THE 1908 GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN
OF JUDSON HARMON

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by

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. BACKGROUND</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY AND CONVENTION</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE DEMOCRATS</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. PRE-CAMPAIGN MANEUVERS</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE CAMPAIGNS</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. THE ELECTION</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAPS</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE 1908 GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN 
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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

In 1908 William Howard Taft, Republican of Cincinnati, was elected President of the United States with a plurality in his home state of Ohio of 69,951, carrying with him an entire Republican slate of Ohio state officials with but two exceptions. One of these exceptions was State Treasurer David Staley Creamer; the other exception was Judge Judson Harmon of Cincinnati, who was elected Governor of Ohio with a plurality of 19,372.\(^1\)

Judge Harmon's victory in this election year for both national and state officers was a most singular achievement because he had to overcome the well-organized and concentrated opposition of the leading political lights in both the state and the national Republican parties, including the President, the powerful and popular

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\(^1\) Ohio Election Statistics, 1908, passim.
Theodore Roosevelt. Practically speaking, Harmon was the first significant break in the long line of Republican governors which had continued for seventeen years.

From January to June, 1906, Ohio did have a Democratic respite from continual Republican rule in the person of John M. Pattison. But upon his death in June, the Republican Lieutenant Governor, Andrew L. Harris, known as "the farmer statesman," was elevated to the governor's chair, thus returning Ohio once more to the Republican fold.2

During the years preceding 1905, both the Democrats and Republicans agreed that "the backbone of Democracy was broken in Ohio."3 This very same period saw an ever growing feeling for reform. These were the years the Muckrakers (such as Lincoln Steffens),4 in their challenging books and magazine articles, gathered evidence from the slimy political waters of Ohio's larger cities, and presented the scandalous picture to the people. Bossism, graft, and laxity were turned up at all levels of local government, and the people began to stir

3 Ibid., 419.
4 Steffens, Lincoln, "Ohio, a Tale of Two Cities," McClure, XXV (June 1905), 293-311.
from their long complacency, realizing that they themselves, with spirited leadership, could reintroduce clean, efficient government into Ohio.5

Then, too, the Anti-Saloon League was becoming more active in its war upon the liquor interests. The anti-liquor forces found that Governor Myron T. Herrick (1903-1905) had not aided them as much as they had been led to believe he would — and they were calling for more action and fewer promises. The Republican defeat in 1905 had been due, in large measure, to this factor.

These years saw the beginnings of a nation-wide progressive movement and organized labor was orienting itself towards the Democratic Party. What were once regarded as Populist ideas were taking hold. The direct primary and the initiative and referendum had become increasingly favorite topics of discussion everywhere. In this turbulent and confused atmosphere of liberalism and prohibition, and muckraking and Republican graft, the Democratic Party was handed a challenge for a speedy and vigorous revival.6

5 Rodabaugh, James H., "The Reform Movement in Ohio at the Turn of the Century," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, LIV (January 1945), 46-55.

6 Rodabaugh, op. cit., 419.
Yet another factor must be included in explaining the Democratic revival. This was the work of William J. Frey of Findlay, a member of the Democratic State Central Committee during the years 1901, 1902, and 1903. The Democrats for years had lacked cohesive organization and William Frey, alone, had the insight and political acumen to appreciate the prime necessity of a well-organized party. To forward this objective he called a conference in January 1902, at which a permanent organization committee was perfected. The committee consisted of Harvey C. Garber, chairman, Charles W. Baker, William R. Burnett, William J. Frey and Charles P. Salen. It was, primarily, these men who made it possible for the State House to receive as governors in 1906 the able and idealistic John M. Pattison, and in 1909 and 1911 the wise and unimpeachable Judson Harmon.

The Democratic gains of 1905 were destined to be short-lived for, after a lingering illness, Pattison died, having served but six months as Governor of Ohio. But the inertia of this brief victory was not totally spent before Harmon was elected governor in 1908. With Harmon's reelection in 1910, Democratic strength reached a new high as evidenced by his plurality of 100,377

7 Powell, op. cit., 403.
votes as compared with the 1908 plurality of 19,372.  

In just a few short years the relative balance of the political strength in Ohio had so completely changed that in 1910 Harmon took office together with a complete slate of Democratic state officials as compared to the single officer who won with him in 1908.

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8 Ohio Election Statistics, 1908, passim.
CHAPTER II

THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY AND CONVENTION

An amendment to the Ohio Constitution, ratified in 1905, provided for the election of state and county officers in even-numbered years and, to effect this change, extended the terms of those presently in office for an additional year. Thus it was that 1908 became the state election year, coinciding with the national election year. Because of this fact, the gubernatorial campaign was constantly overshadowed and greatly influenced by the powerful Roosevelt personality.

President Roosevelt and the United States Senate were at odds in 1907-1908, and one of the factors contributing to this friction was the part "T. R." played in the Cleveland municipal election of 1907, a political maneuver which, incidentally, brought upon Roosevelt the censure of many nonpartisan Ohioans. President Roosevelt condoned Congressman Theodore E. Burton's move when he resigned his seat in order to enter the Cleveland mayorality race of 1907 against the incumbent, Tom L.

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1 "The Political Situation in Ohio," Outlook, LXXXVII, (November 2, 1908), 500-502.
Johnson, a disciple of Henry George. Roosevelt was accused of unethical conduct in injecting the national administration into a municipal election.\(^2\)

And in the ensuing year the national administration managed to extend itself into the realm of state politics, a factor which was destined to become an underlying issue in the campaign.

Such was the power of Theodore Roosevelt that he was able to dictate the choice of his own successor, Ohioan William Howard Taft, then Secretary of War. This choice was much to the chagrin of Senator Joseph Benson Foraker of Ohio, once a staunch supporter of Roosevelt, who had been indorsed in 1907 by the Ohio League of Republican Clubs for the presidency in 1908.\(^3\) With Roosevelt's preference for Taft a bitter struggle was inevitable in the state Republican Party between the Taft forces and the Foraker men. Both would try desperately to gain control of the convention delegates.

The struggle began in earnest in January 1908, when Arthur I. Vorys, Taft's campaign manager, announced plans to hold Republican primaries in each county of Ohio for the selection of delegates to the state Republican

\(^2\) *Outlook*, op. cit., 500.

\(^3\) Fess, Simeon D., *Ohio*, II, 104.
Convention which in turn would select four delegates-at-large to the Republican National Convention. Thus the Taft-Foraker issue would be settled once and for all prior to the national convention, assuring Taft, if successful in these primaries, a solid delegation from Ohio at the forthcoming national convention. The state convention would, of course, also select Republican candidates for all state offices.

In accordance with the Vorys plan the Republican State Central Committee, with a Taft majority under the leadership of Walter F. Brown, forced an executive session which named a subcommittee to draft the call for county primaries. Separately listed, Taft and Foraker supporters would be presented to the voters at these primaries in order that the rank and file might have a very direct voice in the final convention selections.

