

IOWA AND THE FIRST NOMINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.¹

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THE PRELIMINARIES OF 1859.

4—Expressions July-December.

Public discussion proceeds like the tides and waves of the ocean, now flowing, accumulating and surging, then receding and ebbing to the point of quiescence. Following the general expression of party opinion in the forepart of 1859, respecting the primary political issues and the comment relative to the availability and chances of the several Republican champions mentioned or urged as desirable candidates for the Presidency, both public and party interest in the subject fell to a low ebb.

During the summer and fall the majority of the party papers in Iowa scarcely mentioned the presidential succession at all. One searches in vain for any personal editorial interest in the approaching national campaign in the columns of *The News* of Boone, *The Intelligencer* of St. Charles, *The Journal* of Elkader, *The Ledger* of Fairfield, *The Guardian* of Independence, *The Visitor* of Indianola, *The Pioneer* of Leon, *The Advocate* of Lyon City, *The Linn County Register* of Marion, *The Visitor* of Marengo, *The Express* of Marietta, *The Republican* of Montezuma, *The Courier* of Ottumwa, *The Hamilton Freeman* of Webster City, and *The Black Hawk Courier* of Waterloo. Most of them do not even reprint articles from the eastern press anent candidates or issues. Mr. Teesdale's prediction in April was verified literally. Local matters and news, the state election and general subjects of national or international moment apparently completely absorbed public interest. The same may be said for the most part of the

¹For previous sections of this study see THE ANNALS, Vol. VIII, pp. 186-220, 444-466; and Vol. IX, pp. 45-64.

Republican press in the larger cities. Expression of editorial opinion was rare and little or no attention was given the matter in the way of reprints of articles or pithy paragraphs dealing with the men or measures with which political debate was soon to be chiefly concerned. It was not until the middle of November, when the returns from the state elections were definitely known and the nature of the party prospects began to appear with some distinctness against the political horizon, that editors began again to indicate a definite interest in the approaching presidential contest and to express opinions indicative of personal convictions. There were, however, a few expressions between July and November worth noting.

(a) Ethics, Law and Fugitive Slaves.

In the forepart of July Mr. John Edwards, editor of *The Patriot*, of Chariton, declared a sentiment of no little significance in view of the bitter controversies in Congress and in the country at large over the apprehension of fugitive slaves. A judge in Ohio had but shortly before been defeated for renomination by the Republican state convention of that State because of a decision by him sustaining the constitutionality and enforcing the provisions of the Fugitive Slave law in arrest of a fugitive. After pronouncing the action of the convention "an egregious blunder" Mr. Edwards said:

We opine a large majority of the Republicans coincide with Judge Swan and would sustain him in his decision. Not that they do not regard the Fugitive Slave act as very odious, unjust and revolting to every sentiment of humanity and civil liberty; but that it is the law of the land, and sworn judges decided the law to be constitutional. "Whatever may be lawful is not always expedient." The wisest course to pursue is not to throw any obstruction in the way of the enforcement of the law by those who may voluntarily lend their aid to its enforcement. But use all constitutional means to have such an atrocious law repealed in a legal way as soon as possible. Whilst no power on earth could compel us to violate our conscience by engaging under this law to capture runaway slaves, yet at the same time if others could be found to engage in that business, we would not interfere in any unlawful manner to obstruct its legal operation.

"The above," observed Mr. Clark Dunham of Burlington, on reprinting in *The Hawk-Eye*, "expresses our sentiments

exactly. . . . We believe Judge Swan's was a righteous decision under an unrighteous law."¹ About a month later Samuel J. Kirkwood, as a candidate for governor declared himself in virtually the same terms in response to an interrogatory of Gen. Augustus C. Dodge in their gubernatorial debate at Oskaloosa. General Dodge advanced the logic of a citizen's duty under known law a step farther in his counter response to Kirkwood's cross question—Would he, Dodge, assist in catching a slave—by saying “. . . I would do whatever the law requires.”²

The concurrence of Messrs. Dunham and Kirkwood in the view of Mr. Edwards and their disinclination to accept and act upon the doctrine of Gen. Dodge, strikingly illustrates the basic differences and subtleties in the attitudes of the respective disputants towards the major fact in public discussion. Property in human chattels, or Slavery, however abhorrent in and of itself, was an institution sanctioned by age and by positive law. The Republicans constantly declared it to be a creature of law. The constitution of the nation recognized it; the construction and ratification of that instrument being possible only upon the complete recognition of the rights of slaveholders. The Republicans proclaimed their loyal adherence to that supreme statute. The ethics

¹*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, July 15, 1859.

²*Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1859.

The reported questions and answers and rejoinders are worth reproduction. After contending that the Fugitive Slave law was “part and parcel of the constitution,” Gen. Dodge then said:

“Mr. Kirkwood, would you obey the Fugitive Slave law?” Mr. K. replied, “I would not resist the enforcement of that law, but before I would aid in capturing a fugitive slave I would suffer the penalty of the law, but I would not aid in carrying it into execution.”

Mr. K. returned the compliment and asked Gen. Dodge if he would assist in catching a slave. Gen. Dodge replied, “I would; I would do whatever the law requires me to do.”

The following from one intimately associated with his political life when his fame was becoming nation-wide forcefully indicates the attitude and the outspokenness of Mr. Lincoln on this sore point in the discussion of slavery:

“At the time I first knew him it was irksome to very many of his friends to be told that there ought to be an efficient fugitive slave law. But it was his conviction as a lawyer that there ought to be one, and he never failed to say so when interrogated, or when occasion required that that subject should be touched upon. And it is a fact that Abolitionists like Lovejoy and Coddington would take this from Lincoln without murmuring, when they would not take it from anybody else. He never would echo the popular cry: “No more slave States!” Whenever this subject was discussed he would say that if a territory having the requisite population and belonging to us should apply for admission to the Union without fraud or constraint, yet with slavery, he could not see any other disposition to be made of her than to admit her.” Mr. Horace White: Introduction to Herndon and Weik's *Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, p. 25.

of the law thereunder clearly enjoined the enforcement of the rights of owners of slaves. The barbarities incident to Slavery, hideous and deplorable as they were, did not *ipso facto* disturb their rights any more than the misuse or abuse of any other form of animate property invalidates an owner's right to its full use and recovery in case of escape. Property consisting of slaves possessed all of the attributes of movable property. It was allowable under the constitution to transport them from place to place with all the right thereto accompanying in full rigor. The furious denunciation of the Dred Scott decision *per se*, the constant, insidious and underground violation of the Fugitive Slave law and the widespread open opposition to its enforcement in the North, the gross tergiversation of Republicans (and of Northern Democrats too) in respect of so-called "Squatter Sovereignty" (or "Popular Sovereignty" as its advocates preferred to call it) and the anarchy inherent in Douglas' answer to Lincoln's question at Freeport—all these palpable inconsistencies in conduct and doctrine finally drove such Southern leaders as Jefferson Davis to sanction disunion and attempt secession.

The concurrence furthermore of Messrs. Edwards, Dunham and Kirkwood affords us an interesting illustration of how factors with contrary antecedents may coalesce and later pursue divergent courses. Mr. Edwards' view was obnoxious to abolitionists, to militant churchmen, and to radical anti-slavery men among the Republicans. Yet we find all three men were pronounced or rather denounced as radical anti-slavery partisans by the Democratic press. Mr. Edwards was a Kentuckian by birth and education, whose discontent with Slavery was so great that he emigrated to a free state and emancipated the slaves that he inherited from his father's estate. Mr. Kirkwood was a Marylander whose father and brothers owned slaves. Mr. Dunham was a scion of Puritan stock of the bluest blood, a Vermonter by birth, who had been reared among Southern folk in Licking county, Ohio; for fourteen years editing *The Newark Weekly Gazette*. All three men regarded themselves, and were so regarded by their party associates as "conservatives" with respect to the slavery question. The

position which they took was almost identical with that taken by Judge Bates of St. Louis, when his candidacy for the Presidency was announced in March preceding and consistently maintained thenceforward, the latter more nearly coinciding with Gen. Dodge. In the party preliminaries soon to follow Mr. Dunham finally became an advocate of the nomination of Senator Seward of New York; Mr. Edwards urged the nomination of Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania; and Governor Kirkwood finally threw his influence in behalf of Abraham Lincoln.

(b) An Appeal to Local Pride Rejected.

In the middle of August *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago in a leading article advanced an argument that one frequently encounters in partisan discussion in politics—an argument that is minor in importance and rarely decisive, but one which may exert more or less influence when other considerations are evenly balanced. It was in brief a direct appeal to local pride or prejudice as one may prefer to put it. The editor of that journal had been scanning the almanacs and official blue books and had found that the West had been in political “vassalage” to the East and for years had been “denied” her proper weight in the councils of the nation. He showed that except for a period of 30 days the West had never had a President; had never had a Vice-President, not even a candidate; had had but one of 23 Secretaries of State; but two of the 18 Postmasters-General (John McLean in 1833 being the last); not one of the 26 Attorneys-General; but two of the 31 Secretaries of War; not one of the Secretaries of the Navy. Since the foundation of the government the West had had but 8 out of 151 Secretaries of the President’s Cabinet; but one of 26 Speakers of the House of Representatives; and but one Judge of the Supreme Court.¹

“These facts will surprise the western readers,” remarked Mr. Teesdale, “and justify the indignant commentary of *The Tribune*; and vindicate the conclusion that it is high time the great West, with its teeming population and vast interests,

¹*The Press and Tribune*, Chicago, Aug. 16, 1859: summary taken from *The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Aug. 24, 1859.

received more consideration at the hands of political organizations. . . .” Mr. Teesdale then proceeds to discuss the significance of the editorial and the wisdom of acting on its suggestion. His language, its tone and substance, illustrates the views of probably the majority of the Republican editors in Iowa in 1859:

We do not understand exactly what *The Tribune* would be at, except that it wants a western President. Its choice is not designated. Having expressed its conviction that the time has not yet come for designating personal preferences, we shall probably be left in doubt, for a time, whether McLean, Chase, Bates, or Lincoln is the favorite.

While admitting the force of the facts presented by *The Tribune*, and the general truthfulness of its conclusions, we believe that the sentiment of Iowa may be thus expressed: Give us the right man, and it is a matter of little moment where he comes from. We are one people, and so ought to remain forever. All other considerations being equal, we may consider locality. If the West has the right man for the place, and he can bring the assurance of success, as fully as any other, there should be a union of western strength in his favor.

A letter written at St. Louis, for the *Springfield Republican*, is copied in the *N. Y. Tribune*. It is designed to give prominence to the name of Mr. Bates, as a western candidate for the Presidency. If its testimony may be relied upon, Mr. Bates occupies the right position on the great question before the people. His faith is evidenced by his works. Looking at Slavery from the right moral and political standpoint, he never could lend the sanction of a name that is the synonym for patriotism and integrity, to the wicked policy of the Slavery Propagandists. But if Mr. Bates cannot secure Missouri or any other slave state, and is not as strong as some others in Ohio, or New York, or Pennsylvania, or New England,—where we must secure success—then Mr. Bates is not the man.¹

(c) Pre-Election Expressions—and Judge Bates.

