

IOWA NEWSPAPERS REPORT THE 1860 NOMINATION OF LINCOLN

*Compiled by Mildred Throne**

Presidential nominating conventions one hundred years ago had both similarities to and differences from present-day conventions. Delegates came from several states, ready to parade and shout for their favorites; after one or two ballots, a certain amount of behind-the-scenes trading marshalled the delegates behind the strongest candidate; the final choice was greeted with at least a surface appearance of unity. On the other hand, nominating speeches, in the days before loud-speaker systems, were mercifully short, and the candidates themselves were modestly absent, leaving the work of the convention to their lieutenants. The delegates, uninfluenced by presidential preference primaries or public opinion polls, made their own decisions as to the "best man," decisions often controlled by one or two strong men in each delegation. These leaders decided among themselves which man was the strongest, which man could carry the crucial states, which man had the fewest enemies or the "safest" record on the issues that could divide the party, which man was the most "available." By a judicious juggling of all these factors, they made their choice. Sometimes they were right, sometimes wrong. In the Republican nomination of 1860, the choice of Abraham Lincoln was certainly right — in fact, it was a better choice than any of the delegates probably realized at the time.

The Iowa newspapers, in the months before the convention, devoted surprisingly little space to the presidential nomination, compared with modern papers. Some editors had discussed the possibilities early in 1859,¹ but the gubernatorial election of that year interested them more. With Samuel J. Kirkwood safely elected governor in October, 1859, a few papers carried short articles, discussing the various presidential possibilities. But the John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry, the fight in Congress over the Speakership, and the meeting of the Iowa General Assembly occupied most of the space

*Mildred Throne is associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹ Frank I. Herriott, "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," *Annals of Iowa* (3 ser.), 9:45-64 (April, 1909).

in the small four-page papers of the day from December through April. With the adjournment of the General Assembly, Iowa Republican editors could at last turn their full attention to the forthcoming national convention at Chicago, called for May 16, 1860.

On January 18, 1860, the Iowa Republicans had met in convention at Des Moines to choose delegates to cast Iowa's eight votes at the convention. Eager to spread political influence as widely as possible, the convention had named thirty-three men to cast these eight votes.² Following are the names of the men chosen:

Delegates at Large

W. Penn Clarke, Johnson County
 L. C. Noble, Fayette County
 John A. Kasson, Polk County
 Henry O'Connor, Muscatine County
 J. F. Wilson, Jefferson County
 J. S. Rankin, Lee County
 M. L. McPherson, Madison County
 C. F. Clarkson, Grundy County
 N. J. Rusch, Scott County
 H. P. Scholte, Marion County
 Rev. John Johns, Webster County

District Delegates

1st — Alvin Saunders, Henry County
 J. C. Walker, Lee County
 2nd — H. Clay Caldwell, Van Buren
 County
 M. Baker, Wapello County
 3rd — Benj. Rector, Fremont County
 George A. Hawley, Decatur
 County
 4th — A. W. Hubbard, Woodbury
 County

J. E. Blackford, Kossuth County
 5th — Thomas Seeley, Guthrie
 County
 C. C. Nourse, Polk County
 6th — Wm. M. Stone, Marion
 County
 J. B. Grinnell, Poweshiek County
 7th — Wm. A. Warren, Jackson
 County
 J. W. Thompson, Scott County
 8th — John Shane, Benton County
 William Smith, Linn County
 9th — Wm. B. Allison, Dubuque
 County
 J. F. Brown, Black Hawk County
 10th — Reuben Noble, Clayton
 County
 E. G. Bowdoin, Floyd County
 11th — W. P. Hepburn, Marshall
 County
 J. F. Brown, Hardin County

Of these men, H. Clay Caldwell, A. W. Hubbard, and J. E. Blackford did not go to Chicago; their votes were cast by alternates J. W. Caldwell, Herbert M. Hoxie, and Jacob Butler. Although Governor Kirkwood was not a delegate, he attended the convention and was active in influencing the delegation. Uninstructed, and refusing to vote as a unit, the Iowa delegates,

² Des Moines *Iowa Citizen*, Jan. 25, 1860; Frank I. Herriott, "The Republican State Convention, Des Moines, January 18, 1860," *Annals of Iowa* (3 ser.), 9:401-446 (July-October, 1910).

with their fractional votes, cast two ballots for Seward, one each for Bates, McLean, Cameron, and Chase, and two for Lincoln on the first ballot. On the second, the two votes for Seward remained firm, while $\frac{1}{2}$ vote each was cast for Chase and McLean; the remaining five went to Lincoln. On the third and final ballot, two votes were Seward's, $\frac{1}{2}$ Chase's, while $5\frac{1}{2}$ were given to Lincoln.³ With the nomination of Lincoln assured on this ballot, Iowa then swung her eight votes into his column.

It is impossible to tell how the Iowa delegates voted individually, except in a few cases. Seward of New York had strong supporters among Iowa Republicans; among the delegates, W. Penn Clarke, Henry O'Connor, and H. P. Scholte were out-and-out Seward men. On the other hand, Alvin Saunders, J. C. Walker, and C. C. Nourse were strong for Lincoln, backed by the influence of Governor Kirkwood. Wm. B. Allison and William Smith were known to favor Chase to the last; while John A. Kasson was a Bates man. J. W. Rankin preferred Cameron, and Coker F. Clarkson liked Judge McLean.⁴

Eleven men received votes on the first ballot at Chicago. The most popular, and conceded by many to be the winner, was William H. Seward of New York, governor and United States Senator. But many Westerners considered Seward too "radical" because of his unfortunate "irrepressible conflict" speech of 1858, and they looked askance at his manager, the unsavory "Boss" Tweed. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois came second in the balloting. His "conservative" reputation was in his favor; his debates with Stephen A. Douglas in 1858 and his Cooper Union speech in February, 1860, had given him a nationwide reputation; he was a Western man who could carry the doubtful states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, and Indiana. Edward Bates of Missouri had the backing of Horace Greeley, powerful New York editor, but his nativist tendencies alienated the German vote, a factor which had to be considered in assessing his "availability." Simon Cameron, boss of Pennsylvania, had some small support, but here again Know-Nothing antecedents angered the Germans. Ohio was split between support for two of her sons: Salmon P. Chase and Benjamin F.

³ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, May 23, 1860.

⁴ Frank I. Herriott, "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," *Annals of Iowa* (3 ser.), 8:94-109 *passim* (July, 1907); "A Delegate's Memories of the Chicago Convention of 1860. An Interview with Hon. Charles C. Nourse, Des Moines, April 26 and May 12, 1907," *ibid.*, 12:454-64 *passim* (October, 1920).

Wade. John McLean, of Ohio, a justice of the United States Supreme Court, and a "legalistic old fogey," according to historian Allan Nevins, was seventy-five years old in 1860, but even this did not deter some from supporting him. Favorite sons who received complimentary votes were John C. Fremont, the colorful 1856 candidate; William L. Dayton of New Jersey, the 1856 vice-presidential nominee; Jacob Collamer of Vermont; John M. Read of Pennsylvania; and, on the second and third ballots, Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky.⁵

To illustrate what Iowans read in their local papers about the preliminaries and the convention, the following selections had been taken from a scattering of Republican papers in late 1859 and in the months before the convention met in May, 1860. Several points stand out: the strong partiality for Seward, but the early mention of Lincoln; the apparent unawareness (either failure to recognize or refusal to publicize) the fact that a Republican victory would result in Seward's "irrepressible conflict"; the refusal of most editors, loyal Republicans, to take a strong stand for any one man, thus leaving themselves free to cheer for the nominee, whoever he might be; and the constant stress on the party rather than the man. The newspaper reports actually tell little of what really happened at Chicago; the true story of the convention could only be told by historians years later. The following selections show what the newspaper reader of 1860 knew about a momentous political event, and are a distinct contrast to the coverage of political questions by modern reporters.

PRESIDENTIAL³

A glorious uncertainty prevails as to the men who are likely to enjoy the honor of leading the Republican hosts to victory in the next Presidential canvass. The fall elections having closed, the press is giving more at-

⁵ For accounts of the convention, see J. G. Randall, *Lincoln, the President . . .* (2 vols., New York, 1945), 1:157-77; Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (2 vols., New York, 1950), 2:229-60.

⁶ *Des Moines Weekly Citizen*, Nov. 30, 1859. This paper, the forerunner of the *Register*, was edited at this time by John Teesdale, a native of England, who had edited newspapers in Virginia and Ohio before moving to Iowa City, where he edited the *Iowa City Republican* for a number of years. When the capital of Iowa was moved from Iowa City to Des Moines in 1858, Teesdale moved his paper, renamed it the *Des Moines Citizen*, and made it into one of the leading Republican papers in the State. B. F. Gue, *History of Iowa . . .* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:259-60.

tention to the question; but thus far, without any expression of sufficient significance to foreshadow the action of the coming National Convention. The *Chicago Tribune* recently presented some reflections upon the subject, which, in the main, were sound and just. The weak point, in its argument — if such it may be called — was its aim to make the action of the convention dependent upon the wishes of the few northern States that withheld their votes from Fremont in 1856. It occurs to us, as all important, first, to make such nominations as will meet the approbation of those States whose votes may be regarded as certain for the Republican nominees. The main question before the convention is (says the *Tribune*) "who can carry Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania," or the last — without regard to the other three. The Convention may be able to settle this question satisfactorily, without being a particle nearer success, than when it commenced its labors. The nomination of Simon Cameron might settle the question for Pennsylvania; but it is by no means certain that such a nomination would not endanger other States, regarded as unalterably Republican. The nomination of Mr. Lincoln would secure Illinois, beyond peradventure; but is there not a possibility that such a nomination would endanger some of the old Republican States? We merely suggest the inquiry, without affirming that such is the case.

All the indications furnished by the late elections, combine to justify the conclusion that every free State in the Union, excepting California, may be regarded as safe for the Republican nominees; if those nominees be men of the right stamp, truly representing Republican principles. This is the all-important point. Public sentiment has been educated up to the right point. It demands the inauguration of a policy, undubitably Republican, in the national councils. The Republican nominees should be men who have been tried, as by fire, on the great issues before the country, and in the struggles of the past. Anything short of this will not meet the expectations of the awakened masses. To award the honors the distinctions of station to mere camp followers, eleventh-hour men, to the neglect of those who have borne the heat and burthen of the fight, is a policy destructive of all political organization; one calculated to repress the energies and cool the ardor of the gallant soldier. — Yet there is a strong inclination, we fear, to do this very thing. Against it would we raise our voice now, and all the time.

The result of the recent election in New York, establishes the fact to our mind, that Mr. Seward can carry that State. A thousand majority for or against the Union ticket, in a State like New York, is too small to be regarded for a moment. With the name of Mr. Seward before the people of that State, the reserve Republican vote would all be out. There can never again be a union of the Democracy and the Americans⁷ of that State. Each organization will stand upon its own basis, next November; and whether the Democracy are united or divided, they will be crushed, in the Empire State, as between the upper and nether millstone. Yet it would not surprise us to learn that Mr. Seward, when he returns home,⁸ refused 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 ensure success. He never will seek or accept a nomination, that is not equivalent to an election, while there is another soldier in the field who can ensure success to the cause. At least, such is our estimate of the lofty patriotism of the man.

An opportunity was afforded during our late tour eastward, to ascertain something of the sentiment in Ohio, Michigan and Illinois. In the first-named State the current still sets strongly in favor of Mr. Chase; but some facts come to our knowledge calculated to awaken an apprehension that the friends of Mr. Corwin⁹ are inclined to oppose the Chase movement. A movement in the same quarter prevented Ohio from giving her vote to Judge McLean at the convention of 1848; and it may prove disastrous to the aspirations of Mr. Chase, in the convention of 1860. — Yet no doubt can be entertained of the ability of Mr. C. to carry that State; and if he is the choice of the other States, he ought to receive the nomination, regardless of the opposition alluded to. There is a quiet movement in favor of Judge McLean and Senator Wade; but of its strength we cannot speak advisedly.

Michigan is for Seward, earnestly and persistently. It is said that there is but one Republican journal in that State adverse to his nomination. The *Tribune* and *Advertiser* of Detroit — the leading Republican journals of Michigan — are both able and zealous in that behalf.

⁷ The "Americans" were members of the Know-Nothing party.

⁸ Seward spent the summer and fall of 1859 in Europe. Thornton K. Lothrop, *William Henry Seward* (Boston, 1898), 203.

⁹ Thomas Corwin of Ohio, former governor and United States Senator.

Illinois is for Lincoln; with a side-current in favor of Trumbull.¹⁰ These distinguished men deserve to be held in high esteem throughout the Union; and their gallant labors for the redemption of their 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.

Iowa has not yet indicated her preference. She bides her time. Her devotion to the cause of Republicanism makes her vote certain as that of Vermont for the Republican nominees. When Mr. Seward returns home, and the course his friends design to take is indicated at Washington, a general movement may be anticipated.

