

= Horace Greeley =

Horace Greeley (February 3 , 1811 ? November 29 , 1872) was editor of the New @-@ York Tribune , among the great newspapers of its time . Long active in politics , he served briefly as a congressman from New York , and was the candidate of the Democratic and Liberal Republican parties in the 1872 presidential election . He was defeated by President Ulysses S. Grant , and died before the casting of the electoral vote .

Born to a poor family in New Hampshire , Greeley was apprenticed to a printer in Vermont , and in 1831 went to New York City to seek his fortune . He wrote for or edited several publications , and involved himself in Whig Party politics , taking a significant part in William Henry Harrison 's successful 1840 presidential campaign . The following year , he founded the Tribune , which through weekly editions sent by mail became the highest @-@ circulating newspaper in the country . Among many other issues , he urged the settlement of the American West , which he saw as a land of opportunity for the young and the unemployed . He popularized the phrase " Go West , young man , and grow up with the country , " although it is uncertain whether it originated with him .

Greeley 's alliance with William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed led to him serving three months in the House of Representatives , where he angered many by investigating Congress in his newspaper . He helped found the Republican Party in 1854 , but about then broke with Seward and Weed , backing other presidential candidates against Seward at the 1860 Republican National Convention , and supporting the nominee , Abraham Lincoln . When the Civil War broke out , he mostly supported Lincoln , though urging him to commit to the end of slavery before the president was willing to do so . After Lincoln 's assassination , he supported the Radical Republicans in opposition to President Andrew Johnson .

Leading against the corruption of Grant 's Republican administration , Greeley was the new Liberal Republican Party 's candidate in the 1872 U.S. presidential election . Despite having the additional support of the Democratic Party , he lost in a landslide . Devastated at the defeat , he died three weeks later . Greeley is the only major @-@ party presidential candidate to have died prior to the electoral vote being cast .

= = Early life = =

Horace Greeley was born on February 3 , 1811 , on a farm about five miles from Amherst , New Hampshire . He could not breathe for the first twenty minutes of his life . It is suggested that this deprivation may have caused him to develop Asperger 's syndrome ? some of his biographers , such as Mitchell Snay , maintain that this condition would account for his eccentric behaviors in later life .

Greeley was the son of poor farmers Zaccheus and Mary (Woodburn) Greeley . Zaccheus was not successful , and moved his family several times , as far west as Pennsylvania . Horace attended the local schools , and was a brilliant student . He was of English descent , and his forebears included early settlers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire .

Seeing the boy 's intelligence , some neighbors offered to pay Horace 's way at Phillips Exeter Academy , but the Greeleys were too proud to accept charity . In 1820 , Zaccheus 's financial reverses caused him to flee New Hampshire with his family lest he be imprisoned for debt , and settle in Vermont . Even as his father struggled to make a living as a hired hand , Horace Greeley read everything he could ? the Greeleys had a neighbor who let Horace use his library . In 1822 , Horace ran away from home to become a printer 's apprentice , but was told he was too young .

In 1826 , at age 15 , he was made a printer 's apprentice to Amos Bliss , editor of the Northern Spectator , a newspaper in East Poultney , Vermont . There , he learned the mechanics of a printer 's job , and acquired a reputation as the town encyclopedia , reading his way through the local library . When the paper closed in 1830 , the young man went west to join his family , living near Erie , Pennsylvania . He remained there only briefly , going from town to town seeking newspaper employment , and was hired by the Erie Gazette . Although ambitious for greater things , he remained until 1831 to help support his father . While there , he became a Universalist , breaking

from his Congregationalist upbringing .

= = First efforts at publishing = =

In late 1831 , Greeley went to New York City to seek his fortune . There were many young printers in New York who had likewise come to the metropolis , and he could only find short @-@ term work . In 1832 , Greeley worked as an employee of the publication Spirit of the Times . He built his resources and set up a print shop in that year . In 1833 , he tried his hand with Horatio D. Sheppard at editing a daily newspaper , the New York Morning Post , which was not a success . Despite this failure and its attendant financial loss , Greeley published the thrice @-@ weekly Constitutionalist , which mostly printed lottery results .

On March 22 , 1834 , he published the first issue of The New @-@ Yorker in partnership with Jonas Winchester . It was less expensive than other literary magazines of the time and published both contemporary ditties and political commentary . Circulation reached 9 @, @ 000 , then a sizable number , yet it was ill @-@ managed and eventually fell victim to the economic Panic of 1837 . He also published the campaign news sheet of the new Whig Party in New York for the 1834 campaign , and came to believe in its positions , including free markets with government assistance in developing the nation .

