Documents

LETTERS TO COLONEL WILLIAM R. HOLLOWAY, 1893-1897

Edited by A. DALE BEELER

The political campaign of 1896 is properly regarded by students of American history as one of the most significant in the political annals of our country since the Civil War. The financial and economic policies of the national government constituted the important issues before the electorate in that year, but of equal, if not greater, weight was the choice of presidential candidates. President Cleveland, by his financial measures, had fallen into disfavor with and had been repudiated by a large section of his party. Although some Democratic stalwarts urged his re-nomination for a third term to save the party, he early signified his unwillingness to be drafted for further public service. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, who had recently served two terms in the national House and who had become one of the outstanding spokesmen of the "free-silver" element, was rapidly making himself the inevitable candidate of the western and southern Democrats and Populists.

The Republican party, in 1896, was confronted with the more difficult task of making a choice between several prominent and more or less receptive leaders. Former President Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, defeated by Cleveland in 1892, was considered by many to be entitled to a re-nomination. His friends, against his wishes, labored long but ineffectually to put him in the race. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, Speaker of the House of Representatives, was an active candidate, widely endorsed but lacking an efficient organization. Governor Levi P. Morton, of New York, had adequate financial backing and an extensive organization, but he lacked popular appeal. Several Republican Senators aspired to the nomination without being serious contenders. Governor William McKinley of Ohio, whose name was so intimately connected with the high protective tariff of 1890, had behind him a vigorous organization led by the prominent Cleveland industrialist, Marcus Alonzo Hanna, who was determined to see his friend and protegé placed in the White House. The pre-convention campaign of the Hanna-McKinley forces was so energetic that it alarmed other Republican candidates who made futile efforts to stop the progress of the favorite.

Among those Hoosier politicians who early mounted the McKinley band-wagon was Colonel William R. Holloway, of Indianapolis, who for more than thirty years had been a wheel-horse of the Republican state organization. A brotherin-law of the great Republican leader, Oliver P. Morton, Colonel Holloway had enjoyed political favors in the form of appointive offices throughout most of that period, but he was still hungering for further recognition in 1896. Holloway started his public career in 1852 as a newspaper reporter, first on his father's paper, the Richmond Palladium. Later he worked on a Cincinnati paper until 1858. After a short period at the bar, he answered the call of his brother-in-law, Governor Oliver P. Morton, and became private-secretary to Indiana's War Governor early in 1861. This position he held until 1863, when he resigned and went to New York City on some kind of business not revealed to the public. In 1864, he returned to Indianapolis and became the sole owner and editor of the Indianapolis Journal. The next year, he sold the Journal and took up again his service with Governor Morton as confidential secretary and adviser. Newspaper work having too much attraction for him to resist, he then re-purchased a part interest in the Journal and continued to help formulate its editorial policies until 1872.1

Meanwhile, in 1869, through the influence of Senator Morton, Holloway was appointed postmaster of Indianapolis by President Grant and this position he continued to hold until 1881, being re-appointed by President Hayes in 1877. As a venture into the field of literature, he produced in 1870 a valuable guide-book-directory, Indianapolis—a Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Railroad City." After relinquishing his share in the Journal again in 1872, he once more, in 1875, resumed part ownership for a brief interval, the paper passing finally into the possession of John C. New of Indianapolis in 1880. Holloway's experiment, in that year, with a new morning newspaper, The Times, ended in failure after a short run. During the years from 1881 until 1892, Colonel Holloway seems to have been on the wrong side of

¹ The biographical information presented above has been gleaned from: Berry Sulgrove, History of Indianapolis (Philadelphia, 1884); Journal Handbook of Indiana; and The Biographical History of Eminent and Self-made Men of the State of Indiana (Cincinnati, 1880).

the political fence, or with the wrong party group, so far as enjoying public office mattered. Democratic successes and his failure to line up with the Harrison backers account chiefly for his being left out in the cold. In the period from 1892 until 1896, he is found occupying the modest position of member of the Indianapolis park department staff and it is from that vantage point that he surveyed the political prospects on the eve of the 1896 campaign.

The letters from Marcus A. Hanna, William McKinley and others to Colonel Holloway from 1895 until 1897, which are here presented, are believed to merit publication, not only because of the historical importance of their authors, but also for the reason that they reveal the methods whereby the managers of an important candidate for high public office went about promoting their aims. The letters also make clear the route by which appointive offices in our government were filled. Some presidential Warwicks have been so modest or careful or careless as to leave no written records concerning how certain American presidents have been nominated. The general public and students of history owe some gratitude to Colonel Holloway for preserving this correspondence, for whatever reason he may have preserved the letters.

The originals of letters here published are a part of the Morton-Holloway collection which was turned over to the Library of Butler University at Indianapolis after the death of Colonel Holloway in 1911. Subsequently, the Collection was deposited in the Indiana State Library where it may now be found. All of the letters that follow were written to Colonel William R. Holloway.

[The Letters]

State of Ohio Executive Chamber Columbus

11 November, 1893.

My dear Mr. Holloway:2

Thanks for your telegram sent on the night of the election. Mr. Poyle's showed me your letter to him, and believe me I am very ap-

 $^{^2}$ William McKinley of Canton, Ohio, the writer of this letter, was elected governor of Ohio in Nov., 1893, by a majority of more than 80,000 votes. He did not sign his name Wm. but regularly WMcKinley.

² James Boyle was Governor McKinley's secretary and later served him in the same capacity at the White House, 1897-1901. Mr. Boyle died in Canton, Ohio, in June, 1939.

preciative of the kindly sentiments expressed by you toward myself. Sincerely yours, WMcKinley

Hon. W. R. Holloway, Mayor's Office. Indianapolis, Ind.

> State of Ohio Executive Department Office of the Governor Columbus

> > October 8, 1895.

Mr. W. H. Holloway,4 Department of Public Parks, Indianapolis, Ind. My dear sir:

The Governor was here a few hours Sunday and read with much interest your favor of the 3rd instant. He directs me to thank you very much for your courtesy.

> Very truly yours, Jas. Boyle. Private Secretary.