FREMONT AND DAYTON¹¹

A political and personal friend and a sound and reliable Iowa Republican, in whose good sense and good judgment we have much confidence, urges us to put at the head of our paper the names of Fremont and Dayton as candidates for President and Vice President in 1860. . . . He thinks the claims of Fremont at least equal to those of Seward or Chase — that nothing is to be gained by courting Old Line Whig votes, and there is no use trying to nominate a candidate to suit them — that our recruits are to come from the Democratic party, and that we should nominate a candidate with Democratic antecedents. Fremont, he thinks, has more strength among the people than any other candidate. That we shall save disappointment and dissatisfaction and gain strength by keeping his name before the people — that as was the case in 1836 with Gen. Harrison, we should have kept Mr. Fremont's name prominently before the country from the election of 1856 down to the canvass of 1860.

These, with many others, are the reasons urged by our friend, why we should put up the names of Fremont and Dayton. We give them to our readers for their consideration.

¹⁰ Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, United States Senator, had some supporters for the 1860 nomination, but he himself favored Judge McLean, although the Illinois delegation as a whole was pledged to Lincoln. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:151.

¹¹ Burlington *Weekly Hawk-Eye*, Dec. 10, 1859. Edited by Clark Dunham, a native of Vermont, who had been editor of the Newark (Ohio) *Gazette* for fourteen years before moving to Iowa in 1854. Purchasing the Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Dunham became one of the most prominent and influential Republican editors of the state. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:82.

PRESIDENTIAL¹²

As the time for the meeting of the National Convention approaches a number of Republican Journals are naming their favorites for the Presidency. This course may be all well enough, but we are inclined to doubt its policy. There are hundreds of men within our ranks who are qualified for the place. But one man can attain to it. In a contest involving so much as that of 1860 will involve, all personal and mercenary considerations should be lost sight of. A man who is as true as steel to the principles of free Government should be selected. This fact being cared for, the man, who under all the circumstances, could bring to his support the largest force in doubtful States, should be the choice of the Convention. We do not think this last named point can be determined understandingly so long before the meeting of the Convention; and hence we think it unwise to forestall public opinion or create prejudices in the minds of voters which may stand in the way of our final success. Let us confide in the judgment of the men who will compose the Convention, and resolve to ratify their action at the polls in November next.

 THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION¹³

Various speculations are afloat respecting the prospects of the Republican party in the coming Presidential struggle. It seems to be admitted that a united opposition, with candidates commanding the respect and confidence of the masses of the voters opposed to the present Administration, not only can be, but will be successful, provided there is a general disposition to yield strong personal preferences, with the earnest desire to rout the bogus Democracy from power. We have been looking over the ground carefully, and have indulged in some reflections to which we feel disposed to give expression.

First, then, in view of the fact that nearly all if not every electoral vote will have to be procured from Free States, this portion of the confederacy will demand the candidate for the Presidency, if not that for the Vice President also. Second, that men of conservative tendencies, yet inflexibly

¹² Mount Pleasant *Home Journal*, Dec. 24, 1859.

¹³ Davenport *Gazette*, Dec. 29, 1859. Edited by brothers, Alfred and Addison H. Sanders. "Add" Sanders, as he was popularly known, was a prominent Republican who had come to Davenport in October, 1856, to take editorial charge of his brother's paper. Under his editorship it became another of the influential Republican papers of the state. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:230-31.

fixed in their opposition to the extension of Slavery — men, the record of whose public acts proves that they will uphold the Constitution and the Union firmly and with dignity — will be more likely to unite thoroughly the elements of opposition than any others. Third, that strong exponents of those great interests, encouragement to American Industry, Internal Improvement and Protection to Settlers on the Public Domain, should be put in nomination.

The Republican States in 1856 cast 114 electoral votes, to which may be added certainly, in the approaching contest, Minnesota, making 118 votes. Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with their 34 votes, will then be wanted to make a majority, provided Kansas is admitted at this session of Congress, and goes Republican, as she undoubtedly will.¹⁴ It is plain, that our efforts must be directed to secure the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, or enough of them, at least, to give us the victory.

We are just commencing throughout the country to appoint delegates to the National Convention, to be held at Chicago, June 13th,¹⁵ and it becomes us as good and true members of the community, to ponder well the existing state of things, free from unreasonable personal bias. In our ranks we have men of mark who can be elected, almost beyond question — and, such as these, we desire to have placed before the people, in order to make a sure thing of having the management of the Federal Government change hands. Events show that the time has come, when, irrespective of mere party feeling, the reins of power should be assumed by a purer and more reliable man than either the present incumbent or his immediate predecessor.

Many gentlemen have been named prominently for the Presidency. Messrs. Seward, Bates, Chase, Bell, Cameron, Crittenden and Fremont, besides several others who have their earnest advocates, and to each, as is usual on such occasions, objections have been stated. Among the latter we have seen the name of Mr. Dayton suggested, our candidate for Vice President four years ago, and although he is by no means our first choice, yet we think he has elements of strength not to be overlooked, and which should give more importance than they have yet done to the suggestion of

¹⁴ Kansas was not admitted to the Union until 1861.

¹⁵ This was the original date set for the Republican National Convention. It was later changed to May 16, 1860.

his name. His friends have high hopes, and are so confident that he can carry the united opposition of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, that his name must we think of necessity be conspicuous before the National Convention. If they are right in their conjectures all we have to say is, that, if nominated, the show for his inauguration in 1861, is about as fair as one could desire — and, in giving utterance to this sentiment, we do not wish to be understood by any means, that no other Republican could be equally successful.

Mr. Dayton has a pure record, great ability as a statesman, and came out of the battle of '56 stronger than he went in. His election to the Presidency would perhaps be as acceptable to the whole Union as that of any other man in it. Although not our original nor present preference, it would be a labor of pleasure and of patriotism with us to help elect Mr. Dayton, if nominated by the National Republican Convention. — We are desirous that the claims brought forward by his friends, with their confidence in his possession of peculiar elements of strength, should receive more general examination on the part of the Republican Press of the country. As all the gentlemen whose names have been suggested are good Republicans and able men, citizens of position, experience and integrity, the nomination of our candidate is more a question of *strength* than anything else. When all are good and well qualified men, he should receive the nomination who possesses the greatest attributes of strength — who is most likely to make the best race — and feelings of personal friendship should be laid aside by Delegates [as] far as possible, to secure the object.

PRESIDENTIAL¹⁶

The Presidential question is agitated with more freedom, as the time of nomination draws near; but thus far, we are pleased to see that the agitation is characterized by good temper, and a disposition to sacrifice all personal considerations and preferences for the sake of success. A correspondent of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, who dates his letter at Burlington, Iowa (supposed to be the Hon. Fitz Henry Warren),¹⁷ earnestly opposes the nomination of Mr. Bates, of Missouri, for reasons that have much force. The temper of the letter is good. By some, Horace Greeley is re-

¹⁶ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Feb. 25, 1860.

¹⁷ Fitz Henry Warren of Burlington, one of the state's leading Republicans. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:278-9.

garded as favoring the nomination of Mr. Bates; but he has not so said. The New York Evening Post, like the New York Courier and Inquirer, demands the nomination of a man who is distinctly with and for us; whose principles are our principles, and who glories in the name of Republicanism. It closes an able article thus: —

It is evident, then, that the Republican party ought to select its Presidential candidate from its own men, and not to go outside of its own ranks under any consideration whatever. If those opponents of the administration who have no stable organization of their own are in earnest in what they profess they will have no difficulty in voting for such men as we present. But if they insist upon our taking their men as the sole condition of their votes, it will show that they are not sincere in their co-operation, but in fact had rather see the Democratic party succeed than allow a truly Republican administration. To select our candidate from among those who labored so earnestly as to defeat us in 1856, would be degrading as well as suicidal. If we are willing to have a man who stands upon the same ground with Fillmore, how can we justify ourselves for not having voted for Fillmore the last time?¹⁸ But indeed, if we are willing to take such a man now, we had best by all means take Fillmore himself, with his prestige of experience and statesmanlike knowledge and habits.

But no real Republican is willing to take the back track now, when the tide of public feeling against the slave power is so much higher than it ever was before. If the outside will vote with us for our man, give them all the credit, and let them have for their reward the blessings of a renovated government and a country rescued from dishonor. If they will not do this, they might better defeat us in the election than destroy us after it, which they would be sure to do if we give the power into the hands of their men.

With such men as Seward and Chase, Banks and Lincoln and others in plenty, let us have two Republican representative men to vote for. Let us have candidates, first of all, who will unite and consolidate our own ranks, and prepare us for further service.

THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION¹⁹

Who ought and who will the Chicago Convention nominate for Presi-

¹⁸ Millard Fillmore had been nominated by the Know-Nothing, or American, party in 1856. The Republican party in 1860 was faced with the delicate task of attracting the votes of former Know-Nothings without accepting their nativist theories or choosing a candidate with a known Know-Nothing background.

¹⁹ Ottumwa Courier, Mar. 1, 1860. An indication that the Courier was trying to

dent is a question now very frequently and anxiously propounded; but it is a question not so easy to answer as it is to ask. Heretofore, the press of the Party, with scarcely an exception, have prudently abstained from the discussion of this question, or at least from expressing a preference for any particular man named in connection with the position. Recently, however, the pressure of public curiosity and anxiety, has been such, that most of the leading journals of the party have been forced to throw off their reserve, and proceed to a serious examination of the various prominent men in the ranks of the party who are recognized as possessing qualifications and claims as standard-bearers of the party at this juncture.

A recent number of the *New York Tribune* contains an article, attributed to Mr. Greeley, in which the position and preference of that paper are set forth, in clear and unmistakable language. In that article the *Tribune* expresses what we doubt not is a universal preference of the Republican Party, in favor of New York's favorite son and ablest statesman, Wm. H. Seward, and next to him that true, able and faithful son of Ohio, Salmon P. Chase. If it should appear that either of these distinguished gentlemen can reasonably be expected to command as many or more votes than any other, the decision of which question is deferred to the convention, then one of these is the *Tribune's* man; but if it should appear that either or both of these great and good men, though undoubtedly and unquestionably preferred by all true, out and out Republicans, in all parts of the country, for the first place in the Republic, should not be so strong with, or not the first choice of, those who are not perhaps strictly speaking Republicans, but who are opposed, as we are, to all shades of Modern Democracy, especially to that faction who uphold the present corrupt Administration, then, and in that case the *Tribune* is of the opinion that Edward Bates, of Missouri, is the next most available candidate, and should be nominated.²⁰

So much for the *Tribune*, whose opinions are entitled to great weight with Republicans. Other papers take a different view of the matter. The [Chicago] *Press and Tribune*, the leading paper of the North-west advocates zealously the nomination of Abram [sic] Lincoln, than whom, an

be impartial is the issue of March 8, 1860. In that number there is a two-and-a-half column article on Lincoln, taken from the Chester County (Penn.) *Times*; a column-and-a-half article on Edward Bates; and a half-column quote from the *New York Tribune* on "Seward's Great Speech."

²⁰ Actually, Greeley strongly opposed Seward and worked hard for the nomination of Bates. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:147-50.

abler, more popular, or better man does not exist, West or East. Pennsylvania goes strongly for Simon Cameron, while Fremont, Dayton, Read, Banks, Fessenden and others have their warm friends and zealous advocates.

For ourself, we can say that, while we can cheerfully support any man named, if nominated, we are yet inclined to the opinion, that as the time approaches when a final decision must be rendered, the eyes and hearts of all our friends will turn with more and more confidence to that earliest advocate and champion of human rights, without distinction of birth-place, or sect or complexion, WM. H. SEWARD of New York. We are inclined to think that the impending contest is to be one of principle, and that it will be found far less necessary to consult and be governed by expediency than heretofore. — We shall be every way satisfied with a ticket headed with SEWARD and LINCOLN, and we believe it would be a very strong, and a winning one. There are many about us, however, who think differently. We are all agreed, however, to leave the matter to the Chicago Convention, and the Republicans of the Nation may rest assured, that, whoever are the nominees, the flag will be promptly run up in Old Wapello, and that the Republicans of this country will, to a man, rally around it, and fight under it to the end of the "irrepressible conflict."