Soon after his move to New York City , Greeley met Mary Young Cheney . Both were living at a boarding house run on the diet principles of Sylvester Graham , eschewing meat , alcohol , coffee , tea , and spices , as well as abstaining from the use of tobacco . Greeley was subscribing to Graham 's principles at the time , and to the end of his life rarely ate meat . Mary Cheney , a schoolteacher , moved to North Carolina to take a teaching job in 1835 . They were married in Warrenton , North Carolina on July 5 , 1836 , and an announcement duly appeared in The New @-@ Yorker eleven days later . Greeley had stopped over in Washington , D.C. on his way south to observe Congress . He took no honeymoon with his new wife , returning to work while his wife took up a teaching job in New York City .

One of the positions taken by The New @-@ Yorker was that the unemployed of the cities should seek lives in the developing American West (in the 1830s , the West encompassed today 's Midwestern states) . The harsh winter of 1836 ? 1837 and the financial crisis that developed soon after made many New Yorkers homeless and destitute . In his journal , Greeley urged new immigrants to buy guide books on the West , and Congress to make public lands available for purchase at cheap rates to settlers . He told his readers , " Fly , scatter through the country , go to the Great West , anything rather than remain here ... the West is the true destination . " In 1838 , he advised " any young man " about to start in the world , " Go to the West : there your capabilities are sure to be appreciated and your energy and industry rewarded . "

In 1838 , Greeley met Albany editor Thurlow Weed . Weed spoke for a liberal faction of the Whigs in his newspaper the Albany Evening Journal . He hired Greeley as editor of the state Whig newspaper for the upcoming campaign . The newspaper , the Jeffersonian , premiered in February 1838 and helped elect the Whig candidate for governor , William H. Seward . In 1839 , Greeley worked for several journals , and took a month @-@ long break to go as far west as Detroit .

Greeley was deeply involved in the campaign of the Whig candidate for president in 1840 , William Henry Harrison . He published the major Whig periodical the Log Cabin , and also wrote many of the pro @-@ Harrison songs that marked the campaign . These songs were sung at mass meetings , many organized and led by Greeley . According to biographer Robert C. Williams , " Greeley 's lyrics swept the country and roused Whig voters to action . " Funds raised by Weed helped distribute the Log Cabin widely . Harrison and his running mate John Tyler were easily elected .

= = Editor of the Tribune = =

= = = Early years (1841 ? 1848) = = =

By the end of the 1840 campaign , the Log Cabin 's circulation had risen to 80 @,@ 000 and Greeley decided to establish a daily newspaper , the New @-@ York Tribune . At the time , New York had many newspapers , dominated by James Gordon Bennett 's New York Herald , which with a circulation of about 55 @,@ 000 had more readers than its combined competition . As technology advanced , it became cheaper and easier to publish a newspaper , and the daily press came to dominate the weekly , which had once been the more common format for news periodicals . Greeley borrowed money from friends to get started , and published the first issue of the Tribune on April 10 , 1841 ? the day of a memorial parade in New York for President Harrison , who had died after a month in office and been replaced by Vice President Tyler .

In the first issue , Greeley promised that his newspaper would be a " new morning Journal of Politics , Literature , and General Intelligence " . New Yorkers were not initially receptive ; the first week 's receipts were \$ 92 and expenses \$ 525 . The paper was sold for a cent a copy by newsboys who purchased bundles of papers at a discount . The price of advertising was initially four cents a line , but was quickly raised to six cents . Through the 1840s , the Tribune was four pages , that is , a single sheet folded . It initially had 600 subscribers and 5 @,@ 000 copies were sold of the first issue .

In the early days , Greeley 's chief assistant was Henry J. Raymond , who a decade later founded The New York Times . To place the Tribune on a sound financial footing , Greeley sold a half @-@ interest in it to attorney Thomas McElrath , who became publisher of the Tribune (Greeley was editor) and ran the business side . Politically , the Tribune backed Kentucky Senator Henry Clay , who had unsuccessfully sought the presidential nomination that fell to Harrison , and supported Clay 's American System for development of the country . Greeley was one of the first newspaper editors to have a full @-@ time correspondent in Washington , an innovation quickly followed by his rivals . Part of Greeley 's strategy was to make the Tribune a newspaper of national scope , not merely local . One factor in establishing the paper nationally was the Weekly Tribune , created in September , 1841 when the Log Cabin and The New @-@ Yorker were merged . With an initial subscription price of \$ 2 a year , this was sent to many across the United States by mail , and was especially popular in the Midwest . In December 1841 , Greeley was offered the editorship of the national Whig newspaper , the Madisonian . He demanded full control , and declined when not given it .

Greeley , in his paper , initially supported the Whig program . As divisions between Clay and President Tyler became apparent , he supported the Kentucky senator and looked to a Clay nomination for president in 1844 . However , when Clay was nominated by the Whigs , he was defeated by the Democrat , former Tennessee governor James K. Polk , though Greeley worked hard on Clay 's behalf . Greeley had taken positions in opposition to slavery as editor of The New @-@ Yorker in the late 1830s , opposing the annexation of the slaveholding Republic of Texas to the United States . In the 1840s , Greeley became an increasingly vocal opponent of the expansion of slavery .