Foraker and his colleague, Senator Charles Dick, fearing that this method of selecting convention delegates would favor Taft, presented two alternative plans which would render less decisive the primary election mandate and leave open a possible road to victory through

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4 *Ohio State Journal*, January 3, 1908.

the machinations of convention hall politics. These opposition plans were presented in committee by C. B. McCoy of Coshocton and A. B. Gould of Wellston. Under one plan primary chosen delegates would go to county conventions at which state delegates would be chosen. The second alternative would eliminate county primaries altogether, leaving the time and method of selecting state delegates to the county committees. 6

The Vorys primary plan was adopted, although Foraker tried to block it two more times. First he attempted to secure the enactment of the Huffman bill which would nullify the primary call. He also planned to test the constitutionality of the Bronson law which underlay the primary system but the Taft men, in a surprise move, were first to reach the courts with the issue and were upheld both on the trial and appellate court levels. Even the pro-Foraker Cincinnati Commercial Tribune agreed that the primary method was valid and fair, Foraker's objection being technical only and based on the satisfaction of personal ambition rather than the common good. 7

All counties except Hardin and Gallia used the primaries, held on February 11, 1908. Taft's victory was

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6 Ohio State Journal, January 3, 1908.
7 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, January 5, 1908.
overwhelming, the only significant opposition being in Knox County. Indeed, no one could have compelled the county committees to answer the call, but unless the delegates were elected in accordance with the state call, they would not be entitled to seats in the convention.

On March 3, 1908, eight hundred and fifteen delegates attended the state Republican Convention in Columbus. Prior to this, the Taft and Foraker factions clashed once again in the state committee over the choices of chairman and secretary for the convention. And once again the Taft forces won with the selection of James R. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, over Harry M. Daugherty for the chairmanship by a vote of thirteen to eight. Robert M. Switzer, also a Taft man, won the post of secretary from John B. Malloy who had held the job for the past twenty-two years.

At the convention which, for the first time in years, neither Foraker nor Dick attended, Garfield delivered the keynote speech with a message from Roosevelt - "the Panama Canal will be finished under a Republican." Thus the national election was pushed once more to the

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8 Cleveland Plain Dealer, February 12, 1908.
9 Ohio State Journal, January 6, 1908.
foreground at the state convention.\textsuperscript{10}

The complete Republican ticket chosen on March 3, 1908, was as follows:

Governor - Andrew L. Harris
Lieutenant Governor - Francis W. Treadway
Secretary of State - Carmi A. Thompson
Auditor of State - Edward M. Fullington
Treasurer of State - Charles C. Green
Attorney General - Ulysses G. Denman
Commissioner of Public Schools - John W. Zeller
Members of Board of Public Works - Bernard W. Baldwin and William Kirtley, Jr.
Judges of Supreme Court - James L. Price and John A. Shauck
Clerk of Supreme Court - John S. McNutt
Dairy and Food Commissioner - Renick W. Dunlap
Delegates-at-large - Myron T. Herrick, Arthur I. Vorys, Charles P. Taft, and Andrew L. Harris\textsuperscript{11}

The Republican platform dealt with both state and national issues. It consisted of the following planks:\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{10} Ibid., March 4, 1908.
\item \textsuperscript{11} Ibid., March 4, 1908.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Ibid., March 4, 1908.
\end{itemize}
1. Impartial enforcement of the law.

2. Individualism as opposed to socialism.

3. Government regulation as opposed to government ownership.

4. Protection of both labor's and capital's interests.

5. Compensation for injured employees of the government.

6. An employer's liability act for protection of laborers.

7. Limitation of the use of injunctions in labor cases.

8. A greater merchant marine and navy.

9. A pension for old soldiers.

10. Improvement of waterways, including the Ohio River and the Great Lakes.

11. A single national department of health.

12. A revised tariff.

13. Modification of the currency system to fit the demands of commerce.

14. Protection of the civil and political rights of Negroes.  

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15. Completion of the Panama Canal.
17. Expansion of trade.
18. An indorsement of all Roosevelt's policies such as the railroad rate law and interstate commerce commissions.

The planks which dealt with state issues were as follows:

1. Honesty and economy in public office.
2. Extension of the merit system.
3. Competitive bidding for supplies for state institutions.
4. A compulsory primary election law.
5. Supervision and inspection of banks and trust companies.
6. Abolishment of child labor.
7. Protection of employees in shops, mines, factories and railroads.
8. High taxation for saloons.
9. Local option as applied to the liquor question for the people.
10. Control of public service corporations and regulation of their rates.
11. Improvement of public roads and waterways.
12. Restoration of the canals to usefulness.
13. Repeal of the act authorizing political parties to approve or disapprove constitutional amendments as part of their tickets.
15. A franchise tax.
16. Protection of the people from contractual grants affecting interests in streets and highways without their consent.
17. An indorsement of Taft as presidential candidate.

This platform, like most other platforms, was designed to attract many groups, but it also seemed designed to "cover up" many incidents unfavorable to the Republican Party. By their stand on national issues, the Republicans hoped to attract the Negro vote in spite of the Brownsville incident,15 and the vote of organized labor, in spite of the Danbury Hatters' case and the attitude of Samuel Gompers. The stand the Republicans assumed on state issues seemed made for the farmer, (inland

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14 Ohio State Journal, March 4, 1908. For information regarding the individual planks see, Cleveland Plain Dealer, February 21, 26, 1908; Cincinnati Inquirer, January 6, 1908; Ohio State Journal, March 28, 1908.
15 Roseboom and Weisenburger, op. cit., 452.
improvements), the prohibitionists, (option laws), the laborer, (protection of the workers), and the ordinary taxpayer, (honesty in government).

Although corruption in high places was still being exposed, the planks in this platform upheld the fine record of Republican rule and declared in favor of honest and efficient government. But, in order to detract the public's eyes from the graft newly disclosed in the state house, the Republicans would try to make temperance the fighting issue.
CHAPTER III

THE DEMOCRATS

Unlike the Republican primary with its lists of pledged convention delegates, the Democratic primary was a mere formality and, consequently, attracted a very light vote. The purpose of the Democratic primary was to elect delegates to the various county conventions at which delegates to the state convention would be selected.¹

The county conventions were uneventful. Many of the delegates elected at these conventions indorsed Judson Harmon for governor and most of the uninstructed delegates were also inclined to favor him. However, a small group of men from the districts controlled by Cleveland's liberal mayor, Tom Johnson,² refused to go along with this choice. Under Tom Johnson's leadership they proposed to stampede the convention and wrest control of the Democratic Party from Harvey C. Garber and

¹ Ohio State Journal, May 3, 1908.
² Fess, Simeon D., Ohio, IV, 361-364.
his successor, William Finley, who had managed the party since 1902. ³

The Republicans settled their intra-party strife at the primary elections where the voters at the outset decided upon the candidate for governor, to be later formally named at the state convention. The Democrats, on the other hand, settled nothing at the primary and county conventions and left a bitter struggle to be carried on in the open on the floor of the state convention.