PRESIDENTIAL ²¹

Mr. Greeley's prediction, that Judge Douglas would receive the Charleston nomination, has created more comment than it deserved. He is, to be sure, a man whose judgments are entitled to respect, but if he is distinguished for one thing more than any or all others, it is for his prophecies which are *not* inspired. He predicted that Gen. Taylor would not be nominated in 1848 — that Scott would be elected in 1852 — that Pennsylvania would go for Fremont in 1856. These are but a few of his major prophecies unfulfilled, whilst those in the minor key are like sands of the sea, innumerable for multitude. But suppose Douglas should receive the nomination — what then? No republican has been converted to his heresies since 1856. The popular vote of Illinois is against him, even with all his power on the stump, which could not be exercised were he the nominee. He could not carry New Jersey a whit easier than any other democratic candidate — that is, now, he could not carry it at all. It is extremely

²¹ Burlington *Weekly Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 3, 1860.

doubtful whether he could carry even California, for his opposition to the administration injures him vastly there, whilst his cold neglect of Broderick will not have a tendency to earn him friends with the opposition in that State.²²

As for Indiana, he could carry it by a rousing majority, just as any other man nominated at Charleston can. Alabama is not more reliably Democratic than Indiana. Her Egypt is too great yet for her land of promise — her illiterate voters south of the national road out-number by thousands the Yankees of the north. Whether Douglas be the Charleston nominee, or not, the fight has got to be made in Pennsylvania. For the Chicago nominee can carry, except in the event of gross lack of duty on the part of Republicans, any State carried by Fremont, with New Jersey and Illinois added, which latter, by the way, Fremont would have had on an honest count of the vote.

It must be admitted that Pennsylvania politics are a good deal "mixed up." We have there your old-line Whigs, who take their toddy regularly, and believe in the divine authority of that which is written, as found in the Fugitive Slave Law. We have there silver-gray Whigs, who differ from the others only in being ill-natured. There is there a very large number of men who will not vote for any one who does not believe in making the present very injudicious tariff law a *judicious* law, according to the Jacksonian notion.

Then there are many Americans there who still fondly dream of 1854, and are not anxious to give up their ideas of a distinctive organization. All these, united with the straight out Republicans, compose what is called the People's Party, having a common detestation of the present Administration, but needing something more than a mere Chicago platform to unite them in such way as to insure the success of the Chicago nominee. It should seem to be the duty, therefore, of the Chicago Convention well to consider, and thoroughly to understand, the state of parties in Pennsylvania, before choosing a nominee, for as that shall be considered, understood, and *provided for*, or not, so we shall have a candidate who will lead us on to victory or defeat. As for this talk that we hear about "rep-

²² In October, 1859, a Douglas supporter in California, David C. Broderick, was killed in a duel sparked by the serious split in the Democratic party between the followers of Douglas and those of Buchanan. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 2:68-9.

representative men" it simply means Banks with the Banks men, Seward with the Seward men, and Chase with the Chase men — merely this and nothing more.

We do indeed want a *Republican*, and rest assured the Chicago Convention will nominate no other. But we want more — we want a Republican who can carry Pennsylvania. There is a Republican living there who can do it. His Republicanism is beyond suspicion — his abilities not showy, but substantial — his personal popularity actually immense. SIMON CAMERON, a live Republican whom we can elect, sounds better in my ears, I admit, than the name of any other statesman of our party, whom we merely *might* elect. So we think generally out on the

SLOPE

For the Home Journal

THE NEXT PRESIDENT²³

The question is frequently asked, Who will be the Nominee at Chicago? and quite a considerable excitement seems to exist in certain localities to have this apparently important question answered. Now, however much sincerity these persons possess — however desirous they may be for the success of the Republican party, we cannot help but think, that this imaginary conjecturing, and fighting over the claims and fitness of certain prominent men in the party, is not only uncalled for, but absolutely injurious. That the Convention at Chicago will be composed of the best men in the Republican party, who, we have no doubt, will in their action look to the success of the party — and not to the claims of any one man, however much he may have labored for the success of the principles advocated by the Republican party — or however anxious his friends and admirers may be for his nomination.

It is not by any means absolutely certain that the next President of the United States will be the nominee of the Republican party. There is a battle to fight — one that will require the earnest support and steady labor of every Republican throughout the country. Our chances are fair; if we stand united we can reasonably hope for success. But let us wait the action of those upon whom we have placed the responsibility of choosing a candidate for us, and whoever that may be, let him come from the North or South, East or West, let us give him our hearty and unqualified support.

²³ Mount Pleasant *Home Journal*, Mar. 3, 1860.

No man can claim the nomination as a right. The man who can succeed is the man to nominate; let it be Seward, Bates, Cameron, Chase, Lincoln or Banks — no matter who. It is not the man, but the principle we are battling for. Let us then as Republicans stand clear and uncommitted, and when the nomination is made, let the nominee be adopted as *our choice*, and work for his success untrammelled with any former expression of preference.

Whoever may be chosen for our standard bearer is a matter of minor importance, so far as individual claims are concerned — but the union of all our forces upon the man chosen, is of vital importance to our success.

SEWARD AND LINCOLN²⁴

The Republicans of Minnesota held a State Convention on the 22nd of February to appoint delegates to the Chicago Convention. After appointing the delegates, they passed an excellent set of resolutions, in one of which they declared their preference for Wm. H. Seward as the nominee of the latter convention.

There is no doubt but that Mr. Seward is the choice of a greater number of Republicans for that post than favor any other man. His nomination would secure New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey beyond a doubt.

The only question to be solved is, as to his availability. It is thought by many — and the Republicans of Connecticut [sic] in State Convention, have indirectly, so expressed themselves — that he is not sufficiently conservative upon the principles of Republicanism to be available; and this we believe will be the solution of the question by the Chicago Convention.

Should Douglas be the nominee of the Charleston Convention, Mr. Seward is certainly not the man that should be placed in nomination by the Republicans; for we cannot afford to lose Illinois and Indiana.

Abe Lincoln of Illinois is then our man, for no other Republican, who stands any chance of receiving the nomination, would carry with him as many votes. — For this reason and the fact that Mr. Lincoln is right on the tariff question to suit the manufacturing States, we are inclined to believe he is the man to head the hosts of Republicans in the coming campaign. At any rate we shall hurrah for him, until we hurrah for some body else.

²⁴ Toledo Iowa Transcript, Mar. 8, 1860.

SEWARD'S SPEECH²⁵

The speech of Gov. Seward, delivered in the Senate, a few days since, to a crowded and profoundly attentive auditory, is less eloquent and pungent than many of his previous efforts in that body; but more than any of his previous efforts, it is characterized by the temper and spirit of the Christian patriot, whose faith in the power of truth and the beneficence of freedom, never falters; because he knows that God reigns, and overrules the actions of men for the accomplishment of his own ends, which are ever for the highest good of his creatures.

The conservative character of a speech that has already been circulated in all parts of the country, will do much to reconcile thousands to the support of Gov. Seward, who have been prone to regard him as the embodiment of all the ultraism in the Republican party. It is strange that any such impression should have gained credence; but the fact that it has done so, is not to be disputed. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was constrained to acknowledge the patriotic spirit that pervaded the speech, and the soundness of most of its inculcations. Just to the extent that it commended itself to the better feelings of a vast majority of those who heard him, was it painful and obnoxious to Douglas; upon whom it justly fastened the guilt of much that has been evil, and evil only, in the legislation of the country. — Douglas saw and felt that Republican doctrines, as portrayed to his hearers by Gov. Seward, could not fail to win their way to the convictions of multitudes who have been misled by the fallacies of squatter sovereignty; and that they would, at the same time, render more formidable as a competitor, one whose prospects of a nomination at Chicago, are and have been, all the time, better than those of any other man.

The fact is not to be gainsayed, that the country, at this time, feels a profounder interest in the movements of Gov. Seward, than in those of any other man in public life. The intense interest with which the delivery of his speech was anticipated at Washington, show that the politicians realize the hold he has upon the affections and confidence of the people. No speech delivered during the present session of Congress, will be half as widely published and read as that of Gov. Seward. His friends have

²⁵ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Mar. 10, 1860. Seward's Senate speech of Feb. 29, 1860, was a deliberate attempt to allay the fears of Republicans that he was too "radical" on the question of slavery. Thousands of copies were printed and distributed throughout the country, and many Republican papers printed the speech in full. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 2:181-3.

been aroused to new activity, and his opponents have been in a measure disarmed by it. Its peaceful, hopeful spirit, will tend to calm the elements of sectional strife. In a word, this speech will go far to render Mr. Seward irresistible at Chicago, and to confirm the national desire to see him elevated to the Presidency.

PRESIDENTIAL ²⁶ — Every body is anxious to anticipate the Convention and know who are to be the candidates. Our opinion is often asked, little as it is worth. To save the trouble of repeating it to every curious inquirer, and not with the expectation of influencing any one, we propose to give it here. We believe the chances of Mr. Seward, for the first place on the ticket to be nominated at Chicago, are daily improving — that since the publication of his last great speech he is felt by Republicans throughout the country to be the man for the place. Should he be nominated Mr. Bates is likely to be named for the Vice Presidency. . . .

WHO WILL BE A CANDIDATE! ²⁷

As the time draws near, for the holding of the two great National Conventions — one on the 23 of April, and the other on the 16 of May — the question of who will be the candidates is being earnestly discussed. — The Democracy are sorely divided on the subject. The North West appear to be a unit for Douglas, and he has a part of the delegates from the East-line and a very few from the South. The ultra southern men together with the administration forces are against him, but upon whom they will unite is entirely uncertain. It may be Hunter of Virginia, Breckinridge of Kentucky, or even Frank Pierce of New Hampshire. As for the Republicans, the contest appears to be between Seward of New York, Chase of Ohio, and Cameron of Penn. If a republican, pure and simple is nominated, it will be one of these gentlemen. Others are named — Lincoln of Illinois among them — but his chances do not at present appear very great, although he would make a strong candidate and an excellent President. Beyond these names, we have also that of Bates of Missouri, who if he will place himself fairly and squarely on the Republican Platform, will have numerous friends.

²⁶ Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 17, 1860.

²⁷ Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, Mar. 17, 1860.

HON. A. LINCOLN, OF ILLINOIS²⁸

This gentleman recently delivered a masterly speech at the Cooper's Institute,²⁹ in N.Y.; numbering his hearers, on the occasion, by thousands. The speech has been widely published and circulated; and is everywhere regarded as an unanswerable showing against the Slave Democracy. From New York, Mr. Lincoln proceeded to New England, where he delivered several speeches. Inded, it is said, that he spoke every day during his visit to the East, everywhere making a host of friends, who would rally with enthusiasm to his support if he should receive the Chicago nomination. Next to Gov. Seward, we regard his chances of receiving the nomination, as better than those of any other man; although Mr. Bates and Mr. Cameron will, probably, both have more friends than is generally supposed. The visit of Mr. Lincoln to the East will give him prominence among those whose first expression will be for Seward, but who recognize the claims of the West as very strong.

A LETTER FROM JUDGE BATES³⁰

St. Louis, March 20. — Edward Bates addressed a letter to the Missouri delegates to the Chicago Convention in reply to interrogatories propounded him by them. . . . The main points are as follows: He has no new opinions on the subject of slavery; none formed with reference to the present array of parties. His are coeval with the Missouri question of 1820 — formed his opinions then, and has not changed them since. At the time of the Revolution, and long after, slavery was regarded as an evil, temporary in its nature and likely to disappear in course of time, yet while it continued it was a misfortune to the country socially and politically. Slavery is a social institution — a domestic institution. It exists by local law. The

²⁸ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Mar. 23, 1860.

²⁹ Lincoln's justly famous Cooper Union speech, delivered in New York on Feb. 27, 1860, two days before Seward spoke in the Senate, attracted less attention in Iowa newspapers than did Seward's.

³⁰ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Mar. 24, 1860. Bates, like Seward in his Senate speech, tried to allay prejudices against him by this letter, which "had the right freesoil ring." Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 2:238. The *Register*, on Mar. 24, commented on this letter: "A frank and outspoken avowal of his sentiments on the issues of the day, has at length been made by Mr. Bates, of Missouri. If the telegraphic report of his letter . . . is correct, he has left nothing unsaid that was necessary to a proper understanding of his position. He will go into the Chicago Convention with greatly increased chances of success, in consequence of this letter. . . ."

Federal Government has no control over it in the States. The Territories are subject and subordinate — not supreme like the States. The nation is supreme over them. He is opposed to the extension of slavery, and in his opinion the spirit and policy of the government ought to be against its extension.

The constitution does not carry slavery into the Territories nor anywhere. It only acts upon it where it is established by local law. The Dred Scott case only decides Scott was not a citizen. The opinions of the Judges beyond this are extra-judicial and of no authority. The questions discussed by them were political, and not within their cognisance, and belong and could be disposed of only by the political departments. The discussion was not unfortunate, as it produced dangerous conflicts between co-ordinate branches of the Government.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE³¹

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1860

PRESIDENTIAL

The great topic of the times is the Presidency, with Republicans, of course, as well as the Democrats. I have myself not made many remarks about it, for in point of fact I do not feel immensely interested in it, as between individuals, and do not attach as much importance to persons, in this connection, as many; for, in the first place, there is hardly a man named for the position whom I could not cheerfully and enthusiastically support; and, in the second place, whatever may be believed, feared, or suspected, this campaign will be substantially fought *on principle* — I think more specifically and generally so than any campaign that has occurred for a long time — and that the name or locality of the candidate, so he is only a sound man of good personal character, is really of not very great importance. I might add, further, as leading me to feel indifferent concerning any discussion of parties, is the confidence that the Chicago Convention will not by any artifice or appeal be swerved from the purpose of selecting that sound and safe man who is most likely to be elected.