Greeley hired Margaret Fuller in 1844 as first literary editor of the Tribune , for which she wrote over 200 articles . She lived with the Greeley family for several years , and when she moved to Italy , he made her a foreign correspondent . He promoted the work of Henry David Thoreau , serving as literary agent and seeing to it that Thoreau 's work was published . Ralph Waldo Emerson also benefited from Greeley 's promotion . Historian Allan Nevins explained :

The Tribune set a new standard in American journalism by its combination of energy in news gathering with good taste , high moral standards , and intellectual appeal . Police reports , scandals , dubious medical advertisements , and flippant personalities were barred from its pages ; the editorials were vigorous but usually temperate ; the political news was the most exact in the city ; book reviews and book @-@ extracts were numerous ; and as an inveterate lecturer Greeley gave generous space to lectures . The paper appealed to substantial and thoughtful people .

Greeley , who had met his wife at a Graham boarding house , became enthusiastic about other social movements that did not last , and promoted them in his paper . He subscribed to the views of Charles Fourier , a French mathematician and social thinker , then recently deceased , who proposed the establishment of settlements called " phalanxes " with a given number of people from

various walks of life , who would function as a corporation and among whose members profits would be shared . Greeley , in addition to promoting Fourierism in the Tribune , was associated with two such settlements , both of which eventually failed , though the town that eventually developed on the site of the one in Pennsylvania was after his death renamed Greeley .

= = = Congressman (1848 ? 1849) = = =

In November 1848 , Congressman David S. Jackson , a Democrat , of New York 's Sixth District was unseated for election fraud . Jackson 's term was to expire in March 1849 , but during the 19th century Congress convened annually in December , making it important to fill the seat . Under the laws then in force , the Whig committee from the Sixth District chose Jackson 's replacement and they chose Greeley , though they did not select him as their candidate for the seat in the following Congress . The Sixth District , or Sixth Ward as it was commonly called , was mostly Irish @-@ American , and Greeley proclaimed his support for Irish efforts towards independence from Great Britain . He took his seat when Congress convened in December 1848 . Greeley 's selection was procured by the influence of his ally , Thurlow Weed .

As a congressman for three months , Greeley introduced legislation for a homestead act that would allow settlers who improved land to purchase it at low rates ? a fourth of what speculators would pay . He was quickly noticed because he launched a series of attacks on legislative privileges , taking note of which congressmen were missing votes , and questioning the office of House Chaplain . This was enough to make him unpopular . But he outraged his colleagues when on December 22 , 1848 the Tribune published evidence that many congressmen had been paid excessive sums as travel allowance . In January 1849 , Greeley supported a bill that would have corrected the issue , but it was defeated . He was so disliked , he wrote a friend , that he had " divided the House into two parties ? one that would like to see me extinguished and the other that wouldn 't be satisfied without a hand in doing it . "

Other legislation , all failed , introduced by Greeley included attempts to end flogging in the Navy , and to ban alcohol from its ships . He tried to change the name of the United States to " Columbia " , abolish slavery in the District of Columbia , and increase tariffs . One lasting effect of the term of Congressman Greeley was his friendship with a fellow Whig , serving his only term in the House , Illinois 's Abraham Lincoln . Greeley 's term ended after March 3 , 1849 , and he returned to New York and the Tribune , having , according to Williams , " failed to achieve much except notoriety " .

= = = Influence (1849 ? 1860) = = =

By the end of the 1840s , Greeley 's Tribune was not only solidly established in New York as a daily paper , it was highly influential nationally through its weekly edition , which circulated in rural areas and small towns . Journalist Bayard Taylor deemed its influence in the Midwest second only to that of the Bible . According to Williams , the Tribune could mold public opinion through Greeley 's editorials more effectively than could the president . Greeley sharpened those skills over time , laying down what future Secretary of State John Hay , who worked for the Tribune in the 1870s , deemed the " Gospel according to St. Horace " .

The Tribune remained a Whig paper , but Greeley took an independent course . In 1848 , he had been slow to endorse the Whig presidential nominee , General Zachary Taylor , a Louisianan and hero of the Mexican @-@ American War . Greeley opposed both the war and the expansion of slavery into the new territories seized from Mexico , and feared Taylor would support expansion as president . Greeley considered endorsing former president Martin Van Buren , candidate of the Free Soil Party , but finally endorsed Taylor , who was elected ; the editor was rewarded for his loyalty with the congressional term . Greeley vacillated on support for the Compromise of 1850 , which gave victories to both sides of the slavery issue , before finally opposing it . In the 1852 presidential race , he supported the Whig candidate , General Winfield Scott , but savaged the Whig platform for its support of the Compromise . " We defy it , execrate it , spit upon it . " Such party divisions contributed to Scott 's defeat by former New Hampshire senator Franklin Pierce .