The exigencies of a strenuous state campaign now absorbed the energies of editors almost exclusively. Early in August *The DeWitt Standard* declared itself an advocate of the nomination of Wm. H. Seward for President and of Cassius M. Clay for Vice-President; and in the common phrase of the day “nailed their names to his mast head”: but the announcement seems to have elicited no comment favorable or unfavor-

¹*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Aug. 24, 1859.

able; indeed for the most was not noticed so far as the writer has observed.¹ No other expressions of consequence are discoverable prior to the elections in November. In the columns of *The Gate City* we find (Aug. 20) a sketch of Simon Cameron originally appearing in his organ at Harrisburg, in connection with the announcement of his candidacy for the Presidency; and (Sept. 3) Judge Bates' letter to a committee of a mass meeting of the Opposition party in Memphis; neither is accompanied by editorial comment. Mr. Dunham reprints two extracts from the *N. Y. Times* denying that Col. Fremont had written a letter refusing to be a candidate: "Presidential letter-writing is not his specialty; he leaves that for the amusement of those who have a taste for knocking out their brains in this particular way." In the same issue Mr. Dunham notes that Mr. Washington Hunt and *The National Intelligencer* had announced that they would support Judge Bates.² Mr. Hildreth glances at the national political horizon and canvasses the outlook. "The chances are about even between the two parties for carrying the next Presidency," he concludes, and dwells on the doubtful states and their strategic importance.³ Briefly noting that "the claims" of Edward Bates were being "pressed by a number of journals," Mr. Jacob Rich of Independence observes noncommittally: "Mr. Bates has long been strongly anti-slavery in sentiment, but has never acted with the Republican party other than giving his sympathies and support to the emancipationists of Missouri. If his friends can satisfy the country of his cordial sympathy with the Republican movement he will prove a strong competitor for the nomination."⁴

Discussion waxed but little during November until the latter weeks. *The Daily Hawk-Eye* reprinted without comment an extract from Gov. Chase's speech at Sandusky, Ohio, on the 20th ultimo, strongly urging the "union" of all elements of the Opposition "for the contest of 1860":⁵ and later under the caption, "An Important Political Document," extended extracts of a statement then recently published in

¹*Ib.* ²*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Oct. 18, 1859.

³*The St. Charles Intelligencer*, Oct. 20, 1859.

⁴*The Guardian*, Oct. 27, 1859.

⁵*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Nov. 2, 1859.

The News of St. Louis purporting to be an authoritative statement of Judge Bates' views upon the moot questions affecting the presidential succession.¹ *The Excelsior* of Maquoketa gives its readers two and a half columns of the same and commends it strongly.² Mr. Teesdale asserted that "in the main" his sentiments were "such as every intelligent man must heartily endorse," and resident as he was in a northern slave state "his views are of marked significance."³

The columns of *The Gate City* contain several articles indicative of alert public interest in the candidacy of Judge Bates and the proper course for the party to pursue in the matter of selecting the candidate. The statement given out at St. Louis by *The News*, it asserts, was not "authoritative" but as there was no denial Mr. Howell presumes that its expressions were "substantially" in accord with his sentiments; but he is non-committal as respects his own views or feelings toward Judge Bates. In the same issue, in another editorial, headed "Presidential Candidates," he makes some pointed and pithy suggestions, without reference to particular persons or candidates, but evidently with regard to certain developments in the drifts of discussion.⁴

The Republicans everywhere are more anxious for the success of the ticket than for the nomination of their friends, and we believe fully understand that no intrigue, no trick to *force* a man upon the party could by hardly any possibility be successful in the convention, while the tolerable certainty of a defeat would await him before the people. The present opportunity to obtain power, the possibility of retaining it, a successful administration of public affairs upon Republican principles, everything, conspires to demand a politic and satisfactory nomination, and a considerate and candid examination of the merits and demerits of the several candidates. And all this is generally appreciated. Particularly will this spirit display itself in the national convention. Success, and success with a sound man, we feel convinced is the spirit which will reign with an overwhelming power in that body. Let all the local interests and particular facts, however, be freely ventilated before its assembling, that the members, when they come together, may be as well informed as they can be, and as well qualified as possible to render a sound judgment.

¹*Ib.*, Nov. 15, 1859.

²*The Weekly Maquoketa Excelsior*, Nov. 29, 1859.

³*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Nov. 23, 1859. ⁴*The Gate City*, Nov. 18, 1859.

Three days later Mr. Howell summarizes for his readers the comments of the leading journals of New York City upon Judge Bates' statement. William Cullen Bryant's paper, *The Evening Post*, looked upon it as "clear" and "so far as it goes quite satisfactory, except that his urgency in favor of an effective fugitive slave law is unnecessary and not altogether to the taste of the North." Mr. Bennett's paper *The Herald*, looks on the pronouncement with favor and thinks that "Mr. Bates on the score of 'Nationality' especially, would be a strong man for the Republicans." Mr. James Watson Webb's *The Courier and Enquirer*, then or later a prominent promoter of Senator Seward's candidacy, plumply declared that if the "Republican convention of 1860 should nominate any such Fillmore disorganizer as Bates he will be defeated by the Republican party, and will deserve defeat." Greeley's *Tribune*, while asserting that the statement did "not entirely accord with its own views, it is the soundest, clearest and most forceful expression upon the slavery question yet put forth by the so-called 'conservative' sentiment of the country and wishes that a copy of it might be put in the hands of every voter who can read in the country." *The Times* thought that it agreed in "every essential point with the ground taken by the Republican party at Pittsburgh and Philadelphia."¹ To the insinuation that Judge Bates' anti-slavery views were sprouts of feeble or recent growth, Mr. Howell pointed out that he was a native of Virginia, a son of Quaker stock on both sides "known for nearly a century for their religious hostility" to Slavery and quotes the *Washington Star* that declares his views to be "hereditary and to be respected, not being the result of a demagogue's ambition."²

Up to this time so far as the writer can discover no positive predictions as to the candidate who would be nominated had been made. Editors were either indifferent, or prudent or skeptical as to the outlook. One editor at Garnavillo, in northeastern Iowa, Mr. Joseph Eiboek, an alert, ambitious young German, who had but shortly before assumed control

¹*The Gate City*, Nov. 23, 1859.

²*Ib.*, Nov. 24, 1859.

of *The Journal*, looked at the political situation and ventured a prophecy which was in some part fulfilled. In his judgment Messrs. Bates and Seward were the most prominent Republican candidates; and Pierce, Buchanan and Douglas the leading Democratic candidates. "From these it is very probable that Mr. Bates will be the most favored, and Pierce the leading Democratic nominee. . . . Douglas will perhaps obtain the support of most of the Northern States . . . but the South will oppose and thus defeat him. . . . Wm. H. Seward will stand no chance with Bates, for reasons that are known to everyone. Seward like Clay is a great man but he never will be President of the United States."¹

The editorial has a special significance in the fact that Mr. Eiboeck was a German and wrote for a constituency largely German. Within two months, notwithstanding Judge Bates' course in the campaign of 1856, supporting Fillmore and giving support to sundry doctrines of the "American" party, and his attitude toward the Fugitive Slave law, Mr. Eiboeck explicitly advocated the nomination of Judge Bates by the national Republican convention.²

(d) Mr. Teesdale's Review of the Situation.

November closed with another extended and vigorous expression from Mr. Teesdale, who kept a very alert, discerning eye upon the political horizon, reviewing recent developments, pointing out the vital issues and the conditions of the party's success, the occasion that impelled the expression apparently being some recent observations of *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago, which he combats. "A glorious uncertainty prevails," he begins, "as to the men who are likely to enjoy the honor of leading the Republican hosts to victory in the next presidential canvass." The *Chicago Tribune* declared that the selection should be determined by the exigencies in the states the Republicans lost in 1856—the main question before the convention will be, who can carry Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, or the last without reference to the other three. "The convention may be able to settle this ques-

¹*The Journal*, Nov. 21, 1859.

²*Ib.*, Feb. 13, 1860.

tion satisfactorily, without being a particle nearer success than when it commenced its labors." Simon Cameron might carry Pennsylvania and endanger success in "unalterably Republican states." The nomination "of Mr. Lincoln might secure Illinois, beyond peradventure, but is there not a possibility" that it would endanger old Republican states? The late elections demonstrated that every free state save California was safely Republican if the party's "nominees be men of the right stamp." They should be "men who have been tried as by fire, on the great issues before the country. . . . Anything short of this will not meet the expectations of the awakened masses. To award the honors . . . to mere camp-followers, eleventh-hour men, to the neglect of those who have borne the heat and burden of the fight, is a policy destructive of all political organization. . . . Yet there is a strong inclination, we fear, to do this very thing. Against it we would raise our voice now, and all the time." The recent election in New York clearly indicated that Mr. Seward could carry that State; that the Democrats and "Americans" could not amalgamate again. Nevertheless, Mr. Teesdale declares that "it will not surprise us to learn that Mr. Seward, when he returns home [from Europe] refuses to allow his name to be used, if there is a shadow of doubt as to his acceptability to the Republicans of any of the states whose votes are needed to insure success. He will never seek or accept a nomination that is not equivalent to an election, while there is another soldier in the field who can insure success to the cause. At least such is our estimate of the lofty patriotism of the man." He recurs to his observations while on his late visit east [in March] of conditions in Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. Chase was strong in Ohio and popular with the Republicans of the country at large; but the stout opposition of Corwin's friends to his advancement and the numerous adherents of Judge McLean and Senator Wade, who desired first their champion's nomination, made an effective effort on behalf of Chase improbable. Michigan was almost unanimous in support of Mr. Seward. Illinois "is for Lincoln; with a side current for Trumbull. . . . Their gallant labors for the redemption of their

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[This circular, with the autograph letter of James W. Grimes, both reduced one fourth, was sent on or about July 1, 1844, folded and sealed as a letter, to David E. Blair, of Yellow Springs, Iowa. The Historical Department secured the original from Professor F. I. Herriot, of Drake University, who obtained it from Mr. M. W. Blair, the son of the addressee, now resident near Mediapolis, in Des Moines county, Iowa. The superscription above is reproduced exactly as it appears on the circular, folded and sealed.]

Friend Blain

You see from this circular that the whigs in this section are wide awake. Every one seems to be deeply sensible of the importance of the present crisis, and determined to do his duty & his whole duty as a whig. The increase, we find upon actual count, in this County has been ~~found to be~~ enough since last year, to secure us the County by a very respectable majority-pro-vided we can induce our friends to turn out. To accomplish this latter most desirable result we have got up the map meeting. If we can properly stir up our own friends, our efforts will unquestionably be crowned with success - We expect to see the whole of your township here - We are getting a bon-net painted for you and will have a cold celebration in the grove - We know it will be in the midst of a busy season, but - circumstances forbid its being at any other time. Now is our time or never, and every whig must come up to the mark. It is hoped you will use every exertion in your power to induce every man in your township to turn out -

I am very truly &c.