Yet, as the time is rapidly approaching when the selection will be made,

³¹ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Mar. 26, 1860. Edited by James B. Howell, a prominent Republican, who, in 1869, was elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of James W. Grimes. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:136-7.

every one is interestedly speculating as to who the individual is that stands the most favorable chance of nomination. And I am not indisposed to express my own opinion — protesting, however, that there never was a prophet in my family, that I am aware of. I think the question is substantially narrowed down to two individuals. I think there is hardly a possible chance that any other than one of those two can be nominated. Those two are Bates and Seward. And of these two, in all probability, Seward. I think Lincoln is not entirely out of the question. And there is scarcely a living American whom I would choose before him. He has my most ardent admiration for his capacity, tone of mind, and personal character. But though not out of the question, his chances for the first place are few. The tendencies toward the nomination of a representative man, and the respect for the genius, the power, the personal character and political wisdom of Mr. Seward, are wide-spread and pervading. As Washington was “first in the hearts of his countrymen,” so it must be admitted that Seward is first in the hearts of Republicans, and that his countrymen of every shade of politics admit that he is a statesman of the highest rank. In order to prevent his nomination, it must be made very apparent that he cannot be elected, and that some one else very certainly can be. On the score of availability, no one will be pressed with any thing like the pertinacity or reason that Bates will be. Hence my judgment that one or the other will be nominated, and that most likely the nominee will be Seward.

And those who think Seward would be an unavailable candidate in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, I think judge wrong. Seward has been misrepresented and misjudged. The popular objections to him are ill grounded. What he really is, in spirit and aim, is more fully disclosed by his late speech than by any thing else, and that speech, in spite of everything that could be said or quoted, would be the platform on which he would make the canvass, and by which he would be popularly considered and judged. That platform is a good and satisfactory one in all those States, and while it is winning for him the still more ardent attachment of firm and tried Republicans, it is also disarming his bigoted opponents, and gaining him confidence and support among the classes called “conservative.”

Bates is not and never was my first choice, though the action of the Charleston Convention and the aspect which affairs may yet assume may make him so, and his own merits and existing circumstances may make him the first choice of the Chicago convention. The moral aid which his

vigorous support in some of the border slave States would give us, and to his Administration, if elected, is a valuable item, which the Convention and no thoughtful Republican will overlook. — That on the abstract question of slavery his feelings and his judgment are sound, no one will question. Though comparatively poor, and by that act made poorer, he long ago emancipated his slaves; and lately, at his advice a near relative set all her human chattles free. That, if elected, he would be in every way satisfactory to the Republicans — a firm and thorough Republican President — I am wholly persuaded there is no reason to doubt. That he would heartily stand upon such a platform as the Republicans ought and are likely to lay down at Chicago — and the platform foreshadowed and substantially delineated in the call for the Chicago Convention is such an one — no sensible man can question; and that he would be zealously supported on such a platform by thousands who voted for Fillmore or refrained from voting at all in 1856, I suppose will not be doubted, either. The recent action of the Opposition (not Republican) Convention in Missouri established that. That Convention, consisting in good part of slaveholders, made up promiscuously from the late almost successful Opposition to the Democracy of Missouri, took this position:

They were in favor of Edward Bates for the Presidency;

They were opposed to the heresies of the Democracy on the subject of Slavery in the Territories;

They were opposed to the re-opening of the African slave trade, as barbarous and inhuman;

They were opposed to the anti-republican and anti-loyal doctrine of secession, "promulgated by Southern leaders";

They reprobated the treasonable threats of disunion in case of the election of a President of any political faith;

They announced themselves in favor of Free Homesteads to actual settlers.

They declared that *they* ought not be driven from the support of Bates and these sentiments "by the insatiate howl of Abolitionism."

Now, whatever other people may have charged Republicans to be, or though even some part of the Convention may still suspect it to be something different from the platform which they have laid down, we Republicans who know exactly what we really are, know that this is *our* platform, specifically and completely, and on that platform we can join hands and

labor enthusiastically and unreservedly with any body from any quarter. It is a platform such as is indicated in our National Call. It is such a platform as the united Republican party will lay down at Chicago. It is the platform on which Seward will run, if nominated. This Convention, therefore, shows two things: that a great body of men such as we have indicated are ready to go with us on our substantial doctrines, more especially if Mr. Bates is the candidate; and that Republicans who have been timid and distrustful about the spirit and motives of Mr. Bates and his friends, may safely lay aside their fears and rationally support him with confidence and zeal, if he should receive the nomination.

But yet, with these things to recommend him, I do not think his nomination would call out so much enthusiasm, would stimulate to so general and active effort, would show so large a poll in our favor, even in those districts where votes are most needed, as the nomination of Mr. Seward.

B

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE STATE REGISTER³²

NEW YORK, March 23, 1860

J. Teesdale, Esq.: — *Dear Sir*: I sit in this great Babel and, waiting for a friend, will serve you with a few words. . . .

New York is full of strangers, and strange to say, notwithstanding John Brown, there is no grass growing in the Commercial streets. Everybody here feels that Union saving is a farce. Wendell Phillips I have just heard, with his matchless and silver eloquence; but not a pillar trembles, and the whole of the brazen throated South are quite as important for evil as ever.

Politicians are profoundly speculative at this time. The wisest, whom I ought to believe, say it is certain that Douglass [*sic*] *will not be nominated*; that being known in this City yesterday. If he should be, it seems a common opinion that we must have Lincoln at the head of our ticket, with Cameron as Vice.

I have seen representative men from several of the doubtful States, and all agree that Seward's chances are bright for the nomination. He is a *man in every sense*, and a leader who would call out such enthusiasm as has never been known in our country. Cameron of Pa., no doubt favors Seward, if out of the question himself.

³² Des Moines Iowa State Register, Mar. 29, 1860.

Who then shall we name for Vice-President from the West? What original Democrat? Trumbull of Ills. and Blair of Mo. are named. I venture to extend the list with the name of our gallant Governor — KIRKWOOD. The skies truly are bright.

Yours, &c.,

J. B. GRINNELL³³

DISUNIONISTS NORTH AND SOUTH SHAKING HANDS³⁴

Wendell Phillips lectured at Brooklyn, New York, a few days since, proclaiming his disunion sentiments with a zest that show his zeal in a bad cause has not abated. He does not like the recent Speech of Seward, and made it the theme of his pungent satire and moving eloquence. In the course of his speech, he unhesitatingly declared that notwithstanding his profound respect for the statesmanlike abilities of Seward, he would rather see a Democrat elected President, than witness the inauguration of the distinguished New Yorker. Here are his words:

I would like to vote; I would like to add my quota to the civil influence of my country. Directly show me how I can without jeopardizing my self respect, without swearing an oath which you know I would not, and ought not, and do not mean to keep — and I would vote for Wm. H. Seward for the Presidency, tomorrow, and yet I would rather see a Democratic President. I will tell you why. If there is a Republican elected in 1860, you will be waiting to see what law can do — what liberty fettered can do against slavery unbound. Agitation will be lulled. Everything like free and unfettered action will cease. We shall wait. Let Douglas or a Democrat be elected, and every man in the free States will arm himself for a struggle with the slave power. Insurrection will break out on the mountains and insurrection of thought in the pulpits, and we shall have a greater anti-slavery

³³ Josiah B. Grinnell, founder of the town and college named for him, was at this time prominent in the Republican party and a delegate to the Chicago 1860 Convention. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:111; Charles E. Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell* (Iowa City, 1938).

³⁴ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Mar. 30, 1860. This editorial expresses the popular Republican stand in 1860 against such "Abolitionists" as Wendell Phillips. To Republicans, the abolitionists of the North were just as much "disunionists" as were the secessionists of the South. By conservatism — recognizing the existence of slavery in the states of the South but opposing its extension into new Territories — the Republicans hoped to stave off Seward's "irrepressible conflict."

progress in four years than we would have in forty under such a programme as that of Mr. Seward's speech of the last month. . . .

The reason given for this preference, is worthy of serious consideration, no less than the preference itself. What is that reason? The election of Seward would give peace to the country and quiet agitation; while the election of a pro-slavery Democrat would give increased strength to the antislavery sentiment of the North, and add bitterness to the strife between the two sections of the Union. Of the truth of this declaration we entertain no doubt. A Republican president will show to the country that the affected apprehensions of the South are unfounded and false; that there is no disposition to disturb the constitutional rights of any section of the Union. While, on the other hand, the inauguration of a slavery-extensionist would be a signal for renewed vigilance against those encroachments by which the Slave power has grasped the power and controlled the policy of the Union to the detriment of free labor and freedom itself.

The disunionists of the North and South, the extensionists of both sections — have at length met and embraced — Toombs and Phillips have fraternized. They equally deprecate the election of a Republican President. The reason that moves them is substantially the same. They are both radical agitators; both impracticables. One would destroy the Union, because it is not perfect; the other lives and retains prominence by exciting needless alarms in the South. — Elect a Republican President, and their vocation is gone.

For the Home Journal.

WHO IS IOWA FOR³⁵

Who do the Republicans of Iowa wish for a candidate for President?

If Col. Fremont should be put in nomination, he would carry the State again by a largely increased majority. There would be poetical justice in re-nominating the man who led so gallantly the new, unformed battalions of the Republican forces, when victory was almost snatched from fate. But Col. Fremont is buried in the mines of California. His chances have been annihilated beneath his ponderous quarts [sic] crushers; and while the memory of him glitters through the hearts of the masses, no cunning politi-

³⁵ Mount Pleasant *Home Journal*, Mar. 31, 1860. This letter was reprinted in the Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Apr. 7, 1860, and in the Ottumwa *Courier*, Apr. 12, 1860.

cal machinery is being put in motion and operating to bring it out and mould it into golden success. John C. Fremont then being out of the question, we say, unhesitatingly, that WILLIAM H. SEWARD is the first choice of the Republicans of Iowa. He was their first choice in 1856, and had it not been that "availability" and personal admiration ran away with cool judgment and devotion to principles, he would have been put in nomination at Philadelphia. Undoubtedly he, like Fremont, would have been defeated, and probably by a more decided majority.

From the very fact that Mr. Seward has been the first foremost man of the opposition party, for many years — the man on whom all eyes have rested, whenever an opposition president has been spoken of — he has had to encounter this misfortune — that all other aspirants for the position have looked upon him as the obstacle to their success; and they and their friends by busy tongue and active pen, have forever been manufacturing an impression — a sort of vague sentiment, that though SEWARD was just the man for PRESIDENT, yet as a CANDIDATE, he was not available — somebody's uncle's wife's relation would not vote for him because he was an abolitionist — or because he didn't believe in burning Catholics — or New Jersey would not vote for him — or he could not carry Pennsylvania — or, the Silver Grey-Fillmore-Know-Nothing Liquor influence would defeat him in New York.

I would rather risk him in Pennsylvania than their Simon Cameron. He would poll a larger vote in Missouri than Edward Bates, and would run neck-and-neck with Chase and Lincoln in their own States. Say what you will, even the Fire Eaters of the South would have more confidence in having a just, statesman-like and impartial administration, under Seward, than under your Bates, or Botts, or Bell.

The eyes of the South as well as the North are upon him, as our Candidate. They see no one else — They think of no one else for that position. They know that he is the very personification — the "real presence" of the free labor — free thought — free speech — free press — free land and free man spirit of the country.

They know — we all know that he is *the embodiment* of the great American System, whose great Champion was Clay — that Seward's great soul is in the developing of our common country and that instead of prostitution for Legislative, and Judicial, purposes, and employing the power of our Government in preparing new "breeding grounds" for slaves,

he would rather build up our manufacturing and mechanical interests, and thereby every other interest of the country, by suitable protection through a discriminating tariff; would rather push on our internal improvements, river, harbors and railroads — through judicious and constitutional assistance and aid from the General Government — and in fact, as "Ben Wade" would say, would rather "give land to the landless than niggers to the niggerless."

We already know — the whole people know Seward, as well as though he had been eight years our President. Nobody ever thinks of asking "What kind of a President do you think he will make?" Then if Seward is the man we want — if he represents as no other man does or can what we wish — if he will carry what we desire, let us have *him* and no other.

I don't want Iowa to go to Chicago with her fingers in the corner of her mouth, like a bashful country girl! Dont go there as a make weight, to be used by any set of bodies. Dont say Iowa is ready for "any body, good Lord she ain't particular!" We want Seward. Count Iowa eight for WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

HENRY

FORT MADISON CORRESPONDENCE ³⁶

Fort Madison, March 29, 1860

DEAR GATE: "What will he do with it?" was an excellent novel written by Bulwer. — "Who shall be the candidate?" is a splendid work shortly to be issued by the Chicago Convention. All genuine Republicans I find are agreed upon one point: that whoever that candidate may be, they will work and vote for him with hearty good will, regarding him as the exponent of those principles in the triumph of which lies the only hope for the Republic.