In 1853 , with the party increasingly divided over the slavery issue , Greeley printed an editorial disclaiming the paper 's identity as Whig and declaring it to be nonpartisan . He was confident that the paper would not suffer financially , trusting in reader loyalty . Some in the party were not sorry to see him go : the Republic , a Whig organ , mocked Greeley and his beliefs : " If a party is to be built up and maintained on Fourierism , Mesmerism , Maine Liquor laws , Spiritual Rappings , Kossuthism , Socialism , Abolitionism , and forty other isms , we have no disposition to mix with any such companions . " When in 1854 , Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas introduced his Kansas @-@ Nebraska Bill , allowing residents of each territory to decide whether it would be slave or free , Greeley strongly fought the legislation in his newspaper . After it passed , and the Border War broke out in Kansas Territory , Greeley was part of efforts to send free @-@ state settlers there , and to arm them . In return , proponents of slavery recognized Greeley and the Tribune as adversaries , stopping shipments of the paper to the South and harassing local agents . Nevertheless , by 1858 , the Tribune reached 300 @, @ 000 subscribers through the weekly edition , and it would continue as the foremost American newspaper through the years of the Civil War .

The Kansas @-@ Nebraska Act helped destroy the Whig Party , but a new party with opposition to the spread of slavery at its heart had been under discussion for some years . Beginning in 1853 , Greeley participated in the discussions that led to the founding of the Republican Party and may have coined its name . Greeley attended the first New York state Republican Convention in 1854 , and was disappointed not to be nominated either for governor or lieutenant governor . The switch in parties coincided with the end of two of his longtime political alliances : in December 1854 , Greeley wrote that the political partnership between Weed , William Seward (who was by then senator after serving as governor) and himself was ended " by the withdrawal of the junior partner " . Greeley was angered over patronage disputes , and felt Seward was courting the rival The New York Times for support .

In 1853 , Greeley purchased a farm in rural Chappaqua , New York , where he experimented with farming techniques . In 1856 , he designed and built Rehoboth , one of the first concrete structures in the United States .

The Tribune continued to print a wide variety of material . In 1851 , its managing editor Charles Dana recruited Karl Marx as a foreign correspondent in London . Marx collaborated with Friedrich Engels on his work for the Tribune , which continued for over a decade , covering 500 articles . Greeley felt compelled to print , " Mr. Marx has very decided opinions of his own , with some of which we are far from agreeing , but those who do not read his letters are neglecting one of the most instructive sources of information on the great questions of current European politics . "

In 1859 , Greeley traveled across the continent to see the West for himself , to write about it for the Tribune , and to publicize the need for a transcontinental railroad . He also planned to give speeches to promote the Republican Party . He went to Chicago , then to Lawrence in Kansas Territory , and was unimpressed by the local people . Greeley took one of the first stagecoaches to Denver , seeing the town then in course of formation as a mining camp of the Pike 's Peak Gold Rush . Sending dispatches back to be published in the Tribune , Greeley took the Overland Trail , reaching Salt Lake City , where he conducted a two @-@ hour interview with the Mormon leader , Brigham Young , the first newspaper interview Young had given . Greeley encountered Native Americans , and was sympathetic , but like many of his time , deemed Indian culture inferior . In California , he explored widely and gave many addresses .

= = = 1860 campaign = = =

Although he remained on cordial terms with Senator Seward , Greeley never seriously considered supporting him in his bid for the Republican nomination for president . Instead , during the run @-@ up to the 1860 Republican National Convention in Chicago , he pressed the candidacy of former Missouri representative Edward Bates , an opponent of the spread of slavery who had freed his own slaves . In his newspaper , in speeches , and in conversation , Greeley pushed Bates as a man who could win the North and even make inroads in the South . Nevertheless , when one of the dark horse candidates for the Republican nomination , Abraham Lincoln , came to New York to give an

address at Cooper Union , Greeley urged his readers to go hear Lincoln , and was among those who accompanied him to the platform . Greeley thought of Lincoln as a possible nominee for vice president .

Greeley attended the convention as a substitute for a delegate from Oregon who was unable to attend . In Chicago , he promoted Bates but deemed his cause hopeless and felt that Seward would be nominated . In conversations with other delegates , he predicted that , if nominated , Seward could not carry crucial battleground states such as Pennsylvania . Greeley 's estrangement from Seward was not widely known , giving the editor more credibility . Greeley (and Seward) biographer Glyndon G. Van Deusen noted that it is uncertain how great a part Greeley played in Seward 's defeat by Lincoln ? he had little success gaining delegates for Bates . On the first two ballots , Seward led Lincoln , but on the second only by a small margin . After the third ballot , on which Lincoln was nominated , Greeley was seen among the Oregon delegation , a broad smile on his face . According to Pulitzer Prize @-@ winning historian Doris Kearns Goodwin , " it is hard to imagine Lincoln letting Greeley 's resentment smolder for years as Seward did " .