Baker & Lincoln of Ill.

& some 400 men - besides Lowe, Woodward, Reid &c. are expected

J. H. S. Davis

State will give them much prominence in the national convention. Lincoln possesses most fully the elements of personal popularity. His genial traits bind his friends to him as by "hooks of steel."¹

(e) Mention of Candidates Increases in December.

During December Iowa's editors deal more with particular candidates and somewhat with the general tactics of procedure, indicating a realization that the time for practical measures and definite decisions was approaching.

Summarizing the views of Judge Bates as lately given out at St. Louis, Mr. John Mahin, of Muscatine, notwithstanding the former's advocacy of due enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law and of non-interference with Slavery in the states wherein established, coupled with his declared opposition to its extension and abhorrence of the institution, concluded his editorial review with the assertion: "Upon this platform Mr. Bates would doubtless receive the united support of the Republican party."² As Mr. Mahin was a radical of radicals upon the subject of Slavery, living in a community that has always been noted in the State's history for its militant radicalism in social reforms his declaration is decidedly interesting and instructive.

Mr. Dunham's columns contain no editorial assertions of consequence. He received a personal letter from "a reliable Republican" in whose "good sense and sound judgment" he had much confidence, the substance of which he gives his readers. His correspondent urged him to advocate the renomination of Fremont and Dayton as in 1856, believing their popular strength equal to that of Seward and Chase and that "nothing is gained by courting the Old Whig votes and there is no use in trying to nominate a candidate to suit them." The letter elicits no comment from Mr. Dunham: he simply presents the suggestion to his readers "for their consideration."³

About this time the editor of *The Knoxville Journal*, observing that various state papers were urging the nomination of Senator Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, remarked: "... we

¹*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Nov. 30, 1859.

²*The Muscatine Journal*, Dec. 3, 1859.

³*The Daily Hawk-Eye*, Dec. 3, 1859.

are glad to see, none of them [do so] with a spirit of dogmatism or injustice towards other great men in the Republican party"; and he concludes—"With Cameron and Bates on our ticket Iowa is good for ten thousand majority."¹ Some correspondents of *The Commercial Advertiser* of Buffalo (N. Y.), attempting to promote the candidacy of Judge Bates by disparagement of Senator Seward, Mr. Teesdale declared their course "Not the Right Way." "It is the very worst policy to attempt to elevate one distinguished Republican by the depression of another."² The increasing attention given the position of the Missourian caused Mr. Add. H. Sanders of Davenport, to examine his "more important declarations of opinion"; and he announced: "But we have no hesitation in saying that in the main we approve them, as every Republican may—but we are very far from declaring that he is our first choice as the next Republican candidate for the Presidency. Most certainly, however, we should rather be *successful* with Mr. B. than *defeated* with any other man in the Union as our candidate."³

Down in Mills county in southwestern Iowa, *The Pacific Herald* declared itself an advocate of the nomination of Gov. Chase in preference to Senator Seward, on the ground that the latter would be opposed with "more intense bitterness" in the election. Mr. Teesdale took exception, declaring that of the two statesmen Chase was "a much more ultra-anti-slavery man than Seward. The history of both gentlemen will be thoroughly canvassed before nomination; and whoever receives the nomination must pass through a fiery ordeal."⁴ Mr. Teesdale did not fear the result in either case and would heartily support the nominees.

December and the year closed with several interesting and pithy editorial expressions upon the presidential succession. They emphasize again the general unity of purpose, the absence of obdurate personal prejudice and willingness to cast aside personal wishes and old-time friendships if thereby success of the national cause could be insured and the common

¹Quoted in *The Muscatine Daily Journal*, Dec. 9, 1859.

²*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Dec. 7, 1859.

³*The Davenport Weekly Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1859.

⁴*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Dec. 21, 1859.

recognition of the primary strategic points in the situation. Two of them indicate how seriously the candidacy of Simon Cameron was regarded by shrewd observers.

Observing the frequent favorable mention of Simon Cameron's candidacy in his exchanges, Mr. Robert Holmes of Marion, editor of *The Linn County Register*, decided that the chances of the Pennsylvanian being nominated were so favorable as to be conclusive of the party's action. "Although we have had," he says, "some doubts as to the propriety of thus early taking sides for this or that man, inasmuch as it may engender strife and bad feeling amongst the friends of different gentlemen who will undoubtedly be presented to the convention—still without indicating any particular choice ourselves, we think the suggestion a good one. It is understood that without doubt, Pennsylvania will cast her vote for Mr. Cameron, and with Lincoln of Illinois for Vice-President, success would seem to be almost a certainty. For anything we can see now, these nominations are as likely to be made as any others spoken of."¹ Mr. Howell reprinting an article commendatory of Pennsylvania's candidate, again, as in June preceding, points out the strong position Mr. Cameron occupied as a candidate. "It is conceded that Pennsylvania and Illinois will form the battle-ground of the next campaign, and Pennsylvania has 27 votes, her change from one side to the other making a difference of 54. The location, the remarkable energy, and the home influence of Mr. Cameron greatly favor him."² Here as before the editor of *The Gate City* gives no hint of personal preference or of his probable positive action so far as it may be able to affect the practical decision.

This impersonal, almost indifferent, non-partisan consideration of candidates that is persistent in the columns of Mr. Howell's paper, likewise characterizing the course of Messrs. Dunham of Burlington and Teesdale of Des Moines, is effectively illustrated in an utterance of Mr. Sanders of Davenport. Canvassing the presidential question at the close of the year and noting the men mentioned as candidates he concludes: "When all are good and well-qualified men, he should

¹*The Linn County Register*, Dec. 24, 1859.

²*The Gate City*, Dec. 28, 1859.

receive the nomination, who possesses the greatest attributes of strength—who is most likely to make the best race—and feelings and personal friendships should be laid aside by delegates as far as possible, to secure this object." This is not the language of sentiment but of politics. The victory of the party and the triumph of the principles for which the party was established and continues to exist is the grand objective in view, not the attainment of personal prejudices."¹

If one fact more than another strikes the reader of the editorial columns of the Republican newspapers of Iowa in 1859, it is the conspicuous absence of keen personal partisan interest on the part of editors in furtherance of the candidacy of any one candidate. A few editors indicate their personal preferences and declare themselves for their favorite. But the majority are silent on the whole matter. This is especially true of the press of the small cities. The editors of the influential dailies in the large cities, while they frequently mention the presidential succession, noting the developments in other states and the changing fortunes of the different candidates,—declare themselves only on party principles and policy and procedure, but maintain an obstinate silence as to personal preferences. There is no ardent, tempestuous advocacy of either measures or men. There is no spirit of "rule or ruin" discoverable, although there is from time to time pronounced and emphatic declarations of what the editors regard as the essentials of success. Was this attitude exceptional? peculiar to the press of Iowa? The following taken from Mr. Howell's columns is instructive:

We have not yet seen, in any one of the most prominent journals of the Republican party, excepting the (N. Y.) *Courier and Enquirer*, a decided preference as to a presidential candidate. *The Albany Journal*, [Thurlow Weed's paper], *The Evening Post* and *The Tribune* at New York, the *Cincinnati Gazette*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and papers of that class, are utterly silent as to men. Even where the strongest partialities might be supposed to exist, the one firm resolution prevails, to keep men out of sight as far as possible and to forego all personal preferences for the sake of the cause. It is an encouraging sign,—a sign of solid and invincible union.²

¹*The Davenport Weekly Gazette*, Dec. 29, 1859.

²*The Gate City*, Dec. 7, 1859.

In the matter of party opinion and public expression of desire, developments in Iowa in 1859 in the Republican preliminaries of the national campaign of 1860, fully typify the course of things in the nation at large.

(f) Public Consideration of Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency.

Politicians rarely put forward and support men or measures that shock the sensibilities or clash with the dominant desires of the majority of their constituents: and they never deliberately do violence to public expectation. They may misconceive and run athwart the major public interest or nominate men obnoxious to the *elite* in pious and polite circles, and, if parties are evenly balanced, suffer defeat in consequence. It is the primary and particular business of politicians to control, or seek to control, the arms and agencies of the government and determine the distribution of its benefits. Success is the paramount object of their activity and their success is the issue of public favor. It is a violent presumption to assume, as lay philosophers in pulpit and press are wont to do, that politicians impudently or negligently run amuck with public sentiment. Their decisions as to measures or as to candidates are made in the belief and in the hope that they coincide with and further the common desire, first of their partisan associates and second of the majority of the electors. Novel measures and never-before-heard-of candidates usually are no more tolerated than bad measures and corrupt nominees. Both measures and men, if politicians wish to secure the support of the public, must be familiar to the minds of electors. But electors, it is well to remember, do not include the entire mass of the population. The field of the practical politician is confined to those who directly determine the operation of the government in the formulation of its policies, in the conduct of its administration and in the operation of the party machinery whereby the public will is organized and made effective; and a large proportion of the male population devote but little or no attention to practical politics and hence exert no influence.

Was Abraham Lincoln at the close of 1859 a familiar in the minds of Iowa's politicians and electors? Was he a

factor with which the public reckoned as a matter of course? Had his name and fame become a part of the popular consciousness to the extent that he was mentioned among the presidential candidates worthy of definite consideration at the national convention? And did Iowans have reason to think that Mr. Lincoln was likewise considered by the party leaders and electors of the older eastern States? The files of Iowa's newspapers and the correspondence of some of the Republican party leaders afford us some evidence for an affirmative answer.

In the latter months of 1858 there was some mention of Mr. Lincoln as a presidential possibility: the mention resulting, of course, from the fame he had achieved in his debates with Senator Douglas. Mr. Teesdale declared that the Illinoian had "linked himself to the fortunes of the Republicans by hooks of steel. The name of Lincoln will be a household word for years to come. He has a brilliant future."¹ A week later *The Marshall County Times* felicitating the Republicans of Illinois on their popular victory urged them to prepare for the battle in 1860 for they might "see their gallant Old Abe" as the "presiding officer" of the Senate.² Mr. Zieback of Sioux City commenting on Greeley's suggestion for doing away with national conventions, mentions Mr. Lincoln as the candidate for whom Illinois would vote under his proposed plan.³ Mr. Swigget of the same city cited the suggestion of the *Chicago Democrat*, Wentworth's paper, of his consideration for "President or Vice-President."⁴ We have seen that the enthusiastic praise of Mr. Lincoln of the Rochester (N. Y.) *Democrat* closing with the words: "The Republicans of the Union will rejoice to do honor to the distinguished debater of Illinois" was quoted in various papers in the State.⁵

During 1859 public interest in Mr. Lincoln was manifested almost continuously throughout the year and in sundry ways. His stories and quips were cited; generous extracts from his

¹*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Nov. 17, 1858.

