded in alphabetical order without interruption until the State of Florida was reached. There were three sets of returns from that state and objections were made to each of them, and according to the provisions of the Electoral Commission Act they were all referred to the Commission for its adjudication.\(^{90}\)

When the Electoral Commission received the returns from Florida, it heard arguments from Democratic and Republican counsel. The Democrats contended that the Commission should go behind the returns, and examine the evidence of fraud and impropriety in the work of the Florida Returning Board.\(^ {91}\) The Republicans argued that no federal authority had the right to review the method by which each state chose its electors,\(^ {92}\) for the Constitution expressly declared that these electors should be appointed by each state "in such manner as the Legislature thereof may

\(^{90}\) *Proceedings of the Electoral Commission*, 5-9.


\(^{92}\) *Ibid.*, 139.
direct." The Electoral Commission by a strictly party vote of 8 to 7 ruled against going behind the returns and receiving evidence. On February 9 the Commission by the same vote, 8 to 7, declared that the Hayes-Wheeler votes from Florida were lawful returns.

The decision practically extinguished all hope of the Democrats. Unmeasured denunciation of the Commission filled the Democratic press and the debates in both houses of Congress. The Democrats centered most of their criticism on Justice Bradley. While all of this denunciation of Justice Bradley was going on, Smith, who knew Justice Davis well, writing to Hayes from Chicago, said: "Judge Davis has been spending three days in this city. You will be pleased to hear that he most heartily approves the action of Judge Bradley. He says no good lawyer not a strict partisan, could decide otherwise."

---

93 United States Constitution, Art II, sec. I.
95 Dunning, op. cit., 333.
96 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Feb. 17, 1877. Hayes MSS.
The Commission proceeded with its work. It considered the returns from Louisiana, and on February 16 the Commission reported to the two houses of Congress by the same vote of 8 to 7, and that the eight electoral votes of that state belonged to Hayes and Wheeler.97

On February 20 the Commission received the two sets of returns from Oregon. The main point here was the electing of an ineligible person as elector. The Democrats made the most of a case which was already lost, and the expected decision by the vote of 8 to 7 was reached on February 23.98

The Democrats realized that something had to be done as soon as they heard that the Commission had given the electoral votes of Florida to Hayes and Wheeler. On February 9 the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives called a caucus of all Democratic members.99 Senator Benjamin H. Hill told the group that the Commission was going to seat Hayes in the Presidential chair. Some members said that the only way the Democrats could prevent the inauguration of Hayes was by using delaying actions. Hill was

---

97 Dunning, op. cit., 335.
98 Proceedings of the Electoral Commission, 175.
99 H. V. Boynton to William Henry Smith, Feb. 11, 1877. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
not in favor of this, as it would put the Democrats on the spot, since they had voted for the Electoral Commission Act and they would have to see that the count was completed. 100

Smith had been informed that some of the Democrats wanted to use delaying tactics to prevent the completion of the electoral count until after March 4. He had also been told by his Washington friends that they could control the situation if it ever arose. H. V. Boynton said that Thomas A. Scott's control over many of the Southern Congressmen would defeat the scheme. 101 It was communicated to Smith that forty-two Southern Congressmen had told Hill that they would resist any delaying scheme. 102

Smith's friends asked him to come to Washington and assist them in their work. They felt that Smith could tell them what Hayes's plans would be when he became President, for Hayes up to that time had only talked in generalities and many of the Southerners were wanting more definite commitments. However, Smith felt that there was nothing he could do in Washington that was not already being done by

100 Stanley Matthews to Rutherford B. Hayes, Feb. 13, 1877. Hayes MSS.

101 H. V. Boynton to William Henry Smith, Feb. 15, 1877. Smith MSS.

102 Ibd.
his friends.\textsuperscript{103}

Smith was informed by Colonel Kellar that some of the Southern men requested that either ex-Senator D. M. Key of Tennessee or ex-Senator John Pool of North Carolina, or both, be given a position or positions in Hayes's Cabinet. Kellar went on to say that Pool was a thorough Republican, and that Key was an independent Democrat who believed in the integrity of the nation.\textsuperscript{104} Smith passed this information on to Hayes, and he also told the Governor that many Southern Congressmen were thinking of assisting the Republicans in organizing the House of Representatives in the next Congress by electing James A. Garfield speaker.\textsuperscript{105}

Many of the conservative Southern Democrats, such as L. Q. C. Lamar and Benjamin Hill, believed, after the Electoral Commission decided that Hayes was entitled to the electoral votes of Louisiana, that any attempt on the

\textsuperscript{103} William Henry Smith to Andrew J. Kellar, Feb. 15, 1877. Hayes MSS.

\textsuperscript{104} Andrew J. Kellar to William Henry Smith, Feb. 20, 1877. Smith MSS.

\textsuperscript{105} William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Feb. 21, 1877. Hayes MSS.
part of the Democrats to seat Tilden by force would injure the South, as well as the nation. These Southerners were determined to get what they could for the South. They wanted definite commitments from Hayes in regard to such things as local government and federal troops in the South. Kellar informed Smith that Hayes was keeping too silent in regard to his policy toward the South. He also told Smith that Hayes's policy should be announced in the House of Representatives. Kellar had appealed to Charles Foster, Representative from Hayes's Congressional District and a member of the "Ohio gang," to set forth Hayes's Southern policy in a speech on the floor of the House. After consulting Stanley Matthews, James A. Garfield, and William M. Evarts, Charles Foster delivered a speech in the House of Representatives in which he said that Hayes's administration would be wise, patriotic, and just. He went on to say that people in all sections of the country could expect not only fair but generous consideration. According to Foster under the Hayes administration the flag would float over all states, not provinces; over freemen.

106 Andrew J. Kellar to William Henry Smith, Feb. 20, 1877. Smith MSS.
Smith was informed by H. V. Boynton that he was confident that the Southerners were pacified by Foster's speech, especially if Hayes appointed Key to his cabinet. Smith's friends were very happy over the progress of events and were satisfied that the Democrats would be defeated in any attempt at a filibuster.

Just when Smith and his friends were so sure of success an event occurred which set them back on their heels. This was the unintentional printing of an editorial on February 22 in the Ohio State Journal, edited by James M. Comly, a very good friend and political adviser of Hayes. The editorial in inflammatory language argued that the federal government ought to use armed force and recognize the carpet-bag government of Louisiana. Only this would put an end to the "loafing, whiskey-drinking, riotous population" in opposition. The story was reprinted by almost every

107 Congressional Record, 44th Cong., 2 sess., 1708.
108 H. V. Boynton to William Henry Smith, Feb. 22, 1877. Smith MSS.
109 Ohio State Journal [Columbus, Ohio], Feb. 22, 1877. Comly was seriously ill at the time and was not responsible for the editorial.
110 Ibid.
newspaper in the country. The Southern men were immediately thrown into a panic. As a result of the editorial the Southern Democrats in Congress began to demand definite commitments on Hayes's future Southern policy. Negotiations were started at once between the Southerners and Hayes's representatives in Washington. On February 26 three conferences were held. The first one took place in the room of the House Committee on Appropriations attended by Charles Foster, Representative John Young Brown of Kentucky, and Senator John B. Gordon of Georgia. A second meeting, in the finance committee room of the Senate, brought together Major E. A. Burke, special representative for Louisiana, Stanley Matthews, a personal friend of Hayes, Senator John Sherman, and ex-Governor Dennison of Ohio. The third and most important took place that night in the room of William M. Evarts at Wormley's Hotel in the presence of Major E. A. Burke, E. J. Ellis, and W. M. Levy, Democratic representatives from Louisiana, Henry Watterson, Eugene Kleinpell, "James M. Comly, Journalist-Politician," (Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1936), 66.


who represented the interests of South Carolina, Stanley Matthews, James A. Garfield, William Dennison, and John Sherman, all of them close friends of Hayes. An agreement was reached between Hayes's friends and the Southerners. The friends of Hayes promised that the new administration, and if possible Grant himself before his term expired, would withdraw the troops from Louisiana and South Carolina. The Southern representatives agreed to use their influence to stop filibustering, and to guarantee peace, good order, protection of the law to whites and black alike, and no persecution for past political ofr ses.

Smith's friends in Washington kept him fully informed of what was going on. He later said that Stanley Matthews entered the negotiations at the "eleventh hour" and went farther than was necessary.

---

114 H. V. Boynton to William Henry Smith, Feb. 27, 1877. Smith MSS.

115 For accounts of the Wormley Conferences see House Misc. Doc., No. 31, 45th Cong., 3 sess., I, 978-990; III, 595-633.

116 William Henry Smith to Edward F. Noyes, Oct. 6, 1877. Smith MSS.
Smith's letter from H. V. Boynton on February 27 revealed, according to Kellar, that everything was under control. On the evening of the same day Boynton informed Smith that the Electoral Commission would decide that the electoral votes of South Carolina belonged to Hayes and Wheeler and that there was no sign of a break among the Southerners.