Seward 's forces made Greeley a target of their anger at the senator 's defeat . One subscriber cancelled , regretting the three @-@ cent stamp he had to use on the letter ; Greeley supplied a replacement . When he was attacked in print , Greeley responded in kind . He launched a campaign against corruption in the New York Legislature , hoping voters would defeat incumbents and the new legislators would elect him to the Senate when Seward 's term expired in 1861 (senators were until 1913 elected by state legislatures) . But his main activity during the campaign of 1860 was boosting Lincoln and denigrating the other presidential candidates . He made it clear that a Republican administration would not interfere with slavery where it already was , and denied that Lincoln was in favor of voting rights for African Americans . He kept up the pressure until Lincoln was elected in November .

Lincoln soon let it be known that Seward would be Secretary of State , meaning he would not be a candidate for re @-@ election to the Senate . Weed wanted William M. Evarts elected in his place , while the anti @-@ Seward forces in New York gathered around Greeley . The crucial battleground was the Republican caucus , as the party held the majority in the legislature . Greeley 's forces did not have enough votes to send him to the Senate , but they had enough strength to block Evarts 's candidacy . Weed threw his support to Ira Harris , who had already received several votes , and who was chosen by the caucus and elected by the legislature in February 1861 . Weed was content to have blocked the editor , and stated that he had " paid the first installment on a large debt to Mr. Greeley " .

= = = Civil War = = =

= = = = War breaks out = = = =

After Lincoln 's election , there was talk of secession in the South . The Tribune was initially in favor of peaceful separation , with the South becoming a separate nation . According to an editorial on November 9 @,@

If the Cotton States shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it , we insist on letting them go in peace . The right to secede may be a revolutionary one , but it exists nevertheless And whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out , we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in . We hope never to live in a republic where of one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets .

Similar editorials appeared through January 1861 , after which Tribune editorials took a hard line on the South , opposing concessions . Williams concludes that " for a brief moment , Horace Greeley had believed that peaceful secession might be a form of freedom preferable to civil war " . This brief flirtation with disunion would have consequences for Greeley ? it was used by his opponents against him when he ran for president in 1872 .

In the days leading up to Lincoln 's inauguration , the Tribune headed its editorial columns each day

, in large capital letters : " No compromise ! / No concession to traitors ! / The Constitution as it is ! " Greeley attended the inauguration , sitting close to Senator Douglas , as the Tribune hailed the beginning of Lincoln 's presidency . When southern forces attacked Fort Sumter , the Tribune regretted the loss of the fort , but applauded the fact that war to subdue the rebels , who formed the Confederate States of America , would now take place . The paper criticized Lincoln for not being quick to use force .

Through the spring and early summer of 1861 , Greeley and the Tribune beat the drum for a Union attack . " On to Richmond " , a phrase coined by a Tribune stringer , became the watchword of the newspaper as Greeley urged the occupation of the rebel capital of Richmond before the Confederate Congress could meet on July 20 . In part because of the public pressure , Lincoln sent the half @-@ trained Union Army into the field at the First Battle of Manassas in mid @-@ July where it was soundly beaten . The defeat threw Greeley into despair , and he may have suffered a nervous breakdown .

= = = = " Prayer of Twenty Millions " = = = =

Restored to health by two weeks at the farm he had purchased in Chappaqua , Greeley returned to the Tribune and a policy of general backing of the Lincoln administration , even having kind words to say about Secretary Seward , his old foe . He was supportive even during the military defeats of the first year of the war . Late in 1861 , he proposed to Lincoln through an intermediary that the president provide him with advance information as to its policies , in exchange for friendly coverage in the Tribune . Lincoln eagerly accepted , " having him firmly behind me will be as helpful to me as an army of one hundred thousand men . "

By early 1862 , however , Greeley was again sometimes critical of the administration , frustrated by the failure to win decisive military victories , and perturbed at the president 's slowness to commit to the emancipation of the slaves once the Confederacy was defeated , something the Tribune was urging in its editorials . This was a change in Greeley 's thinking which began after First Manassas , a shift from preservation of the Union being the primary war purpose to wanting the war to end slavery . By March , the only action against slavery that Lincoln had backed was a proposal for compensated emancipation in the border states that had remained loyal to the Union , though he signed legislation abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia . Lincoln supposedly asked a Tribune correspondent , " What in the world is the matter with Uncle Horace ? Why can 't he restrain himself and wait a little while ? "

Greeley 's prodding of Lincoln culminated in a letter to him on August 19 , 1862 , reprinted on the following day in the Tribune as the " Prayer of Twenty Millions " . By this time , Lincoln had informed his Cabinet of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation he had composed , and Greeley was told of it the same day the prayer was printed . In his letter , Greeley demanded action on emancipation , and strict enforcement of the Confiscation Acts . Lincoln must " fight slavery with liberty " , and not fight " wolves with the devices of a sheep " .