²*The Marshall County Times*, Nov. 24, 1858.

³*The Register*, Dec. 2, 1858.

⁴*The Eagle*, Nov. 27, 1858.

⁵*The Gate City*, Nov. 22, 1858, and *The Muscatine Daily Journal*, Nov. 23, 1858.

political speeches were quoted; his journeyings about the country were noted; his name was linked with those of the foremost leaders of his party; his views were referred to by friends and critics alike as authoritative utterances of the principles of his party; and he was the beneficiary of frequent mention as a statesman worthy of nomination for one or the other of the two highest offices within the gift of the people. And the significance of such manifestations of public interest is materially enhanced when we consider the conditions under which newspapers were then conducted.

A local correspondent of *The Gate City* signing himself "Free Labor," refers (Jan. 14) to Senator Douglas' course "towards two prominent statesmen of the Republican party. I speak of Mr. Seward and Mr. Lincoln." On May 30 Mr. Howell prints Mr. Lincoln's letter to Dr. Canisius relative to the Massachusetts Two Year Amendment affecting naturalized citizens. When Mr. Lincoln was in Ohio the same paper contains (Sept. 23) a column and more of "Abe Lincoln's speech at Cincinnati the other night"; and a week later cites the praise of the same speech in *The National Intelligencer*. It reprints (Oct. 4) a portion of the speech at Columbus anent Douglas and the Dred Scott decision.

Repelling the attacks of the Democrats upon the Republican expressions regarding the essential conflict between Free and Slave labor, Mr. Howell says (Nov. 23) that the "irrepressible conflict" the announcement of which in "lucid terms by both Lincoln and Seward" so shocked the Democrats was first pointed out by Calhoun and by *The Richmond Enquirer*, and after quoting the latter he concludes: "Did ever Seward or Lincoln or Thomas Jefferson state the case more definitely or imperatively? . . ." The notations and expressions of Mr. Howell fairly represent other Republican editors in the State who kept their weather eyes on the forces and factors in the forthcoming national contest. Mr. Drummond of *The Eagle* of Vinton, as we have seen, declared, May 10: "The Republican party adopts what the *New York Herald* terms 'the bloody, brutal manifesto' of Abraham Lincoln, as re-echoed by Senator Seward" . . . and Mr. Dorr at

Dubuque couples the names of the two statesmen in the same connection.¹

The mention of Mr. Lincoln as an available candidate for either the first or second place on the national ticket began comparatively early. Mr. Mahin reprints (March 29) an editorial from the Chicago *Democrat* urging him for the Vice-Presidency.² Some two months later *The Montezuma Weekly Republican* reprints an editorial of *The Rockford* (Ill.) *Republican* also advocating his selection for second place. On July 28 the same paper reproduces the suggestion of *The Free Press* of Elwood, Kansas, of Gov. Seward for President and Mr. Lincoln for Vice-President.

Some commentators on the first nomination of Abraham Lincoln have pointed out that in some of the lists of candidates published when the pre-convention campaign was culminating, Mr. Lincoln's name was not included: and hence the conclusion that his nomination was most extraordinary and surprising to the country at large. Thus in Forney's *Philadelphia Press* in a list published in November, 1859, and reproduced (Nov. 29) in *The Davenport Daily Gazette*, the Illinoian's name was omitted: and a book published at Philadelphia in 1860 entitled *Our Living Representative Men* mentions a score or so of candidates in the two great parties but does not refer to Mr. Lincoln. De Bow's *Review* reviewing the volume immediately following the convention at Chicago says the omission was "creditable" to the author, Mr. John Savage, as the "claims of this personage were regarded to be too contemptible to entitle him to a place in the 'Gallery'."³ Mr. Teesdale in April and Mr. Sanders in December in editorials dealing with candidates mention Seward, Chase, Bates, Bell, Crittenden, Cameron, Fremont, McLean, Scott, Hale, Grow—but fail to refer to Mr. Lincoln.⁴ Nevertheless Mr. Lincoln was mentioned for the first place and politicians in Iowa had him more or less in mind constantly as a not-improbable nominee.

¹*The Dubuque Herald*, Oct. 23, 1859.

²*The Muscatine Daily Journal*, March 29, 1859.

³De Bow's *Review*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 100-101 (July, 1860).

⁴*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, April 13, 1859; and *The Davenport Weekly Gazette*, Dec. 29, 1859.

Mr. Teesdale in August and again in November refers specifically to the public consideration of Mr. Lincoln as a candidate for the first place and expresses his willingness to abide by the nomination if made after a full consideration of the best interests of the party and the cause the Republicans desire to promote. Moreover in a list of candidates published by the Democratic paper at Des Moines, Mr. Will Porter, the editor, includes Mr. Lincoln.¹

Some of the most interesting evidence of the national consideration of the Illinoian was afforded Iowans in the columns of Greeley's *Tribune*. In his issue of September 27 he quotes what purports to be an extract from a speech of Congressman Robert Schenck of Ohio, regarding the Presidency. Commenting upon Lincoln's "masterly political exposition made in this city [Cincinnati?] to-day by Abraham Lincoln," he says "that there is a candidate for you, whose perceptions are clear, whose moral tendencies are correct, and whose constitutional habit of action is so happily conservative, that he is high above all temptations to extremes in any direction."² Greeley, himself, two weeks and a half later (Oct. 14) in an elaborate editorial outlining and defending "*The Tribune's* policy" mentions Lincoln among other candidates who had "friends who will in due time present their names in connection with the Presidency. . . ." Finally the readers of Mr. Howell were impressed with the widespread and positive consideration of Mr. Lincoln by the country at large by an editorial note in *The Gate City* (Dec. 13) which after noting that three Iowa papers had come out for Cameron, said: "We observe in Pennsylvania one prominent paper proposes Cameron for President and Lincoln for Vice-President while the Reading (Pa.) *Journal*, a paper of standing and influence, intimates its preference of Lincoln for President."

¹*Iowa State Journal*, Nov. 19, 1859.

²*The N. Y. Tribune* (s. w.), Sept. 27, 1859. The citation from *The Tribune* is somewhat obscure. It purports to be from a speech of Mr. Schenck's at Dayton. But his reference to Mr. Lincoln's speech in "this city" would seem to imply either Columbus or Cincinnati,—as all chroniclers concur in referring only to Mr. L.'s speeches in those two cities. As the item in *The Tribune* above the extract taken is accredited to *The Cincinnati Commercial* we may surmise that Mr. S. was interviewed at Cincinnati, or made a speech there, immediately following Mr. Lincoln's speech.

(g) Summary of Party Opinion in 1859.

The reader will have noticed several facts in the preceding exposition of party opinion among Republicans in Iowa in 1859, which it may be well to summarize before proceeding to deal with the personal efforts of or for candidates and the party maneuvers.

First and foremost, the paramount consideration as to which all elements of the Opposition to the party in power agreed, was Slavery and its treatment by the national government. Other matters might be important, but they were subsidiary in public interest. All elements of the Opposition with the exception of radical abolitionists resisted the extension of Slavery into territories where it was not found prior to 1850 and disapproved of interference with it in states where established.

While there was unanimity of opinion in the large, there was confusion in respect to the practical enforcement of the legal rights of slave-owners in the free states and in the settlement of new territories, and this fact made the working union of Old Line Whigs and abolitionists difficult. The persistence of "Americanism," a sort of decadent Know-Nothingism, greatly increased the factional antagonisms of the sundry elements already hostile and contentious on the subject of Slavery.

The election of 1856 had been lost by the Republicans because of the inability of the mutually repellant groups of the Opposition to coalesce. Such a working union was imperative if the party was to win in the contest in 1860.

A coalition was impracticable unless there was mutual give-and-take; harmony as to essentials and points of general agreement and non-emphasis of and non-reference to particular contentions that irritated and distracted factions or groups essential to the party's alignment.

Principles and policies all agreed, should be paramount over the personal ambitions of candidates, or the sectional and personal preferences for favorite candidates.

The doubtful states wherein success was essential to national victory should be the primary consideration in selecting the

candidate. But it was not enough that a candidate should be satisfactory to this or that doubtful state: he must enjoy the fullest confidence of the rank and file in the solid Republican states as well, as regards his ability, character and conduct in the vital issues. Indifference to the subject of Slavery, tergiversation as to views or course of action would not be sanctioned.

No commercial considerations hostile to the broadest treatment of the issues, no personal intrigues, no tricks, no factional or partisan maneuvers inconsistent with frank and fair consideration of the characters and availability of candidates would be tolerated.

Iowa had no candidate of her own to advance, and her editors and party leaders had no favorite whose nomination was urged with any vigor. Few personal preferences were indicated. The spirit of rule or ruin was completely absent.

In general there was a noteworthy harmony among the Republicans of Iowa in 1859 regarding the principles and procedure that should be observed in preparing for the great national contest of 1860. They were generally of one mind as to the paramount issues. Success with a sane and sensible program was to them vastly preferable to defeat with a platform of idealities compounded by dreamers and radicals. Some party men had candidates whom they favored and urged, but for the most part editors and leaders were reticent. Victory was the goal they sought, not the exaltation of a favorite at the risk of success.

5—Efforts of Candidates or their Promoters in Iowa.

The amount and kind of personal effort put forth by the candidates for the Republican presidential nomination in 1860, or by their promoters, directly to secure the favor and support of Iowa's press and party leaders cannot now be realized. There was more or less personal activity, although the evidence is rather meager as regards some of the candidates.

The State was then teeming with thousands of pioneers but recently removed from the older states to the east and south

wherein the candidates lived. Many of those pioneers had been forceful factors in the politics of their former homes. For example, Gov. Samuel J. Kirkwood and the late Senator William B. Allison had both made their mark in Ohio before emigrating to Iowa.¹ Naturally, the candidates or their promoters would correspond with their emigrant friends in Iowa seeking information as to their attitude, or that of the party leaders of the State towards their candidacy; and no less would the pioneers, if local ambitions or interests did not conflict, incline to urge the consideration of their favorite champion of their native state, or state of previous residence. Mentioning merely those states whose emigrant citizens resident in Iowa in 1860 exceeded 10,000 in the census enumeration:—Ohio led with 99,240; Indiana followed with 57,555; Pennsylvania with 52,156; New York with 46,053; Illinois with 26,696; Virginia with 17,944; and Kentucky with 13,204. The natives of New England all told in Iowa numbered only 25,040; while the natives of the Southern or slave States amounted to 54,006. The Middle States were credited with 103,173 and the states of the old Northwest territory with 193,005. Being but recently removed from their old homes their memories and the ties of their relations with associates in their ancestral seats were vigorous. As the arrangements for the national Republican convention began to materialize we must presume that many a letter crossed, inquiring about or urging this or that candidate, discussing his availability, and the chances of his nomination and election. But little evidence is discoverable of such correspondence in 1859, either in the way of letters extant or of rescripts thereof. The residence of many of the influential editors of the State prior to

¹*John Sherman's Recollections*, pp. 46, 76.