Several days before the Democratic Convention was scheduled to open, delegates and prominent party men streamed into Columbus and the Johnson-Garber-Finley fight began in earnest. Johnson decided to back Atlee Pomerene of Canton for governor, and his first tactic was an unsuccessful attempt to persuade Judge Harmon to run for the United States Senate. On May 3rd it was reported that, from a canvass of the delegates, Harmon was assured of 700 of the 946 total convention votes while Pomerene was supported by only four districts. At this point both factions vigorously denied the rumor that Pomerene would be nominated for attorney general as a harmony move while Harmon would head the Democratic

³ Ohio State Journal, May 4, 1908.
During the next few days the Johnson forces accused Harmon of seeking the nomination for governor merely as a stepping stone leading to his nomination for President or Vice-President at the Democratic National Convention in July at Denver. Harmon's supporters did not dignify this attack with a reply until later but merely echoed the words of Joseph D. Newton, veteran Newark editor, who said, "Licking County delegates will fight to the finish for Harmon for governor." Before the convention got under way, however, the pro-Harmon group made it clear that the Cincinnatian "isn't seeking anything."

After Harmon refused Johnson's offer of the United States Senate post, the Cleveland group decided to back popular ex-Governor James E. Campbell against the Finley-Garber choice, Melville Ingalls. Finley, realizing that Campbell would definitely be nominated if the choice were made at the convention, supported a move to hold a primary election to choose the senatorial candidate. Johnson's defense that another primary would be too expensive was well taken and the choice was thrown into the

4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
In these hectic pre-convention days the Finley group wisely held off forming a slate to go along with Harmon. They knew that Johnson would do his utmost on the floor of the convention to split and disorganize their solid front, and a long list of unfilled offices would be their best possible bargaining material when the time came to placate disgruntled factions and keep potential Johnson sympathizers from leaving the fold.

The convention met for its first session on May 5, 1908, at the Southern Hotel in Columbus and almost immediately Johnson made a desperate attempt to stampede the convention and smash the Finley-Garber machine. First he tried to prevent the seating of a Toledo group called "the O'Dwyer boys." These delegates were controlled by Toledo's Democratic boss, O'Dwyer, who was a Finley man. Johnson charged O'Dwyer with being in league with the Republican leaders for the purpose of graft. But, despite this attack, the delegates were seated by a vote of 463 to 420. Next, he vituperatively attacked Judge Harmon as being anti-Bryan and opposed to all

6 Ibid., May 5, 1908.
7 Powell, op. cit., 419.
8 Ohio State Journal, May 6, 1908.
progressive ideas including the initiative and referendum. This outcry served only to spur on the heretofore phlegmatic Cincinnatian who telephoned Thomas H. Kelley, chairman of the Hamilton County delegation, and said, "I won't let Tom Johnson run me off the track."  

When the nominations for governor were opened Johnson, in order to block Harmon's chances on the first ballot, entered the name of Alfred P. Sandles of Putnam County. In splitting the vote on the first ballot he preserved the possibility of a "boom" later on for Pomerene.

Johnson played frenzied politics and lost. He dared the convention to nominate Harmon and at least succeeded in stopping Harmon's nomination on the first ballot by dividing the Hamilton County ranks. The first ballot read: Harmon 463, Pomerene 381, Sandles 97, Sherwood 4. The second ballot read: Harmon 512, Pomerene 363, Sandles 79.

In an attempt at harmony, the Harmon faction withheld entries for the offices of lieutenant governor and secretary of state in order that Johnson might name his choice. But Johnson, refusing to be placated, just sat,

9 Ibid., May 7, 1908.

10 Ibid.
sulked and puffed on an old briar pipe. Altogether there were two roll calls for lieutenant governor and three for secretary of state, an unprecedented number. Pomerene was suggested for attorney general but Johnson refused and said he did not wish to take any further part in the convention. Senator Schmidt, on orders from Johnson, turned down the nomination for lieutenant governor, a post which he desired very much. To further discredit the party, Johnson tried to enter John Bolan, a Toledo "O'Dwyer boy," for one of the offices. 11

Soon after the second ballot for governor Pomerene and Sandles indorsed Harmon. Pomerene said, "It is the platform and not the standard-bearer that counts." 12 Johnson smoked on, refusing to make the customary motion that the nomination be unanimous. In a further effort to pacify Johnson, the Finley crowd dropped their candidates for treasurer and attorney general and backed Johnson men, David Staley Creamer and Timothy Hogan, respectively, for the posts. 13 But not until he was induced by his manager, Charles P. Salen, to become a delegate-at-large to the Denver convention did Johnson make peace with the party.

The question of indorsement of a candidate for

11 Ibid.
12 Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, May 7, 1908.
13 Ibid.
United States senator was opened, and when Judge D. D. Donovan moved to dispense with the indorsement, he was ruled out of order. Then Judge Warren Gand of Butler County nominated James E. Campbell and quickly moved that nominations be closed, and Campbell received a unanimous vote. But unanimity was not meant for this convention for the vote was 647 for Campbell, 253 against any indorsement, 34 for John J. Lentz, 16 for Atlee Pomerene, and 6 for Tom Johnson. Campbell accepted the indorsement in the following words:

My motto is the Scriptural one, "Forgive your enemies." I forgive the gentlemen who voted against me who had the right to, and also that gentleman voted six counties against me. Like that brilliant young judge from my own county, who presented my name, I want to go into the past. It was nineteen years ago that I succeeded that brave and gallant Republican, Joseph B. Foraker, as Governor of Ohio, and on the fourth of March next I shall succeed him as United States Senator from this great state.

He was warmly received.

Then Ohio's "Big Four" were chosen for the Democratic National Convention at Denver. They were Tom Johnson and three Garber-Finley men, Will Thomas of Clark County, Edward W. Hanley of Montgomery County, and Matthew R. Denver of Clinton County. Johnson was called

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14 Fess, op. cit., IV, 310.
15 Ohio State Journal, May 7, 1908.
16 Ibid.
to the platform amid great enthusiasm and at last made a conciliatory speech saying, "I make my fights before conventions and not after. You have given the people the best platform ever adopted in Ohio." His speech would have been quite different had he guessed how he and Cuyahoga County were destined to be ignored at Denver and squeezed out of the National Democratic picture by Garber, who sought revenge for Johnson's attitude at the Ohio Convention.

To complete the Democratic slate the following men were selected at the convention:

Lieutenant Governor - Judge David L. Rockwell
Judges of Supreme Court - Hugh T. Mather and George B. Okey
Secretary of State - W. W. Durbin
Treasurer of State - David Staley Creamer
Attorney General - Timothy S. Hogan
Board of Public Works - Bernard Doran and J. A. States
Dairy and Food Commissioner - David Eley
State School Commissioner - John A. McDowel
Clerk of Supreme Court - Oliver C. Larason

17 Ibid.
These candidates were to stand on a platform which declared:

In the eternal struggle between the many who produce more than they enjoy and the few who enjoy more than they produce, Democracy takes its stand with the many, and sets its face against the privileges outlawed or legalized by which they are despoiled. We believe that the cure for the supposed ills of Democracy is more Democracy; that to the people belongs not the shadow merely of political authority, but its substance, and that the power to initiate new laws and to review the acts of their representatives is essential to the preservation of popular sovereignty. We therefore favor the initiative and referendum in state and local matters and the principle that questions submitted to the electors should be determined by a majority of the votes cast thereon.

Other planks were in favor of:

Home rule for cities and villages including the question of public or private ownership of public utilities.

A new and equitable tax system.

Franchise taxation.

A broader child labor law.