At an early hour on the morning of March 2 Smith, who was on a special train carrying Governor Hayes and his friends to Washington, was handed a telegram near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, from his friend H. V. Boynton which read: "Two Houses in joint session completed count at 4:10 A.M. and formal declaration made of Hayes [sic] election." Thus ended the most controversial election in American history. The repercussions were many and varied. Contemporary accounts point to contrasting opinions and varied conclusions. The Nation was confident that "Mr. Hayes reached the presidency, not through what the Republican

---

117 H. V. Boynton to William Henry Smith, Feb. 27, 1877. Smith MSS.
118 H. V. Boynton to William Henry Smith, Feb. 27, 1877. Smith MSS.
119 H. V. Boynton to William Henry Smith, March 2, 1877. Smith MSS.
chiefs did for him, but through the refusal of the Com-
mission to look into it.\textsuperscript{120} The Cincinnati \textit{Enquirer}
in bold-faced type commented: "It is done. And fitly
done in the dark. By the grace of Joe Bradley, R. B.
Hayes is 'Commissioned' as President, and the monster
fraud of the century is consummated."\textsuperscript{121} Thomas Nast
closed the contest pictorially with a humorous caricature
of the much battered and bandaged Republican element
saying, with Pyrrhus: "Another such victory and I am
undone."\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Nation}, XXIV (March 15, 1877), 156.
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Cincinnati Enquirer}, March 2, 1877.
\textsuperscript{122} Albert B. Paine, \textit{Thomas Nast, His Period and
His Pictures}, 348.
CHAPTER VII

HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION

Smith was one of President Hayes's most loyal supporters and advisers during his Presidency, so much so that this close relationship with him later led political opponents to caricature Smith as the President's conscience-keeper.\(^1\) Even before the Electoral Commission had decided that Hayes was entitled to the Presidency he consulted Smith on the selection of his cabinet.\(^2\) Hayes said that he wanted to select a group of men who not only would give honest and efficient administration to the departments but also would be representative of the intelligent sentiment of the people in all parts of the Union. Smith submitted a list of men for Hayes's consideration, recommending William M. Evarts for Secretary of State, John Sherman for Secretary of the Treasury, Carl Schurz for Secretary of the Interior, and D. M. Key for Postmaster-

\(^1\) Francis C. Adams, President Hayes' Professional Reformers, 6

General. Hayes appointed the men Smith recommended and in addition he appointed George W. McCrary as Secretary of War, Charles Devens as Attorney-General, and R. W. Thompson as Secretary of the Navy. Many of the most influential men of the Republican party, including Conkling, Blaine, and Logan, were disappointed with Hayes's cabinet and were to become his most bitter critics.

Before Hayes was inaugurated, he asked Smith to be his private secretary but Smith felt that his position as General Agent of the Western Associated Press prevented his leaving Chicago. When he refused, Hayes then appointed his old law partner, William K. Rogers.4

On the day that Hayes took the oath of office Smith told Whitelaw Reid that he had been a true and valuable friend to the President and that he did not seek a political office. According to Smith pressure had been brought on him to accept a position near the President, but he had declined on two different occasions.5

3 William Henry Smith to Whitelaw Reid, March 5, 1877. Smith MSS.
4 Williams, op. cit., II, 301-302.
5 William Henry Smith to Whitelaw Reid, March 5, 1877. Smith MSS.
After Hayes became President many people called upon Smith to help them secure political positions under the new administration. On May 9 the friends of ex-Senator John Logan paid Smith a visit and asked him to intercede with the President to secure an appointment for Logan. They told Smith that the ex-Senator's financial condition was very low, and that they hoped that the post of collector of the port of Chicago would be offered to him. Smith relayed this information on to President Hayes without comment. However, on May 28 Smith told the President that the consideration of Logan as collector was stirring up a hornet's nest in Illinois, and that there was no end of opposition to such an appointment. He also stated that the feeling of disgust was intense and he was satisfied that it was not wise to appoint Logan to the position.

Hayes felt that since Smith had done so much in the recent election, he was entitled to a good political position and was anxious for him to have one. On May 13 Hayes

6 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, May 9, 1877. Hayes MSS.

7 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, May 28, 1877. Hayes MSS.
asked Smith what kind of office he would like. He stated that he was making appointments very slowly and that almost every kind of position was open. In the meantime, William Aldrich, member of the House of Representatives from Illinois, asked President Hayes to appoint Smith collector of the port of Chicago. In his letter of recommendation Aldrich informed the President that after careful investigation he found that Smith was among the best Republicans in Illinois, and that he possessed great executive ability, excellent judgment of men and of measures, and a reputation for propriety and honor. He informed Hayes that he wanted to withdraw his former recommendation of General Julius White, since he had found him very objectionable to the best merchants of Chicago.

On June 24 Hayes informed Smith that he was the best man for the Chicago collectorship. However, Hayes felt that Smith was entitled to a position more equal to his merits. The President asked Smith to write him if he was interested in the position and to express himself freely. He also told Smith that whatever his decision might

---

8 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, May 13, 1877. Hayes MSS.

9 William Aldrich to Rutherford B. Hayes, May 25, 1877. Treasury Dept. Section, National Archives.
be it would leave him in his esteem at the top of the list of most valued friends and that it would not change his desire to find something more worthy.  \(^{10}\) In reply to the President's letter Smith said that he needed more time for reflection and inquiry. He also stated that he would have to consult the members of the Western Associated Press and see whether they would give their consent to permit him to retain his position as General Manager if he accepted the collectorship.  \(^{11}\)

On July 21 the directors of the Western Associated Press held a special meeting in Detroit. Richard Smith, editor of the Cincinnati Commercial and one of the directors, asked the board of directors to give their approval to William Henry Smith's retaining his position as General Manager if he became collector of the port of Chicago. Richard Smith told the board that the customs house would be run by a deputy and that the General Manager would still give his full time to the press association. The board of directors willingly gave their approval.  \(^{12}\)

\(^{10}\) Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, June 24, 1877. Hayes MSS.

\(^{11}\) William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, June 28, 1877. Smith MSS.

\(^{12}\) William Henry Smith to Andrew J. Kellar, Sept. 29, 1877. Smith MSS.
Smith went to Washington the last of July and held a long conversation with Hayes. After his meeting with the President he decided to accept the collectorship. Smith later told Andrew J. Kellar that he accepted the position to prevent a division among the President's old friends, to relieve Hayes from embarrassment in Chicago, and to get out of debt.  

On September 4 Smith was officially notified by Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman that he would replace J. Russell Jones as collector of customs at Chicago on the tenth. Secretary Sherman requested that Jones resign but he refused. The President thereupon removed him. In commenting upon the Chicago collectorship the New York Graphic said:

> Said Smith to Jones  
> In thunder-tones,  
> "Hayes gives me this appointment;  
> If you are mad  
> Rub on your head  
> The Civil Service ointment."

> Said Jones to Smith  
> "I'm flattered with  
> This office; I'll to law go;"

---

13 William Henry Smith to Andrew J. Kellar, Sept. 29, 1877. Smith MSS.

14 John Sherman to William Henry Smith, Sept. 4, 1877. Smith MSS.
You can't oust me;
I'm bound to be
Collector of Chicago."\(^{15}\)

The comment of the press on Smith's appointment was varied. The Louisville "Courier-Journal" said, "The President made a good appointment when he placed Mr. William Henry Smith, of Chicago, in the Collector's office of the Customhouse of that city."\(^{16}\) The "Nation" commented, "Mr. Jones has been continuously in lucrative Federal offices for sixteen years, and has been distinguished for nothing except tenacity in holding them."\(^{17}\) The Democratic "Detroit Free Press" editorialized,

If the removal of Jones was a travesty on Civil Service reform, the appointment of Smith was another. If the reform means anything it means that appointments to responsible positions shall not be made upon personal grounds or upon grounds of partisan service alone, yet it is upon these grounds, and upon no other, that Smith has been appointed.\(^{18}\)

On September 10 Smith became collector of the port

\(^{15}\) New York "Graphic", Sept. 5, 1877. Clipping in Smith MSS.

\(^{16}\) Louisville "Courier-Journal", Oct. 15, 1877. Clipping in Smith MSS.

\(^{17}\) "Nation", XXV (Sept. 13, 1877), 159.

\(^{18}\) "Detroit Free Press" (no date given). Clipping in Smith MSS.
of Chicago and was confirmed by the Senate on December 3, 1877.\(^{19}\) He later informed Hayes that Jones was the last relic of the Galena Ring—a ring that had controlled most of the federal offices in Illinois for sixteen years. He felt that it was responsible for most of the corruption that had disgraced the public service and had lost nearly all of the Republican majority.\(^{20}\)

When Smith became collector he found that there were irregularities in the collection of customs, and that maladministration in the customs house at Chicago had driven trade to other ports.\(^{21}\) Upon investigation he discovered that many importers paid appraisers at the ports to permit damage allowances which in turn reduced their duties, and that competitors were forced to become parties to the frauds or allow themselves to be undersold. As an example, he found that 602 bags of pepper had been imported in July, 1877, by a Chicago importer and that the appraiser had permitted damage discounts of from five to twenty per cent. The pepper was later sold at the

\(^{19}\) (First name not given) Curtis to William Henry Smith, Dec. 3, 1877. Smith MSS.