Among the devoted friends and admirers of William McKinley was the Cleveland ironmaster, Marcus A. Hanna, who took upon himself the agreeable task of promoting the political advancement of the Ohio congressman defeated in 1892 because of the popular dislike of the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890. Hanna was a firm believer in the virtues of high protection, especially for his own business, and was apparently, the first important person to recognize the twinkling of McKinley's star of destiny. After having made the latter governor of his state. Hanna assumed the rôle of Warwick in order to advance his idol to the presidency. The next letter reveals his understanding of the problems that lay ahead and shows how he proposed to proceed toward the winning of the nomination for McKinley.

M. A. Hanna, L. C. Hanna,

M. A. Hanna & Co. Coal, Iron Ore and Pig Iron. Cleveland, O.

C. C. Bolton.

D. R. Hanna.

My Dear Sir:-

Feby. 4th, 1896.

I am in receipt of yours of the 30th. ult. and note contents. The drift of things in the west is in our favor and I hope our friends in

 $^{^4}$ Col. Holloway was a member of the Park Board of Indianapolis, under Mayor Denney until the end of 1895. He was evidently not well known to Mr. Boyle, judging by the error in writing the name (middle initial H instead of R).

Indiana will soon begin to get matters in such shape as to choose delegates who are friendly to McKinley. It is generally believed that Genl. Harrison⁵ is friendly to Allison,⁶ but that the people of Indiana are for McKinley. I shall depend upon you to keep me posted.

Yours truly,

M. A. Hanna.

PS

Since dictating the above the Harrison letters is out and we should prepare at once to organize McKinleys friends. Will you take a hand and also tell me to whom to write. We want the best man in the State at the head of our organization. MAH

William McKinley¹⁰ Canton, O.

February 5th, 1896.

Mr. Dear Mr. Holloway:-

I have your kind letter of February 4th, which I have read with pleasure. I am glad to know the attitude of Mr. Ramsdell. He is an able man and I have always been very fond of him personally. I shall be glad to have you keep me advised.

With best wishes, Yours sincerely, WMcKinley

Feby 6th, 1896.

My Dear Sir:-

Your esteemed favor of the 4th inst. is just at hand and I thank you very much for it, in fact I was just about to write you. I appreciate highly the importance of our stirring up the editors to come out squarely for McKinley. Please keep this work up vigorously. I have endeavored to enter into communication with Capt. Gowdy¹² and shall send a man to see him tomorrow. I wish you would advise

⁵General Benjamin Harrlson, president from 1889-1893, was reported from time to time as favoring various candidates for the Republican presidential nomination, although he frequently denied any such preferences. Indianapolis Journal of Aug. 4. Sept. 29, 1895. See also issues of the Indianapolis Sentinel from August, 1896, until February, 1896.

Senator William B. Allison of Iows, an avowed candidate for the nomination, bad many friends in Indiana.

⁷ Hanna's signatures are all in bright green ink, still clear today. He seems to have anticipated a later political Warwick (James A. Farley) in the use of this brand of ink when signing political correspondence.

This postscript is in longhand, the letter being typewritten. On Feb. 3, 1896, former President Harrison advised the public that he was not a candidate for the nomination, thereby intending to remove himself from the pre-convention race. Indianapolis Scatinel, Feb. 3, 1896; Indianapolis Journal, Feb. 4, 1896.

⁹ On the reverse side of this letter, Holloway says that he sent, on Feb. 6, the names of H. G. McClain, Geo. F. McCullough, S. Wildman and C. S. Wilson. All of these men were active members of the Indiana Lincoln League, the Republican state organization.

¹⁰ McKinley was no longer governor, his term having expired at the end of 1895.
¹¹ D. M. Ramsdell, a prominent Republican leader of Indianapolis, was one of President Harrison's appointees.

¹² John W. Gowdy of Rushville, Indiana, was Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Indiana from 1891-1897. His reward for vigorous support of McKinley's candidacy was to be the U. S. Consul Generalship at Paris, France, from 1897-1901. He was frequently called "Oom Jack" Gowdy in Hoosier political circles.

him meanwhile by wire or telephone to come our [out] squarely for McKinley at the first convenient opportunity, or at lease cooperate heartily with us. I shall write also Ramsdall [sic] immediately.

Cant you run up to Chicago on the 12th. inst. on the occasion of the banquet of the Marquette Club and have a talk with us. It would attract comparatively little attention there and if I should come to Indianapolis or you here it would get into the newspapers and might not do us much good.

With sincere wishes, I am, Yours truly, M. A. Hanna.

February 7th, 1896.

My dear Colonel:

I have your letter of 5th February, with enclosure, which I have read with satisfaction. We saw the very significant expression made at your Columbia Club, of which you speak. It is certainly gratifying to me. I return your enclosures of the 6th.

Are you going to be at Chicago, at the Marquette Club banquet, next Wednesday? I hope you may come. I shall be glad to see you.

Roscoe Hawkins was an old school friend of mine. His father was my minister when I was a boy, and very dear to our whole family.

With sincerest regards, Yours truly, WMcKinley.

Feb. 8, 1896.

My dear Holloway

I am in rec't of yours of the 7th inst with enclosures. Have written to the Gentlemen you named. And I assure you I fully appreciate your efficient service. Will hope to see you in Chicago. We expect to remain there during Thursday the 13. I sent Col Dick1s to Indianapolis last night and presume you will have seen him. I told him to find Gowdy first and then see as many friends as possible.

Truly yours,

M. A. Hanna.

February 10th, 1896.

My Dear Mr. Holloway:---

I have your interesting favor of February 7th. and was gratified with what you say of the Columbia Club. I wish you would present to Mr. Harris¹⁴ and also to General Wallace¹⁵ my very great appreciation of their confidence and regard.

With best wishes, Yours sincerely, WMcKinley.

¹⁸ Colonel C. L. Dick of Ohio was Secretary of the Republican National Committee.
¹⁶ Addison C. Harris, an attorney and Republican leader of Indianapolis, was U. S. Minister to Austria under McKinley and Roosevelt.

²⁸ General Lew Wallace, veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars, and well-known author, had been U. S. Minister to Turkey under President Harrison.

February 18th. 1896.

My Dear Sir:--

Absence from home has prevented an earlier acknowledgement of your letter of the 29th ult. I am always glad to hear from you, only because of your friendly sentiments, but because of the intelligent way in which you set forth the situation in your State.