An eight-hour day for public workers.

Protection of employees in shops, mines, factories, and transportation services.

Limitation of the use of injunctions in labor disputes.

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18 Powell, op. cit., 420-421.
Improvement of the roads and rehabilitation of
of the canals.

Direct election for United States Senators.

Ohio River improvement from Pittsburgh to Cairo.

A dollar-a-day pension for Civil War veterans.

Then came their violent denunciation of the Republicans:

The Republican state machine, too long in power,
has planned to perpetuate its control by stifling
the Republican masses in their political action, and
forcing the nomination of deputies and favorites.
The Republican primary was a sham and the last state
convention of that party was the most completely
bossed political gathering that ever assembled in
Ohio.

The Auditor of State has a powerful organization
whose chief purpose is protection of the interests
from which it derives its power. He has refused to
enforce the laws taking the property of public serv-
ice companies, permitting them to write their own
tax bills. He has wasted the public funds by un-
necessary and frequent examinations for political
purposes in counties and cities but has neglected to
make the audits required by law in the office of
State Treasurer.

The investigation by the legislature into the of-
fices of the State Auditor and State Treasurer dis-
close a grave neglect of the public business. The
state has lost more than $100,000 a year by the
failure of the Treasurer to take advantage of the
depository laws. Mismanagement of this office is
shown by the Treasurer's failure to keep books show-
ing the deposits made by him, his refusal to answer
questions from the legislature upon the subject and
the spectacle of enormous sums of state money de-
posited in banks owned and officered by state of-
ficials. The State Treasurer is employed to enrich
the friends of this system by and through the Repub-
lican organization. Three hundred thousand dollars
of the people's money is now in the bank of the chief Republican boss of this state, who forced the nomination of his candidates for Attorney General, State Auditor, and State Treasurer. The Governor did not correct this corrupt situation. It can be remedied only by the passage of suitable laws safeguarding the deposit of public money at the best obtainable rates of interest, and by substituting new officers for the incumbent deputies.

The Democrats then promised an honest and businesslike administration of the state's affairs.

Although no stand was taken at the convention on national issues, the Ohio Democratic Party pledged its full support to anything that the national convention would proclaim in Denver. Ohio's entire delegation was instructed to vote for William Jennings Bryan.

The Democratic platform was attacked on May twelfth by Nicholas Klein, leader of the Cincinnati Socialists, who charged the Democrats with plagiarism of the Socialist platform of 1905. He remarked that the platform would embarrass Harmon but would not attract the Socialist vote.

The State Democratic Central Committee met on May fifteenth to choose a campaign head and once more discord was evident. The probable choice was James Ross of Franklin County for chairman and William Finley of Hardin for executive secretary. But on May twenty-fifth Ross

19 The platform of the Democratic Party was stated in the Ohio State Journal, May 7, 1908, and is discussed in Powell, op. cit., 420.
declined on the ground that he was too busy with personal business, whereupon Harmon suggested the selection of Wallace D. Yaple, a practical politician, who had been mayor of Chillicothe for five terms. Although the State Central Committee would have ratified any selection Harmon would have made, his running mates on the state ticket refused to consider anyone but William Finley, who had assumed leadership of the party in Ohio after the virtual retirement of Harvey C. Garber. Harmon yielded, saying, "I have nothing against Mr. Finley, the question being one of efficiency." Thus William Finley became campaign head. This selection met with the approval of the entire committee with the exception of two Clevelanders, Matt Excell and Martin Themm, who stated that with Finley managing the campaign, Cuyahoga would go "10,000 Republican."

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20 The campaign manager issue was discussed in the Ohio State Journal, May 16, 1908, and May 26, 27, 28, 1908. The Cleveland Plain Dealer and other Ohio newspapers also handled the issue.
CHAPTER IV

PRE-CAMPAIGN MANEUVERS

At first the Republicans wished to conduct their state campaign on national issues and thus benefit directly from Taft's vigorous leadership at the national level. They wanted a Republican state legislature to sustain the policies of a successful Republican governor and a Republican United States senator to sustain an Ohio Republican in the White House. To effect this notion of a national state campaign, William Howard Taft addressed a joint meeting of the Ohio State Executive and Central Committees and identified himself closely with the state campaign. He said, "I hope in this campaign in Ohio to pull my weight in the boat and to be on ground to assist in carrying to the victory the Republican banner."  

The opening meeting of the Republican campaign was set for September fifth at Youngstown. Every effort was exerted to make this opening a national affair. All

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1 For an account of Taft's career, see Duffy, Herbert S., William Howard Taft.

2 Ohio State Journal, July 28, 1908.
Republican members of Congress and all Republican candidates for state office as well as the eighty-eight Ohio Republican county chairmen were sent special invitations. Only one Ohio speaker, Governor Harris, was heard from; the other speakers were Governor Charles E. Hughes of New York and Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana. This was to emphasize further the national scope of the state campaign in Ohio. Neither Senator Dick (a long-time Republican leader and a representative of Mark Hanna) nor Senator Foraker was asked to speak at this opening meeting. Senator Dick assured the Ohio committee that he could be counted upon to render all possible help to both the national and the state ticket. But Senator Foraker, disgruntled with Roosevelt's choice of Taft and with the Brownsville affair, among other things, declared that he would only accept campaign speaking assignments from the national committee, not from the state committee. In truth the Republican leaders were afraid to let Foraker speak at this meeting for fear that he would repudiate Roosevelt's policies and his choice for President, thus offering much grist for the Democrats' mill.

Meanwhile special interests were playing a part

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3 Roseboom and Weisenburger, op. cit., 452.
4 Ohio State Journal, August 16, 1908.
in this game of politics. A wet-versus-dry contest was running rampant over the state. The organ of the liquor interests, the Liberal Advocate, announced, "The election fight now is between the liberals who are for Harmon and the temperance fanatics who are for Governor Harris." The Advocate's analysis of the election picture, although oversimplified, turned out to be rather accurate as time went on. The sharpest conflict arose between those who advocated the repeal of the county option law and those who wished to extend it and eventually bring about state-wide prohibition in Ohio. Many liberal people who had supported the various option measures on the principle of home rule became alarmed at the strong possibility of state-wide prohibition, and turning complete about, worked for the repeal of the Rose county option law. They formed the Personal Liberty League which made the Anti-Saloon League its target and set up as its goal the unseating of Governor Harris and the repeal of the Rose law.

Agitation over the liquor issue was not new in Ohio. It had, in fact, become part of the Ohio picture even in pioneer days. The state's extensive rural areas plus the fact that in these same areas were many strict

5 Ibid., July 20, 1908.
church groups who were opposed to drinking on moral
grounds seemed to create vigorous temperance movements.