Lincoln 's reply would become famous , much more so than the prayer that provoked it . " My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union , and is not either to save or to destroy slavery . If I could save the Union without freeing any slave , I would do it , and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it ; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that . What I do about slavery , and the colored race , I do because it helps to save the Union ; and what I forbear , I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union . " Lincoln 's statement angered abolitionists ; William Seward 's wife Frances complained to her husband that Lincoln had made it seem " that the mere keeping together a number of states is more important than human freedom . " Greeley felt Lincoln had not truly answered him , " but I 'll forgive him everything if he 'll issue the proclamation " . When Lincoln did , on September 22 , Greeley hailed the Emancipation Proclamation as a " great boon of freedom " . According to Williams , " Lincoln 's war for Union was now also Greeley 's war for emancipation . "

= = = = Draft Riots and peace efforts = = = =

After the Union victory at Gettysburg in early July 1863 , the Tribune wrote that the rebellion would be quickly " stamped out " . A week after the battle , the New York City draft riots erupted . Greeley and the Tribune were generally supportive of conscription , though feeling that the rich should not be allowed to evade it by hiring substitutes . Support for the draft made them targets of the mob , and the Tribune Building was surrounded , and at least once invaded . Greeley secured arms from the Brooklyn Navy Yard and 150 soldiers kept the building secure . Mary Greeley and her children were at the farm in Chappaqua ; a mob threatened them , but dispersed without doing harm .

In August 1863 , Greeley was requested by a firm of Hartford publishers to write a history of the war . Greeley agreed , and over the next eight months penned a 600 @-@ page volume , which would be the first of two , entitled The American Conflict . The books were very successful , selling a total of 225 @,@ 000 copies by 1870 , a large sale for the time .

Throughout the war , Greeley played with ideas as to how to settle it . In 1862 , Greeley had approached the French minister to Washington , Henri Mercier , to discuss a mediated settlement . However , Seward rejected such talks and the prospect of European intervention receded after the bloody Union victory at Antietam in September 1862 . In July 1864 , Greeley received word that there were Confederate commissioners in Canada , empowered to offer peace . In fact , the men were in Niagara Falls , Canada to aid Peace Democrats and otherwise undermine the Union war effort. but they played along when Greeley journeyed to Niagara Falls , at Lincoln 's request : the president was willing to consider any deal that included reunion and emancipation . The Confederates had no credentials and were unwilling to accompany Greeley to Washington under safe conduct . Greeley returned to New York , and the episode , when it became public , embarrassed the administration . Lincoln said nothing publicly concerning Greeley 's credulous conduct , but privately indicated that he had no confidence in him anymore .

Greeley did not initially support Lincoln for nomination in 1864 , casting about for other candidates . In February , he wrote in the Tribune that Lincoln could not be elected to a second term . Nevertheless , no candidate made a serious challenge to Lincoln , who was nominated in June , which the Tribune applauded slightly . In August , fearing a Democratic victory and acceptance of the Confederacy , Greeley engaged in a plot to get a new convention to nominate another candidate , with Lincoln withdrawing . The plot came to nothing . Once Atlanta was taken by Union forces on September 3 , Greeley became a fervent supporter of Lincoln . Greeley was gratified both by Lincoln 's re @-@ election and continued Union victories .

== = Reconstruction = = =

As the war drew to a close in April 1865 , Greeley and the Tribune urged magnanimity towards the defeated Confederates , arguing that making martyrs of Confederate leaders would only inspire future rebels . This talk of moderation ceased when Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth . Many concluded that Lincoln had fallen as the result of a final rebel plot , and the new president , Andrew Johnson , offered \$ 100 @,@ 000 for the capture of fugitive Confederate president Jefferson Davis . After the rebel leader was caught , Greeley initially advocated that " punishment be meted out in accord with a just verdict " .

Through 1866 , Greeley editorialized that Davis , who was being held at Fortress Monroe , should either be set free or put on trial . Davis 's wife Varina urged Greeley to use his influence to gain her husband 's release . In May 1867 , a Richmond judge set bail for the former Confederate president at \$ 100 @,@ 000 . Greeley was among those who signed the bail bond , and the two men met briefly at the courthouse . This act resulted in public anger against Greeley in the North . Sales of the second volume of his history (published in 1866) declined sharply . Subscriptions to the Tribune (especially the Weekly Tribune) also dropped off , though they recovered during the 1868 election .