First and foremost among those on whom this great honor may fall, we find the name of Seward . . . most truly a renowned and venerated name, bringing great honor to the nation. What a splendid banner he could bear aloft under which to rally his followers to the onset; and with what proud hope would they rush to the contest. . . . Defeat would be glorious under such a leader, but what would not victory be? Few men could bear the searching criticism of a Presidential campaign like Mr. Seward. There is

³⁶ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Apr. 2, 1860.

not a breath of the lowest whisper against his fair fame as a private citizen, and the utmost malignity of his enemies can find nothing in his public acts to condemn, but are forced to content themselves with mad howlings, well befitting such fellows as they are, against certain phrases they have found in some of his speeches, which, with all their ingenuity of ignorance and malevolence, can be tortured into expressing no meaning not highly honorable to the head and heart of their author. He said "there was a power higher than constitutions," and I know no one, except the Democrat so aptly characterized by the Psalmist, who "saith in his heart" there is not. He says there is an "irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery," and a truism so self-evident seems to have excited wrath only because Mr. Seward should have said it. Years ago, slave-holders said the same, and fire-eaters of the most igneous proclivities have reported it in later times. He says that "sooner or later slavery must and will be abolished," and so say all who "trust in God and take courage." In all the fierce conflicts of the long years he has been in the Senate, he has never lost his self-command for a single moment and has never been tempted to utter even a cutting retort upon those who have so shamefully and so persistently maligned him. From the calm heights of philosophic statesmanship, he has looked down almost like a superior intelligence, and has held his peace only when he opened his mouth to utter words of wisdom and moderation with such force of argument that little giants even could answer only by angry railings. "*Primus inter pares*," or rather, head and shoulders above all his peers, what a tower of strength his great name would carry into the conflict. But if the assembled wisdom of Chicago should judge that Mr. Bates could combine more elements of strength, "the daily beauty of his life" and the stern old Quaker principle which prompted to duty at the expense of interest, years ago, with abilities that have always placed him in the front rank of men would muster Republicans to his support with great alacrity.

But a contingency may occur that shall push forward the tall form of Abraham Lincoln as the Republican leader, and then we should see the western prairies overrun with the fires of an enthusiasm, compared to which the flame of 1840 would be ridiculously tame.

These three names seem now to contain within them all the possibilities of the nomination, and Republicans are waiting with open lips to shout the name of him that shall be leader. . . .

N. T.

PRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMME³⁷

The indications still strongly favor the nomination of Wm. H. Seward, as the Republican candidate for President. If the press of the country reflects the sentiment of the Republican party, the question may be regarded as already settled. An effort will be made to place Mr. Bates on the ticket for Vice-President. His own consent to such arrangement has not yet been obtained. But it is believed that there will be no objection to such a conjunction. The nomination of the latter will be a concession to the conservative portion of the Republican party, and will secure the votes of many men who were not with us in the last Presidential canvass. The earnestness with which Mr. Seward has always contended for protection of American industry, will more than counterbalance the American antipathies to him in Pennsylvania. Cameron and Judge McLean aside, the Pennsylvania delegation will be found in favor of Seward. The partiality of the first named gentleman for the latter, is well known; for he has taken no pains to conceal it. This fact will do much to secure Cameron's nomination, if Seward is deemed unavailable and withdraws. Failing to secure their first choice, the friends of the distinguished New York statesman, will feel it a privilege to place in nomination one who has ever sympathised with them in their admiration for the foremost man of the day.

With Seward and Bates as the Republican nominees for President and Vice-President, we may safely appeal to the moral sense and the national pride of every American citizen for a support as enthusiastic as was ever before rendered to a Presidential ticket. Not a stain rests upon the character of either. — Both command the respect of friend and foe. They have played their part in their respective spheres in such a manner as to gather around them troops of friends. The name of Seward is uttered with respect wherever his country is known and appreciated. His peerless qualities are conceded by his most violent opponents. Place the helm in his hands, and such an administration as the country has not witnessed since the days of Washington, would be secured beyond contingency. . . .

 THE PRESIDENCY — JOHN MCLEAN³⁸

Forney's "*Press*" of Philadelphia contains the following item:

Washington, April 6.

³⁷ Des Moines Citizen, Apr. 11, 1860.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Apr. 25, 1860.

Hon. Tom. Corwin has returned to Washington from his electioneering tour in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and reports the Republicans of those States as warmly in favor of Judge McLean for the Presidency. There is no doubt that McLean has many friends and that a strong combination is being made to secure his nomination at Chicago.

In keeping with this statement are rumors that reach us from other sources. A letter from a friend who is temporarily at Washington, will be read with much satisfaction, by the host of Judge McLean's friends in Iowa. Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, has been regarded as a candidate before the Chicago convention. It seems that he is not a candidate, but a zealous advocate of the nomination of Judge McLean. He thinks that no argument can be urged in favor of Gov. Chase's nomination, that does not apply with much greater force in favor of Seward; and that there are many objections to the former, which cannot be brought to bear against the latter. — He thinks, with Horace Greeley, that if the Republicans have strength enough in their own organization, to carry the man of their choice into the Presidential chair, they ought to nominate Seward by acclamation. There being doubts as to the availability and success of that gentleman in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, and Indiana, he thinks that the result should be placed beyond contingency by the nomination of such a man as Judge McLean. Of the orthodoxy of the distinguished jurist, upon the issues before the country, there cannot be a reasonable doubt. He voted with the Republicans at the last Presidential election, and has, on all proper occasions, avowed his approbation of the Republican platform. In the Dred Scott case he gave utterance to his life-long convictions. Ever since he was placed upon the Bench, he has contended for the old-fashioned Republican doctrine, that Slavery is the creature of local law, sectional in its character, and cannot be carried beyond the law that protects it. He maintains the nationality of freedom, and the right and duty of Congress to prevent its introduction into the Territories. He abhors Squatter Sovereignty, and deprecates the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, as a measure fraught with more peril to the country and to the prevalence of freedom, than any other broached during the last twenty years. He has always been a favorite in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois — the States whose votes are regarded as somewhat doubtful in the coming conflict. What is said of his character, by our Washington friend, is so well known to be

true, that no man would dare to question it. An apprehension that infirmities of age would disqualify him for the arduous duties of the Presidency, is the only substantial objection that has been or will be brought against the nomination of the Judge — except, perhaps, we ought to add, that his nomination will create a vacancy on the Supreme Bench, for Mr. Buchanan to fill.

What we know of public sentiment in Iowa, authorizes us to state that if Judge McLean is not the first choice of her ardent Republicans, he is entirely acceptable to all of them, and his nomination would be hailed as a precursor to a brilliant victory. . . .

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE ³⁹

Washington, April 17, 1860

PRESIDENTIAL

Some of the Southern Democracy are getting fearful of the nomination of Douglas, and not a few of his leading opponents in that quarter begin to admit his probable success. I never saw such a partisan spirit as prevails within their ranks. A strong portion of the Southern managers openly declare that they will split the party if he is nominated. And it would really seem as if there would be likely to be a rent whereby three or four Southern States would vote for some other man, which would probably result in throwing the election of President into the House. On the other hand, Douglas's friends are equally determined to nominate him or burst the Convention; and a great many of the most resolute are not very reluctant to say that they do not much care which.

It is interesting, and almost as amusing as it is interesting, to see the rapid change of decided conviction, in high quarters, in both parties, as events hurry on. Many of those with the longest experience, of admitted sagacity, and who have been all along in the most favorable positions for forming opinions, change ground not unfrequently, and next week may be strenuously advocating what this week they consider impolitic or fatal. Of course I have opportunities of noticing this more upon our side than upon the other. And I may state a case. A month ago the general desire among our people was that we should not have Douglas to fight against. I feel very confident, now, that a majority of our Senators desire his nomination.

³⁹ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Apr. 30, 1860.

And they reason in this way: Seward is weak in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. If Douglas is not nominated, Seward is very likely to be, and we may lose those States, especially if the Democracy take up some tariff man, like Guthrie.⁴⁰ If Douglas is nominated, the chances of the defeat of Seward and the nomination of McLane [sic] or some such man are enhanced, and our success rendered more certain. And the reasoning is specious; perhaps solid; but a majority of the Republican Senators did not reason that way a month ago. It is not the time to disguise any thing now, and I am free to say that the Senators from Connecticut and Rhode Island declare that, with Seward, their hopes are feeble; while those from New Jersey, and the entire Congressional delegation from Pennsylvania, say that there is no hope for us in those States under his flag. The Republican Representatives from all those States fear Guthrie more than Douglas. Among our friends here, the almost overwhelming sentiment at present is in favor of McLane. It is admitted, by almost every body, Democrat and Republican, that in mere strength he is our most powerful man. Most of the Democracy admit that we could probably elect him over any man they can put up; and among the Republicans, there is the utmost confidence that success, at least, is *certain*, with him, against any possible opponent. I say, "success, at least," not because there is any doubt about the soundness of his sentiments, or as to what the character of his administration would be; but because they would generally prefer to defeat their opponents with some one whom the Democracy have had reason to *hate* more than him — some one whose triumph would more deeply gratify their partizan feelings. This is the present state of opinion and speculation. But the events of the next fortnight — of the next week, perhaps — may change the aspect of things; though there are better opportunities now for forming solid opinions than hitherto, as the character of the campaign and the real strength of men grows more apparent. . . .

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE ⁴¹

Chicago, May 8, 1860

I left Washington a week ago to-day (Tuesday). . . . Our own friends

⁴⁰ James Guthrie of Kentucky was put in nomination at Charleston along with Douglas and four other men. The convention deadlocked after 57 ballots, on which Douglas led, and Guthrie was second. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 2:222.

⁴¹ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, May 14, 1860. The Democratic convention at Charleston on Apr. 23, 1860, had adjourned without naming a candidate after the

at Washington, at the time I left, under the pressure of the many recent important events [Charleston convention] bearing upon the canvass, were almost unanimously of the opinion that the man for us to nominate in the emergency, was Judge McLean. I have seldom seen party judgment any where or at any time so unanimous. I suppose there were those who thought differently, but for a week previously I had heard not one person declare himself otherwise. I find, too, that the same opinion is quite extensively entertained here, and is evidently increasing. I suppose however, since the confusion and adjournment at Charleston, the friends of other Republican candidates at Washington are more active and confident, and feel that, under existing circumstances, we can afford to risk something for a more decidedly representative man. I should, however, consider it a misfortune if the casualties occurring to our opponents should cause us to forget the value of prudence, or to feel that the circumstances of the time justified us in failing to select the *surest* man, who is sound in the faith, whoever consultation may decide that man to be. We take no advantage of the enemy, if we are careless in proportion to the opportunities that their quarrels and distraction offer us. We are mad, if we throw away one chance at such an important period.

The general opinion at Washington was, that if Mr. McLean was nominated the Republicans were morally certain of success. — There were not many Douglas men, in fact, who felt much confidence in defeating him with their "little giant." Of no body else did they seem afraid, but they did not hesitate to express their fears of him, while the other wing of the Democracy and the South Americans [Southern Know-Nothings] and independents generally conceded that our success with him was scarcely a doubtful matter. Judging from that standpoint, a spectator would be apt to conclude that, if nothing unknown in his antecedents turns up before the meeting of the Chicago Convention to mar his prospects, he would be certain of being the favorite of that body. But a week in these hurrying times, is sufficient to make or mar the prospects of almost any man. Let us hope for the coolest and wisest counsels here, during the coming week.

convention had deadlocked on the vote for a nominee. At Baltimore on June 18, one segment of the Democratic party nominated Douglas; at Richmond, on June 11, John C. Breckinridge was nominated by the Southern Democrats; and in Baltimore on May 9, remnants of Whigs and Know-Nothings established the Constitutional Union party and nominated John Bell of Tennessee. This split in the opposition naturally delighted the Republicans, as it almost insured their success.

The Republicans of Chicago have got their great wigwam nearly ready. It is of capacity sufficient to accommodate 8,000 to 10,000 people, and arrangements are made for a grand good time, which I doubt not they will have. It is intended to give the Eastern people a specimen of western hospitality and enthusiasm, and Eastern Republicans an inkling of the grit and liberality of their Western cousins.

WHO WILL BE NOMINATED? ⁴²

Every body is inquiring of his neighbors, who will be the nominee of the Republican Convention, which, while we are uniting, is organizing at Chicago. Of course, different persons give various responses to the question. Each individual occupies a particular stand point, and the political horizon presents to him, to some extent, a peculiar aspect. He makes his own determination from the view presented to his own mind, and concludes that this or that statesman, is the "COMING MAN," and must be universally received as the proper candidate. Some persons deem it especially important that what they style an "available candidate" should be nominated. — They think that it is necessary that the opinions of certain classes of the community should be regarded with delicate tenderness, and that the nominee should, to a certain extent, represent a sentiment to be found only among a small division of the opposition, or in a limited section of the country.