In 1869 at Mansfield the national Prohibition Party
was formed, and in the years following it played a small
part in state and national politics. After a time tem-
perance leaders realized that to combat effectively the
evils of liquor they must play the same sort of politics
as did the brewers and distillers who aided anyone, re-
gardless of party, as long as he was not anti-liquor.7

From this realization the Anti-Saloon League evolved.
It was organized in 1893 at Oberlin and consisted of a
league of organizations (working through the various
churches rather than through a political party) which
pledged its support to dry candidates of any party. The
league had grown both in size and influence so that in
1908 its third superintendent, Wayne B. Wheeler, was a
leading figure in the campaign. He was hostile to Judge
Harmon and threw his support to Governor Harris.8

From the early 1800's the stronghold of the liquor
interests was centered in the cities and larger towns,
while the anti-liquor forces drew their strength from the
rural areas. As sentiment for and against liquor grew

7 Galbreath, op. cit., II, 320.
8 Fess, op. cit., I, 348.
stronger, ways were devised to delineate even more clearly the wet and dry areas.

By an act passed in 1888 the township was made the unit for local option and hundreds of rural townships went dry. The Beal law of 1902 was next, and it granted local option to cities and villages. Thus dry areas were extended over entire townships and counties, concentrating the saloon in the cities. In 1904 the Brannock residence local option bill enabled the electors in a residential section of any municipal corporation to vote out saloons in such section. This was quickly replaced in 1906 by the Jones act whereby a majority of the qualified electors of any residential district in a city, by petition, could compel the mayor or the judge of the common pleas court in the county to declare such district prohibition territory. The Rose county option bill went into effect September 1, 1908, after a heated discussion in the legislature. This law provided that 35 per cent of the qualified electors of any county might petition the commissioner or any judge of such county for a local election to determine whether or not liquor should be sold within the county. Upon the presentation of such petition the question should be submitted to the voters. This, on the surface, was home rule, but the law contained a provision which made the act seem unfair to many who were
not allied with the liquor interests. This provision was that towns that voted dry in wet counties could remain dry, but towns that voted wet in dry counties had to become dry also.9

As a consequence of pressure group agitation and the operation of these laws, the Republicans found themselves gradually permitting the temperance question to overshadow the national-state "tie-up" in the Ohio campaign. Indeed, on August twenty-seventh, Governor Harris declared that the liquor question was the main issue. And on August thirtieth Judge John Schwab, Republican, and General Michael Ryan, Democrat, declared that Harmon would win by twenty-five thousand with the aid of the Personal Liberty League. Harris replied to this declaration by merely repeating his statement of August twenty-seventh, that he welcomed the liquor issue as the chief one of the coming campaign.10

In this pre-campaign period the Democrats, too, were concerned with the activities of pressure groups.11 Soon after Governor Harris came out unequivocally for the county option law and temperance, the powerful

9 Ibid., 341-344.
10 Ohio State Journal, August 27, 28, 1908.
11 Ibid., August 27, 1908.
German American Alliance held a state convention at which it unanimously indorsed Harmon and the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, David Rockwell. Governor Harris and his administration had never been cordial to the Alliance, but with his defiant stand favoring the county option law, the delegates saw their personal liberties threatened. The convention asked liberal-minded German-American people everywhere to cross party lines and vote for Harmon and Rockwell. This stand was taken despite the fact that a recent Central German Methodist Conference had indorsed Governor Harris and pledged to him the votes of people of German descent.¹²

State Chairman Finley planned to open the Democratic campaign at Mansfield, and in order to stress the fact that the campaign was to be purely a state affair, all speeches at the rally were to be made by Ohio candidates. Judge Harmon and James E. Campbell, alone, were allowed to write their own addresses. Each of the other candidates was instructed to give a short speech confined to an attack against his particular opponent, together with a challenge for a public debate. This organization meeting for once was so effective that even Tom Johnson, despite his ignominious treatment at Denver, once again

¹² Ibid., August 3, 1908.
pledged his fullest support to the Democratic Party.

On the day before the scheduled opening of the Republican campaign, Judge Harmon stated clearly his stand on the temperance issue in a letter to his close friend, Attorney Lloyd P. Baen. In it Harmon charged the Republican campaign manager with trying to divert attention from the past misconduct of Republican officeholders by raising the temperance question to prime importance.

Said Harmon:

These very same Republicans were for years allied with the liquor interests, but the parties to this alliance have recently fallen out and the liquor interests to get revenge for broken promises, decided to stifle Harris by supporting me. I am not their candidate nor the candidate for anybody but the Democrats. If I am elected all laws of the state will be enforced while I am Governor. If any question of further legislation should come before me I shall carry out the will of the people, if I can ascertain it — otherwise I shall take the course which will be for their best interests as it shall be given me to see them.

I shall be glad to have anybody vote for me who wishes to do so with the above understanding.

As everybody knows, I did not seek the nomination, did not wish to run for Governor, but now that I have been nominated, I hope to give the people the best government I can, if elected. But I do not care to be Governor if the Anti-Saloon League or the Personal Liberty League is to dictate my policy or my appointments.13

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13 Ibid., September 4, 1908.
CHAPTER V

THE CAMPAIGNS

The Republican campaign opened on schedule on September fifth at Youngstown, and although the presence of Senator Beveridge and Governor Charles E. Hughes lent to the opening the national flavor that Taft and the Republican committee had counted on several months earlier, the issues of the state campaign had in the meantime diverged so much from their national counterpart that it was useless to attempt further to point up a unity of purpose.

Governor Harris made the most dramatic speech of the day wherein he again maintained that temperance was the issue of the election. He took a firm stand in favoring high taxes on saloons and local option for the people of Ohio, saying that "his chief reason for accepting the nomination was to carry on the moral reformation of Pattison for the benefit of all the people of Ohio."  

1 Ohio State Journal, September 6, 1908. References to the campaign can be found in all the newspapers such as the Toledo News Bee, Cincinnati Commercial Tribune, Dayton Daily News.
He maintained that the Rose law, a home rule measure, was a temperance issue, not a prohibition issue. And referring to the Harmon letter of the previous day, he maintained that he felt it unnecessary to make any promises since he was supported by no leagues and, hence, was under obligation to no one.2

At the same meeting President Scarborough, of Wilberforce University, asked all Negroes to remember who their friends were and not to desert the Republican Party because of the Brownsville affair (which made Negroes all over the country wary of the Republican Party).3 Scarborough went on to defend Harris who had recently been accused of discriminating against the all-Negro 9th National Guard Battalion by not permitting them to join in maneuvers at Indianapolis. Scarborough said that Harris instituted an inquiry into the charge of discrimination and found not only that several white units also remained behind but that the 9th Battalion's commanding officer, Major John C. Fulton, specifically requested that his unit not join in the maneuvers since they were new recruits, unprepared to act as yet as a

2 Ohio State Journal, September 6, 1908.
3 Roseboom and Weisenburger, op. cit., 452.
military unit. 4

Harris made another effort to capture the Negro vote five days later when he spoke at the Harris Colored Republican Club. He reminded the audience that it was the Republican Party which did things for the Negro while the Democrats were still tied to the notion of Negro inferiority. In support of this observation he alluded to Democratic Governor Haskell's recent refusal to allow outgoing Negro territorial officers to attend his inauguration as governor of Oklahoma — the same Haskell who had recently been named treasurer of the Democratic National Committee by Bryan. At the same meeting Harris again indorsed the Rose law, saying that it was not a prohibition question but rather an example of the Republican doctrine of rule by the will of the people. He said he signed the Rose law, believing he was doing a service to all the people of Ohio.