I herewith return with thanks, a number of letters forwarded by you,

Yours sincerely, WMcKinley.

February 20, 1896.

My dear Holloway:

Yours of 18th is received with enclosure. I am very much gratified at the news from Indiana as conveyed by you and other friends.

Sincerely yours,

WMcKinley.

February 21, 1896.

My dear Colonel:

Your esteemed favor of February 18th has been received.

I thank you heartily for the intelligent and very efficient efforts you are making for Governor McKinley, and approve entirely of the plan outlined by your letter. If the sentiment of the republicans of Indiana is as you believe, four-fifths in favor of McKinley in each Congressional District and in the state at large, what possible objection could there be about adopting resolutions of "preference" or "instructions" for him.

Please let me hear from you as matters progress.

Yours truly,

M. A. Hanna.

(Personal)

February 22, 1896.

My dear Colonel:

Your esteemed favor of February 20th has been received.

I agree with you that it does not make much difference what appears in the newspapers, because the people pay compartively little attention to the reliability of political gossip any way.

I think also that General Lew Wallace would be an excellent man for delegate at large. As you say, his name would be worth more than most any other that could be selected.

Yours truly,

M. A. Hanna.

February 24, 1896.

(Personal)

Dear Sir:

Please send me by return mail, or as speedily as possible the official call for the Republican State Convention of Indiana. Also

please send calls for your District Conventions, where same have been issued. If not ready, send them as soon as they are out. We are anxious to know who our friends are in the several districts. You will greatly oblige us by sending a list of the gentlemen who expect to make the fight for McKinley as delegates and alternates in the State at large, and also in the several Congressional Districts. Please give us this information in detail at once, or as rapidly as possible for we want it in order to prepare a correct roster for the National Convention.

Yours truly, M. A. Hanna.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 27, 1896.

Dear Sir:

I am delighted at the tone of your letter. It corresponds with my estimate of the situation in Indiana. The foolish story¹s being circulated for the purpose of injuring McKinley will be duly appreciated by you, and men of your intelligence. I was present when all this took place, and I know that no man was so faithful to duty than was McKinley in that behalf I shall be glad if Indiana speaks promptly and clearly. It will be a splendid condition of things if we can stand together at St. Louis side by side. Keep me advised and I will do the same by you. Everything looks favorable. I do not believe that it is within the power of man to beat our candidate. The favorite son business is reacting everywhere, and the conspiracy is being understood.

Yours truly, C. H. Grosvenor.¹⁷

February 27, 1896.

(Personal)

Dear Sir: Your esteemed favor of February 22nd has just been received. Of course, you may expect all sorts of stories about Major McKinley, and none more frequently than such silly concoctions as the one you send from the Washington Post. I have no doubt that it is false, but, of course, I have no personal knowledge of the circumstances. Major McKinley is an exceedingly frank man. He disguises nothing, and will tell you the exact truth about the circumstances. Why don't you write him personally on the subject? He knows you very well, and I am sure will answer your letter.

Yours truly,

M. A. Hanna.

¹⁸ This refers to a newspaper report, widely circulated in those papers hostile to McKinley's nomination, that he had slighted representatives of the American Protective Association, a nativist and anti-foreign organization of the period, when he was on a recent political tour in the western states.

¹⁷ C. H. Grosvenor, congressman from Athens, Ohio, was an early McKinley supporter and an active member of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee of 1896.

¹⁸ This is another echo of the A.P.A. incident mentioned in Grosvenor's letter of Feb. 27.

February 27, 1896.

(Personal)

Dear Colonel: Yours esteemed favor of yesterday is at hand.

You are doing capital work for the Major, and I can not tell you how much it is appreciated. The article "McKinley at Minneapolis" is as convincing as it is readable. I shall give it to the Cleveland Leader for re-production, and hope that it will find as wide circulation as possible.

In accordance with your suggestion I shall also write Hon. Newton Harding²⁰ thanking him for his interest in the McKinley Club, and telling him to push things with the utmost vigor.

Yours truly,

M. A. Hanna.

February 27, 1896.

(Personal)

Dear Sir:- Since writing you this morning I am in receipt of your favor of February 26th with enclosures, which are highly appreciated. I shall write the gentlemen whose names you sent me at an early date, and will let you know if I hear anything from any of them as either peculiarly encouraging or the reverse.

Yours truly,

M. A. Hanna.

February 28th, 1896.

My dear Sir:

Mr. Seeds²¹ makes a complete answer to the article of the Washington Post copied in the Journal.²²

Thanking you for your kindly interest in this matter,

I am,

Yours very truly, WMcKinley.

2-29-96.

My Dear Sir:-

I am in receipt of yours of the 28th inst. with inclosure, which I herewith return. Will be glad to have a further report from Mr. Henry C. Hanna²⁸ in regard to matters in his district and as to the attitude which Mr. MacDonald [sic] will take.**

Yours truly,

M. A. Hanna.

¹⁰ This is still another reference to the A.P.A. story.

²⁰ Newton Harding was a Republican political leader of Indianapolis.

²¹ Russell M. Seeds was secretary of the Republican State Committee and author of The History of the Republican Party in Indiana.

The Indiana State Journal was the chief Republican press organ published at Indianapolis. It was owned and operated by John C. New and his son Harry S. New.

Henry C. Hanna, an attorney at Fort Wayne, was a friend and political associate of Hollowsy in the formation of the McKinley organization in Indiana.

²⁶ R. T. McDonald was a prominent Republican of Fort Wayne, friend of H. C. Hanna, and a leader in the anti-Harrison group of northern Indiana which was believed to be inclined toward the support of Governor Levi P. Morton of New York for the nomination.

While the McKinley organization was earliest in the field, there were other groups seeking to promote the interests of rival candidates for the nomination. The friends of Governor Levi P. Morton of New York, made early but fruitless efforts to create sentiment in the western states for their candidate. In Indiana, no group was more embarrassing and troublesome to Mark Hanna and his Hoosier lieutenants than that headed by John C. New who espoused the cause of ex-President Harrison. Mr. New, who with his son Harry S., was owner and editor of the Indianapolis Journal, had been given much individual credit for the nomination of General Benjamin Harrison at Chicago in 1888, receiving as his reward the U.S. Consulship at Liverpool, England, 1889-1893. Although Harrison had frequently expressed the desire to remain in retirement from public life, New apparently hoped to have the nomination once more offered his friend in the belief that it would not be refused. To further such action, he and his newspaper were active in promoting a "stop McKinley" movement in Indiana.