Gov. Kirkwood had attained local eminence between 1845 and 1849 as prosecuting attorney of Richland county and as a member of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio. He was a Democrat in politics but on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise he revolted. At a mass meeting at Mansfield, Feb. 17, 1854, he introduced and urged the passage of a strong resolution deploring the agitation of the slavery question and repudiating the repeal of the Compromise. He was a prominent candidate for Congress in 1855—the year in which he emigrated to Iowa.

Mr. Allison began his public career as an attorney at Ashland, in Wayne county adjoining Richland. He was a candidate for clerk of the county court. He was made secretary of the first Republican state convention organized in Ohio in 1855. His first party service of note in Iowa was attendance as a delegate at the Republican state convention in 1859 and working for Kirkwood's nomination for governor.

coming to Iowa enforces this presumption and their columns afford us some evidence that there was intercommunication between them and the candidates or their promoters.¹

(a) Judge McLean Visits the Northwest.

When visiting old acquaintances in Ohio in March, Mr. Teesdale designed to visit Judge McLean at his old home in Cincinnati. Writing to his readers in Iowa Mr. Teesdale reports: "He is, I am told, in excellent health and spirits. Who knows

¹The states of nativity, or of previous residence, and the editorial careers of the editors whose expressions have been chiefly cited are suggestive.

Mr. A. B. F. Hildreth of *The St. Charles Intelligencer* was a Vermonter. In 1839 he founded *The Literary Souvenir* at Lowell, Mass., and also conducted *The Morning News* (daily) of that city. In 1842 he went to Bradford, Vt., where he published *The Green Mountain Gem* and *The American Protector* (an advocate of high tariffs). From 1844 to 1852, in lieu of the latter, he published *The Family Gazette*; and from 1853 to 1855 he published *The Mirror*, of Holyoke, Mass. He came to St. Charles, Iowa, in 1856.

Mr. Charles Aldrich of *The Hamilton Freeman* of Webster City, was a native of New York. In 1850 he established *The Cattaraugus Sachem* at Randolph. From 1851 to 1856 he edited and published *The Olean Journal*. When but 19 years of age he was made secretary of the first Free Soil convention held in Cattaraugus county. He came to Iowa in 1857.

Mr. Frank W. Palmer of *The Times*, of Dubuque, although born in Indiana was virtually a New Yorker, spending his childhood and youth at Jamestown. From 1843 to 1858 he published *The Jamestown Journal*. In 1853 he was elected to the New York legislature, serving two terms. He came to Dubuque, Iowa, in 1858.

Mr. Jacob Rich of *The Guardian* of Quasqueton, and later of Independence, was a native of New York City. He was educated at Philadelphia. He came to Iowa in 1856.

Mr. John Edwards of *The Patriot* of Chariton, was born in Kentucky. Anti-slavery convictions sent him to Indiana, where he served in the state legislature between 1848 and 1852. He came to Iowa in 1853.

Mr. William W. Junkin of *The Ledger* of Fairfield, was a native of Virginia. He learned the printer's craft in the offices of *The Argus* of Wheeling. He came to Iowa in 1843.

Mr. Thomas Drummond of *The Eagle* of Vinton, was born in Virginia, was educated at Lexington, entered journalism, moved to Ohio after 1850 and came to Iowa in 1855. He bought *The Eagle* in 1857.

Mr. Clark Dunham of *The Hawk-Eye* of Burlington was a Vermonter by birth, but spent his childhood in Licking county, Ohio. From 1840 to 1854 he edited *The Gazette* of Newark, Ohio, moving to Iowa in the latter year.

Mr. James B. Howell of *The Gate City* of Keokuk, although a native of New Jersey, spent his youth in Ohio from 1819 to 1841, when he removed to Iowa. The business manager of *The Gate City* from 1854 to 1860 was Mr. Wm. Richards, a native of Ohio, who moved to Iowa in 1854.

Mr. Addison H. Sanders of *The Gazette* of Davenport, was a native of Cincinnati, Ohio, where he learned the printer's trade. He came to Iowa in 1856.

Mr. John Mahin of *The Journal* of Muscatine, was a native of Indiana, but early came to Iowa, learning the printer's trade in the office of the Bloomington (now Muscatine) *Herald*, later called the *Journal*.

Mr. John Teesdale of *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* of Des Moines, was born in York, England, but came with his parents to Philadelphia in 1818. There he learned printing. He went to Wheeling, Virginia, where between 1830 and 1836 he was editor of *The Gazette* and later of *The Times*. From 1836 to 1843 he edited *The Ohio Standard*; and from 1843 to 1848 he edited *The Ohio State Journal* of Columbus, and between 1848 and 1856 *The Beacon* of Akron. Meantime (1844-46) he had been private secretary to Gov. Mordecai Bartley. Mr. Teesdale's associate editor, Mr. J. M. Dixon, a son of a Virginia Methodist circuit riding preacher, was also a native of Ohio.

but he may yet be called to a higher field in the service of his country. Upon no man in public life could a more cordial union be effected for the next presidency, than upon Judge McLean, if his age is not deemed objectionable. Mr. Chase is much spoken of in the same connection by the people of Ohio. . . ."¹ In the last week of September *The Times* of Dubuque announced: "Judge McLean, of the supreme court, came down the river last evening, and is spending the day at the Julien House. He is in fine health. At noon about twenty members of the bar called upon him. . . . The interview was very pleasant. Judge McLean is vigorous both in body and in mind, and very easy and agreeable in conversation. . . . The Judge has relatives in Minnesota, and has been paying them a visit."²

Business interests and relatives are of course appropriate objects of exclusive private concern; but when a man who is constantly mentioned as a desirable candidate and a not improbable nominee for a high political office, makes an extended journey through a region of primary strategic importance, alert politicians are wont to note the fact as in the nature of a reconnaissance. Judge McLean's visit was noticed by some of the editors and his health and agreeable manners referred to.³ Mr. Teesdale remarked: "We rejoice that he received fitting attention at Dubuque. He is one of the purest and best men of the country. We have experienced his hospitality and witnessed his unostentatious kindness in days gone by, when visiting Cincinnati and residing at the capital of Ohio. A recent letter from the Judge [to Mr. T.] written at Lake Pepin, with all the freedom of private intercourse, attests the vigor of his intellect and the activity of his life."³ The reiteration respecting the jurist's health and the vigor of his life and mental powers suggests the politician's solicitude that the doubts of critics or dubious friends were not only ill-founded but that rumors to the contrary were, or very likely were, promoted with injurious intent.

No evidence of personal solicitation on behalf of Judge McLean's candidacy has come under the writer's notice. He

¹*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, April 13, 1859: Correspondence dated Akron, Ohio, March 26.

²*Ib.*, September 28, 1859: *The Dubuque Times* cited. ³*Ib.*

had some active admirers, however. In the latter part of December, pursuant to the call of the state convention to select delegates to the Chicago convention, friends or party leaders in the farthest southwestern corner of the State, in Fremont county, were either so numerous or so alert, forehanded and effective as to secure the passage by the county convention that selected the county delegates to the state convention, of a resolution declaring that "Hon. John McLean of Ohio is our first choice for President,"¹ thereby virtually instructing their delegates to the state convention to use their influence to secure his nomination.

(b) Friends of Chase and Cameron Active.

Salmon P. Chase, as biographers and associates have since shown, was not indisposed to promote his chances of securing the nomination by personal communication. He had many staunch admirers and friends in Iowa. Governor Grimes had, in former years carried on a cordial and intimate correspondence with him, esteeming highly his ability, character and public career. Governor-elect Kirkwood, because of old-time party affiliations in Ohio, entertained the friendliest of feelings for him. Both of those distinguished Iowans, could they have realized their primary preferences, would have thrown their influence at Chicago in 1860 in favor of Chase's nomination.² The late Senator Wm. B. Allison, because of former associations in Ohio, advocated Chase's nomination and cast his first vote for him the next year at the national convention.³ The business manager of *The Gate City*, Mr. Wm. Richards, was an Ohioan who some years previously had enjoyed some degree of intimacy with Gov. Chase. He desired the success of the latter's candidacy. From a letter written subsequent to the state convention (Jan. 18, 1860) it would appear that he acted as an outflanker and vidette for him, reporting conditions and prospects in Iowa.⁴ The only instance of instruc-

¹*Ib.*, Jan. 18, 1860.

²Salter's *Life of Grimes passim*; and letters (MSS.) to the writer from Dr. Salter, Mr. W. W. Baldwin both of Burlington, and Hon. Peter A. Dey of Iowa City.

³Letters (MSS.) of Sen. Wm. B. Allison to the writer, Dec. 13, 1906, and May 3, 1907.

⁴Wm. Richards to Salmon P. Chase (MSS.), *Gate City Office*, February 24, 1860, in Chase papers in Library of Congress.

tions for a presidential candidate in the local caucuses or primaries, so far as the writer can discover, resulted in Chase's favor. Two Ohioans, the brothers, F. T. and A. K. Campbell, editors and publishers of *The Journal* of Newton, the county seat of Jasper county, took the lead in securing instructions in the party caucus that selected the delegates to the county convention, being prompted thereto by admiration of Gov. Chase's career in their native state.¹ In December *The Herald* of Pacific City declared specifically in favor of Chase's nomination.²

Pennsylvanians were numerous in Iowa; and the universally conceded strategic importance of Pennsylvania in the national contest would ordinarily induce energetic efforts on the part of the candidate or of his promoters to secure the support of the party leaders and delegates. There are some signs that there was more or less activity. We have already seen that there was a marked increase of consideration of the candidacy of Simon Cameron in December and one suspects systematic work in its furtherance. We find Mr. Teesdale expressing his thanks to Mr. Cameron for a copy of an "able speech" delivered by the latter in the Senate.³ In Illinois Cameron Clubs were forming in November and Mr. Teesdale refers to them in terms whence we might infer that similar organizations were in contemplation or under way in Iowa.⁴ Three strong papers in southern Iowa, *The News* of Mt. Pleasant, *The Journal* of Knoxville and *The Patriot* of Chariton, and one in northeast Iowa, *The Linn County Register* of Marion, announced themselves as favorable to his nomination.⁵ Referring to this coincidence, Mr. Hildreth intimated his suspicion that Mr. Cameron or his agents were busy in the State "fixing the flints" to secure the Pennsylvanian's nomination: hence the concurrent expressions of the papers mentioned.⁶ The correspondence of Mr. Wm. Penn Clarke, chairman of Iowa's delegation at Chicago, subsequent to the convention, seems to indicate that there had been correspondence between him and

¹*The Gate City*, Jan. 11, 1860; and interview with Mr. A. K. Campbell, Des Moines, Iowa, March 17, 1908.

²*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Dec. 21, 1859. ³*Ib.*, Dec. 7, 1859.

⁴*Ib.*, Nov. 23, 1859. ⁵*The Gate City*, Dec. 13, 1859.