\(^{20}\) William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes (no date). Smith MSS.

\(^{21}\) *Diary and Letters of Hayes*, III, 451.
regular price.\textsuperscript{22} After consulting the importing houses of Chicago Smith discovered that there was a great variation in damage allowances and also differences in methods of appraisement between Chicago and New York. The Chicago importers informed Smith that the only way that they could compete with the New York importers was to pay the duties in New York, where all such allowances asked by their brokers were made. When Smith asked them how this was accomplished, they told him without hesitation, "by the use of money through the broker."\textsuperscript{23}

Upon investigation Smith also discovered that the names of several articles were changed in order to import them at lower duties. For example, the duty on French prunes was five cents per pound, but to evade the law they were imported under the name of \textit{Prunes Consumer}, upon which the duty was only one cent per pound.\textsuperscript{24} Smith also found frauds in the importation of silk, sugar, raisins, and bottled goods.\textsuperscript{25}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Dec. 13, 1877. Smith MSS.
\item \textsuperscript{23} William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Dec. 13, 1877. Smith MSS.
\item \textsuperscript{24} William Henry Smith to John Sherman, Dec. 22, 1877. Smith MSS.
\item \textsuperscript{25} William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Dec. 28, 1877. Smith MSS.
\end{itemize}
As a result of the many complaints of damage allowances and differences in modes of appraisements in New York and the Western cities, Secretary of the Treasury Sherman appointed several commissions to investigate fraud and irregularities in the customs houses. He informed Smith that if any of the complaints against the customs service were proven he would see that the evils were corrected. Secretary Sherman had no sooner announced the investigation than he received a letter from a former appraiser at Philadelphia describing in detail how undervaluations were accomplished. The Silk Association of America complained to the investigating committees of the undervaluation of silks sold on consignment by dishonest foreign manufacturers with branches in the United States. Smith assisted the commission by arranging interviews with many of the merchants of Chicago who had complaints against the New York customs

26 John Sherman to William Henry Smith, March 8, 1878. Smith MSS.
27 John Sherman to William Henry Smith, March 23, 1878. Smith MSS.
29 Ibid.
As a result of the commission's report of the New York customs house President Hayes and Secretary Sherman came to the conclusion that the renovation desired could not be effected so long as the collector, Chester A. Arthur, and the naval officer, A. B. Cornell, remained in office. President Hayes politely told them that he desired their resignations on the basis that new officials could better put his reforms into effect. But both men were under the influence of Senator Conkling, who was a bitter opponent of President Hayes. They refused to resign, and as a result an issue arose between the President and Senator Conkling. In October, 1877, President Hayes sent to the Senate the nominations of James Roosevelt to succeed Arthur as collector, and L. B. Prince to succeed Cornell as naval officer. On October 29 the influence of the New York Senator working through "Senatorial courtesy" was great enough to secure their rejection. On December 6, in the following session, Roosevelt and Prince were

30 William Henry Smith to Andrew J. Kellar, May 5, 1878. Smith MSS.

31 James F. Rhodes, History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850, VIII, 88.
again rejected. In spite of this, President Hayes had no idea of giving up the fight with Senator Conkling. In July, 1878, after Congress had adjourned, he removed Arthur and Cornell from office and appointed E. A. Merritt and S. W. Burt in their places. Smith wrote Hayes, "Your friends everywhere are delighted because the reports of the Special Customs Commission appointed to investigate the affairs of the New York customs house, so completely vindicate your removal of Collector Arthur." In December, 1878, the appointments of Merritt and Burt came before the Senate for confirmation. Conkling was confident of defeating the confirmations and thus restoring Arthur and Cornell. However, the Senate confirmed Merritt and Burt by a sizable majority after a seven hour struggle.

32 John Sherman, Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet, II, 682
33 Roosevelt had died in the meantime.
34 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Oct. 3, 1878. Smith MSS.
As a result of the investigation of the customs service there was a change in the methods of evaluation of imports at the New York customs house. This led to an increase in the direct importations at the port of Chicago, and in September, 1879, Smith had to ask Secretary of Treasury Sherman for two additional inspectors to take care of the increased business. This rapid rise in direct imports at the port of Chicago aided in the enormous business development of that city. 36

Smith was recommended for reappointment as collector by C. B. Farwell; 37 but since Smith's political enemy, Chester A. Arthur, was President, Farwell's letter went unheeded. On January 5, 1882, Smith was replaced by Jesse Spalding as collector. 38

In addition to serving Hayes as collector of the customs house in Chicago, Smith aided the President by giving him advice on federal appointments. A few days after Hayes was inaugurated Smith wrote the President about an appointment of a Federal Marshal for Chicago. He told the Chief Executive that if a Chicagoan was to be appointed E. 36

36 William Henry Smith to John Sherman, Sept. 27, 1879. Smith MSS.
38 Collector of Customs to William Henry Smith, Jan. 5, 1882. Smith MSS. (Ind.).
B. Washburne was the logical choice. Smith said that Washburne had proved himself to be an honest and very efficient office holder. He went on to state that if a person outside of Cook County was to be appointed then Jesse Hilldrop would be the man for the place. The President followed Smith's advice and appointed Hilldrop. This appointment proved to be very unsatisfactory to the Logan faction of the Republican party in Illinois. Some time later Smith had a conversation with the ex-Senator in the course of which the latter suggested that Smith urge the President to remove Hilldrop and appoint A. M. Jones in his place. Logan furthermore said that if this change took place there would no longer be any differences between him and the administration, and that this would be the only favor he would ask of Hayes. Smith pointed out that this would be in direct conflict with the President's views on civil service and that it would injure the party immeasurably more from having in office a manipulator like Jones than any possible good that could come out of it.

39 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, March 15, 1877. Smith MSS.

40 William Henry Smith to John Sherman, (no date). Smith MSS. This letter was written in Pitman shorthand and was transcribed for the author by Louis Goldsteln and Joseph Neitlich, members of the New York State Shorthand Reporters Association.
One of the most important appointments Hayes had to make was that of Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Soon after Hayes assumed his Presidential duties, Justice David Davis resigned from the Court in order to enter the Senate. The two men considered for the position were John M. Harlan and Benjamin H. Bristow. Smith wrote Hayes that Harlan was much better in every way than Bristow and that, if a Southerner had to be named, he was the man. Smith went on to inform the President that the appointment would offend a good many people of both parties in Illinois who believed the appointee should come from that state. According to Smith, "They will complain at first, but in time if the administration continues in well doing, they will forget about it or overlook it. This remark applies to the people, not to a few politicians who sympathize with Conkling and swear you have destroyed the party in breaking the machine."41 On October 17 Hayes nominated Harlan to be an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. The nomination was criticized as Smith had predicted. Southern Conservatives thought that Harlan did not have proper regard for state rights, and

41 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Oct. 3, 1877. Smith MSS.
some Northern Republicans criticized him on the grounds of his opposition to Lincoln in 1864 and his attacks upon the war amendments. Despite the criticism the Senate confirmed Harlan on November 29, and the appointment proved to be one of the best ever made to the high court.

One of the most absorbing questions of Hayes's administration was the silver question. In the middle seventies there was a demand for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. In 1878 the silverites pushed the Bland-Allison Act through Congress, which authorized the government to purchase and coin not less than two million and not more than four million dollars' worth of silver per month. The bill was presented to President Hayes on February 21, 1878. Pressure from Republican leaders was brought to bear on the President to get him to sign it. On the last day of February he vetoed the bill; but it was passed over his veto by a two-thirds vote of both houses, and thus became law. He wrote in his diary the

43 Ernest S. Bates, The Story of the Supreme Court, 196.
44 Rhodes, op. cit., VIII, 94.
45 Diary and Letters of Hayes, III, 459.
next day, "I sent in my message against the Silver Bill yesterday. The message was short and I hope forceful. My objection to the bill is that it authorizes what I think is dishonest. I trust that, in fact, no actual dishonesty will be permitted under it."46

As soon as Smith, a firm believer in sound money, heard that Hayes had vetoed the Bland-Allison Act, he informed the President, "I am glad you vetoed the Silver Bill. It has made your record clear and unassailable. It has proved to some doubting Thomases that you have the courage of your convictions. It has given notice to the world that, whatever the Legislature may do, it is the duty of the Executive to guard the honor of the Nation."47 On March 11 Smith told Hayes that he was helping to organize a hard money league in the Northwest.48 A few days later he wrote Secretary Sherman that the league would give the administration solid backing in its sound financial policies.49