Others think that such special opinions, and territorial interest, should be entirely disregarded. They are in favor of nominating a somewhat ultra republican — one who, perhaps, in some of his policy, would be inclined to go a little in advance of the feeling of the larger portion of the party. They talk of a "representative man" — of one whose life, opinions, and policy are universally known to be intensely republican. Such a one, they are in favor of nominating, and because *they* think such a one in reality stronger than any.

Each of these classes of men adduce numerous reasons, and sound ones too, in support of their apparently opposite conclusions. As is usual, in such cases, to a certain extent, both are right and both are also wrong. For instance, it may easily be admitted that Mr. Bates would be a very strong candidate in Missouri, in Kentucky, in Maryland, Delaware, and in certain

⁴² Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, May 19, 1860.

sections of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania. It may be also admitted that Judge McLean would be a very popular candidate in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, or in parts of these States. Judge Dayton would be strong in New Jersey, Mr. Cameron in Pennsylvania, Mr. Chase or Mr. Wade in Ohio, Mr. Banks in Massachusetts, Mr. Fessenden in Maine, Mr. Lincoln in Illinois, and other gentlemen, probably in other localities. All these statements may be admitted to be true, and the reasonings founded upon them may all be legitimate and correct, and yet the conclusion to which they lead be practically wrong. The error is not in the fact so much as in the absence of *other* facts, which challenge consideration quite as much as those we have hinted at. One gentleman's position may be such, for instance, as would make the support of Pennsylvania as certain as we would desire. But, we must inquire, how would it affect the States of Wisconsin, Michigan, Maine, Ohio, Iowa, and the rest? It is not so difficult to determine who would be the most available candidate in a particular State. The problem for solution is, what Republican statesman will most surely draw around him the votes of the States requisite to ensure his success? There is no idea of nominating any one who is not *known* to be thoroughly republican. But there are contending opinions as to who can best reconcile the elements not strictly republican, but yet so slightly different as to render their ultimate tendency to and union with the republicans, apparent to all.

We, of course, should deem it the height of folly to do anything needlessly, calculated to repel all or any of such elements. All good republicans are anxious to attract every other element to an intimate and complete union with them, so far as they can accomplish such a result without danger to, or compromise of, the great principles upon which Republicanism is founded. — As one means of doing this, they are quite willing to select *out of our own ranks*, such a candidate as they believe will be acceptable, not to republicans merely, but also, to a large class of voters, whose feelings and opinions are already nearly accordant with theirs. As to who that man is, no one can tell until he is possessed of a large mass of information not ordinarily accessible to a single individual. And it is because few men have this knowledge that so great variety of opinion prevails as to the proper nominee.

A Convention is not, perhaps, the best place that could be devised to give a true, practical solution to the problem. But it is the one adopted.

Many of the delegates in the one at Chicago, will act and speak under the influence of local prejudice, personal interests or sympathy, or other improper motives, as in such bodies, some will always do. But with the majority, it can hardly fail to be true that they will feel that the success of the cause is paramount to all other considerations. They will weigh all things cautiously and wisely, and independently of every subordinate motive. We are quite satisfied that there is intelligence, political sagacity, and patriotism enough now at Chicago, to solve the question truly, and to bring out of these diverse opinions, a settled and unanimous conviction of the wisest, and therefore most expedient course. Where all sections, interests and opinions are fully represented, and all placed in their true color, many of the difficulties will disappear, and the rest will be overcome with ease. We have had our private thoughts as to the best policy, as well as our readers. We are quite prepared, however, to believe we are mistaken, if the Convention shall happen, as is quite probable, to come to a different result.

CHICAGO CORRESPONDENCE ⁴³

Chicago, May 11, 1860

Delegates to the Convention are coming in rapidly now. A number from New York arrived last night. Mr. Zane, a Delegate from California, arrived this morning. He is a live Republican, you may be sure. Our own John Johns, of Webster got here this morning, having *walked* from his home in Webster county to Iowa City. He is, therefore, Republican all over. He "feels a little odd," he says, "in this town, which is not very scattering, and needs a *gardeeen*." I took great pleasure in piloting the old gentleman around, this morning, for which he returned me hearty thanks, he having never been, as he said, to market but once and to mill but twice, in all his life. He'll do. W. Penn Clarke is also here, whilst among the outsiders from Iowa, I have met John W. Jones, H. M. Hoxie, and Dock Brownell, all of Des Moines. Kasson and McPherson are expected this evening.

The Wigwam now looks like something, both outside and inside. The Eastern side is being adorned with flowers, evergreens, flags, paintings and statuary. On the pillars just in front of the platform, I noticed the busts of Webster, Clay, Judge McLean, and others. Representations of the god-

⁴³ *Ibid.*, May 19, 1860.

desses of Liberty and Justice, besides other goddesses to this deponent unknown, adorn the Eastern wall, whilst big and little figures in plaster may be seen in all portions of the vast building. When entirely completed, the Wigwam will present a grand appearance. A great many ladies are engaged to-day in preparing it for the reception of many people to-morrow night, when, it is announced, Tom Corwin and others will speak. . . .

As to speculations about the Chicago nominee. It appears to be agreed with Mr. Seward has the votes to nominate him on the first ballot, unless the Southern States go unanimously against him, which, however, they will not do. He will get votes from Virginia and Kentucky. His friends, however, will not insist on his nomination, if the doubtful States show that he does not stand a good chance of carrying them. If the mixed up matters in Pennsylvania admit of a solution, in Seward's favor, he will be nominated, I think, on the first ballot. If not, then Gen. Cameron will be put on the track. So things look now.

LINKENSALE⁴⁴

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION⁴⁵

To-morrow the Representatives of the National Republican party convene at Chicago to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. The all important crisis is at hand. The moment which is to determine whether success shall perch on the Republican banner has arrived. For four years, in the face of obloquy, of ridicule, of denunciation, with the cry of sectionalism, of radicalism, abolition and disunion rung out against it, and fighting all that time against an Administration entrenched in power and place, with millions of patronage at its command, the Republican party has gallantly fought on, winning victory after victory in State after State, determined in '60 to take control of national affairs and bring the government and the nation once more to that state of peace and prosperity its constitution was intended to secure. Shall it be done? The answer rests with the Chicago Convention and will be heard within the present week.

We anticipate it. The representatives of the great People's Party of the nation cannot, will not, forget the confidence of the millions of freemen for whom they speak. — No such scenes as were witnessed at Charleston

⁴⁴ Lurton D. Ingersoll, who wrote under the pen-name "Linkensale," was one of Iowa's brightest and most prolific newspapermen.

⁴⁵ *Vinton Eagle*, May 15, 1860.

will be presented to the country. No scenes of strife and violence. No picture of a party "discordant, dissevered and belligerent." Harmony will characterize its deliberations, and a stern determination to defeat the wretched party in power insure unity in all its actions.

As to the platform there will be no cavil, no disagreement. The principles of the party are the same wherever a Republican can be found to vote the ticket. The nominees may not so easily be determined, but whoever shall receive a majority of the votes in Convention, we are confident will become the unanimous choice of that body. We have our choice and believe Lincoln the strongest man, but whether it be Lincoln, Seward, Wade, M'Lean, Bates, Botts or any body but a Democrat, his name goes to the mast head, and we shall fight for him till the battle is over.

CHICAGO CONVENTION ⁴⁶

Chicago, May 17, 1860.

DEAR GAZETTE: — After a delightful trip by rail, slightly disturbed in its comforts by dust, I arrived here this morning, an *atom* of a great crowd — a circulating medium of human kind in one of ten cars that formed the Chicago and Rock Island car-ivan into Chicago. We left Davenport with only three cars, but at every station there was an interesting crowd, and car was added to car till we had a train of ten all filled from platform to platform. At Chicago we were received by a large and enthusiastic delegation of — hackmen, who paid us every attention complimentary to the occasion.

Taking my baggage (an extra shirt) to the Tremont House, I was not only proffered "accommodations" by mine hosts but cordially received in the arms of the Iowa and Missouri delegations. Ever since my arrival I have been *busy*, principally in endeavoring to ascertain the views of delegates, so as to form some opinion of the final result of this Convention. Let me here say that the city is crowded, yet there is still room, thanks to the open doored hospitality of the Chicagoians [*sic*], for a "few more of the same sort" of Republicans — and these are coming. On the arrival of to-morrow morning's train from the west, it may be confidently stated that Iowa is represented here by about a thousand Republicans. Among them I have met Gov. Kirkwood, W. P. Clarke, Kasson, Nourse, Grinnell *et al.*

⁴⁶ Davenport *Gazette*, May 24, 1860.

Lt. Gov. Rusch arrived here from New York this afternoon, under charge of a portion of the Pennsylvania delegation. About an hour afterward he was making a speech before a German meeting, maintaining conservative views in opposition to the ultraism of a few, or in plain words, endeavoring to prevent them making fools of themselves. This German meeting was adjourned from yesterday, and was not very largely attended. Resolutions declaring very emphatically against certain nominations were laid over for consideration tomorrow.⁴⁷

The result of my investigations may be thus stated. The question of who will be the nominee is almost as much mixed as it was two weeks or months ago. The friends of different prominent candidates have been here in strength for several days. Their labors have resulted in somewhat envenomed feelings. But the fact is worthy of notice — that the Bates, the Lincoln, the Cameron men, &c., in their hostility to each other, say freely that if the crisis come and their candidate is *out*, they will vote for Seward in preference to either of the others.⁴⁸ Seward promises to poll the largest ballot at the start, and the Bates men think he will be next. A tremendous effort is being made for Bates. His friends promise Missouri for him sure if he be nominated. Indeed, a friend who owns part of the pile, says that there are now \$10,000 in the Tremont House ready to be staked on this. — The Missouri delegation have fine quarters, and number a multitude in themselves. If there be one of them from Frank Blair down (in size) to B. Gratz Brown, to whom I have not been introduced, I should like to know his name and fame.

Our Iowa delegation are divided, and they very probably intend to be so the first few ballotings. A vote of delegates assembled to-day showed that of those present the majority, or plurality, were for Lincoln!⁴⁹ Bates has two and Cameron one. If the vote ever become a *unit*, I think it will be

⁴⁷ This meeting at Chicago was important. Germans would support Seward, but preferred Lincoln. Their resolutions indicated strong opposition to Bates, thus seriously hampering him as second choice, if Seward failed. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:161-3; F. I. Herriott, "The Conference in the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860," *Transactions*, Ill. State Hist. Soc. (1928), 101-191.

⁴⁸ This was not true of the Cameron men. Against Lincoln's instructions, David Davis of Illinois had promised a Cabinet post to Cameron, if Pennsylvania would swing her votes to Lincoln. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:169.

⁴⁹ This would seem to indicate that the partiality of Iowa editors for Seward did not influence the Iowa delegates to the Convention.

for Lincoln, unless his chances suddenly subside. — The Indiana delegates seem to be gradually going over to Lincoln. I conversed with Col. Lane this evening, opposition or Republican candidate for Governor in Indiana. He feels secure of his election in that Democratic State if either McLean, Lincoln or Bates be nominated. That shows the feeling here. The Bates men appear more hostile to Lincoln than to any other man.

Among other duties of the evening, I visited the great Wigwam. Mr. Burlingame was speaking. There were *thousands* gathered, including a great many ladies. The "Wigwam" is a huge frame edifice in the central part of the city. The inside spectacle, with its gathered thousands, hundreds of gas lights, banners, streamers, busts, statues, &c., was splendid. A large gallery surrounds three sides, the acres of floor beneath being gradually elevated from the centre so as to afford a good view of the speaker. All the seats were filled, and hundreds standing. In front of the gallery are painted the coats of arms of all the States. Banners and streamers, paintings and statues, wreaths and bouquets, adorned every part. But you have already heard enough of the Wigwam. Returning, I pitched into a tremendous German Republican meeting, where they had music, singing and speaking, and an immense deal of enthusiasm.

The delegates are now about all here, and everything is ready for work. I think the Convention will close its labors Friday night, and in the mean time I'll close mine.