> Washington, D. C., March 6, 1896.

Dear Sir:-

I see by the papers that this crowd of desperate politicians is now engaged in organizing forces behind Mr. John C. New25 in Indiana to head off the election of McKinley delegates at your coming convention. This is part of the scheme represented by the Senatorial combine here in the interest of anybody to defeat McKinley. Now, it is not proper for me to suggest to the Republicans of Indiana what would be wise for them to do under any circumstances for you understand your own business better than I do, but the most important consideration as I look at it is to make Indiana practically solid for McKinley as it can be on the first ballot. I suppose there is not very much doubt that McKinley will have a vote largely in the lead of any other candidate on the first ballot and that seems to be the fear that our friends, the enemy, have. The cry in Indiana as it is going out here now by the Senatorial junta is that there should be no instructions with the hope of getting the Indiana Delegation into such shape that these gentlemen can traffic on it.

Yours truly, C. H. Grosvenor.

John C. New, editor and owner of the Indiana State Journal, had long been a key figure in Indiana Republican politics.

3/7/1896.

My dear Sir

I am in rec't of yours of the 6th inst and note what you say about the situation in your State.

The McKinley Stock is rising every day. We have carried Florida solid. The State Conventions of Ark. Miss—have elected McKinley delegates—We have carried 3/4 of the delegates in Georgia one district in Ala, and fully half in La. and Texas. So we are Today in better shape than our estimates.²⁸

March 9th, 1896.

My dear Sir:

Yours of the 6th inst. with newspaper clipping has been received.

I have noticed with much interest what is going on in your City during the past few days. I hope and believe that you and my other friends in Indiana appreciate the fact that just now is the critical time.

Yours very truly, WMcKinley.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of March 7 is just received. I am glad the Morton²⁷ propaganda has come and gone, for I am sure that their presence among you will act as a stimulus to the active exertion of our friends. They seem to have but one idea in politics, and that is that money can do everything. In addition to the newspaper interviews with Mr. McDonald²⁸ I have over his signature his oft-repeated pledge that he is for McKinley, so I can not think that he will prove false to us. On the contrary, I believe that he can be relied upon with entire confidence.

Yours truly, M. A. Hanna.

March 14, 1896.

My dear Col:

The newspaper clippings and your favor of March 12 received. I have read them all with interest. I am glad you are pleased with the Ohio convention. It was thoroughly representative of the unanimous sentiment of the Ohio republicans. This candidacy of Governor McKinley with the people of this state and of the country is no longer a matter of sentiment or hysterical enthusiasm. It is down deep in the hearts of the people and is genuine and earnest. It is gratifying to note the situation in your state. A solid Indiana delegation for M'Kinley means more than 30 votes in the convention. It has in-

^{**} This letter is in the handwriting of Mr. Hanna, but the lower half is missing, including the signature, having been clipped with shears, evidently.

Through the signature, having been cripped with shears, evidently.

There is a Morton, Governor of New York and Vice-President from 1889-1893, was an early candidate for the nomination for the presidency in 1896.

 $^{^{28}\,\}mathrm{McDonald}$ had been one of Morton's supporters but was won over to the Mc-Kinley organization by H. C. Hanna of Fort Wayne,

fluence the country over. I hope that in as many district conventions as possible and in your state convention resolutions instructing the delegates for M'Kinley may be passed, more especially for the good it will do in strengthening the M'Kinley sentiment throughout the country.

I beg to assure you of the appreciation of the Governor and his friends of your efforts in behalf of his candidacy in your state and shall thank you to keep me constantly advised of the situation there.

Yours truly,

M. A. Hanna.

Washington, D. C. March 16, 1896.

My dear Sir:-

The break in the Morton line in New York has had a wonderfully demoralizing effect upon our friends, the enemy . . . The final struggle in Indiana is to come on the instructions. If you can instruct your delegates and especially if you can instruct your delegates-at-large, it will have more effect than double the number of votes under any other circumstances.

Yours very truly, C. H. Grosvenor.

March 21st, 1896.

My Dear Sir:

Now that the District Conventions are all over, I beg that you accept my most grateful acknowledgements of your active and untiring efforts.

Yours very truly, WMcKinley.

William McKinley Canton, Ohio.

March 23, 1896.

Strictly Confidential. My dear Sir:-

I find running through the newspapers and through correspondence, a suggestion that after all there may be a movement for Harrison at St. Louis. The intimation is thrown out that Mr. Harry New²⁹ and others on the delegation are in sympathy with the suggested movement. It would not surprise me, if from now on there are quiet but persistent efforts of the anti-McKinley element both inside your State and outside, to undermine McKinley's standing with the Indiana delegation. The danger in Indiana is that the McKinley men, thinking that the battle is won, will now retire and that the other fellows will be as busy as beavers.

[&]quot;Harry S. New was co-owner and co-editor of the Indianapolis Journal and a close friend and admirer of General Harrison. The Indianapolis Sentinel, on Oct. 2, 1895, discussed at length the alleged plans of the News to bring about Harrison's renomination in 1896 and on subsequent occasions reported such plans to be in progress.

Of course you understand that I do not presume to indicate to you what you should do, and I concede that you know more about the Indiana situation than I do; but still I think it my duty to advise you of what I learn.

Yours very truly, Jas. Boyle.

March 25th. 1896.

My Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of yours of the 20th. inst. which confirms my information with regard to Mr. New. I have no feeling of doubt in regard to the unanimous support in your state and which came at a time when it meant something and you can be sure that we in Ohio appreciate it. The withdrawal of Davis²⁰ has given us Minnesota and will give us the Dakotas—nothing can stop it now.

Yours truly, M. A. Hanna.

April 6th, 1896.