Beginning as a supporter , Greeley soon became disillusioned with President Johnson , whose Reconstruction policies allowed the quick formation of state governments without provision for suffrage for the freedman . When Congress convened and gradually took control of Reconstruction ,

Greeley generally supported their actions , favoring universal male suffrage and , his anger against the Confederates having cooled , amnesty . While Greeley generally supported the Radical Republicans , he did not like the harshness of Thaddeus Stevens . Greeley ran for Congress in 1866 , but lost badly , and for Senate in the legislative election held in early 1867 , to be defeated by Roscoe Conkling .

As president and Congress battled , Greeley remained firmly opposed to Johnson , and when the president was impeached in 1868 , Greeley and the Tribune strongly supported his removal , strongly attacking Johnson . Nevertheless , the president was acquitted by the Senate , much to Greeley 's disappointment . Also in 1868 , Greeley sought the Republican nomination for governor , but was frustrated by the Conkling forces . Greeley supported the successful Republican presidential nominee , General Ulysses S. Grant in the 1868 election .

= = = Grant years = = =

In 1868 , Whitelaw Reid joined the Tribune ' s staff as managing editor . In Reid , Greeley had found a reliable second @-@ in @-@ command . Also on the Tribune 's staff in the late 1860s was Mark Twain ; Henry George sometimes contributed pieces , as did Bret Harte . In 1870 , Lincoln 's assistant private secretary , John Hay , joined the staff as an editorial writer . Greeley soon pronounced Hay the most brilliant at that craft ever to write for the Tribune .

Greeley maintained his interest in associationism . Beginning in 1869 , he was heavily involved in an attempt to found a utopia on the prairie in a scheme led by Nathan Meeker . Named Greeley , Colorado Territory , its namesake served as treasurer of the town association , bought two lots there , which he inspected in 1870 , and lent Meeker money to keep the colony afloat . Greeley 's close friend P. T. Barnum also interested himself in the project , and built a hotel there . After early struggles , the colony survived under Meeker 's leadership , though adopting a normal municipal government . In 1871 , Greeley published a book What I Know About Farming , based on his childhood experience and that from his country home in Chappaqua .

Greeley continued to seek political office , running for state comptroller in 1869 and the House of Representatives in 1870 , losing both times . In 1870 , President Grant offered Greeley the post of minister to Santo Domingo (today , the Dominican Republic) , which he declined .

= = Presidential candidate = =

As had been the case for much of the 19th century , political parties continued to be formed and to vanish after the Civil War . In September 1871 , Missouri Senator Carl Schurz formed the Liberal Republican Party , founded on opposition to President Grant , opposition to corruption , and support of civil service reform , lower taxes , and land reform . He gathered around him an eclectic group of supporters whose only real link was their opposition to Grant , whose administration had proved increasingly corrupt . The party needed a candidate , with a presidential election upcoming . Greeley was one of the best @-@ known Americans , as well as being a perennial candidate for office . He was more minded to consider a run for the Republican nomination , fearing the effect on the Tribune should he bolt the party . Nevertheless , he wanted to be president , as a Republican if possible , if not , as a Liberal Republican .

The Liberal Republican national convention met in Cincinnati in May 1872 . Greeley was spoken of as a possible candidate , as was Missouri Governor Benjamin Gratz Brown . Schurz was ineligible as foreign @-@ born . On the first ballot , Supreme Court Justice David Davis led , but Greeley took a narrow lead on the second ballot . Former minister to Britain Charles Francis Adams took the lead , but on the sixth ballot , after a " spontaneous " demonstration staged by Reid , Greeley gained the nomination , with Brown as vice presidential candidate .

The Democrats , when they met in Baltimore in July , faced a stark choice ? either nominate Greeley , long a thorn in their side , or split the anti @-@ Grant vote and go to certain defeat . They chose the former , and even adopted the Liberal Republican platform , calling for equal rights for African Americans . This was the first time one man had been nominated for president by two

political parties . Greeley resigned as editor of the Tribune for the campaign , and , unusually for the time , embarked on a speaking tour to bring his message to the people . As it was more usual for candidates for major office to not actively campaign , he was attacked as a seeker after office . Nevertheless , in late July , Greeley (and others , such as former Ohio governor Rutherford B. Hayes) thought he would very likely be elected . Greeley campaigned on a platform of intersectional reconciliation , arguing that the war was over and the issue of slavery was resolved . It was time to restore normalcy and end the continuing military occupation of the South .