46 Ibid., 462.
47 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, March 4, 1878. Hayes MSS.
48 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, March 11, 1878. Smith MSS.
49 William Henry Smith to John Sherman, March 14, 1878. Smith MSS.
In early 1879 Smith began to work for the renomination of Hayes. Writing to Webb Hayes, President Hayes's son, March, 1879, Smith stated that events were fast leading the Republicans to an intelligent appreciation of what the present administration had done for the party and the country. He added, "We shall in all human probability have again in 1880 'Wheeler and Hayes.'" 50

On Sunday, May 25, 1879, Smith visited the White House and held a long conversation with the President regarding the election of 1880. In the course of the conversation Hayes said that he had learned that Smith was working for his renomination. The President informed him that if such a movement were started he would put his foot upon it at once. He had had enough of the Presidency, and firmly adhered to his original determination not to run again. "You are so near me," he said, "that whatever you may say will be considered as coming from me, and therefore I wish you to banish all such thoughts and be discreet in what you say and do." 51

50 William Henry Smith to Webb Hayes, March 31, 1879. Smith MSS.

51 Record of conversation in Smith's handwriting in Hayes MSS.
In July Smith confided to the President that he was constantly receiving letters asking him to prevail upon Hayes to run for a second term. One of Smith's correspondents said, "Hayes is so right, that we are, mentally at least, 'Rahing for him all of the time.'" Another letter Smith received stated, "I am for Hayes for 1880." According to Smith these expressions were not drawn out by his encouragement. He thought that these sentiments were valuable as expressions of prevailing opinion.\(^{52}\)

Since Smith could not prevail upon Hayes to seek a second term he began to work for the nomination of John Sherman. After a visit to Milwaukee in January, 1880, he informed Sherman, "The Germans are unanimous for you for Presidential candidate. There will be no break in their ranks."\(^{53}\)

One of the things that worried Smith was the movement for Grant for a third term. He told Hayes that he knew of no greater damage threatening the Republic than a third term of Grant and his disreputable companions.\(^{54}\) He

\(^{52}\) William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, July 9, 1879. Smith MSS.

\(^{53}\) William Henry Smith to John Sherman, Jan. 21, 1880. Smith MSS.

\(^{54}\) William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Nov. 1, 1879. Smith MSS.
hoped that Grant would have sufficient self-control and patriotism to refuse to run. But if he would not decline, Smith thought that the best friends of the Republican party should unite in opposing his nomination. To carry out this plan Smith told Sherman, "There should be no delay in an understanding between your friends and those of Blaine." Smith suggested to Blaine that the surest way to turn public attention in the West to a consideration of the most serious phase of the Presidential question was to get editorial control of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*. Smith thought that a careful writer could keep the "Stalwarts" who read that paper from acquiescing in a third term, and in that way avert the danger of Grant and the consequent destruction of the Republican party. He went on to say that the paper was now controlled by the Galena Ring but that it could be bought at a reasonable price. Smith notified Blaine that if the right kind of influences were judiciously thrown throughout Illinois during the winter of 1879-1880 the State "will be found on the side of the Lord in the coming battle."  

55 William Henry Smith to John Sherman, Sept. 27, 1879. Smith MSS.  
56 William Henry Smith to James G. Blaine, Nov. 3, 1879. Smith MSS.
In April, 1880, Sherman was indorsed by the Republican party of Ohio as the State's favorite son. Governor Charles Foster and James A. Garfield, who had been elected Senator in January to succeed Allan G. Thurman, were the two Ohio delegates-at-large selected by Sherman to conduct his campaign. Just prior to the national convention Sherman selected Garfield to present his name before the convention.\(^5^7\)

Smith attended the Republican national convention, which met in Chicago on June 2, as an official of the Western Associated Press. The convention was torn by internal strife. At one extreme were the "Stalwarts," hard-boiled realists who believed in practical politics and scoffed at reform. They were led by Roscoe Conkling, J. Donald Cameron, and James A. Logan, whose ambitions were to nominate ex-President Grant for a third term. Only a little less conservative was James G. Blaine. The chief candidate of the more independent Republicans was John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, who had about one hundred pledged delegates. Only thirty-four of Ohio's

---

forty-four delegates supported Sherman and this lack of unity on the part of the Ohio delegation seemed sufficient to prevent his nomination. 58

Organizational maneuvers resulted in a defeat for the Grant supporters. The unit rule was broken and as a result sixty delegates were released from the ex-President. This put an end to the hope of nominating Grant on the first ballot and showed that his supporters must win over doubtful delegates by persuasion instead of by force. 59

On the fourth day of the convention the candidates were put in nomination. A delegate from Michigan, James J. Joy, with the oratorical fanfare needed for the occasion, nominated Blaine. The speech was interrupted by loud demonstrations from the supporters of the "plumed knight.” 60 Roscoe Conkling then presented the name of Grant to the delegates in one of the most eloquent speeches ever delivered in a political convention. The third nomination, that of Sherman, was made by Garfield. He made a great
speech on behalf of the Secretary, presenting strong reasons for his nomination and receiving the enthusiastic acclaim of the people in the convention hall. The names of G. F. Edmunds and Elihu Washburne were presented before the convention.

The balloting started on June 7, and as it progressed, it became evident that the followers of Blaine and Sherman could control the nomination by uniting on one or the other; but such a combination was never made. No progress was made until the thirty-fourth ballot when Garfield, who had won the admiration of the convention, suddenly received 17 votes. On the next ballot he had 50; on the thirty-sixth and last ballot he received 399 votes to become the nominee. In order to smooth the ruffled feathers of Senator Conkling the convention nominated his henchman, Chester A. Arthur, for the Vice-Presidency.

After Garfield was nominated Smith offered him his congratulations. He said, "It was a proud day...for those who have wished to have the party resume a higher moral tone in making Presidential nominations, to have the principle exemplified in their unsolicited recognition of a scholar and statesman." Smith confessed that he suffered a great disappointment in the selection of Arthur. He

---

61 Rhodes, op. cit., VIII, 125-126.
stated that he tried to save his Ohio friends from the mistake but it was too late.62

Smith wrote Hayes that it was a convention of surprises and disappointments. It was the opinion of Smith that after the deadlock between the Blaine and Grant delegates the convention might have turned to anyone, and that it was only the accidental presence of Garfield in the convention which assured him of the nomination. Smith added that the encouragement received on the one hand from the victory in behalf of district representation was offset by the cowardice and infirmity of principle manifested in the nomination of Arthur.63

In replying to Smith's letter Hayes wrote that he was delighted with the results of the convention. He went on to ask, "What other convention in all history can show as much good and as little harm?" He described Garfield as the ideal self-made man. He said, "Nobody since Dr. Franklin [is] so completely the work of his own ambitious labor.64


63 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, June 15, 1880. Smith MSS.

64 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, June 18, 1880. Hayes MSS.
In September, 1880, Smith wrote an article in *The Dial* praising Garfield. He said that the Republican party had chosen for its standard-bearer one of the most eminent statesmen and one of the purest characters America has ever produced. He stated that Garfield in his intellectual vigor, his untiring industry, his thorough preparation to discuss all questions of public interest, and his literary culture and tastes bore a striking resemblance to William E. Gladstone. Continuing this eulogy he added that the Republican nominee had an admirable temper, perfect self-command, magnanimity, and a heartiness of manner without loss of dignity, that captivated and made friends of all. He also told his readers, "Add to these natural endowments, a wide experience, a mind trained to go to the bottom of all subjects, great skill as a debater, and you have before you the portrait of a Saul among the statesmen of today." 

After Garfield was elected in November, Smith wrote the President-elect, "Please accept the honest, earnest, and warmest congratulations from your true and sincere friend." He commented furthermore that it had been his fortune to be well acquainted with Garfield since he had

---

first entered Congress. He also stated, "I can well and
truthfully say that the books are filled with your noble
advocacy for the right for justice and the free."66

In spite of this, both Smith and Hayes in private
expressed a different opinion of Garfield from that which
they used in speaking of him publicly. Several years later
Smith visited Hayes at Spiegel Grove, Hayes's home in Fre-
mont, Ohio, and they engaged in a conversation about the
caracter of Garfield. In the course of the conversation
both men agreed that Garfield was insincere and untrust-
worthy and that while he had certain great qualities this
weakness not only prevented him from being great but made
him "weak and bad as a public man." Both men also agreed
that Garfield had been treacherous to Sherman in the con-
vention of 1880. Smith told Hayes that preceding the con-
vention Garfield kept referring to himself as a candidate
in connection with the nomination. He also stated, "Con-
sidered as an independent proposition Garfield would not
have been thought of as a possible candidate for the posi-
tion on account of the Crédit Mobilier and the DeGolyer

66 William Henry Smith to James A. Garfield, Nov.
business." Smith related a conversation he had several years before with Thomas N. Nichol in which Nichol claimed that Garfield had come to him before the Republican convention and had confessed that it would embarrass him to present Sherman's name because of the fact that his own had been mentioned in connection with the nomination.  