My Dear Mr. Holloway:

Yours of the 4th inst. with enclosures received. My opinion is that the people who are trying to work the "Harrison scheme" in Indiana are doing so under false pretences—that is, they have no idea at all that Harrison stands a ghost of a chance of nomination, but they use Harrison's name and prestige purely for the purpose of rallying the anti-McKinley sentiment in Indiana and to scare off the McKinley people from instructing at the State Convention. It would be a great misfortune if your State Convention failed to endorse McKinley. It would be heralded over the country at large as proof that there was an "undertow" to the McKinley sentiment and that it was rapidly subsiding.

Yours very truly, Jas. Boyle.

P.S. The situation "on the inside" grows better & better. It's "a cinch".

J. B.

April 11, 1896.

(Personal)

Dear Sir:- Your favor of April 9th is just at hand. I am very glad indeed to hear of your taking steps to counteract the injurious stories in circulation about ex-President Harrison. I am satisfied that he will be faithful to his own declarations, but of course I am in no position to ask him to do anything in the matter. Let me know what you develope. Glad to hear your lines are firm everywhere and do not believe myself that there will be any weakening at any point. The cheapest and best McKinley buttons are made by the Commercial Novelty Advertising Company, 2111 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. They are sold to us at \$9.00 per thousand, and I have

 $^{^{20}}$ Senator Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota was one of the many aspirants for the Republican nomination in 1896.

ordered one thousand sent you by wire. If you need more I think it would do the boys good to make a little contribution with which to buy them. It has been my experience that the more they are encouraged to rely upon others the less they will do for themselves.

Yours truly,

M. A. Hanna.

April 13th, 1896.

(Personal)

My dear Mr. Holloway:-

You have my thanks for your favors of April 8th and 9th and for the clippings enclosed. They have been read carefully and with much interest. I thank you very much for the interest you take in the candidacy of Gov. McKinley, in writing letters to the Cincinnati Gazette, Tribune, Inter-Ocean and other papers. It will do great good.

The Indiana State Convention should by all means instruct its delegates at large to support and vote for Gov. McKinley, or a great deal of the good influence of the District Conventions instructing their delegates will be lost, which would otherwise be greatly strengthened if the State Convention instructs for McKinley. This is very important.

Let me hear from you again whenever you have information of importance which you think I should know. Keep me posted on the situation in your State, as you view it. Again thanking you, I remain,

Very truly yours,

M. A. Hanna.

Republicans who were opposed to McKinley's nomination continued to harp on the Ohio candidate's alleged friendliness to Catholics and foreign-born persons against whom the American Protective Association was agitating and sought to magnify such an attitude into a disqualification for the high position of President. Indiana newspapers hostile to McKinley, as was the leading Republican organ, the Indianapolis Journal, appeared to get great satisfaction out of repeating reports of A. P. A. hostility towards the Ohio candidate. The most frequent criticism was the old charge that he was straddling the religious issue. was a real basis for this, since McKinley, like most political leaders, had no desire to alienate needlessly any important element of the electorate, and therefore refrained from any public statement on the subject under consideration. To silence such criticism, the McKinley managers emphasized the strong Protestant affiliations of their candidate and his closest associates. After a long discussion of the charges, Secretary Boyle concluded with some information for Holloway's use which is contained in the next letter.

Canton, Ohio, April 13, 1896.

My dear Sir:

It is proper that you should know, under the circumstances, that Major McKinley is a life-long member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; that Mr. Hanna and myself are life-long members of the Protestant Episcopal Church. . . . I would not be surprised if the opposition which you find developing to Major McKinley in Indiana owes its origin to some extent to the circulation of the lies above referred to.

Very truly yours, James Boyle,

Private Secretary.

P. S. I am more than ever confident that Major McKinley's friends in Indiana owe it to themselves now to force instruction. The Journal's "cloven-hoof" ought to be discernable by all the true friends of Major McKinley in your State.³¹

J.B.

April 16, 1896.

(Personal)

Dear Sir:- In your favor to me of April 11th you spoke something about the idea of making a contract with the "News" for 2 columns space each day, and devote it to Major McKinley, and especially the idea of Indiana instructing in his behalf.³² I wish you would pursue this a little farther and see what such an arrangement would cost. Talk to Capt. Gowdy about it and let me know what is his decision in the matter. We must not fail to secure the adoption of McKinley resolutions. I consider it of great importance. Upon the slight prop of opposition to McKinley in Indiana rests all that is left of the Combine against him. It ought to be ditched forever, and we must spare no efforts in that direction.

Yours truly,

M. A. Hanna.

Washington, D. C.

April 23, 1896.

My dear Sir:

Your letters are received. Doubtless the matterss to which you

a The Indianapolis Journal was still sniping at the McKinley candidacy, while the News seemed as yet unwilling to swallow the chagrin due to General Harrison's elimination from the race.

³³ The Indianapolis News, independent evening paper, which became a supporter of the Republican ticket from this time until the election, carried long articles supporting McKinley's candidacy.

This doubtless refers to the A.P.A. matter.

refer will receive attention from Mr. Hanna. It is no time now for Indiana Republicans to halt or hesitate. General Harrison will not disgrace himself by being a party to the corrupt and scoundrelly tactics of the men who defeated his election in 1892. We are sweeping the country. It is a poor time for any man in your State to suggest that Indiana should get into the rear rank and become a second choice delegation.

Yours truly, C. H. Grosvenor.

April 24th, 1896.

(Personal)

My Dear Sir:-

This in acknowledgement of your several kind letters of recent date. Our correspondence is simply overwhelming us, and you will, I know, pardon any apparent neglect. Your letters and enclosed newspaper clippings have all been read with keen interest, and I beg to thank you sincerely for your pains. Be assured your interest in Gov. McKinley's candidacy is thoroughly appreciated. Write me as often as you have information which you think I should know, and keep me posted.

Do not let the State Convention fail to instruct for McKinley. Such failure would be misconstrued by the opposition, into a defeat for us, while favorable resolutions would come opportunely and be of great benefit.³⁴ We do not ask it for the purpose of insuring the loyalty of McKinley men, but for the effect the adoption of such resolutions would have upon the general result. I need not explain to you the importance of this. It is probably thoroughly apparent to yourself.

I cannot believe that Gen. Harrison will be a candidate under any circumstances. I am convinced that his letter of declination was genuinely sincere and positive.