⁶*The St. Charles Intelligencer*, Jan. 12, 1860.

Cameron's chief lieutenants during the preliminaries; but when it occurred is not now determinable.¹

(c) Edward Bates and the Sources of His Strength.

The personal activity of Edward Bates of St. Louis, or that of his friends in furtherance of his candidacy is to be inferred from the general situation. Prior to 1860 St. Louis was to Iowa what, since, Chicago has become, the great entrepot of her interstate commerce. Iowa's farmers and shippers sent their produce and stock to her markets and chiefly from the jobbing houses of that city, Iowa's merchants obtained their stocks of drugs, dry-goods, groceries and hardwares.² The river traffic of the Upper Mississippi and Missouri was predominantly an outgo from and return to the docks of St. Louis. In the nature of the case the affiliations of business and professional men, particularly in the eastern cities of Iowa along the Mississippi, with the leaders in business and professional pursuits in that city must have been close and constant. In that commercial metropolis Judge Bates was a conspicuous citizen. One of the popular boats plying between St. Louis and Keokuk in the forepart of the decade was the "Edward Bates."³ So pronounced was the admiration of some Iowans that children were named after him.⁴ Before the bar and on the bench, in the constitutional convention and in the legislature of Missouri and in Congress his reputation had gained steadily in praiseworthy prominence. In 1847 as president of the Convention for Internal Improvements at Chicago he "made a favorable impression upon the country at large."⁵ His declination of a cabinet portfolio tendered him by President Fillmore in 1850, signalized his national reputation and influence. In 1854 Greeley's readers in Iowa learned that his powers as a public speaker impressed strongly the most critical

¹Correspondence of Wm. Penn Clarke (MSS.) in Aldrich Collection, Historical Department of Iowa, at Des Moines.

²Langworthy, *Dubuque, Its History, etc., passim* and Burrows, *Fifty Years in Iowa (1838-1888) passim*.

³*The Weekly Dispatch*, June 8, 1848.

⁴Mr. Edwin Manning of Keosauqua, one of the most prominent and wealthiest business men among the pioneers of Iowa, was an enthusiastic admirer of Judge Bates. He gave one of his sons the Judge's surname for a given name. He also distributed subscriptions to Greeley's weekly *Tribune* gratuitously among his friends at the time Greeley was urging Judge Bates for the presidency. Interview with the late Geo. C. Duffield of Keosauqua and Hon. C. C. Nourse of Des Moines.

⁵Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, V. 1, p. 193.

of eastern observers.¹ We have seen that the announcement of his candidacy was received by the Republican editors of Iowa with but little adverse criticism and generally with considerable favor, increasing very decidedly towards the end of the year. Interviews with him, his letters and speeches indicating his views on the vital issues of the day, were generously reproduced in their columns.

The most prominent advocate of Judge Bates' nomination—probably the prime mover on his behalf—was Mr. John A. Kasson of Des Moines, then chairman of the Republican state central committee. His course illustrates very strikingly the immediate influence of environment and personal associations on men's political conduct. Mr. Kasson was born and educated in Vermont and entered the legal profession in Massachusetts. His ability and activity may be inferred from the fact that in 1848 he was sent as a delegate from Massachusetts to the national Free Soil convention at Buffalo along with Charles Francis Adams, Sr. In 1851 he came west, settling at St. Louis. He very soon entered into a law partnership with Mr. B. Gratz Brown, a notable citizen of Missouri and editor of the St. Louis *Democrat*. Mr. Brown was foremost in promoting the candidacy of Judge Bates and was chairman of

¹In view of the controversy as to the animus of Greeley's course in refusing to promote the candidacy of Seward and his final advocacy of the nomination of Judge Bates at Chicago, the following from what we may suspect was "editorial correspondence" (i. e. from the pen of either Charles A. Dana or Horace Greeley) is interesting. The occasion was an excursion into the Northwest, projected by the promoters of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad Company, consisting of notables from the east; among the number were ex-President Millard Fillmore, Geo. Bancroft, E. E. Hale, Professor Benj. Silliman, Thurlow Weed, Catherine Sedgwick and Count Adam Gurowski. At Galena a reception and banquet were given in honor of ex-President Fillmore and to one of the toasts Judge Bates was asked to respond. Of his response the correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

"That of Mr. Bates was listened to with particular interest by those of us who had not before enjoyed an opportunity of seeing this distinguished man. It was simple and without effort, spoken in a very quiet and straightforward manner, but with one or two touches that betrayed the orator. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Bates has never taken that leading part in our public affairs which he might have filled so honorably and advantageously to himself and the country."—*N. Y. Tribune* (w.), June 17, 1854; Correspondence dated at St. Paul, Minn., June 17th.

The dissolution of the firm of Greeley, Seward and Weed did not take place until 1856.

Judge Bates seems to have made very lasting impressions as an orator. Writing thirteen years after the Rivers and Harbors Convention at Chicago, in 1847, a brilliant correspondent of *The Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, writing from Burlington, Iowa, Feb. 4, 1860—and a hostile critic of Judge Bates as a candidate for the presidency—says of his effort on that occasion; he "carried away the whole audience in the two emotions of astonishment and delight by his retiring speech." Correspondence reprinted in the *Daily Hawk-Eye*, Feb. 16, 1860.

Missouri's delegation at Chicago. Mr. Kasson came to Des Moines in 1857 but the ties of his friendships and business affiliations with St. Louis continued and they in no small degree, caused him in the preliminaries to favor the nomination of his friend and professional associate in St. Louis at the national convention.¹ Mr. Joseph Eiboek of Garnavillo, as previously mentioned, advocated his nomination. Mr. Edwin Manning of Keosauqua, because of business and personal relations, also promoted it.² The Republicans of Fremont county, when they by resolution declared for Judge McLean for President, at the same time proclaimed Judge Bates to be their choice for Vice-President.³ *The Journal of Knoxville* likewise urged him for Vice-President.⁴

(d) Seward and the Silence of His Friends.

Activity—either individual or concerted—on behalf of Senator Seward's nomination was conspicuous by its absence, at least so far as discoverable signs would indicate: and the reasons therefor are by no means clear. His friends and advocates were active and forehanded in Oregon in 1859, securing, in April, instructions to the delegates to the national convention to work for his nomination.⁵ In 1860 systematic and successful efforts on his behalf were put forth in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Texas, Virginia, and Massachusetts to secure either instructions or delegations favorable to him. In Iowa, as elsewhere, he was a favorite champion with the majority of the aggressive anti-slavery elements. His eminence in national councils and his fame had been household words since the days of his governorship in New York. Plus all these, the political acumen, the extensive and facile connections, business and political, and the vast resources of his field worker and manager, Mr. Thurlow Weed, were noteworthy. Iowa was among the first, if indeed not the first, to call a special state convention to select delegates to the national convention. Nevertheless, the Republican press of

¹Mr. John A. Kasson to the writer (MSS.) Aug. 28, 1906.

²See foot-note, *ante*.

³*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Jan. 18, 1860.

⁴*The Muscatine Daily Journal*, Dec. 9, 1859.

⁵*The Oregon Statesman*, April 26, 1859.

Iowa in 1859 was almost wholly silent. A solitary editor at DeWitt declared specifically for his nomination. Mr. Teesdale asserted his belief in April that the statesman of Auburn was the real choice of the Republicans of Iowa but he did not urge his nomination, and, on November 30th he even doubts whether the Senator from New York covets the nomination.

This reticence as regards Seward in 1859 is somewhat strange except on one hypothesis. Mr. Eiboeck, it will be recalled, stated categorically that Seward would "stand no chance with Bates, for reasons that are known to every one." Those reasons must have been that the senior Senator from New York was looked upon by the majority of the experienced party workers in Iowa as a radical of an extreme and dangerous sort, whose selection was unlikely because his nomination would endanger the success of the party at the polls. There is much to confirm this surmise. His doctrine of "Higher Law" and his expression "The Irrepressible Conflict" and sundry broad generalities accompanying it, while defensible on ultimate grounds of economics and ethics, seemed by implication to warrant lawlessness and direct attack upon the property rights of slaveholders. *The N. Y. Herald* referred to his "brutal and bloody" program. The Democratic press of Iowa dealt with him in like terms. *The Sentinel* of Ft. Dodge under the caption "Political Twins," reprints a slashing article from *The Chicago Herald* proclaiming the similarities of the views of Seward and Wendell Phillips, that Prince Rupert of Radicals. New York's Senator is "the father of Black Republicanism and the great leader of those unfortunate monomaniacs who expect to elect him President . . ." whose "mandate" was the "Higher Law" which ordained that "Slavery must be abolished." The views of this "teacher in the Israel of treason" were all of a piece with those of Phillips who had declared that the "merit" of the Republican party lay in the fact that it was a "sectional party. . . It is the North arrayed against the South" and secession and separation are predicted by that silver-tongued seer with satisfaction.¹ Following what Mr. Howell designated "The *emeute* at Harper's Ferry in

¹*The Ft. Dodge Sentinel*, Nov. 26, 1859.

which a score of insane white men and idiotic negroes seized the United States Armory . . ."¹ Democratic denunciation of Seward as a fomenter of anarchy and an abettor of treason reached a point of fury not far from frenzy. Two events especially encouraged it. Very soon after the affair at Harper's Ferry he was publicly charged with having had treasonable correspondence with John Brown or his backers. Again his name appeared among the endorsers of Helper's *Impending Crisis* that produced such a terrific uproar and upset in the organization of the national House of Representatives in December, 1859: and the pith and point of that notorious book was "Slavery must be abolished." Mr. Zieback of Sioux City reprints extensive portions of a scathing article in *The Louisville Journal* denouncing Seward's criminal knowledge of Brown's conspiracy, guarding "the villainous secret" as effectually as the "arch-conspirator" himself. His offense was black enough,—even if no more than "criminal lack of courage" to speak out and reveal the "atrocious scheme,"—to "redden the cheeks of every citizen in the land."² The vigor of the indictment of Seward was not lessened by the fact that *The Louisville Journal*, under the brilliant editorship of George D. Prentice, was one of the stoutest Opposition papers in the country. One finds no defense of Seward by the Republican press in Iowa against the ferocious attacks of the Democratic press. Their silence may have been utter contempt for them or it may have been due to a sub-conscious feeling that they could not make a very satisfactory defense. The marked change that took place in the sentiment of the leaders and the press of the State after Seward's speech in the Senate February 27, 1860, affords rather strong evidence in confirmation of the explanation here suggested for the reticence of Iowans towards the candidacy of the Senator from New York in 1859.

(e) Abraham Lincoln's Relations With Iowa and Iowans.

That Abraham Lincoln in 1859 was not unmindful of his chances for securing the Republican nomination for the Presi-

¹*The Gate City*, Oct. 24, 1859.