The Republican counterattack was well @-@ financed , accusing Greeley of support for everything from treason to the Ku Klux Klan . The anti @-@ Greeley campaign was famously and effectively summed up in the cartoons of Thomas Nast , whom Grant later credited with a major role in his re @-@ election . Nast 's cartoons showed Greeley giving bail money for Jefferson Davis , throwing mud on Grant , and shaking hands with John Wilkes Booth across Lincoln 's grave . The Crédit Mobilier scandal ? corruption in the financing of the Union Pacific Railroad ? broke in September , but Greeley was unable to take advantage of the Grant administration 's ties to the scandal as he had stock in the railroad himself , and some alleged it had been given him in exchange for favorable coverage .

Greeley 's wife Mary had returned ill from a trip to Europe in late June . Her condition worsened in October , and he effectively broke off campaigning after October 12 to be with her . She died on October 30 , plunging him into despair a week before the election . Poor results for the Democrats in those states that had elections for other offices in September and October presaged defeat for Greeley , and so it proved . He received 2 @,@ 834 @,@ 125 votes to 3 @,@ 597 @,@ 132 for Grant , who secured 286 electors to 66 chosen for Greeley . The editor @-@ turned @-@ candidate won only six states : Georgia , Kentucky , Maryland , Missouri , Tennessee and Texas .

= = = Final month and death = = =

Greeley resumed the editorship of the Tribune , but quickly learned there was a movement under way to unseat him . He found himself unable to sleep , and after a final visit to the Tribune on November 13 (a week after the election) remained under medical care . At the recommendation of a family physician , Greeley was sent to the asylum of Dr. George S. Choate at Pleasantville , New York . There , he continued to worsen , and died on November 29 , with his two surviving daughters and Whitelaw Reid at his side .

His death came before the Electoral College convened . His 66 electoral votes were divided among four others , principally Indiana governor @-@ elect Thomas A. Hendricks and Greeley 's vice presidential running mate , Benjamin Gratz Brown .

Although Greeley had requested a simple funeral , his daughters ignored his wishes and arranged a grand affair . He is buried in Brooklyn 's Green @-@ Wood Cemetery . Among the mourners were old friends , Tribune employees including Reid and Hay , his journalistic rivals , and a broad array of politicians , led by President Grant .

= = Appraisal = =

Despite the venom that had been spewed over him in the presidential campaign , Greeley 's death was publicly mourned . Harper 's Weekly , which had printed Nast 's cartoons , wrote , " Since the assassination of Mr. Lincoln , the death of no American has been so sincerely deplored as that of Horace Greeley ; and its tragical circumstances have given a peculiarly affectionate pathos to all that has been said of him . " Henry Ward Beecher wrote in the Christian Union , " when Horace Greeley died , unjust and hard judgment of him died also " . Harriett Beecher Stowe noted Greeley 's eccentric dress , " That poor white hat ! If , alas , it covered many weaknesses , it covered also much strength , much real kindness and benevolence , and much that the world will be better for " .

Greeley 's view of freedom was based in the desire that all should have the opportunity to better themselves . According to his biographer , Erik S. Lunde , " a dedicated social reformer deeply sympathetic to the treatment of poor white males , slaves , free blacks , and white women , he still

espoused the virtues of self @-@ help and free enterprise " . Van Deusen stated : " His genuine human sympathies , his moral fervor , even the exhibitionism that was a part of his makeup , made it inevitable that he should crusade for a better world . He did so with apostolic zeal . "

Nevertheless , Greeley 's effectiveness as a reformer was undermined by his idiosyncrasies : according to Williams , he " must have looked like an apparition , a man of eccentric habits dressed in an old linen coat that made him look like a farmer who came into town for supplies " . Van Deusen wrote , " Greeley 's effectiveness as a crusader was limited by some of his traits and characteristics . Culturally deficient , he was to the end ignorant of his own limitations , and this ignorance was a great handicap . "

The Tribune remained under that name until 1924 , when it merged with the New York Herald to become the New York Herald @-@ Tribune , which ceased to publish in 1966 . The name survived until 2013 , when the International Herald @-@ Tribune became the International New York Times .

There is a statue of Greeley in City Hall Park in New York , donated by the Tribune Association . Cast in 1890 , it was not dedicated until 1916 . A second statue of Greeley is located in Greeley Square in Midtown Manhattan . Greeley Square , at Broadway and 33rd Street , was named by the New York City Common Council in a vote after Greeley 's death . Van Deusen concluded his biography of Greeley :

More significant still was the service that Greeley performed as a result of his faith in his country and his countrymen , his belief in infinite American progress . For all his faults and shortcomings , Greeley symbolized an America that , though often shortsighted and misled , was never suffocated by the wealth pouring from its farms and furnaces ... For through his faith in the American future , a faith expressed in his ceaseless efforts to make real the promise of America , he inspired others with hope and confidence , making them feel that their dreams also had the substance of reality . It is his faith , and theirs that has given him his place in American history . In that faith he still marches among us , scolding and benevolent , exhorting us to confidence and to victory in the great struggles of our own day .

= = = Explanatory notes = = =