Our Indiana friends, among whom we count you one and very close to us, have been making a splendid fight for Gov. McKinley. They are entitled [sic] to have, and do have, our warmest consideration. With cordial regards, I remain,

Very truly yours, M. A. Hanna.

April 25th, 1896.

(Personal)

My Dear Sir:- I am in receipt of your favor of the 22nd inst., and note what you say about the Journal and News. With regard to the course of the Commercial-Gazette, we understand from the inside what is the matter, but do not care to discuss it. Mr. Hinkle is not a friend, and we cannot expect anything better from his newspaper. I hope you will be able to accomplish what you say with Mr. Harrison. The methods employed by the Combine must certainly be very ob-

²⁶ Most of the Indiana congressional district conventions, held from April 7 until May 1, either instructed delegates to the state convention to endorse McKinley or expressed a preference for him over other candidates.

noxious to him, and I cannot appreciate how his friends in Indiana can permit his name to be associated with such matters before the public. You must win at your state convention, if possible, and if necessary to print circulars, have it done. I will gladly bear the expense. Does the A. P. A. matter cut any figure in Indiana? If so we can furnish plenty of testimony contradicting these lies which have been told against McKinley.

Yours truly, M. A. Hanna.

Washington, D. C.

April 25, 1896.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of April 22nd is also received and I can only say that I consider it of momentus [sic] importance that you carry the instructions in Indiana. If President Harrison allows himself to be made a tool of by John C. New he will go down to posterity with less of popular favor than he has now.

Yours truly,

C. H. Grosvenor.

Canton, Ohio April 25th, 1896.

My dear Sir:

I herewith return the clippings you enclosed in a letter I received this morning.

We are keeping a close and somewhat anxious eye upon Indiana. Speaking from this distance I would say that there is a subsidence of the Harrison talk over the country. There is a concencus [sic] of opinion that Harrison meant exactly what he said. Any way, the Harrison talk is altogether futile, if not malicious. No matter what Indiana does, McKinley will be nominated and that on the first ballot. I have never wavered from that opinion. Six weeks ago I made an estimate which showed McKinley's nomination on the first ballot. The situation has steadily improved since then. There are now more than enough votes in sight to nominate McKinley on the first ballot even if we do not get a single vote from Indiana. But the expressions we get from your State, quite apart from what you and Mr. Gowdy write, are to the effect that, first, your State Convention will instruct for McKinley and secondly even if it does not, that McKinley will get probably the solid vote from Indiana on the first ballot.

Yours very truly, Jas. Boyle

April 30th, 1896.

(Personal)

My dear Colonel:-

Your kind favor of the 29th inst., with enclosed clippings from the News and Journal, received. All have been read with interest, and your comments thereon have been carefully noted. We are hoping Illinois will instruct today. I can understand how it will help you. But, whether they do or not, Indiana must not fail us in this particular.

I think your arrangement for a Convention edition of the La-Fayette Courier is a good stroke. Delegate Weik³⁵ of Greencastle, I have no doubt is our loyal friend. His pleasant visit here convinced me of that fact. Let all McKinley men be enlisted under one banner, and fight the good fight to a finish. Keep me constantly posted on the situation.

Yours truly, M. A. Hanna.

May 5th, 1896.

(Personal)

My Dear Colonel:-

I am in receipt of your esteemed favors of May 2nd, 3rd and 4th, enclosing extracts from the Indianapolis News and Journal, and have read all with care and interest. I am very much pleased with the gallant fight you are making, and believe that you will succeed. Be assured that your energetic work is appreciated, greatly. You will, I know, excuse a brief reply, but we are nearly overwhelmed with correspondence. Kindly write me whenever you have any important information which I should know. Again thanking you, I remain, Very truly yours,

M. A. Hanna.

P. S. Don't let instructions fail. Wire me result as soon as possible.

M. A. H.

The Indiana Republican state convention met at Indianapolis on May 8, 1896, and adopted instructions for its delegates to the national convention at St. Louis binding them to vote for McKinley's nomination. The Harrison supporters made ineffectual efforts to block this action, but they did not have even the backing of General Harrison, since he declined to address the convention on account of his unwillingness to stir up factional strife. Thus, Messrs. Gowdy and Holloway carried their plans through to victory and fulfilled their promises to Hanna and McKinley. The latter were duly appreciative of the service.

The Harrison faction, led by Colonel New and other former Hoosier office-holders under the Harrison administration, still did not give up all hope. They next turned on State Chairman John W. Gowdy and tried to oust him. Throughout the month of May, the Indianapolis *Journal* belabored him for his high-handed action in pushing McKinley's candidacy down the throats of Hoosiers loyal to Harri-

Jesse W. Weik of Greencastie, later a biographer of Abraham Lincoln, was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1896.

son. At the showdown, on May 27, before the Republican state central committee, however, Gowdy was able to save himself from the vengeance of the Harrisonites.³⁶

Canton, Ohio.

May 8th, 1896.

My dear Colonel Holloway:

You and my other good friends have had a long fight and a hard fight, and I am sure you must feel intensely gratified that it is all over now. Believe me I appreciate your very effective service.

I should be pleased to see you here at any time it might be convenient for you to call.

Yours very truly, WMcKinley.

May 11th, 1896.

(Personal)

My Dear Colonel:-

You have my thanks for your kind letters of recent date. I congratulate you upon the great victory Gov. McKinley's friends won in your State Convention. You did splendid work, and I assure you it is thoroughly appreciated. We are proud of our Indiana friends. Kindly write me whenever you have information which I should know, and keep me advised on the situation. Be assured your loyalty to Gov. McKinley is greatly appreciated. Again thanking you, and with cordial regards, I remain,

Very truly yours, M. A. Hanna.

> Wash. D. C. May 11, 1896

My dear Sir:-

I thank you for your telegram which sent me to bed at a late hour very happy, and also for your letters since. I want to say to you that there has been not more than one, if any, harder fight in the United States than you encountered in Indiana. Indeed, in some respects it was worse than Illinois because it was the last desperate ditch of the opposition. Right well you handled your forces and grandly you rode to victory. We are all happy.

Yours very truly, C. H. Grosvenor.