The relationship of mutual trust between Smith and Hayes continued long after the latter retired from the Presidency. Several weeks after Hayes left Washington Smith wrote him that his reflections in retirement now ought to be pleasant; that what had come to him had been without intrigue or dishonor; that there had been no selfish grasping, and no disregard of other's claims. Smith told the ex-President that he had been ambitious but that it had been the right kind of ambition. According to Smith noble ambition was nature's spur for quickening the progress of the human race to a higher level.  

In 1884 Smith confided to Justice John M. Harlan that a more upright man than Hayes never lived. He thought

67 Record of conversation between William Henry Smith and Rutherford B. Hayes, August 9, 1890, in Smith's handwriting in Hayes MSS.  

68 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, April 7, 1881. Hayes MSS.
that Hayes always discharged a public trust with conscious regard for the general interest.69

The letters and diary of Hayes contain frequent references to his own esteem for Smith. Shortly after his return to Spiegel Grove, he wrote Smith that he did not attempt to measure or to describe his obligations to him. He continued, "You were at the cradle and you followed the hearse of this ambitious life. I know that to you it has not brought the reward or the satisfaction which you deserve to have." The ex-President went on to tell Smith that no man ever had a more sincere, a more judicious, and a more unselfish friend than he had found in him. He also stated, "You have been generous, considerate, and forgiving. With all my heart I thank you and beg you to believe me your friend ever."70 On December 15, 1887, Hayes wrote in his diary that Smith was an able writer, a most capable man of affairs, a wise public man, an industry and perseverance rarely equalled. He continued, "He has aided me more in any public life than any other man."71 Certainly

69 Record of conversation between William Henry Smith and John M. Harlan, May 30, 1884, in Smith's handwriting in Smith MSS.

70 Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, March 29, 1881. Hayes MSS.

71 Diary and Letters of Hayes, IV, 357.
it is difficult to recall a friendship between two men in public life over a longer period, and marked with more genuine affection, than between these two.
CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL MANAGER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

In January, 1883, Smith effected a consolidation of the New York and the Western Associated Presses, and established his headquarters in New York City. In his new position as General Manager of both associations he began to apply himself to a firmer integration of the organizations and the improvement of the news-collection and distribution. In many of the largest cities he replaced telegraph operators with trained newspapermen. Another great improvement was the abandonment of the old practice of limiting the association's field almost exclusively to news that could be supplied by member and client papers. Smith believed that a staff of trained journalists would exert more initiative in securing news. The account of European events, coming through the Reuters Company of London, including the Wolff and Havas bureaus, remained the mainstay of the foreign service Associated Press. The

1 Whitelaw Reid to William Henry Smith, Jan. 10, 1883. Smith MSS.

2 Oliver Gramling, AP--The Story of News, 93.
Reuters Company sent more reporters to Asia and to Eastern Europe than formerly, and thereby the American people received more news from these areas. When the Mexican Central and the South American Telegraph and Cable companies extended their lines to Brazil and Chile, the Associated Press sent reporters to these countries, which meant that news was received from South America as soon as it was from Europe. Smith also enlarged the staff of the Associated Press in Washington and thus obtained a fuller coverage of events in the nation's capital. The far-flung news-gathering facilities of the association could not be equalled by any single newspaper at that time. The services of the Associated Press were almost indispensable to every great newspaper in the country.

Several months after Smith became General Manager of the association, the typewriter was introduced into newspaper work to receive news reports. After sufficient practice an operator was able to write from 40 to 50 words a minute, and with code, from 60 to 70 words a minute. Thus, a clean printed copy was produced, together with several copies of carbons at the same time.

After Smith took over his new position the association began to show evidences of real journalistic life. There was a change from the stereotyped handling of routine
news to which the reporters had been confined. Real live
"stories" displaying initiative and individuality began
to make their appearance. The association often shocked
the newspaper world by presenting exclusive and well-writ-
ten items of general interest. On the eve of the election
of 1884 it was an Associated Press reporter who reported
the "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" speech of Reverend S.
D. Burchard. At that time this was an unheard of display
of enterprise. Two years later this same reporter was
also credited with a "scoop" on the death of General Grant
at Mount McGregor. He used a system of flag signals; by
prearrangement, one of the ex-President's attending phy-
sicians walked out on the porch and pulled a handkerchief
out of his pocket and wiped his hands; the observing re-
porter deciphered a death message and telegraphed the news
throughout the world several hours ahead of any other re-
porter.3

In 1889 came the Samoan disaster, and with it the
fact that a reporter for the Associated Press was able not
only to secure the exclusive news but also to give an ac-
count of it in the form of a creditable story. John P.
Dunning, a member of the Associated Press' San Francisco

3 Victor Rosewater, History of Cooperative News-
gathering in the United States, 176-177.
office, happened to be in Apia when the storm struck. There three American war vessels, three German warships, and a British cruiser rode at anchor in the harbor. During the storm all of the American and German ships were driven upon the coral reefs with a loss of 150 lives. The British cruiser, the Calliope, a more modern vessel with superior engines, was able to escape. As she made her way out of the harbor, in the teeth of the hurricane, the sailors of one of the American vessels dressed ship, while her band played "God Save the King."

Dunning's graphic story, which is accepted as a masterpiece of descriptive literature, was sent to San Francisco, and was published by the newspapers of the Associated Press. It was a revelation to many people who believed that the association was not capable of producing anything more interesting than a baseball box score.\(^4\)

The newspapers of the Associated Press enjoyed an exclusive right to its services. It was a rule that no new paper in a given city could be admitted into the association without the consent of all the Associated Press papers in that city. As the country expanded, such a plan

---

made a rival news-gathering agency inevitable. By an agreement between the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Associated Press the association was given certain advantages, and it in turn refused to patronize any rival telegraph company.

A rival news-gathering organization, the United Press, was formed in the early eighteen-eighties. The most important newspapers of the new agency were the Boston Globe, the Philadelphia Public Ledger, the New York Daily News, the Chicago Herald, and the Detroit News. The leaders of the new organization were John R. Walsh, James A. Scott, and Walter P. Phillips. It made a contract with the Postal Telegraph Company, a rival of Western Union, to carry its news. It received its foreign news from the Central News Agency of London, not very formidable, to be sure, but sufficiently enterprising to furnish a good summary of the European news. Because of the five hours' difference in time between New York and London the agency had time to select the most important events from the morning newspapers of London and set them to the United

---

5 This organization should not be confused with the present United Press founded in 1907 by E. W. Scripps.

6 Frank L. Mott, American Journalism, 492.

7 Speech delivered by Charles P. Taft before the Literary Club of Cincinnati, Ohio. Copy of speech in Smith MSS. Date of speech not given.
States for printing in contemporaneous issues. By skillful management the organization gradually built up a good service.⁸

These two large news agencies, the Associated Press and the United Press, were not only duplicating each other's work but were covering the same territory in a large part of the country. The resulting competition was very expensive to both organizations, and the Associated Press found it particularly irritating to have an interloper. In many cases the American Press member newspaper paid a considerable weekly sum for the United Press report in order to prevent its use by a rival newspaper.

Then an unfortunate agreement was worked out between the joint executive committees of the rival organizations. The officials of the Associated Press secretly purchased a controlling interest in the United Press.⁹ Technically, the men of the Associated Press "purchased" the stock, but shortly thereafter a one hundred per cent "dividend" was declared and paid to these

⁸ Melville E. Stone, M.E.S.--His Book, 98.
⁹ Statement of the General Manager, June 4, 1891. Smith MSS.
individuals on their stock. On October 1, 1885, a secret contract was entered into between the two agencies which was "to harmonize conflicting interests and end a useless and expensive competition between the United Press and the Associated Press and to improve the service of each for the common benefit of the American newspapers."

According to the agreement the Associated Press was to furnish its theoretical rival with news of New England; but it was not long until the former was also supplying the United Press with all of its national news. In time the United Press was receiving most of its news from the Associated Press in New York where the transfer was kept well concealed.

The members of the Associated Press, who owned stock in the United Press, reaped large dividends from their investment. The United Press received the greatest percentage of its news from the Associated Press at very little cost. Thus the operating expenses of the United Press were kept at a minimum and a large part of the receipts resulted in profits. The United Press also increased the cost of its news reports to its subscribers,

10 Gramling, op. cit., 113.

11 Copy of contract in Smith MSS. (Ind.).
with the threat of supplying news to competing papers.

Because the United Press found that it was hampered by a lack of sufficient capital, it was reorganized in 1887 under a new charter with a capitalization of $1,000,000. John R. Walsh, the treasurer and owner of the Chicago Herald, promptly purchased the old United Press stock from the officials of the Associated Press, and in so doing he repaid them their original "investment" a second time. He then issued to them free $300,000 worth of new stock and Charles A. Dana, William M. Laffan, and Whitelaw Reid each purchased $22,500 of additional stock.