On the same day that Harris spoke to his colored supporters a meeting of the Ohio Republican Editorial Assistants Association was held for the purpose of acquainting this influential group of newspaper men with the Republican candidates and members of the executive committee. Former Lieutenant Governor Warren G. Harding

4 Ohio State Journal, August 23, 1908.
of Marion addressed these forty editors of key county papers saying that if they continued to support Taft and assail Bryan for recent attacks on industry, "the state ticket from good old Andy Harris down will be elected without special effort in its behalf." This association of supposedly keen political observers responded to the requests made of them at this meeting and predicted an easy victory for the Republicans. To support their forecasts the editors cited the seemingly fruitless efforts of the liquor interests as well as the ever growing return to the Republican ranks of workers who saw a threat to their wages in Bryan's recent attack on protective tariff.

The Democrats, to counteract these and other alleged Republican gains, hurriedly called a state executive committee meeting for the following day, September eleventh, at which they passed three important resolutions. In their first resolution they renewed their whole-hearted support for Bryan, Harmon and all the state and national Democratic candidates. This was done to lay the doubts of any rabid Bryan supporters who had become confused by huge lithographs of Taft and Harmon which had mysteriously appeared on many billboards in Ohio. With the appearance of these pictures came rumors

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5 Ibid., September 12, 1908.
that the Democrats, more interested in Harmon than Bryan, would trade Bryan for Taft in exchange for Republican votes for Harmon. The Personal Liberty League was suspected of starting this whispering campaign but the committee laid all the blame squarely on the Republicans.

Another resolution passed at this meeting pledged the Democrats to stand with the Ohio Federation of Labor and the Grange in favor of the initiative and referendum.

The third resolution accepted the resignation of ex-Mayor Rice of Canton from the executive committee and, at the same time, attacked him for his stated reason for resigning, which was that the liquor interests were backing Harmon, whose non-committal stand on temperance meant that the Democrats had abandoned their 1905 stand against the saloon interests.6

When Rice resigned Judge David Rockwell, the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, also resigned and for the same reason.7 This move pleased the Personal Liberty League since Rockwell supported the

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6 Cleveland Plain Dealer, September 12, 1908.

7 When Rockwell resigned, Johnson had a man, State Senator D. W. Ward, picked for the vacant place, but when Rockwell withdrew Ward, who had refused the senatorial nomination for this reason, was left out in the cold.
Rose law; but their glee was short-lived since Rockwell soon withdrew his resignation upon the personal solicitation of Judge Harmon.

In the meantime all was not harmony and unity in the Republican ranks. Roosevelt published a letter in which Taft repudiated Foraker on the grounds of his recent connection with a huge Standard Oil scandal publicized by William Randolph Hearst. 8 This exposure, in addition to the charges of misfeasance and corruption in local government units in Ohio, could not help but swing many independent votes to the Democratic state ticket.

On September twenty-third an enthusiastic crowd of several thousand people jammed the Memorial Hall in Columbus to hear Bryan's famous oratory. They managed to howl down Chairman James Kilbourne but failed to do the same to Harmon until Bryan was spotted entering the hall. Before Harmon was interrupted, he managed to point up the corruption and graft in Cincinnati and chided Harris for ignoring the probe and not ordering the attorney general to investigate further and return proper

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8 Foraker was attacked at a Columbus meeting of Hearst Independents on September 1908. William Randolph Hearst read to his audience certain letters that has passed between Foraker and John D. Archibald of Standard Oil. The letters disclosed that Foraker received $29,500 from the oil company. Foraker said the money was for his legal service, not for his influence in Congress.
indictments. He further charged the Republicans with "deputy succession," a scheme designed to perpetuate themselves in office and cited Roosevelt's strong hand in the selection of Taft to run in 1908.9 Harmon had just begun to speak of Taft as a personal friend and upright man when the crowd spied Bryan and shouted him down in favor of the "Great Commoner." Bryan left no one disappointed as he tore into Roosevelt and his bankers, the tariff, and the way in which Roosevelt was using Republican officeholders as Republican assets and not for his so-called square deal.

On the same day that Bryan and Harmon spoke in Columbus, Harris held a rally in North Fairfield at which he charged the saloonkeepers of the state with raising a fund of nine hundred thousand dollars for the Democratic campaign. Harris labeled it an enormous "corruption fund."10 He then read an appeal that was made on May 26, 1908, by the Personal Liberty League for campaign contributions. Harris charged that the proceeds from this appeal were added to the distillers' and

9 Rodabaugh, op. cit., 46-55.
10 Ohio State Journal, September 24, 1908.
brewers' "corruption fund" so that the people of Ohio might be taught "what a fine institution the saloon is and what an unhealthy thing is local option."  

In reply to this charge of "corruption fund," Michael Ryan of the Personal Liberty League, in an open letter, demanded that Harris disclose the source of his information. He declared that the vote of Ohio citizens was an unpurchasable commodity and vehemently attacked the Rose law as an instrument of petty tyranny whereby people in one district might decide whether their neighbors should be allowed to drink. He predicted that if the Rose law were sustained there would be state-wide prohibition in Ohio within five years.  

The Democrats formally opened their campaign on September twenty-sixth at Mansfield, where they continued their pre-campaign line by taking no stand on the Rose law but hailing as the main issue the corruption and bossism of the incumbent Republicans.  

John W. Kern, candidate for Vice-President, opened the rally with an attack on Roosevelt's tariff and trust policies. Then Campbell eulogized Foraker for his stand  

\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{Fess, \textit{op. cit.}, I, 348.}
on the Brownsville affair, declaring that it was typical of the Republicans to banish from their ranks a man of integrity such as Foraker. Chairman Finley then directed an attack against corruption in the State House and against Governor Harris, who three weeks previously in Youngstown, stated that he was basing his campaign on the local option issue as being merely an application of majority rule and home rule. Finley declared that Harris's injection of this issue into the campaign was a "dark thick cloud of hypocrisy which we will not permit to hem about the real issues." He assented that the Democrats were not concerned with the Personal Liberty League's program to repeal the Rose law.

Harmon spoke next, delivering the principal address of the meeting. He devoted his preliminary remarks to the national issues, maintaining that the Republicans with their high tariffs had caused the last panic and that the Democrats should assume the responsibility for governing the entire nation. Then he moved to the state contest saying that the Republicans had concealed the truth, so that it was up to the Democrats to expose it.

13 Dayton Daily News, September 27, 1908.
He labeled Harris as a "do nothing" governor and held him responsible for the looseness and corruption in the auditing and treasury departments.

Harmon declared, "I shall not let my opponents escape to other issues. The men of Ohio will vote their various localities wet or dry as they choose, but they will vote the State House honest from top to bottom."

He denied that he was connected with the liquor interests, stating that the Democrats would settle the temperance question as they had settled every question — "let the people rule." Harmon continued with this speech:

These are the facts: the Auditor, Treasurer, and Attorney General in addition to their several duties, have many other. . .important ones as members of the numerous boards which they constitute. One of these has charge of the deposit of the state funds in banks under the law passed four years ago.