May 12, 1896.

My dear Sir:

I have yours of the 11th inst. and have carefully noted what you say. Believe me,

Yours very truly, WMcKinley.

May 27, 28; Indianapolis Journal, May 28, 29, 1896.

June 3, 1896.

(Personal)

My dear Colonel:-

I am in receipt of your esteemed letter of recent date, with clippings from the Journal, for which accept my thanks. I am glad to know that the outlook in your State is so favorable. Trusting to see you in St. Louis,²⁷ I remain,

Very truly yours, M. A. Hanna.

June 5, 1896.

(Personal)

My dear Colonel:-

I am in receipt of your favors of the 27th and 28th and note all you say. I trust the matter in your State will come out all right in the end. Thanking you for the information and with cordial regards, I remain,

Very truly yours, M. A. Hanna.

Athens, Ohio, June 24th, 1896.

My dear Sir:-

I have your letter of June 20th. I find that since your writing, a letter from President Harrison³⁸ has made its appearance and I am very glad that he had the gracefulness to do what he did do.

Of course, we have expected that Brother New would feel disgruntled. The prospects for cakes and ale are not so good as they would have been under other conditions.

Yours truly, C. H. Grosvenor.

The Republican national convention, meeting in St. Louis Missouri, on June 18, 1896, nominated William McKinley, of Ohio, for President on the first ballot, with a vote of 661½ to 84½ for Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, his nearest competitor. Every precaution was taken by the Indiana managers, as well as by Hanna, to prevent any demonstration in favor of former President Harrison; indeed, not even so much as respectable notice was taken by any of the speakers, of the fact that Harrison, until that occasion, was the titular leader of the party. The Journal and the Harrisonites immediately rallied to the new leader, without further ado.

^{#7} The Republican National Convention met at St. Louis, Mo., June 16-18, 1896.

#8 No mention of such a letter appears in the Indianapolis press at this period.

Paul L. Haworth, The United States in Our Own Times (New York, 1935), 225.

[™] Indianapolis Journal, June 19, 1896.

June 29, 1896.

My dear Mr. Holloway:

Your kind congratulatory letter is hereby acknowledged with gratitude. I have taken careful note of what you say in your letter.

Yours sincerely, WMcKinley.

July 3rd, 1896.

(Personal)

My dear Sir:

Your favor of the 20th ult., came duly to hand, and like all the others, has waited an opportune time for me to reply. I have been simply snowed under since my return from St. Louis.

I hope the matters will be straightened out in your State, so there will be no factional differences. Every good Republican now is interested in the result, and I am sure if proper concessions from both sides, all friction may be avoided.

> Truly yours, M. A. Hanna.

> > July 7th, 1896.

My Dear Sir:

I note with care, what you say in yours of the 2nd inst., and thank you very much for your valuable suggestions, of a personal nature.

Very truly yours, WMcKinley.

July 14th, 1896.

My dear Mr. Holloway:

I had already noticed the position taken by Mr. Bynum.⁴¹ I thank you for your courtesy.

If you see Chairman Gowdy, please convey to him my sympathy.

Yours very truly, WMcKinley.

July 25, 1896.

My dear Mr. Holloway:

I was very glad indeed to receive the information contained in your esteemed favor of the 17th inst. Such letters are very encouraging.

Very truly yours, WMcKinley.

Jul 29 1896.

(Personal)

My Dear Colonel:-

You have my thanks for your valued letter of recent date, and

[&]quot;W. D. Bynum of Indianapolis, Democratic ex-congressman from the seventh district, publicly announced his intention on July 12 to bolt the Bryan ticket, and to organize a "gold" Democratic party. Indianapolis Journal, July 12, 1896.

the encouraging information which it contains. I am glad to know that you are hard at work, and have no doubt but that Indiana will do her duty when election day comes around, and return a large majority for the Republican ticket. Will depend upon you to keep me posted on the situation. With cordial regards, I remain,

Very truly yours, M. A. Hanna.

Jul 29, 1896.

(Personal)

Dear Colonel:-

Your recent valued favor suggesting that Indiana should be represented on the Executive Committee received, and carefully considered. I trust that the membership of the Committee⁴² as finally decided upon, not only as to Indiana, but as a whole, meets with your entire approval. I thank you for the interest you take in the matter and know that you will give the Committee your hearty support in the coming campaign. Kindly keep me advised with reference to the situation. With cordial regards, I remain,

Very truly yours, M. A. Hanna.

Aug. 5th, 1896.

My dear Mr. Holloway:

The encouraging information in yours of the 30th ult. is much appreciated by me. I believe that to a great extent the situation in Indiana is the same as that existing in all the central States.

I am rejoiced to hear that Chairman Gowdy is improving.

Yours very truly, WMcKinley.

Republican National Committee New York Headquarters

The Executive Committee ---- Metropolitan Life Building.

M. A. Hanna, Ohio, Chairman

W. T. Durbin, Indiana,

Etc.

New York, Aug. 7, 1896.

My dear Mr. Holloway:-

I am glad to hear that your organization is in such good shape. Good hard work at this time is what is needed. In my opinion the schoolhouse campaign⁴⁸ is a winner. I sincerely hope that your prediction in regard to carrying Indiana will come true. The educational campaign will do the work.

W. T. Durbin, of Anderson, Governor of Indiana, 1901-1905, was named as the Indiana representative on the Republican National Executive Committee.

During the political contest of 1896, the Republicans used the school-houses widely for political meetings where they conducted an "educational campaign" to enlighten the electorate on the evils of free silver and low tariffs and the virtues of the gold standard and high protection.

Thanking you for your loyal support in the interest of McKinley and Hobart, and with best wishes to you, I am,

Yours very truly, M. A. Hanna.

On July 10, 1896, the Democratic National Convention at Chicago named William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, as its standard-bearer on a "free-silver" platform and, immediately thereafter, a considerable exodus of "gold" Democrats took place. The columns of the Indianapolis Journal and other Republican papers were filled with letters of bolters setting forth their reasons for deserting Democracy in favor of McKinley and "sound" money." Many prominent Democrats, especially in Indianapolis, refused to swallow the action of the Chicago Convention and proceeded either to join the Republicans or to join in forming the National or "Gold" Democratic Party. At their convention in Indianapolis on September 3, they nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois as their leader.45 The defection of this element was more serious than that of the "silver" Republicans in Indiana.