ADD.⁵⁰

DEAR GAZETTE: — Surrounded by such a whirl of excitement as has marked Chicago to-day, and now, at a late hour of night manifest at the Tremont House by the voices and presence of hundreds, crowding every part of the building, with music and cheers in the distance, and music and cheers close at hand — it is almost impossible to systematize one's thoughts, or reduce them to any methodical form for transmission on paper to others. The history of the day, the first of the Convention, has been in that body merely such as belongs to *organizing*, all the details of which you will find in the Chicago papers of to-morrow morning, and the generalities in the dispatches doubtless now in type in the GAZETTE office. — Briefly — the great wigwam was densely packed before noon, the hour of meeting. The delegates sat on a raised platform, each delegation having its particular

⁵⁰ Addison H. Sanders, editor of the Davenport *Gazette*. See note 13.

place marked by a lettered sign-board. The editors, numbering hundreds, with a great many bogus members of the fraternity, who "roped in" on the Committee and secured passes, occupying the floor beneath, and generally securing seats. Beyond certain limits were the multitude, the floor raising step by step, so that those near the walls could overlook the insiders or centrals. The galleries, holding thousands were crowded, many of the occupants being ladies. Such a spectacle was never before seen *under roof* in this Union. One view of it was alone worth a trip of five hundred miles. Such a sea of human faces certainly never before met my gaze. The immense size of the hall, and its densely packed condition, rendered it difficult to hear the voices or words of speakers, except when propelled by brazen lungs. The Hon. David Wilmot, the temporary chairman, was for this reason not the man for the place. His voice, like his person, is a little *fatty*. But otherwise he was admirably qualified for the position. The announcement of his name for the position, totally unexpected even to many of the delegates, was received with tremendous and prolonged applause, exhibiting an appreciation of the "Wilmot Proviso" not to be mistaken.

In the afternoon session, the proper committee announced the name of Hon. George Ashmun, of Mass., as President. Of course it was received with tremendous applause, the vast crowd being so filled with enthusiasm, that on every reasonable occasion they gave vent to it in a most extraordinary concourse of sounds, in the form of cheers, clapping of hands and stamping. Mr. A. made an eloquent little speech, in which he convinced the Convention that he had all the voice to be expected from a pair of human lungs. He afterwards proved himself most admirably qualified for the position, and that a better selection could not have been made.

On the various committees appointed during the day, Iowa was thus represented — on Permanent Organization, Jas. T. Wilson; on Credentials, C. F. Clarkson; on Business, Reuben Noble; on Platform, J. A. Kasson; Andrew J. Stevens was one of the Temporary Vice Presidents, and H. P. Scholte, one of the Permanent Vice Presidents; Mr. M. Stone, one of the Secretaries. The preliminary business proceedings were marked by great interest, harmony and good feeling. — During the afternoon session, Mr. N. B. Judd, in behalf of the Republicans of Chicago, presented an elegant gavel to the President, with a very appropriate speech. The Convention adjourned till to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

There were probably ten thousand people in the wigwam, and many estimated the number far above this, yet a tremendous crowd surrounded the building, the streets of the city were at places almost unnavigable from the number of people, and the hotels swarming. The Pennsylvanians had a procession in the afternoon, and were about three squares long marching generally four abreast, and close together. They stopped at the Tremont for the Illinois delegation, which numbered hundreds. This may give readers at home some faint idea of the numbers gathered here — and but a very faint idea indeed. Every hotel is packed, and a multitude of private houses have been thrown open. The hospitality of the people of Chicago is the subject of general praise. Yesterday a large excursion party, in response to the invitation of the Board of Trade, took a sail on the lake, and had a happy time. The hacks are doing an active business in riding strangers over the city. Chicago was never better advertised, and indeed it never looked better to the eyes of visitors. The weather is delightful, which of course is the grand publisher of outside things here as elsewhere. Some individual is speaking in the parlor, and cheers are enthusiastic. I shall leave you here and join the crowd. I have a thousand things to tell about, but cannot speak of them now.

ADD.

THIRD DAY — MORNING SESSION ⁵¹

. . . The motion to ballot, made by Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, at the afternoon session of yesterday was taken up.

Mr. Blair, of Maryland, presented additional credentials of Delegates to fill up the Delegation from that State.

Mr. Chandler, of Texas, wished to know if that would have the tendency to increase the ratio of votes in that State.

Mr. Coale, of Maryland, said that they came with a full Delegation elected, but upon arriving here, only 11 were present. The Delegation held a meeting and filled the vacancies.

⁵¹ Des Moines Iowa State Register, May 23, 1860. The Convention convened on May 16, at noon. The first day was spent in organization; the second in the adoption of the platform. Nominations did not come until the third day. A move was made to ballot for a candidate at the close of the second day's session, when sentiment seemed to be running strong for Seward. However, perhaps fortuitously, the tally-sheets were not ready, and the convention was forced to adjourn. This quoted section of the report of the Convention is part of the report of the proceedings as published in many Iowa papers.

The Chair understood that the vote would be the same, 16 Delegates, casting 8 votes.

Mr. Armour, of Maryland, objected to the credentials being received. A portion of the Delegates from that State met here and filled up the vacancies with people who came from where? God Almighty knows. His co-Delegates had filled them up with outsiders.

The question was put whether Maryland should have five additional votes, and it was lost.

The Convention then decided to proceed to ballot.

Mr. Evarts, of New York, asked whether it was in order to present names for nomination. The Chair decided it was in order without debate.

At this point the Pennsylvania Delegation complained that outsiders were occupying their seats, and some time was expended in getting them out.

Loud cries of "call the roll," "call the roll."

Mr. Evarts of New York — "Mr. Chairman, in the order of business before the Convention, sir, I take leave to name as a candidate to be nominated by this Convention for the office of President of the United States, William H. Seward of New York."

Hon. N. B. Judd, of Illinois, named Hon. Abraham Lincoln.

New Jersey presented Hon. William L. Dayton.

Pennsylvania named Hon. Simon Cameron.

Mr. Carter, of Ohio, named Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

Mr. Smith, of Indiana, in behalf of the delegation, seconded the name of Abraham Lincoln.⁵²

Michigan seconded the nomination of William H. Seward, of New York.

Mr. Corwin named John McLean, of Ohio.

Hon. Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, seconded the name of William H. Seward.

Kansas seconded the name of William H. Seward.

Mr. North, of Minnesota, seconded the name of William H. Seward.

Ohio seconded the nomination of Abraham Lincoln.

⁵² Caleb Smith of Indiana had also been promised a Cabinet post, in return for the support of his state. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:169. In fact, five of Lincoln's opponents in the Convention became Cabinet members, not all by Convention promises, however. Seward served under both Lincoln and Johnson as Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase was Secretary of the Treasury for four years; Simon Cameron, for one disastrous year, was Secretary of War; Caleb B. Smith, for two years, Secretary of the Interior; and Edward Bates, for two years Attorney General.

The names of each of the candidates were received with applause.

The names of Seward and Lincoln were greeted with deafening plaudits, and despite the raps of the Speaker and the calls of the delegates, it seemed almost impossible to quell the uproar.⁵³

At length, the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the cries and cheers were silenced and the audience became gradually seated and awaited in comparative silence the balloting.

The Convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President, with the following results:

[On the first ballot, Seward received 173½ votes; Lincoln, 102; Cameron 50½ (47½ from Pennsylvania); Bates, 48; Chase, 29; Dayton, 14; and McLean, 12; the rest were scattered among favorite sons. Iowa voted as follows on the first ballot: Seward, 2; Bates, Cameron, Chase, and McLean, 1 each; and Lincoln, 2. On the second ballot, Lincoln's vote climbed to 181, while Seward's rose only to 184½. Lincoln's largest block of votes came from Pennsylvania, 44, thus showing which way the voting was going. Iowa's two votes for Seward stayed by him, but Chase and McLean received only ½ vote each, while the remaining 5 went to Lincoln. On the third ballot, Seward dropped to 181 and Lincoln rose to 231½; 233 were necessary for nomination. Iowa's 2 votes for Seward remained, while ½ was cast for Chase, and 5½ for Lincoln on this ballot.]

Before the vote was announced, Mr. Carter, of Ohio, said: I rise, sir, by the instruction of a portion of the Ohio delegation to change four votes from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln.

This change gave Mr. Lincoln a majority, and was greeted with an enthusiasm most unbounded. The applause and demonstrations were continued for some twenty minutes, and the result having been made known outside, the inside and outside of the building answered each other with immense cheers.

Delegates from Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Missouri, changed the votes of those states to Lincoln. The vote finally, after all the changes had been made, stood as follows:

⁵³ According to reporters, although the applause for Seward was enthusiastic, that for Lincoln was deafening. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:165. Part of the reason for the wild cheers for Lincoln may have been that the same David Davis who had made the deal with Cameron, had had 1,000 counterfeit convention tickets printed and issued to men hired to shout for Lincoln. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 2:256.

[110½ for Seward; 354 for Lincoln; 1 for Dayton. Iowa swung her 8 votes into the Lincoln column before the final count.]

FROM CHICAGO — LINCOLN'S NOMINATION⁵⁴

Chicago, May 19, 1860

. . . When David K. Carter arose in the Convention yesterday and announced that Ohio desired to change four votes from Salmon P. Chase to Abraham Lincoln, enthusiasm knew no bounds. The ladies in the galleries arose to their feet and cheered with might and main, whilst ten thousand men within the wigwam and twenty thousand without, rent the air with their loud huzzas. So it continued twenty minutes by the clock, when, as order was about to be restored, "bang went" a cannon, and again commenced the cheering. I was sitting immediately next to the President's desk, and could see and hear all.

Conspicuous among the excited Conventionists was HENRY S. LANE, of Indiana. Standing next to the railing of the platform, his tall, limber form bowed backward and forward, as shout after shout escaped his lips. . . . He was intoxicated with pleasure. I suppose Col. Lane is the ugliest man in Indiana. His head is about the size of your fist, and is covered with iron gray hair — his eyes are deep and sunken, and his mouth is a vast receptacle for food and tobacco. When he speaks he often bends his body so that portion above the hips makes a perfect right angle with his long, slim legs, and anon he throws his head back so far as to have the upper portion of his person at an angle of about 45 degrees to the court. His voice is not strong, but he is one of the most popular and gifted orators of the West. The nomination of Lincoln has secured his election as Governor of Indiana beyond a doubt.

That other tall gentleman, with the bald head a little to the eastward of Lane, and who is waving his hat and shouting so earnestly is CALEB B. SMITH, of Indiana — "Kale Smith," as he is familiarly called all over that State. He has more dignity in his looks than has Lane — he is larger, and, of course, far more fine-looking, appearing to be a little rising of fifty years of age. His voice is not deep-toned and heavy but shrill, musical and clear, like the higher notes of a bugle. When he becomes fully aroused, he can be heard distinctly in every part of the great Wigwam. When he

⁵⁴ Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, May 26, 1860.

said to-day in his loudest tones: "In leaving this fair State, and this large and enthusiastic assembly, I shall leave it with an abiding confidence that our ticket will be triumphantly elected; for let me assure you that, with the gallant son of Illinois as our standard bearer; with the platform which we have adopted; with the distinguished Senator from Maine as the second in command, I feel that we stand upon a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against us!" the cheers which followed were almost deafening. Mr. Smith lisps a good deal, but just enough to make it agreeable. When he becomes fully aroused, the lisp passes away, but it is amusing enough to hear him say "Mithter Prethident" or "Fellow Thitithens."

But, perhaps, the most excited man in the Convention was Mr. BROWNING, of Illinois. Burlingtonians have heard him speak, and know that he is a splendid orator; but when he was called up yesterday, he was so much overcome that, at first, he could scarcely say a word. When he fairly got to going, however, he said some very fine things, returning the thanks of Illinois for the magnanimity and generosity of New York in a beautiful and touching manner; the peculiar way in which he works his mouth in no wise detracting from the general effect.

And, by-the-by, the chairman of the New York delegation, WILLIAM M. EVARTS, is a splendid man, when you consider him intellectually. — Physically, he does not amount to much, being rather small of stature; and of no very prepossessing appearance. Nevertheless, you can see that he is a man of decision, nerve, and backbone. He is an excellent speaker, having a good voice and graceful manner, with not a bit of the immortal spread eagle in his manner. When he moved to make the nomination of Mr. Lincoln unanimous . . . [his] plain, heartfelt utterances, brief though they were, received as hearty applause as any made during the whole of Convention week. Mr. Evarts won for himself the warm regards and admiration of all who noticed his dignified demeanor and the proud intellect of which he is the possessor.

The motion was also seconded by a rather good looking little fat gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. ANDREWS, who made a good but too lengthy speech on the occasion.

It was seconded also by Mr. CARL SCHURZ, who stood up for Seward till the last moment. I look upon this gentleman as one of the most intellectual, philosophical and eloquent orators of the country. In person, he is of

medium size, with scarcely anything but the fire of his eye blazing through his steel-bound spectacles to indicate an extraordinary man. . . .

Other good and true speeches were made by the friends of Mr. Seward, but I cannot take time to allude to them particularly.

All this time, there sat, just to my right, the white-haired, small-eyed, breeches-rolled-up Philosopher of the *Tribune* [Horace Greeley], calm as a placid lake on which no zephyr blows, and, beyond all peradventure cool as a cucumber. With his head on his cane, he was ruminating, doubtless, on the transitoriness of all things in general, and the downfall of his hopes of Bates in particular, surmising, perhaps, as he nodded acquiescence to the remarks of Mr. Andrews — “Now give us Hickman or Hamlin for Vice President, and we’ll sweep the country.”