It is common knowledge that these officers have employed their enormous patronage and power to build up a political organization, which in alliance with the bosses of the various cities, had complete control of the recent Republican Convention. They thus dictated the nominations. . .to prolong the present State House dynasty. . .in spite of reports generally current concerning the deposit of state funds. Many Republican journals of high standing at once repudiated these candidates and their course was justified by the investigating committee's report which is part of the records of the state. The report was almost entirely on the evidence of the officials themselves.

The duty of the Governor is to enforce the laws and to see to it that the other officers of the
state properly perform these duties. So he is given the full authority to investigate their conduct. Yet... in spite of this official report... the Governor has taken no step whatever... he says that the charges are merely partisan...

I believe the Governor to be perfectly honest and upright himself. But he has been misled... Continuing, Judge Harmon then described the attitude of the Republican officials when the House of Representatives in January adopted a resolution requesting the treasurer of the state to furnish the names of the banks in which state funds were deposited, together with the amounts and the rates of interest obtained for the use of public funds. The judge declared the treasurer paid no attention to the request, but that the House insisted, and he finally complied in March, after the Senate had decided to investigate. Furthermore, Harmon said that the treasurer and his deputy, who was also secretary of the board of deposit, asserted on the witness stand that there were no books or records, and that in order to find out, the Senate investigating committee sent letters to one hundred and forty-eight banks known to have been favored with deposits. The replies of these bankers did not correspond with the statements of the state officials and such records as were produced by the state treasurer. Harmon then charged that,
No less than two million dollars of the state fund was found on deposit in banks in which the Treasurer, Auditor, and the then proposed deputy successors owned stock, as well as the bank of George B. Cox in Cincinnati, and at very low rates of interest.

Concluding, he said that "the fast swelling expenses of the state institutions" were two and a half times greater under Governor Harris's administration than under Governor Campbell's. (Campbell had been the chief executive of state from 1890 to 1892.)

At Medina, on September twenty-ninth, Harris replied to Harmon's Mansfield address and again accused him of side-stepping the temperance issue. He said that Harmon was attempting to be swept into office on a wave of immorality backed by the opposers of the Rose law. As evidence of Harmon's own lack of moral fibre, Harris pointed out that two railroads of which Harmon was president were being sued by the state for evading taxes in the amount of one hundred twenty thousand dollars, and that if Harmon were elected he would be in a position to decide whether his own railroads should pay taxes to the state of which he was the leader. As further evidence of Harmon's character, Harris reminded his

14 Ohio State Journal and other Ohio newspapers, September 27, 1908.

15 Powell, op. cit., 303-313.
hearers that the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railway, of which Harmon was receiver, was presently under indictment for not using safety devices as required by law to protect the workers. Yet Harmon and the Democrats insisted that they were the true friends of labor. 16

On October first, Harmon replied to the above attacks by stating that his two railways were paper corporations in which he owned no stock and from which he received no salary. He further stated that he was unaware that his receivership railroad had violated any safety laws. 17

On October seventh, the Republican Central Committee held a conference at the Chittenden Hotel in Columbus. Detailed reports were given on conditions in every part of the state. It was reported that the temperance issue favored Harris while the alleged corruption issue was actually losing votes for Harmon. It was pointed out further that the wet victories, under the Rose law election, coincided markedly with high concentrations of Democratic strength.

On the same day, and also in Columbus, Chairman Finley and Harmon conferred with the members of the

16 Ohio State Journal, September 30, 1908.
17 Powell, op. cit., I, 420-439.
Democratic Editorial Association. Finley told of the difficulties in combating the constantly growing dry sentiment which had been aroused by the county option elections which were being held all over Ohio. The editors were urged to proclaim that the Democrats would not try to repeal the local option laws, and warn the voters not to let their temperance sentiments sway them into voting against the Democratic state ticket.

To meet the challenge of the Rose law elections, even more, Judson Harmon started on a methodical tour of dry territories. At Mount Gilead, on October ninth, Harmon remarked that, contrary to the depository law, which prohibited the locking up of state funds, the treasurer kept an average of seven hundred fifty thousand dollars in the treasury and that this was much more money than was required for current payments. This money was kept in favored banks at reduced rates of interest, and so Harmon labeled it "another case of graft." He ended his attack by saying,

Whether the statute which forbids public officers from dealing with themselves or with companies in which they are interested applies here or not, the general law does apply that no man can serve two masters or get any benefit, direct or indirect, by a transaction for which he is chosen to represent the people only.18

18 Ohio State Journal, October 10, 1908.
Harmon's charges were answered a few days later by Governor Harris, who admitted owning one hundred shares of stock in his hometown (Eaton) bank, which was a state depository to the amount of twenty thousand dollars. However, he countered this statement by declaring that Harmon owned seven hundred shares of stock in the Provident Savings Bank and Trust Company of Cincinnati, which was a state depository to the amount of fifty thousand dollars. This, he said, proved that the treasurer was not guilty of favoritism. 19 He also commented that he had learned how low even a man of Harmon's high pretenses could go in making false charges when he was cornered in a political battle.

Meanwhile Taft, followed soon after by Bryan, stumped Ohio. Bryan condemned Taft for his attitudes toward the tariff and the big trusts; Taft condemned Samuel Gompers for trying to draw the labor vote from his fold although he (Taft) was a benefactor of the worker. 20

In the next few weeks before the election, the Republicans and the Democrats descended to the level of

19 Galbreath, op. cit., II, 4.

20 The Jeffrey Manufacturing Co. and the Case Manufacturing Co. received large orders that were to be filled only if Taft were elected.
mudslinging. They hurled charges and denials at each other of every kind and degree.

The Democrats said the Republicans appointed men to local boards so crooked they could not live in a round house; Attorney General Wade Ellis and Governor Harris suffered from official paralysis while the treasurer carried away the booty; Governor Harris was a labor crusher because he reduced public workers' wages in Eaton; Republicans were controlled by plutocracy and Taft was dominated by the "Big Stick;" and Harris was an insincere temperance worker as he failed to vote in the Preble County Rose election. 21

The Republicans said the Democrats planned to disenfranchise the Negro vote; Harmon's nomination plastered the whiskey label all over the Democratic Party; the Democratic Party always stood for whatever iniquitous device its candidates thought would get votes for them; and Harmon was a dodger of issues and a tool of the railroads. 22

Finally, on October thirty-first, Harris closed the campaign at Marysville with a review of temperance legislation in Ohio and what had been done since the

21 Ohio State Journal, Toledo News Bee, October 14, October 31, 1908.

22 Ibid.
legislature adjourned by brewers and other indorsers of Harmon to wipe out these moral measures. Harris's last remarks emphasized how low Harmon, aided by the scandal-mongers of his state committee, had stooped to conquer.

On November second, the Democrats ended their campaign in Toledo. Harmon addressed a capacity audience and told them he had done all in his power to expose corruption in all its phases. John Henry Newman, candidate for secretary of state, stated his view on the temperance issue. He said, "I've got so that I can't tell a Democrat from a Republican since we've both quit drinking."23

Thus the campaigns ended with both sides predicting victory.