House of Representatives Washington, D. C.

Athens, Ohio, Aug. 19, 1896.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of August 4th is received. I am sorry to hear that poor old Joe⁴⁶ has jumped the fence again. He was always unreliable and we could never trust him. I am, however, of the opinion that the nomination of a second Democratic ticket would be of the greatest benefit to us. I have just returned from a trip to Europe and met a good many old time Democrats, travelling, etc. I did not find but one man, and that was Senator Daniel of Virginia, who was going to vote for Bryan. They all said that a new ticket would give them a chance to go on the stump and fight Bryan, and one of them said to me that if there was a second ticket he would go on the stump and fight Bryan on the straight ticket and "when voting time comes, I will vote to kill". I would be glad to hear from you and what you think of the situation in Indiana. The two papers in Cincinnati are at such divergence that I am unable to learn what the real facts are.

Yours truly,

C. H. Grosvenor.

⁴⁴ Indianapolis Journal, July 12, 24, Aug. 7, 1896.

Indianapolis Sentinel, Sept. 4, 1896.
 Unidentified but probably a "Silver Republican" who boked the McKinley ticket in favor of the Democratic-Populist ticket.

Republican National Committee New York Headquarters

The Executive Committee Metropolitan Life Building. M. A. Hanna, Ohio, Chairman Wm. M. Osborne, Mass., Secretary.

New York, Sept. 2nd, 1896.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 28th ulto. is before me. I note with pleasure all you say and appreciate fully all your needs. Your claim for assistance should be presented to the Chicago headquarters. Mr. Durbin, as you know, is one of the Executive Committee and located in Chicago. I have no doubt he can get what assistance is absolutely necessary.⁴⁷ Of course this is a great country to cover and there are a great many states to be contested. We have got to spread our sinews out carefully and husband our strength to the best advantage. As reports show you are doing a great work, I have no doubt your predictions are well founded. I will be glad to hear from you at any time.

Sincerely, W. M. Osborne, Secretary.

The election of November 3, 1896, in Indiana resulted in a decisive victory for the Republican candidates, both national and local. Hanna's "educational" campaign by way of Indiana school-houses helped to swell the plurality for McKinley's election in this state to 18,850, the largest any presidential candidate of either party had received since the victory of Grant in 1872.48

Now that the heat of battle was past, the victorious veterans turned their attention to the distribution of the "cakes and ale." Colonel Holloway had mounted the McKinley bandwagon among the earliest and had done yeoman service for the cause. It was but natural that he should hunger for the spoils of political war. Apparently, he had set his heart on a lucrative post in the consular service, that traditional "asylum for broken-down lawyers and political hacks." To achieve this goal, it was necessary that he should marshal an impressive array of sponsors. Hence, these last letters.

⁶⁷ Mark Hanna may have used copious amounts of money during the campaign, as many authorities assert, but he employed also a keen businessman's shrewdness in determining where its application was most needed and would produce the best results.

⁴⁸ Indianapolis Sentinel, Nov. 8, 1896; ef., Indianapolis Journal, Nov. 7, 1896.

Grosvenor, Jones and Worstell, Attorneys at Law.

Athens, Ohio, November 19, 1896.

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of the 17th instant. I have not the slightest idea of what will be done in the matter of patronage. I know this, however, that under all circumstances and at all times I shall insist on your recognition as one of the original McKinley men of Indiana, and if you should ask for a place at any of the towns named, except perhaps Liverpool, I should take great pleasure in pushing your claims.

Yours truly, C. H. Grosvenor.

James A. Mount Willowdale Farm. My dear Sir:

Shannondale, Ind. Dec. 3rd, 1896.

I am much gratified to know you so highly appreciate the appointment of Chas. E. Wilson⁴⁹ as my private Secretary. I sincerely thank you for the letter you wrote Gov. McKinley commending my nomination. I trust subsequent events have not been disappointing.

My veneration for Gov. Morton was so profound, that I must ever remember with kindness his widow and family.

Very truly yours, J. A. Mount.⁵⁰

Treasury of the State of Indiana.

F. J. Scholz, Treasurer

Indianapolis, Ind., July 16, 1897.

Dear Sir:-

Yours of the 14th., inst., to hand, upon receipt of which I immediately wrote Sen. C. W. Fairbanks⁵¹ in your behalf, hoping that you will be successful in securing an appointment.

I am,

Very respectfully yours, F. J. Scholz.⁵²

Sometime early in 1897, after the inauguration of President McKinley, the spoils of war were apportioned. Addison C. Harris, of Indianapolis, received the office of U. S. Minister to Austria-Hungary and Captain John W. Gowdy went

⁴⁰ This was probably Chas. S. Wilson, of Lebanon, a newspaper editor and active leader of the Republican party through the eighteen eighties and nineties.

⁵⁰ James A. Mount of Montgomery County was the successful Republican candidate for Governor of Indiana in 1896. Holloway was evidently still trading on the political influence of his deceased brother-in-law, Oliver P. Morton, war Governor and later Senator from Indiana.

a Charles Warren Fairbanks of Indianapolis was elected U. S. Senator by the Indiana State Legislature in Jan., 1897. He had been a strong supporter of McKinley through his paper, the Indianapolis News, though the public did not then know who owned the News.

F. J. Scholz was elected State Treasurer in Nov. 1896.

as U. S. Consul General to Paris, France, the latter post being one of the most lucrative in the entire consular service. Our friend, Colonel Holloway, drew as his prize the position of U. S. Consul General at St. Petersburg, Russia. This post he retained until 1904, when, for the sake of his health, he asked and received a transfer to the consulate at Halifax, Nova Scotia. The change in climate did not bring the desired improvement in health, so, in 1907, Colonel Holloway retired and returned to make his home in Indianapolis. He died there in 1911, at the age of seventy-five.

It may be of public interest to note that the consular service has not provided political plums for deserving party henchmen since 1907, for, in that year, President Theodore Roosevelt placed consular offices under civil service regulations. Hungry would-be officeholders have had to look to other fields for political rewards in recent years.