²*The Sioux City Register*, Dec. 10, 1859.

dency in 1860 his correspondence and biographers show. That he was not averse by proper methods to promoting them by pen or in person we know. There is considerable reason for thinking that he had his eye on Iowa and cultivated the favorable opinion of her people and her Republican party leaders. What is no less to the point Iowans and the chiefs of the Republican party in Iowa for many years sought the personal acquaintance and political influence of Abraham Lincoln.

As early as 1844 Mr. James W. Grimes, or some other party chief in Burlington, tried to secure Mr. Lincoln for a speech at a mass meeting of the Whigs in that city on July 13th of that year; and he seems to have promised to come.¹ In 1856 two other efforts were made to secure him for speeches in the political canvass: in June Governor Grimes,² and in late August or early September Mr. Henry O'Connor of Muscatine, writing him urging his acceptance of invitations made.³ Again in 1857 Governor Grimes tried to secure him for a series of speeches.⁴ For sundry reasons Mr. Lincoln was unable to comply with their wishes. But if any fact would indicate that before the celebrated senatorial contest of 1858 Mr. Lincoln was a political factor of interstate fame and far from an "Unknown"—the fact that Governor Grimes, the last man in the world to bother with nonentities, an inveterate searcher after accomplishment and efficiency, should thus for many years seek to enlist him in the Republican forces in Iowa demonstrates the extensive and solid reputation possessed by the Illinoian. In 1858, as we have seen, in the interval between the debate with Douglas at Galesburg and their meeting at Quincy, Mr. Lincoln followed Senator Douglas over the river to Burlington and on the evening of October 9th spoke in Grimes Hall on the chief issues in the pending contest.⁵

In 1857 Mr. Lincoln came in contact with some of the business projects of Iowa that gave him increased interest in the State, extending his relations and acquaintanceship with influential factors in such wise as to prove extremely advantageous

¹James W. Grimes to David E. Blair reprinted in this issue of THE ANNALS.

²Salter's *Grimes*, pp. 83-84.

³*Lincoln's Works* (Miller Ed.), Vol. 9, p. 19.

⁴Salter's, *Grimes*, p. 95.

⁵THE ANNALS OF IOWA (3d Series) Vol. VIII, pp. 453-455.

to him in the final clinch of the convention at Chicago. The Chicago and Rock Island Railroad Company in order to enhance the extensions of their line in Iowa spanned the Mississippi at Rock Island and Davenport. The construction of the company's bridge aroused the bitter animosities of the rivermen, partially because they instinctively opposed the advancement of a rival mode of transportation that threatened their supremacy, and partially because they seriously believed that the bridge would prove an obstruction to free transit on the river. Suspicious accidents, boats striking the piers and the burning of the bridge, indicated the intensity of the antagonism of interests. The owners of one damaged vessel brought suit in the federal court presided over by Judge James Love of Keokuk, who decided that the bridge was an irremediable obstruction to navigation. His ruling if confirmed was fatal to interstate commerce by railways where navigable rivers intervened. The matter was eventually taken up and tried in the Circuit Court at Chicago, Associate Justice John McLean, of the Federal Supreme Court presiding. The Rock Island company employed Mr. Lincoln among others. He chiefly examined the witnesses and made the main argument to the court. The decision was in favor of the company.¹

One of the directors of the Rock Island company employing Mr. Lincoln in the Rock Island bridge case was Mr. Norman P. Judd, later chairman of the Republican state central committee of Illinois and also a member of the Republican national committee—and one of Mr. Lincoln's chief field workers at the Chicago convention. By the way of this association with Mr. Judd, Mr. Lincoln invested in lands in Iowa in and about Council Bluffs, the then proposed western terminus of the Rock Island, or the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad as it was then called, Lincoln buying some of Judd's holdings in Council Bluffs. Sometime previously he had become interested in real estate in Iowa having entered his Black Hawk War

¹Case of *Hurd et al. vs. Railroad Bridge Co.* See Hon. Peter A. Dey of Iowa City to Frederick Trevor Hill. *Century Magazine*, V. 71, p. 953.

land warrant in Crawford county.¹ Both Mr. Judd and Mr. Lincoln employed Mr. (later General) Grenville M. Dodge of Council Bluffs to attend to their interests in that region. Mr. Dodge was the surveyor of the line of the Rock Island's extension in Iowa. It was incident to his business relations with Mr. Judd of his directory board that he later took an active part at Chicago in furthering the nomination of Mr. Lincoln by the national Republican convention.²

In the spring of 1859 Mr. Lincoln again visited Iowa—and under circumstances that indicate the solid character of Mr. Lincoln's close relations with powerful industrial interests that are always potent and present in political councils. Some time in April, probably the latter part, he was attending court at Galena. He appeared in some cases affecting the Illinois Central Railroad Company—a corporation that had employed him almost from the time of the incorporation of the company in 1849.³ He had won an important case for the company and between it and some later hearings or proceedings he made a visit to Dubuque, nearly opposite Galena, stopping for a day and a night at the Julien House, a well-known hostelry of that city. He came with a party of officials of the Illinois Central Company. He rode in a private car, on his own pass furnished him in his capacity as attorney for the company. The distinction of a private car and the privilege of free trans-

¹Two of the three Bounty Land Warrants issued to Abraham Lincoln for military service in the Black Hawk War were filed for lands in Iowa.

The first warrant No. 52,076 for forty acres (Act of 1850) issued April 16, 1852, was located on the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter of section 20, in township 84 north of range 39. The entry was made at Dubuque, Iowa, by his attorney, John P. Davis, July 21, 1854. A patent was issued June 1, 1855.

The second No. 68,465, for 120 acres (Act of 1855) was issued April 22, 1856, and was located on the east half of the northeast quarter and the northwest quarter of the northeast quarter of section 18 in township 84, range 39. Mr. Lincoln himself located or made the selection at Springfield, Ill., December 27, 1859. The patent was issued September 10, 1860.

The foregoing is taken from a letter of the Commissioner of the Land Office, June 27, 1865, quoted by Herndon and Weik *Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, p. 92. Mr. W. H. Terry, Recorder of Crawford county, wherein the entries for lands described should be made of record, writes that only for the last named tract was a patent issued to Abraham Lincoln; moreover, the number of the land warrant was 68,645 according to his record, and not 68,465. The entry for the first mentioned tract was made by Milton Santee, June 19, 1858, and the patent issued August 3, 1866, on Warrant No. 4672. W. H. Terry to the writer (MSS.), Sept. 16, and Oct. 4, 1909.

²General Grenville M. Dodge to the writer (MSS.) July 3, 1907, and Aug. 13, 1908; and interview, Nov. 17, 1908.

³*Abraham Lincoln, as Attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad Company*. The writer is in debt to Mr. J. G. Drennan, of Chicago, attorney for the company, for a copy of this rare Album.

portation greatly impressed some of the young Republican leaders of Dubuque (among the number being the late Senator Wm. B. Allison) who attended at the Julien House to observe the notables.

It is not clear whether Mr. Lincoln's visit to Dubuque was primarily in connection with the official party of the railroad company, then greatly interested in securing control of a western terminus in Dubuque and extensions into and through Iowa, or whether it was taken on his own initiative on account of private business or pleasure and happened to coincide with the official party's visit. The visit seems not to have attracted much public notice at the time although a number of lawyers of Dubuque called to pay their respects to Senator Douglas' great antagonist, some of whom long afterwards vividly remembered the occasion.¹ The visit in and of itself was not of particular political consequence. The circumstances of the visit, however, in the writer's judgment, bring into view a fact of the greatest significance. They exhibit the close, not to say, intimate relations Mr. Lincoln had as a lawyer with great and powerful industrial corporations: factors of the greatest potency in the decisions of political bodies.² It was this relationship, moreover, that in some part caused Mr. Lincoln to make another visit to Iowa and another speech in the State in 1859.

¹Interview of Mr. James B. Morrow with Senator Wm. B. Allison, dated at Washington, D. C., May 7, 1908: see *The Sioux City Journal*, May 10, 1909; and George Crane to the writer (MSS.), July 31, 1909. Mr. Crane was Mr. Allison's law partner at the time and attended at the Julien House with his professional associates.

²The following telegram will indicate the high standing of Mr. Lincoln with the managers of railroads for years preceding his nomination at Chicago:

"Chicago, Oct. 14, 1852.

"To Abraham Lincoln,
Springfield, Ill.

Can you come here immediately and act as arbitrator in the crossing case between the Illinois Central and Northern Indiana R. R. Companies if you should be appointed? Answer and say yes if possible.

(Signed) J. F. Joy."

The Mr. Joy signing the telegram was the organizer of the C. B. & Q. R. R. and a director of the Illinois Central at the time. *Cent. Mag.*, Vol. 71, p. 950, gives telegram. The original telegram may be found in the Collection of General Alfred Orendorff of Springfield, Ill.

Sometime in the latter part of July or in the forepart of August Mr. Lincoln made a trip to Kansas—whether exclusively on business or not is not clear. On his return, while stopping at St. Joseph, Missouri, he decided to make a visit to Council Bluffs and examine his land holdings, acquired from Mr. Judd, with a view doubtless to estimating the probable future of the city's commercial development and the prospect for enhancing land values. He was accompanied by Mr. O. M. Hatch, Secretary of State for Illinois. Their boat arrived at Council Bluffs Friday evening, August 12th. Speech-making seems not to have been contemplated by Mr. Lincoln, but two events conspired to make him address the citizens on political matters.

First, the leading citizens of the town without distinction of party, as soon as they knew of his presence besought him to make a speech. Second, the boat on which he was to return met with an accident and for two or three days he was unable to proceed. Another fact was influential. The Republicans of Iowa were in the midst of a strenuous state campaign and were making more than usual efforts to elect their candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor, Messrs. Samuel J. Kirkwood and Nicholas J. Rusch, and the normal political complexion of the "Missouri Slope," as that region was called, was Democratic. Furthermore, Council Bluffs was the home of Mr. Ly'sander W. Babbitt, the Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor. The fame of the visitor and the exigencies of the political situation no doubt made the local political leaders more than ordinarily urgent in pressing the invitation upon Mr. Lincoln; and he too probably was not unmindful of the contingent advantages that might ensue from an effective speech in Iowa at such a point under such circumstances. At any rate *The Weekly Nonpareil*, the organ of the Republicans, contained the following announcement in its issue Saturday morning.

HEAR OLD ABE.

Hon. Abe Lincoln and the secretary of state for Illinois, Hon. O. M. Hatch, arrived in our city last eve, and are stopping at the Pacific House. The distinguished "Sucker" has yielded to the importunities

of our citizens without distinction of parties, and will speak on the political issues of the day at Concert Hall this evening. The celebrity of the speaker will most certainly insure him a full house. Go and hear Old Abe.