Besides the two major factors, the charge of corruption in the State House and the temperance question, there were other factors that played a part in determining the eventual outcome of the election. One of these was the Negro vote. Since the Brownsville affair, the discrimination against the 9th Battalion, and the elimination of Foraker, the Negroes' friend, by the Republicans, the once-solid Republican vote of these people was placed in a doubtful status. Another group, whose votes were cast into the questionable category, was labor. Usually

23 Toledo News Bee, November 4, 1908.
independent radicals or Democrats, the labor forces were torn between the warnings of Samuel Gompers of Republican injunctions and crushed unions, and the promises of Taft of prosperity and good times with the Republicans. A third group comprised the voters of Cuyahoga County, whose usually Democratic votes were not doubtful since the defeat of Tom Johnson's streetcar referendum. This was his first setback, and it was said that it meant the loss of Cuyahoga County for the Democrats. Each of these doubtful elements would help to swing the election one way or the other.  

Although the Democrats had directed their line of fire at corruption in the State House, and had attracted much notice with it, the campaign for the state ticket seemed to resolve itself into the question of the dinner or the suds pail. For indeed, even though the Democrats remained noncomittal about the temperance issue, they could not escape the liquor question's influence.

Some of the Republican managers tried to stave off the special elections under the Rose law until after the November election. They were apprehensive of the effect the special local elections would have on the voters. They were afraid that the county elections would

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24 Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 23, 1908.
hold people's interest to the exclusion of national and state campaigns. But when thirty-seven counties voted dry before November third, the Republicans took it as an index to the results of the forthcoming election and predicted an overwhelming Republican victory.

The Democrats, although they still insisted that the dry votes would return to their respective parties after the Rose elections, changed their course somewhat and tried to actively stave off the loss of dry Democrats. Chairman Finley sent letters to all Democratic county chairmen in dry localities and urged them to pledge temperance Democrats back into the party. 25

Actually, most political observers felt that party lines were obliterated when the county elections took place. But still they did not deny the subsequent influence of these contests on the state election.

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CHAPTER VI

THE ELECTION

The news of the election was relayed to the public by means of newspapers, telephones, stereoptic bulletins, and megaphone announcements. The reports came in hour after hour on the Associated Press wires from all over the state and were thence given to the people in the street.

Although Taft and Harmon took the lead at the outset, both Bryan boasters and Harris supporters felt that their men would pull out ahead. Harris himself, apparently confident of victory, went to sleep before any results were in. By the night of November third, a Taft landslide was accepted as a fact, and by nine o'clock on November fourth, a Harmon victory was conceded by Harris. When Harmon was telephoned the good news, he said that he was deeply touched by Ohio's confidence in him because he had done his best in the people's cause against corruption in public office and political grafting. He stated;

Campaign managers claimed that as a receiver for the C. H. and D. Railroad, he received $50,000 a
year, while this was not true, on their bases, the people of the state will have the satisfaction of getting a $50,000 a year Governor for $8,000.\(^1\)

The Republican leaders, in their defeat, placed all the responsibility on Harris. Indeed, this was a peculiar victory. Harris ran far behind all the others on the Republican ticket, even behind those who were cited for graft. Harris blamed his defeat on the well-organized Personal Liberty League, whose efforts to repeal the county option law by unseating him were too hard to overcome. Anti-Saloon League Superintendent Wayne B. Wheeler attributed Harris's defeat to the fact that many local Republican newspapers worked for Harmon and against Harris, and that the one million dollar "corruption fund" of the Personal Liberty League was all-powerful.\(^2\)

The complete returns came in on November eighth. The Republicans had elected a majority in the legislature and their entire state ticket with the exception of governor and state treasurer. But Charles Green, the Republican nominee for state treasurer, refused to concede defeat until the official count was completed. Finally he accepted the victory of Democrat David S. Creamer, who had won with a plurality of 1,431 votes.

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\(^1\) *Cincinnati Enquirer*, November 5, 1908.

\(^2\) *Ohio State Journal*, November 5, 1908.
The returns of the election were as follows:

### Republican

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President - William Howard Taft</td>
<td>572,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor - Andrew L. Harris</td>
<td>533,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Governor - Francis W. Treadway</td>
<td>548,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges of the Supreme Court - James Price</td>
<td>556,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John A. Shauck</td>
<td>554,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary of State - Carmi A. Thompson</td>
<td>556,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auditor of State - E. M. Fullington</td>
<td>547,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer of State - Charles C. Green</td>
<td>536,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney General - Ulysses G. Denman</td>
<td>551,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board of Public Works - Bernard Baldwin</td>
<td>560,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Kirtley, Jr.</td>
<td>558,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy and Food Commissioner - R. W. Dunlap</td>
<td>563,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner of Public Schools - John W. Zeller</td>
<td>560,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk of Supreme Court - John S. McNutt</td>
<td>559,653</td>
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### Democrat

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President - William Jennings Bryan</td>
<td>502,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor - Judson Harmon</td>
<td>552,569</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Governor - David Rockwell</td>
<td>528,698</td>
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<tr>
<td>Judges of the Supreme Court - Hugh Mather</td>
<td>517,288</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Okey</td>
<td>515,125</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secretary of State - John Henry Newman</td>
<td>518,225</td>
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<tr>
<td>Auditor of State - W. W. Durbin</td>
<td>524,954</td>
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<tr>
<td>Treasurer of State - David Creamer</td>
<td>537,461</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attorney General - Timothy S. Hogan</td>
<td>521,819</td>
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<tr>
<td>Board of Public Works - Bernard Doran</td>
<td>511,301</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. A. States</td>
<td>512,155</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dairy and Food Commissioner - David Eley</td>
<td>509,008</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commissioner of Public Schools - John McDowel</td>
<td>513,511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk of Supreme Court - Oliver Larason</td>
<td>512,719</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This showed that Taft's plurality over Bryan was 69,591; and Harmon's plurality over Harris was 19,372; and that all other state officers were Republicans with the exception of state treasurer. The pluralities of these
offices ranged from 19,000 to 54,000. Taft carried all of the eight largest and most industrialized counties (Cuyahoga, Franklin, Hamilton, Lucas, Mahoning, Montgomery, Stark, and Summit) except Montgomery which Bryan won by 497 votes. Harmon led in all the eight counties; in fact he ran ahead of Taft by 728 votes in Hamilton, their home county. Of the thirty-seven counties that voted dry under the Rose law by November third, ten were carried by Harmon and Bryan, while twenty-seven were won by Taft and Harris. Of the five counties that voted wet, four were placed in the Bryan-Harmon camp and one in the Taft-Harris camp. Too, it seemed as if Taft had managed to garner the labor vote and the dry vote; while Harmon had benefitted from the labor vote and the wet vote, but with enough dry votes thrown in to give him the small plurality over Harris.3

In his first term as governor, Judson Harmon faced a hostile assembly, hostile co-administrators, Republican recess appointments, and hundreds of eager Democrats who awaited political jobs. In spite of this malignant atmosphere, Harmon managed to plant the seeds of reform so that progressive legislation in such fields

3 Ohio Election Statistics, 1908, passim.
as taxation, public service, social welfare, and workmen's compensation became a reality in his second term - 1911-1913. Thus Harmon filled the gubernatorial chair with a high sense of duty, and it has been said about him; "No Democratic executive of the Buckeye State ever reflected greater credit upon his party through his career as Governor."\(^4\)

\(^4\) Powell, *op. cit.*, I, 437.
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