But the incidents connected with the nomination of Hamlin require a more extended notice than I could now give, and I will here close for the present, with the remark that the Convention adjourned till 5 o’clock, having first made the welkin ring again, with three times three for “Honest Old Abe,” and a rousing “tiger” to boot.

When I reached the Tremont House, a cannon on top was firing a hundred guns in honor of the nominattion.

LINKENSALE

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES⁵⁵

We are under ten thousand obligattions to the National Republican Convention for the patriotism and sagacity manifested in the selection of the standard bearers of the Republican hosts in the coming contest. On the one hand the Convention avoided the settled and prevalent prejudices which had accumulated in the public mind against a long-trying leader of the party, and on the other escaped the peril of elevating to the leadership one who is not sufficiently identified with the struggles and prospects of the party to command universal acceptance as its chief. Ability, honesty and devotion to the cause have been found in the person of one whose talents and whose efforts in behalf of its principles have secured him a proud pre-eminence in the great Northwest, and the universal respect and confidence

⁵⁵ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, May 21, 1860. This and the following editorials are typical of the way the editors adjusted themselves to the nomination of Lincoln, although the majority seemed to have preferred Seward before the Convention.

of the party throughout the country, while at the same time he has excited no personal prejudices among the masses outside the ranks of his own party.

The recent brilliant contest carried on by Abraham Lincoln against Stephen A. Douglas in Illinois, excited the wondering admiration of the whole land and aroused the Republicans of the West to overwhelming enthusiasm in his favor. The great and growing Northwest will appreciate this mark of honor bestowed upon their favorite, and in view of the opportunity of elevating a Republican of the Northwest to the Presidency and thus securing a prominence to which its importance entitles it, will strain every nerve to roll up a proud majority for Lincoln. His noblest eulogy is to be found in a reputation so transcendently bright as to secure him the nomination from such a Convention as that assembled at Chicago against so many illustrious competitors. . . .

We of the west have received all we asked, and more than most of us expected, in the selection of candidates, and now let us do all and more than our brethren of other sections expect of us in behalf of our candidates, and thus render success certain beyond a possibility of failure.

REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS⁵⁶

. . . To the Great West has been given the great honor of the nominee for the first position in our Nation, and the Great West will give to that Union her Abraham Lincoln as the next President, and the Union will be proud of the gift.

We are grateful to the East for her concession to the West — to the Empire State for her giant in Statesmanship, Wm. H. Seward — to the Keystone State with her host in Simon Cameron — to Ohio with her three distinguished sons, McLean, Chase and Wade.

The Empire of the West has a right to the Presidency, and Abraham Lincoln, whose integrity has won him the sobriquet of "HONEST OLD ABE" is her true Representative Man. He is the man for victory, and when the victory is won, his is the integrity and ability to bring back the Government to the policy of its founders, and guide the ship of State by a compass that points not one way at the South and another way at the North.

Last year [sic. 1858] coming from the practice of his profession into the political field he met the Little Giant of Democracy [Stephen A Douglas],

⁵⁶ Des Moines *Weekly Citizen*, May 23, 1860.

who was supported with the prestige and power as an office holder of nearly a score of years, with his combinations of politicians formed and strengthened through all those years, and overthrew him by a majority of over four thousand votes of the citizens of Illinois.⁵⁷ — His speeches in that memorable canvass were read all over the Union and won the recognition of his Statesmanlike abilities as well as his power as an orator.⁵⁸ Let the disjointed Charleston Conventiton send Douglas into the field from its Baltimore rendezous [sic] and Illinois will again repudiate his double faced doctrine of Popular Sovereignty and by twice four thousand votes. Coming from the ranks of the old Whig party he represents the conservative opinions of that party upon the question of Slavery in the Territories.

Well has the Chicago Convention done its duty. In what honorable contrast does its conduct and its labors stand to that of the Charlestton Convention, where disorder prevailed, disunion was threatened and suicide only accomplished. . . .

OUR TICKET⁵⁹

It is with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction that we this week nail to our mast head the names of LINCOLN and HAMLIN, as the national standard bearers of the great Republican party. The largest, most enthusiastic and most harmonious Convention ever held in this country, have presented to the people a platform and representative men, every way worthy of the age and its wants. The platform, which we hope will be read attentively, has the ring of the genuine metal. Every thing is said that should be said, and every thing left unsaid that should not be said.

Of Mr. LINCOLN what need we say to the people of the West? He is one

⁵⁷ Actually, Douglas was elected by the Illinois legislature, getting 54 votes to Lincoln's 46. The "vote of the people" was for the legislature, and although the Republican members represented more population than did the Democratic, because of an out-of-date apportionment law, the Democrats had the most votes. Therefore, this editor could hardly say that Lincoln had "overthrown" Douglas. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:120; Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870* (Vol. 3, Centennial History of Illinois, Springfield, 1919), 179.

⁵⁸ The editor is again exaggerating. For instance, the Iowa newspapers in 1858 paid little attention to the Lincoln-Douglas debates. See "A Burlington Editor Comments on the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 56:275-80 (July, 1958). During the pre-convention jockeying of 1860 reprints of the famous debates were prepared and widely circulated.

⁵⁹ Mount Pleasant *Home Journal*, May 26, 1860.

of them, known and honored by all. Honest, able and patriotic — reared in the west, amidst its privations, he is a walking argument in favor of free labor and free institutions; and is destined to be the people's President, so sure as election day comes.

WHY WAS LINCOLN NOMINATED? ⁶⁰

This, just now, is a question of momentous importance with our Democratic friends. Their heads are exceedingly bothered to account for the rejection of SEWARD by the Chicago Convention. Poor fellows! But their own honest reflections and fears, unerringly reveal to them the secret of LINCOLN'S nomination. To relieve them, however, of all doubts upon the question, we will respond to their query. LINCOLN was nominated because the Republican party cares infinitely more for the substance than for the symbol. To put itself in a position to carry out its principles was the primal and overshadowing object of the Convention. The entire party were ready to take Mr. SEWARD'S measures without Mr. SEWARD, regarding the peculiarities of his position as rendering him an unavailable candidate, in certain portions of the Union, where we have most need of votes. The Republicans were not disposed to weaken their chances of success, by any such extravagant devotion to a particular leader, as that manifested at Charleston for Mr. DOUGLAS. Resolved upon a single purpose, the Convention very wisely determined that the claims of no man — however eminent his services — however intrinsically great his abilities — should be allowed to endanger the dearest wish of the popular heart of the nation. Sacrificing individual preferences, and recognizing in ABRAHAM LINCOLN, a statesman of distinguished abilities, and a man of renowned honor, probity and integrity, and possessing the entire confidence of the friends of right and freedom, with remarkable unanimity, the Convention placed him before the people of the United States for their suffrages for the Chief Magistracy of the nation. Does any other than a subsidized partizan, or a confirmed bigot, believe that he will not be elected to that position?

THE DECISION OF THE CHICAGO CONVENTION ⁶¹

In an editorial published before the meeting of the Chicago Convention, we said that practically its deliberations would be on the question — who is the strongest man the Republicans can run for the Presidency? — and

⁶⁰ Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil*, May 26, 1860.

the result, the Convention's decision as to the name of this strongest man. It was known before the Convention, and acceded there on all sides, that if no reasonable doubts existed as to the election of Mr. Seward, he was the choice of the great majority of the Republicans of the Union. But it was at the same time the earnest feeling of the majority of the delegates, that if any other man was likely to be stronger before the people than Mr. Seward, or stronger than other good Republicans whose names were mentioned in connection with the nomination — if he could carry or promise to carry certain States that others might not do but by rare possibility — then this man must be nominated.

At an early hour after the delegates had gathered, the name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN loomed up in prominence as this person — as the *strongest* man the Convention could nominate. His abilities were unquestioned — his honesty and integrity proverbial — his true and earnest Republicanism undisputed, and yet his conservatism generally acceded even by his opponents. The delegates from the doubtful States, or many of them, boldly declared that with Lincoln their States could be carried, but *not* with Seward, and more and more delegates joined their ranks. The Pennsylvanians promised a rousing majority for Lincoln. The Illinois delegates were of course enthusiastic for "Old Abe." The majority of the Indiana delegation declared that with Lincoln they would sweep the State. Col. Lane, the Republican candidate for Governor in that State, personally a warm friend of Seward, said that with Lincoln he felt *sure* of election, but the nomination of Seward would cut his (Lane's) throat, and give Indiana once again to the Democracy. So it went.

The decision of the Convention came, and as we said week before last, it was a decision upon the question of the *strongest* man, placing all the candidates for nomination on an equality as regards devotion to Republican principles and as true representatives of the Republican party, and alike entitled to the full confidence of that party. The enthusiasm with which the news of Mr. Lincoln's nomination has been received all over the Union, even in New York, the home of Mr. Seward, proves that his strength was not mis-calculated nor over-estimated. No one can doubt this enthusiasm among the Republicans for "Old Abe," and no one can question the result will be his triumphant election.

⁶¹ Davenport *Weekly Gazette*, May 24, 1860.

The Republican party is now *an unit*. Whatever divisions there may have been before the nomination as to the candidate, the nomination itself was the signal for general unity and good-fellowship among all Republicans. Such there will be till the day of election, and till the closing of the polls at night — when shouts of triumph and rejoicing will ring over the Union proclaiming the people's verdict in favor of Republican principles, and their condemnation of the corruption, venality and mal-administration of the so called Democratic party.

THE POPULAR VERDICT⁶²

The journeyings of the past fortnight have given us an excellent opportunity of judging how the Chicago nominations are received by the people. To say that the Republicans were all at first well pleased with the nomination for the Presidency — that there was no feeling of disappointment among the great host who watched with profound solicitude the action of the Chicago Convention — would be a worse than idle declaration. Truth demands of us an acknowledgment that Gov. Seward has a hold upon the affections of the great mass of the Republican party, only equalled by the attachment felt among old Whigs for Henry Clay, during the life-time of the latter. The New York statesman stood in the breach and fought the battles of Republicanism in the Senate Chamber, when he was almost alone. He was insulted and vilified by the pro-slavery men of the South, and stigmatised as an Abolitionist by the dirt-eaters of the North. Upon his own shield he received the shafts of the multitude who were eager to betray the cause of human freedom. He returned blow for blow; sounded aloud the warning blast; by the force of his own masterly intellect and steadfast purpose, rallied around the Republican standard a band of men who have never faltered in their devotion to a cause that they felt to be identified with the perpetuity of American liberty. He has seen malice measurably disarmed, and justice done to his motives. He has been permitted to witness the dawn of a brighter day upon the hopes of his patriotic co-workers. He sees and feels that Heaven's retributive justice has overtaken and scattered a great party that allowed itself to be arrayed in hostility to the policy of the Republican fathers. With the victor's wreath almost within his reach, he felt that he might without undue assurance, ask

⁶² Des Moines *Weekly Citizen*, June 6, 1860.

his friends to remember his services in this the day of their power. They recognized his claims. They acknowledged his labors. Their hearts kindled with a genial glow, as they called to mind his patriotic appeals. But they feared that there was yet too much of embittered prejudice and passion among the inconsiderate, to make it safe to designate him as our standard-bearer. They frankly declared their doubts and fears, made their appeal to the delegates assembled, and the result was the nomination of Abraham Lincoln.

With tears in their eyes the devoted friends of Seward saw assigned to another, a position that they regarded as due to their favorite. But there was no hesitation in their tone or action. They had received too many lessons from their gallant and unselfish leader, to stand in the way of a harmonious solution of the problem presented to the Chicago Convention. They recognized the distinguished citizen of Illinois as a faithful and eloquent laborer in the Republican fold; a man who had virtually beaten Douglas, with fearful odds in favor of the latter. Upon every question that now divides the parties of the country, they know that Abraham Lincoln is sound to the core, and will never betray those who have conferred upon him an unsought honor. Feeling and believing thus, the friends of Seward, and of every other Republican statesman, have nobly laid upon the altar of their country all personal predilections, and with loud acclaim rallied to the side of "Old Abe."

The Germans hesitated about supporting Bates. The more zealous feared the conservatism of McLean, and doubted his ability to bear the burthen of a Presidential canvass. Chase is obnoxious to every prejudice enlisted against Seward. Banks has been too strongly suspected of American proclivities. Thus the Convention was finally brought to realize that Lincoln is the only man who is sure of enlisting the combined energies of the Republican masses against the faces of the Administration.

With a zeal eminently creditable to their patriotism, the Republican of every section have already commenced the work of the campaign. They are no longer Seward men, Chase men or Banks men. They are co-workers in a common cause, sanctified by the trials and labors of revolutionary patriots. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, all fall into the line, with a shout that tells of coming victory. Seward nobly gives his adhesion to Lincoln. The last cloud is dispelled; and the Republican army is seen in full march for the National Capitol.