The officials of the Associated Press who owned stock in the United Press and their total holdings were as follows:

---

12 Charles H. Dennis, Victor Lawson, His Time and His Work, 188-189.

13 Gramling, op. cit., 114.

14 Ibid., 113.
Charles A. Dana, Editor of the New York Sun and chairman of the Joint Executive Committee $72,500

Whitelaw Reid, New York Associated Press representative on the Joint Executive Committee 72,500

W. N. Haldeman, Western Associated Press representative on the Joint Executive Committee 50,000

Richard Smith, Western Associated Press representative on the Joint Executive Committee 50,000

William Henry Smith, General Manager of the combined New York and Western Associated Presses 50,000

William M. Laffan, Manager and Publisher of the New York Sun 72,500

Total $367,500

In 1888 the original secret agreement between the two press services was renewed. This one was almost identical with the one of 1885, but with this difference: the exchange of news was extended.15

In the meantime, some of the members of the Western Associated Press discovered that there was a similarity between the news of the Associated Press and that of the United Press. They also realized that the greatly increased prosperity of the latter called for some investigation. The directors of the Western Associated Press

15 Copy of contract in Smith MSS. (Ind.).
at a special meeting on September 16, 1890, decided to appoint a committee to conduct an official inquiry. The committee was made up of Victor Lawson of the Chicago Daily News, Colonel Frederick Driscoll of the St. Paul Pioneer-Press, and R. W. Patterson, Jr. of the Chicago Tribune. They were instructed to learn what they could about the rapid growth of the United Press and to determine if there were any hidden agreements with the Associated Press.

This committee carried on its inquiry in the face of determined opposition.\textsuperscript{16} There were several attempts to unseat the committee and to discredit its work. On one occasion I. F. Mack, president of the Western Associated Press, even tried to sabotage the committee's undertaking.\textsuperscript{17}

On August 18, 1891, the committee made its report at the annual meeting of the organization in Detroit. There was such interest in its findings that only one member of the entire Western Associated Press failed to attend the

\textsuperscript{16} William Henry Smith to Victor Lawson, Jan. 8, 1891. Smith MSS. (Ind.).

\textsuperscript{17} Gramling, \textit{op. cit.}, 111.
meeting. The members of the organization were astounded at the committee's report presenting documentary evidence showing the connection between the United Press and the Associated Press. It recommended that the directors of the Western Associated Press "be instructed to take steps for the recovery of such United Press stock so held by or for this association, together with all dividends that have accrued upon the same." The report also stated that the Joint Executive Committee of the Western Associated Press and the New York Associated Press had gone beyond its authority in making the agreement with the United Press and asked that the contract be nullified and that a new one be worked out. In the course of the report Lawson called for the resignation of Richard Smith and W. N. Haldeman as the representatives of the West on the joint committee. 18

I. F. Mack took the floor and gave his reasons for making the agreement with the United Press. The members of the Western Associated Press were not impressed with his explanation and rebuked him by electing William Penn Nixon, publisher of the Chicago Inter-Ocean, as the new

---

18 Ibid., 111-114.
president of the association.

Then Haldeman and Richard Smith arose in turn and defended their actions by extolling the progress of news-gathering during their ten years on the Joint Executive Committee. They did find it very difficult, however, to explain the possession of a large amount of United Press stock.

William Henry Smith then asked the indulgence of the assembled newspaper men to review his twenty-two years with the organization. He informed them that he had tried to be faithful and that he had given the best years of his life in helping to build this great news-gathering agency. Shortly before, on April 29, 1891, he had defended this alliance between the two news agencies on the ground that the members of the Associated Press had been protected against competing newspapers. He further stated that the United Press had been retired from New England and eastern Pennsylvania and that this has resulted in a net gain to the New York Associated Press of over $3,700 a year. According to Smith, during the years of peace under the Joint Executive Committee,

19 Ibid., 115.
the seven members of the New York association had received over $735,000 in dividends and the Western Association about one-third as much.20

The members of the Western Associated Press accepted the investigating committee's report and adopted its recommendations. They then proceeded to terminate the agreement with the New York Associated Press and reorganized themselves as the Associated Press of Illinois.

On September 22, 1892, Smith decided to retire as General Manager and he was succeeded by Melville E. Stone. On hearing of Smith's decision to leave the association a committee of the organization composed of Charles P. Taft, Washington Hessing, and Eugene M. O'Neil wrote to him expressing their appreciation for what he had done for the organization. They said that during Smith's twenty-three years of service to the association the annual business of the organization had increased from $185,000 to $640,000, and from 8,500 words daily to 30,000-45,000 daily, with only an additional five or ten per cent increase in cost. They also stated that over nine million dollars had been expended under Smith's supervision and that every nickel

20 William Henry Smith to Col. W. L. Davis, April 29, 1891. Smith MSS.
had been accounted for. The letter continued, "The association now desires to express to Mr. Smith its appreciation of his eminent services and his sterling integrity, and to extend to him the cordial good will of all its members." 21

In this connection it may be added that one of the most important of the "eminent services" which Smith rendered during the time of his General Managership of the Associated Press was the assistance which he gave in the development of the first successful type-setting machine. In early 1885 Otto Mergenthaler, a young German in Baltimore, Maryland, was working on a machine for mechanical type-setting. When Whitelaw Reid saw the crude machine he was impressed. Upon investigation he discovered that Mergenthaler was financed by friends in Washington, but that they had nearly exhausted their available capital. Convinced of the probable success of this machine he called upon Smith to assist him in the organization of a syndicate of newspaper men to furnish the necessary capital and take over its control, and ultimately organize another company for its manufacture. 22 Smith saw that


22 William Henry Smith, A Political History of Slavery, I, xv-xvi.
Mergenthaler had sufficient money to continue his work and he also interested a number of Western publishers in the machine. Reid was later to write, "But for his tact and patience in treating with difficult people, it is hardly too much to say that the linotype machine...might readily enough have perished in some of its early struggles." 

In June, 1885, Smith assisted in the organization of the Mergenthaler Printing Company. It was composed of Smith, Whitelaw Reid of the New York Tribune, Lemon G. Hine, a leading lawyer of Washington, William H. Rand of the large Chicago printing house of Rand, McNally and Company, Melville E. Stone of the Chicago Daily News, and Stilson Hutchins, proprietor of the Washington Post. A little later Walter N. Haldeman of the Louisville Courier-Journal joined the organization. Smith was elected treasurer of the company and he also served as one of the 

23 Whitelaw Reid to Delvan Smith, Jan. 27, 1903. Smith MSS. 

24 William Henry Smith, A Political History of Slavery, I, xv.
The first twelve machines manufactured by the company were delivered to Reid's New York Tribune in June, 1886. On June 3, Reid started to use the first machine and christened it the "linotype." In the next few months linotype machines were installed for the Chicago Daily News, the Chicago Tribune, the Chicago Inter-Ocean, and the Louisville Courier-Journal. The linotype enabled an operator to turn out printed matter from four to five times faster than it could be done by hand. Enormous profits began to be reaped from the machine. For example, the New York Tribune saved $80,000 the first year the machines were in operation; and other newspapers netted a proportionate gain. Within a few years the linotype machines were used by all of the leading newspaper and publishing houses of the country.

25 William Henry Smith to S. B. Elkins, June 18, 1885. Smith MSS.
26 Mott, op. cit., 500.
27 George Iles, Leading American Inventors, 423.
CHAPTER IX

LATER LIFE

After Hayes retired from the Presidency, Smith never actively engaged in politics, but he frequently discussed current political questions with his closest friends. On the other hand he did continue to play the role of unofficial adviser and critic. Several months after Arthur became President he wrote Hayes that the present administration would be a renewal of the Grant regime without the latter's common sense. He told the ex-President that Arthur was devoted to the interest of the "Bosses," and that they would lead him and the Republican party to perdition. Smith stated, "The people are watching and when the time comes they will quietly but effectively put the seal of condemnation on a party that is not strong enough to keep its best men to the front." All of this was on the supposition, of course, that the Democrats would nominate a worthy and able candidate in 1884.  