As was the case when Mr. Lincoln spoke at Burlington in October preceding, neither the substance, nor the main points, nor the nature of the speech was indicated in the press report and comment thereon: simply the manner and effectiveness of the speaker were characterized. The evening was divided between Mr. Lincoln and a Judge Test, one-time secretary of state for Indiana and then a recent convert from the Democratic party. The latter fact apparently was not known for some of the audience seems to have anticipated something in the nature of a joint debate between the two speakers; but both expressed similar views.¹ The next week's issue of *The Nonpareil* contains an editorial expression of about a quarter of a column from Mr. W. W. Maynard under the heading "Abe Lincoln," one of its paragraphs being devoted to the Illinoian and the other to the Indianian, with the major emphasis of laudation for Mr. Lincoln.

This distinguished gentleman addressed a very large audience of ladies and gentlemen at Concert Hall in this city Saturday evening last. In the brief limits of a newspaper article it were impossible even though we wielded the trenchant pen of a Babbitt (which we do not) to give an outline of his masterly and unanswerable speech—the clear and lucid manner in which he set forth the principles of the Republican party—the dexterity with which he applied the political scalpel to the Democratic carcass—beggars all description at our hands. Suffice it that the speaker fully and fairly sustained the great reputation he acquired in the memorable Illinois campaign as a man of great intellectual power—a close and sound reasoner.

At the close of Mr. Lincoln's remarks Judge Test of Indiana was called to the stand. The Judge spoke for near half an hour . . . both gentlemen endeared themselves to the Republicans by their praiseworthy efforts on this occasion.²

The foregoing announcement and comments, colored as they are by the favorable inclination of the editor's partisan preju-

¹The *Sunday Nonpareil* (semi-centennial edition), Sept. 2, 1906—article "Visit of 'Abe' Lincoln to Council Bluffs," p. 22.

²The *Weekly Nonpareil*, Aug. 12, 1859. The writer is indebted to Mr. Henry Peterson, attorney of Council Bluffs, for the citations from *The Nonpareil* of 1859. He unearthed the files, when all information as to their whereabouts was adverse.

dice indicate very decidedly the keen popular interest in Mr. Lincoln in western Iowa and his celebrity as a powerful speaker. But the significance of the visit, aside from the speech is not appreciated; and there was of course but little suspicion of the bearing of the event upon the visitor's later career. His one particular object seems to have been to confer with his local representative about land values and their future prospects. The person who thus acted for him with whom he chiefly conferred, subsequently had a distinguished career in the nation's industrial, military and political affairs; and the writer has been fortunate in securing his recollections of Mr. Lincoln's visit and speech. The following extracts are reproduced from notes of an interview with General Grenville M. Dodge.

My first interest in Abraham Lincoln came about as a result of business interest. I had had business relations for some time with N. P. Judd of Illinois who was Mr. Lincoln's manager in the campaign before the Chicago convention. I looked after some land interests for them in and about Council Bluffs.

I first met Mr. Lincoln at Council Bluffs in August, 1859. He had come up there by way of St. Joseph and the Missouri river to look after an interest in the Riddle tract that he had bought from Mr. Judd.

I had just returned with my party from a surveying trip, and we camped in a ravine just north of the town, and had come down to the Pacific House to get a square meal.

He heard of the arrival of the engineering party and sought me out at the hotel. We sat down on the porch of the Pacific House and he proceeded to find out all about the country we had been through and all about our railroad surveys, the character of the country, particularly its adaptability to settlement, its topographical features, in fact, he extracted from me the information I had gathered from my surveyors, and virtually shelled my woods most thoroughly.

When Mr. Lincoln first spoke in Council Bluffs in August, 1859, I was interested in him chiefly because he had been Judd's friend and because he had been an attorney for the Rock Island road. Knowing something of his reputation produced by the debates with Douglas and because of his relations with Judd and the Rock Island I went over to the Square where he was to speak.

There are no accounts of the speech that give any details as to what he said except perhaps in a very vague way. He dwelt largely upon the slavery question—the great subject in which we folks on the "Missouri Slope" were then, as was the whole country, much

interested. Mr. Lincoln set forth his views of the slavery question in connection with the settlement of the territory just across the Missouri river. The settlement of the new territory interested him very much and its commercial development was much in his mind. In the course of his speech he took occasion to commend the advanced stand taken by Kirkwood in his campaign for governor. I went with Kirkwood to some of the towns in the western part of the State in which he spoke. Kirkwood was regarded by a good many as pretty strong on the slavery question. It was natural that Mr. Lincoln should say a good word on his behalf.

Before the speech I had no very definite ideas about Mr. Lincoln; but that speech settled the matter. He convinced the most of those who heard him that he knew what he was talking about and that he knew how to put the issues so as to bring out the strong points of the Republican position. He made many strong friends in our part of the State at the time.

Mr. Lincoln stayed with Messrs. Thomas Officer and W. H. M. Pusey while in town—they had formerly lived in Springfield, Illinois.

Years after it was the conversation at the Pacific House that led to the fixing of the eastern terminus of the Union Pacific at Council Bluffs.¹

There was some but not much notice of the visit and the speech by the press of the State. At Des Moines Mr. Teesdale refers to the presence and address of the "distinguished" Illinoian in Council Bluffs and he asserts that the Republicans were "delighted with the effort and do not wonder at the popularity of Old Abe at home." He concludes by declaring: ". . . the Republicans of Iowa are under especial obligations to Mr. L."² The editors of the Democratic paper make note of the event in contemptuous terms: "Lincoln, the would-be Senator from Illinois who was so badly beaten on the stump and at the polls by Douglas was in Council Bluffs last week and made a speech."³

One fact is made evident in the foregoing. The familiar terms employed by Messrs. Maynard and Teesdale in referring to Mr. Lincoln, such as, "Abe" and "Old Abe," indicate that his name and fame were common household stock; the editors' language implied no derogation; rather an assumption that all

¹Interview with General Grenville M. Dodge, Des Moines, Nov. 17, 1908.

²*The Iowa Weekly Citizen*, Aug. 24, 1859.

³*The Campaign Journal*, Aug. 18, 1859.

knew him or about him and held him in the esteem of familiar colloquial acquaintance.

Roundabout or following the visit to Council Bluffs a report seems to have become current in Keokuk that Mr. Lincoln would attend a session of the federal court in that city in September. Forthwith Mr. Hawkins Taylor, an active leader of the Republicans in the Gate City, took measures to secure a speech and wrote him. Mr. Taylor received a reply under date of September 6th, as follows:

There is some mistake about my expected attendance of the United States court in your city on the third Tuesday of this month. I have no thought of being there. It is bad to be poor. I shall go to the wall for bread and meat, if I neglect my business this year as well as last. It would please me much to see the city and good people of Keokuk, but for this year it is little less than an impossibility.¹

Notwithstanding his financial straits, the pressure of the political campaign in the country at large was so great as to induce the writer of that letter two weeks later to go to Ohio in pursuit of his old antagonist, Senator Douglas, "driving nails in his track" in two notable speeches at Columbus and Cincinnati.

Following Mr. Lincoln's appearance at Council Bluffs and no doubt in consequence of it he received another invitation to speak in the canvass in Iowa. Mr. John A. Kasson, as chairman of the Republican state central committee, was in no small degree charged personally with the practical responsibility for the successful issue of the state campaign. The Democrats were making more than common efforts to regain the State, having in General A. C. Dodge a very strong candidate for governor. Mr. Kasson had substantial reasons for anxiety as to the outcome² and alertly sought effective speakers. Under date of September 13th Mr. Kasson addressed Mr. Lincoln, a brief note:

Will it be possible for you to visit Oskaloosa in this State, at the State Fair, say the 28th, Sept', and speak there, and perhaps at one or more other places.

¹ANNALS OF IOWA (3d series), V. II, p. 475.

²The reasons for the worry of the Republicans in the canvass of 1859 are set forth by the writer in THE ANNALS, Vol. VIII, 206-217.

It is earnestly desired you should visit the State if possible.¹

The invitation, however, was unavailing, for the reason probably that Mr. Lincoln by the date he received it was busily preparing for his speeches in Ohio or was already on his way to that State. At least there seems to have been no favorable response.²

It is not clear why Mr. Lincoln should have been indisposed to cross the river and make some speeches at various important points in eastern Iowa in the campaign of 1859. His visit to Council Bluffs seems to have been accidental or at least not pre-arranged. He went to Kansas both before and after his speech at Council Bluffs: and he went to Ohio and to Wisconsin before his second visit to Kansas. The invasion of Ohio by his old antagonist was sufficient inducement for him to follow. But Wisconsin was as certainly Republican as Iowa, while Iowa was a State with eight votes in the forthcoming national convention and Kansas was a territory with but six possible votes. The tremendous popular furore over "Bleeding Kansas" probably explains his sacrifices of time, energy, and means in Kansas and his comparative indifference to appeals from Iowa.³

There are few signs of any systematic effort to secure action that would promote the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. The sug-

¹The writer is indebted to the courtesy of Hon. Robert T. Lincoln of Chicago for Mr. Kasson's note given above, who presented him with the original, together with its envelope on which is an autograph notation of President Lincoln.

²Hon. Robert T. Lincoln to the writer Feb. 1, 1909, and Mr. Chas. Kasson Wead for Hon. John A. Kasson, Jan. 8, 1909.

³Mr. Lincoln had another basis of interest in Iowa and Iowans. Messrs. Herndon and Lamon both declare that no fact had a more profound influence upon his character and career than his love for Miss Anne Rutledge of New Salem. Her untimely death in 1835, it is asserted, accounts largely for the clouds of melancholy that so constantly hovered about him. Even after his election to the Presidency he is reported to have said to an old friend from whom he was seeking information about old acquaintances: "I have loved the name of Rutledge to this day. I have kept my mind on their movements ever since. . . ." (Lamon, *Life*, p. 169). Some members of the Rutledge family moved to southern Iowa during the fifties. Robert B. Rutledge was one of the pioneers of Van Buren county whose name appears in its calendar of Notables (*History of Van Buren County*, p. 378). He was elected Sheriff of that county in 1857 serving from 1858 to 1862. During the Civil War he was appointed Provost Marshal in 1863, with headquarters at Burlington, serving in the latter capacity until October 31, 1865. (*War of Rebellion—Records*, Series III, Vol. V, 906). We may safely surmise that the appointment was the result of President Lincoln's personal interest in him and his family. After the war Mrs. James Rutledge, mother of the brother and sister just mentioned, lived for a time at Oskaloosa. The writer is indebted to Mr. E. R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department, for the foregoing relative to Robert Rutledge's career in Iowa; and to Mr. Welker Given of Des Moines for the last fact mentioned.

gestion of Mr. Holmes of Marion already noted, might have contemplated some action by the special state convention called for January 18, 1860, to select the delegates to attend the national convention. In one instance, however, instructions were given. The Republicans of Newton in their resolutions instructing for Salmon P. Chase for President directed their county delegates to work to secure the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for Vice-President.¹ One thing is obvious. The name of Mr. Lincoln received as much consideration in Iowa in connection with the Presidency in 1859 both in informal discussion and in formal party action as that of his chief competitor at the national convention.

¹*The Gate City*, Jan. 11, 1860.

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