1 William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Dec. 12, 1881. Hayes MSS.
In replying to Smith's letter Hayes wrote that Arthur was moving with great caution and that he was careful not to make distinct commitments. He thought that the President was almost "Van Burenish" in "noncommittalism" and that when he leaned to the wrong side, as he did on the civil service question, he was even more careful to avoid decided expressions.²

Smith played no part in the election of 1884, but after the campaign he informed Melville E. Stone that he had assumed a neutral position during the election. He went on to say that he had tried to keep the Associated Press impartial, and believed that he had succeeded as far as it was possible to do so with men of both political parties working for the association.³

A few months after Grover Cleveland was inaugurated, Smith wrote Hayes that he could find little fault with the administration. He believed that Cleveland was an honest and sincere man and that when he had seen him he was favorably impressed.⁴ Smith wrote President Cleveland

² Rutherford B. Hayes to William Henry Smith, Dec. 14, 1881. Hayes MSS.
³ William Henry Smith to Melville E. Stone, Nov. 10, 1884. Smith MSS.
⁴ William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, June 20, 1885. Smith MSS.
a number of letters giving his views on political appointments. On July 28, 1885, he recommended William A. Morgan as postmaster of Lake Forest, Illinois. He wrote that the petition recommending Morgan for the position contained the names of the representatives of the intelligent classes of Lake Forest. He also informed the President's private secretary, Colonel Daniel Lamont, that he was ready to supply him with any information about appointments the President might want. In October, 1885, Smith heard a rumor that General Herman Lieb was going to be appointed as appraiser at the port of Chicago. As soon as Smith heard this he immediately wrote Colonel Lamont that it would be a serious mistake to appoint such a man as Lieb. Smith said, "He [General Lieb] has not a single qualification fitting him for the place, having no systematic business training and no practical sense. He is a loud-roaring semi-socialistic blatherskite." He knew that there were plenty of good men who would do the President credit.

Smith worked against a second nomination for Blaine in the election of 1888. He preferred Sherman but he

---


6 William Henry Smith to Col. Daniel Lamont, Oct. 1, 1885. Grover Cleveland MSS.
would compromise on any other candidate except Blaine. In the early months of 1888 he wrote Whitelaw Reid that the party was never in such peril. He told Reid that one word from him would save the party. Smith believed the nomination of Blaine would precipitate a break within the party and the only way out would be to nominate William McKinley. He told Hayes in January, 1888, that the chief characteristic of the Republican party management was a lack of sagacity. After the Republican convention Smith wrote Sherman the reason he did not receive the nomination was the influence of the railroad interests at the convention. He stated that the railroad corporations controlled the delegates from New York, Colorado, California, and Nebraska and that these delegates always spoke and voted against Sherman.

In June, 1892, Smith wrote Governor Joseph B.

---

7 Rutherford B. Hayes to Fanny Hayes, Dec. 18, 1887. Diary and Letters of Hayes, IV, 358-359.

8 William Henry Smith to Whitelaw Reid (no date). Smith MSS.


10 William Henry Smith to John Sherman, June 25, 1888. Smith MSS.
Foraker of Ohio that it was a great misfortune to the Republican party that its leaders had appointed many worthless white officeholders in the South. Misdirection of the education of the newly enfranchised race and the perpetuation of a rotten borough system in the South were injurious to Republican prestige. According to Smith these conditions made possible the renomination of Benjamin Harrison. ¹¹

Just before election day in 1892 Smith asked ex-President Hayes how he read the political signs. Smith thought that the omens were favoring Harrison and believed there was a chance he might receive the vote of New York but he did not think that Harrison would be elected. He said, "The current is setting in the direction of the party of false pretenses." ¹²

In addition to his many other activities Smith was also a student and writer of history. In 1874 he was tendered a life membership in the Western Reserve Historical Society "as an industrious worker in the historical


¹² William Henry Smith to Rutherford B. Hayes, Oct. 7, 1892. Hayes MSS.
field."\textsuperscript{13} He became a member of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society in 1887, and on April 12, 1893, was made a life member.\textsuperscript{14} He belonged to the Association of American Authors and also served as one of its managers.\textsuperscript{15} Smith was also a member of the American Historical Association.\textsuperscript{16}

In February, 1881, he was asked by the Legislature of Ohio to edit for publication the papers of General Arthur St. Clair, the first governor of the Northwest Territory. In 1869, Alfred T. Goodwin, secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, had discovered that General St. Clair’s papers were in the possession of the heirs of Colonel Robert Graham in Kansas. Governor Hayes had recommended to the General Assembly that the manuscripts be purchased by the State.\textsuperscript{17} Some time later the Legislature complied with the Governor’s request by appropriating money for the purchase of the papers. The General Assembly stipulated that the papers be placed in the Ohio State Library and requested that Smith edit them for

\textsuperscript{13} Charles Whittlesey to William Henry Smith, April 27, 1874. Smith MSS.
\textsuperscript{14} William Henry Smith to A. A. Graham, March 18, 1893. Smith MSS.
\textsuperscript{15} Newspaper clipping in Smith MSS. Name of newspaper and date not given.
\textsuperscript{16} William Henry Smith to Clarence W. Bowen, Sept. 19, 1892. Smith MSS.
\textsuperscript{17} William Henry Smith to George A. Townsend, Dec. 4, 1884. Smith MSS.
While editing these manuscripts he had access to a large number of other collections, such as those of Generals Josiah Harmar and William Henry Harrison, and Governors Edward Tiffin and Thomas Worthington, as well as the archives of the State Department.

In 1882 Smith completed a two-volume work under the title of The St. Clair Papers. The first volume contains the editor's own story of the Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, occupying 256 pages, and more than one-third of the St. Clair papers. The manuscripts in this volume include St. Clair's correspondence from 1734 to 1787, when he retired as president of the Continental Congress. The second volume covers the period from 1787 to 1802, and is devoted entirely to the affairs of the Northwest Territory. Smith emphasizes the work of St. Clair in laying the foundations of government under the Ordinance of 1787. He gives here for the first time the official proceeding of the territorial government and much of the correspondence between Governor St. Clair and the various departments of the federal government.

---

18 Ohio Senate Journal, 64th General Assembly, LXXVII, 195.
In reviewing The St. Clair Papers the Nation commented that Smith "presented the public with a well-digested edition of the St. Clair Papers, classified chronologically by subjects, and provided with a serviceable index."\(^{19}\)

The Legislature of Ohio unanimously voted Smith a resolution of thanks for his labor in editing the papers. In replying to the resolution he said, "The work to me was a labor of love in remembrance of the many happy years I spent in Ohio and of the confidence repeatedly reposed in me by the people of the state...."\(^{20}\)

While Smith was searching for St. Clair letters in Washington he found the official diary of Colonel Winthrop Sargent, who was Secretary of the Northwest Territory. He had the diary transcribed and placed in the State Library.\(^{21}\)

After Smith retired from newspaper work he devoted his time to preparing a history of slavery in the United States. This work practically completed at the time of his death, was finally published in two volumes in 1903 by his son Delavan as A Political History of Slavery. It

---

\(^{19}\) Nation, XXXIV (May 4, 1882), 383-384.

\(^{20}\) William Henry Smith to A. D. Marsh, April 16, 1885. Smith MSS.

\(^{21}\) William Henry Smith to George A. Townsend, Dec. 4, 1884. Smith MSS.
is devoted mainly to show the political agencies by which slavery was abolished with particular emphasis upon the part played by Ohio and the Middle West. The work begins with the first active opposition to slavery, which the author said was started by John Woolman, a New Jersey Quaker, in 1732, and ends with the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1870. The author used many manuscripts in the preparation of this work. He also made use of the unpublished papers of Rutherford B. Hayes, Salmon P. Chase, John Brough, and Oliver P. Morton.

In reviewing Smith's *Political History of Slavery* for the *American Historical Review* James A. Woodburn said that Smith did not write his political history objectively. He commented further that the author had the preconceived idea that the cause of civilization was on his side, and this led him, in turn, to judgments and condemnations, to the awarding of praise and blame, and to the language of censure and denunciation for the opponents of his cause. 22

In like fashion Clarence E. Carter, commenting in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, said that Smith's chief fault was his failure to present both sides of the slavery controversy. Furthermore, his attempt to

---

justify the position of the Republican party in every ac-
tion was obviously a violation of an essential canon of
historical exposition. 23

Shortly before Hayes died he designated Smith as
his biographer. At the time, Smith, Charles R. Williams,
and W. J. Richards were co-owners of the Indianapolis
News. 24 Williams was made editor-in-chief in 1893 (which
position he held to 1911) so that Smith could begin his
biography of Hayes. His plan was to write a history called
"The Life and Times of Hayes" rather than a simple biog-
raphy. In spite of failing health, Smith, at the time of
his death in July, 1896, had done much in sorting and ar-
ranging the countless Hayes papers. But he had had done
comparatively little of the actual writing. It was his
dying wish that his son-in-law, Charles R. Williams, com-
plete his work. Williams undertook the task and in 1914
he completed The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes in two
volumes. 25

23 Clarence E. Carter, "Some Notes on Ohio Histor-
iography," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,
XXVIII (Jan., 1919), 184.

24 Florence Venn to Harlow Lindley, Oct. 11, 1938.
Smith MSS.

25 Charles R. Williams, The Life of Rutherford B.
Hayes, I, vii-ix.
In the field of historical research Smith made a mark for himself in his revelation of the gross inaccuracies of Jared Sparks's edition of *The Writings of Washington*. In London in 1887 in the British Museum and the Public Record Office Smith discovered these errors while examining the letters from George Washington to Colonel Henry Bouquet. \(^{26}\) Sparks had said all that he had done in editing the manuscripts was "to correct obvious slips of the pen, occasional inaccuracies of expression, and manifest faults of grammar." \(^{27}\) However, in spite of this assertion Smith discovered that Sparks had altered many of the letters so that they bore little resemblance to the originals. In an article in the *Magazine of American History* Smith showed how Sparks had changed many of Washington's letters and had in many places completely altered the meaning. He made accurate copies of the eleven letters that had been mutated and fourteen more that had not been published before. \(^{28}\)

---

\(^{26}\) Col. Henry Bouquet entered the British army in 1756 and became a brigadier general in 1765. In 1758 he commanded the Royal American Regiment, and was ordered by William Pitt to move from its station in South Carolina to join General Forbes in Pennsylvania. Bouquet was energetic in pushing the building of a new road from Raystown (now Bedford), Pennsylvania, toward Fort Duquesne rather than have the British expedition take the old Braddock route, favored by Washington.


\(^{28}\) Ibid., 119-143.
Smith frequently delivered addresses at historical gatherings. On May 20, 1884, he delivered an address before the Chicago Historical Society called "Charles Hammond and His Relations to Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams." The address was later printed by the historical society. Charles Hammond as a lawyer, politician, and editor was one of the outstanding figures in the history of the West. As editor of the Cincinnati Gazette he made it one of the most influential newspapers in the Middle West. Hammond is often referred to as the first great journalist of the old Northwest.  

Smith had the honor of being invited to take part in the centennial at Marietta, Ohio, in April, 1888. He delivered an address called "A Familiar Talk About Monarchists and Jacobins." It dealt with the men and parties that governed the Northwest Territory and with the first quarter century of Ohio history. Smith gave a history of the Ordinance of 1787 and the governorship of General Arthur St. Clair. He laid special emphasis on the life and public career of Jeremiah Morrow and the important part he played in the early history of Ohio.  

---


In December, 1889, Smith attended the sixth annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, D. C. At one of the sessions he read a paper called "The Correspondence of the Pelham Family, and the Loss of Oswego to the British." At the beginning of the paper he stressed the importance of governmental aid in the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts relating to American history. He told of the excellent work being carried on by the Canadian government in this field. Smith then explained the importance of the Henry Pelham manuscripts and how valuable they were in the study of the colonial period of the United States. He stressed the fact that the manuscripts threw new light on how the French were able to capture Fort Oswego.

After Smith retired his health began to fail. His wife died on May 11, 1891, a misfortune which probably contributed to his declining health. The sudden death of his only daughter, Mrs. Charles R. Williams, in 1895 caused a

---

32 Henry Pelham was Prime Minister of England from 1743 to 1754.
33 Papers of the American Historical Association, IV (1889), 369-379.
shock from which he never fully recovered. Smith died at his home in Lake Forest, Illinois, at 3:30 A.M. on July 27, 1896, of heart failure resulting from pneumonia. He was buried beside his wife in the cemetery at Lake Forest.

Smith left one of the largest and finest private libraries in the country. In all he had about 7,500 volumes, besides innumerable pamphlets and public documents. When his son Delavan died in August, 1922, he willed the Indiana Historical Society his father's library and $150,000 for an endowment in memory of his father. By an agreement between the State of Indiana and the Indiana Historical Society, the William Henry Smith Memorial Library has been given a room in the new Indiana State Library and Historical Building in Indianapolis. It works in cooperation with the Indiana State Library in the collection and preservation of material relating to the history of the Northwest Territory, particularly the State of Indiana.

Smith's equable temperament and an amiable disposition enabled him to cultivate and maintain the friendship

---

34 Charles R. Williams to Webb C. Hayes, July 27, 1896. Hayes MSS.
of many people. He developed and retained a number of lifelong personal relationships, such as with Hayes and Whitelaw Reid, which were terminated only by death.

Loyalty, sincerity, and an undeviating purpose helped him to be a successful politician. He was personally honest, although in Louisiana he condoned practices that were not according to the highest standards of ethics for the perpetration of the Republican party. For the most part he was a loyal Republican and never challenged the party's principles. However, he did not always agree with the party leaders, such as Arthur, Logan, and Conkling; but as a party man he accepted them in preference to the Democrats. He did not seek the political limelight nor the highest political offices. As an adviser and party manipulator he helped to influence the course of the Republican party.

Smith's name will always be indelibly associated with the enormous development of news-gathering agencies. Because of his shrewdness as a business man and his ability to handle men, he was able to build the Western Associated Press and later the Associated Press into large news-gathering organizations. At the same time it should be emphasized that the secret agreement between the Associated Press and the United Press was of somewhat dubious ethics. In spite of this the press services were better able to service newspapers by the use of leased wires, typewriters for receiving
the news, and the linotype. Under his direction real live "stories" displaying initiative and individuality began to make their appearance.

Smith was a student and writer of history. He went to the sources, but because he had a preconceived idea of his subject matter the conclusions were none too objective. His most outstanding contribution to the field of history is *The St. Clair Papers*.

Smith endeared himself to his neighbors by his life-long interest in community affairs, his attentiveness to his family, and by his high moral character. He was a member of the Lake Forest (Illinois) Presbyterian Church, and was known for his broadmindedness and tolerance.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manuscripts

John Brough Letterbook. Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.


James M. Comly Papers. Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.


William Henry Smith Papers. Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.


William Henry Smith's Personal File. Treasury Department Section, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

2. Government Publications

A. Federal


House of Representatives Miscellaneous Document, No. 13, 44th Cong., 2 sess. "Proceedings and Debates of Congress Relating to Counting the Electoral Votes for President and Vice President of the United States."
House of Representatives Miscellaneous Document, No. 34, 44th Cong., 2 sess. "Testimony Taken by the Select Committee on the Recent Election in the State of Louisiana."


Senate Executive Document, No. 14, 40th Cong., 1 sess. "Correspondence Relative to Reconstruction."


Senate Report, No. 678, 44th Cong., 2 sess. "Electoral Vote of Oregon."

Senate Report, No. 701, 44th Cong., 2 sess. "Election in Louisiana in 1876."


B. State

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, 57th General Assembly, 1866.


Ohio Senate Journal, 56th, 57th, 64th General Assemblies, 1865-1867, 1880.
3. Newspapers and Magazines

Baltimore Sun, 1876.
Cincinnati Commercial, 1858, 1875, 1876.
Cincinnati Enquirer, 1877.
Cincinnati Gazette, 1855, 1859, 1861, 1863, 1864, 1876.
New York World, 1876.
Ohio State Journal [Columbus, Ohio], 1865, 1875, 1877.
Ohio Statesman [Columbus, Ohio], 1864.
Type of the Times, 1855.

Harper's Weekly, 1876, 1879.
Nation, 1877, 1882.

4. Biographies, Memoirs, and Writings of Public Men


Diary and Letters of Rutherford Bircharl Hayes, edited by Charles R. Williams. 5 vols. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, 1922-1926.


Kleinpell, Eugene, "James M. Comly, Journalist-Politician," Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1936.


Pry, George L., "Jacob Dolson Cox: His Career in the Legislature and as Governor of Ohio." M. A. thesis, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Ryan, Daniel J., Lincoln and Ohio. The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, 1923.


5. General Histories


6. State, County, and City Histories


Howe, Henry, Historical Collections of Ohio. 2 vols. The Laning Printing Co., Norwalk, Ohio, 1886.

Jordan, Philip D., Ohio Comes of Age, 1873-1900. Volume V of The History of the State of Ohio, ed. by Carl Wittke. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, 1943.

Reid, Whitelaw, Ohio in the War. 2 vols. Eclectic Publishing Co., Columbus, Ohio, 1893.


7. Special Monographs


Krebs, Frank J., "Hayes and the South." Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1950.


8. Articles and Essays in Periodicals, Annuals, and Publications of Learned Societies


Hooper, Osman Castle, "John Brough," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XIII (July, 1904), 40-70.


9. Miscellaneous


Appletons' Annual Cyclopedia and Register of Important Events of the Year of 1876, XVI.

Appletons' Annual Cyclopedia and Register of Important Events of the Year of 1895, XXXVI.


AUTobiography

I, Edgar Laughton Gray, was born in Sprigg Township, Adams County, Ohio, April 28, 1914. I received my secondary education in the public schools in Aberdeen, Ohio. My undergraduate training was obtained at Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio, from which I received the degree Bachelor of Science in Education in 1936. From 1936 to 1941 I was a teacher in the Aberdeen High School, Aberdeen, Ohio. I was in the army from 1941 to 1946. From The Ohio State University, I received the degree Master of Arts in 1946. While in residence at The Ohio State University, I was a Graduate Assistant in the Department of History for two years, 1949-1951. I held this position while completing the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.